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The Song of Deborah (Judges 5):
Meaning and Poetry in the Septuagint

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The Song of Deborah (Judges 5):
Meaning and Poetry in the Septuagint

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Although the Septuagint is an underrepresented field in the world of biblical studies, there is much to be gained by examining it on its own merits. The primary purpose of this study is to examine the meaning of the Song of Deborah in the Greek translation in its own right and to determine what parallels it has with other sections of the Greek Old Testament. This involves, beyond exegesis, a study of the poetic style and the translational technique of the Greek text, especially in light of the other historical works of Greek-speaking Judaism, such as the Letter of Aristeas.

This study will proceed along four lines of investigation. First of all, there is no Greek text of the Song of Deborah which enjoys widespread acceptance among scholars. Therefore, the first task of the study is to review all of the critical evidence of the Song of Deborah and produce an eclectic text which is as near as possible to the original Greek translation as can be obtained by modern means.

Once established, the critical text of the Song of Deborah is used as the basis for the rest of the study. Chapter Three examines in detail the language and style of the translation, analyzes its composition, and attempts to explain how and why the Greek text came to be in this form.

Chapter Four pays special attention to the issue of poetics and seeks to determine what kinds of poetic styles and devices the translator used to convey his understanding of the original poetry. The discussion of poetics focuses on the possibility of metrical analysis as well as parallelism for the basis for poetry, and discusses in detail the use of paronomasia by the translator. Chapter Five presents a fresh translation and an exegesis of the Song of Deborah in the context of the Greek Old Testament. It also compares the Song of Deborah to other works of Greek literature, and explores how the Song, its characters, and Israelite religion were perceived as being superior in nearly every way to comparable aspects of Greek culture.

This dissertation by Nathan LaMontagne fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Biblical Studies approved by Francis Gignac, S.J., as Director, and by Robert Miller II, and David Bosworth as Readers.

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Chapter One:

Interpretation History of the Song of Deborah

Introduction

The Song of Deborah has received much attention throughout the history of biblical studies and accordingly has also been the subject of some controversy. Many have written about the composition of the Song, or its date and *Sitz im Leben*, or its relationship to the narrative of Deborah in chap. 4 of Judges. There are discussions on how historically reliable the Song and the narrative of Deborah are, and how one should interpret the data of archaeology in light of the text, and vice versa. There is still much that is unclear and much still to learn, and there are almost as many ways of approaching the text as there are scholars who wish to study it. These questions are not easily answered, but they are crucial questions that illuminate the meaning of the text.

This dissertation aims to explore some of the aspects and nuances of the Song of Deborah. Whereas most scholarship in the Song has focused on its meaning in Hebrew and its place in the context of ancient Near Eastern literature, I intend to focus on the original old Greek (OG) translation of the Song of Deborah and its meaning in the context of Greek thought and literature in its probable setting of Alexandria. The translation that was produced by the Greek-speaking Jews demonstrates an understanding of the Song that is quite different from the way that the Hebrew is understood today, and it is the task of this dissertation to highlight this and to explore the meaning of the Greek text.

This project involves several divergent approaches that support one another in building a picture of how the text was read and understood in its Greek context. The first task of this

dissertation is to create a best approximation of the OG. This is not insignificant, since the LXX manuscripts of Judges are vastly different, demonstrate a history of revision that spans many centuries and editorial philosophies, and blend examples of readings from various traditions without distinction. Once a critical text is established, there are two methods of analysis that will lay the foundation for understanding the meaning of the Greek text. First, I will examine the quality of the translation and attempt to uncover some of the reasons the original translator(s) made the lexical and grammatical choices that they did. Such an analysis depends heavily on understanding how the translator read his Hebrew text, and this, in turn, depends on my own ability to understand the problems of the Hebrew text. Second, I will explore the text of the Song in terms of its poetry and poetic qualities. Poetry frequently does not translate well into other languages, and the OG of the Song of Deborah is no exception. Nevertheless, the process of translation allows the translator a degree of flexibility, and it is possible to find evidence of a poetic style even in a translated document. Once an analysis of the text and its style are complete, I will translate the Greek text and explore the meaning of it. Most importantly, I will also relate the themes of the Song of Deborah to similar themes within Greek literature or in other books of the LXX.

The various tasks of this dissertation must necessarily be based upon careful research. The text critical portion must proceed with a careful knowledge of the manuscripts of Judges and how much weight should be accorded to each. In discussing the way in which the Greek translator handled his Hebrew text it is necessary for me to have a thorough knowledge of the ways in which the Hebrew could be interpreted or translated, which is the focus of much modern

research on the Song of Deborah. Understanding the Song in its Greek context must be based on an understanding of the history of the Judges, and in what way the Song is a part of that history. Because my translation and exegesis of the Song in Greek is, in a sense, based on a hypothetical translator and audience (the real translator and audience being lost to history), I must proceed with as much firm data as modern research can equip me, lest the construct I create topple under its own weight.

The History of Scholarship on the Song

Early Christian and Jewish (Premodern)

Origen is the earliest Christian writer to address Judges; he gave a set of nine homilies on the book. Origen's interpretation is primarily allegorical: Sisera represents the animalistic person, one who is completely unspiritual (Hom. in Jud. 4)[1]; Deborah, "Bee," represents the word of God, in as much as she is a prophet and that the words of God are "sweeter than honey" (Ps 18 [LXX 19]:11); Barak, whose name Origen translates "flash," represents the unenlightened Israel, who had a glimpse of God but have subsequently forgotten it—thus, according to Origen, Israel, like Barak, will be led to victory (i.e., salvation) by another, namely, the Christian Church; Jael, Origen identifies as the Church, the one who secured the victory by destroying the unenlightened philosophy of the world (Sisera).[2] Origen emphasizes that Jael pierced him through his jaw, an interpretation which is found in the LXX but not in the MT. In general

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[1] Origen, *Origen: Homilies on Judges* (trans. Elizabeth Ann Dively Lauro; FC 119; Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010) 4.

[2] Ibid., 5.

though, Origen only expounds on the narrative section and does not deal specifically with the Song of Deborah as a separate piece.

Ambrose (*Concerning Widows*, 8.43-51) holds up Deborah as an exemplary widow and analyzes the situation in much the same allegorical way as Origen, treating the victory achieved by Jael as a prefiguring of the Gentile Christian Church's adoption into the children of God.[3] Ambrose reflects the ancient tradition that Deborah is a widow and Barak is her son, although these are stated neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek text. It is because of this that Ambrose uses these figures as a model for the care of widows and the duty of children to parents.

Theodoret of Cyr treats Judges only briefly in his *Questions on the Octateuch* but has some significant remarks on the meaning of the Greek. Concerning Deborah and the Song of Deborah, he uses it only to demonstrate the basic equality of men and women in service to God, so that although the Church might observe one practice (segregation of women, etc.) God can and does still use women beyond the Church's specific order. It is important to note that Theodoret uses a manuscript similar to the Codex Alexandrinus (A), which necessitates that he explain the difficulties with the text and especially translate the Hebrew words which the A translator merely transliterated. Theodoret seems to derive the meaning of these words from his knowledge of Aramaic, although there is almost certainly a tradition of interpretation underlying his statements as well.[4]

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[3] Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, ed., *St. Ambrose: Selected Works and Letters* (NPNF 2nd Series X; New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1896).

[4] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Questions on the Octateuch* (trans. Robert C. Hill; 2 vols.; LEC 2; Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007) 2. 327–31.

Augustine also comments briefly on the Deborah cycle (Judges 4 and 5), devoting five questions to it in his *Quaestionum de Iudicibus*.[5] These questions focus on the interpretation of difficult phrases, of which there are several in the Song especially. Augustine's questions demonstrate a knowledge of a particular Greek text, and in his exegesis he uses transposition (hyperbata) to make sense of the difficult phrases in vv. 7 and 8 of the Song. Augustine, like Theodoret, is using a manuscript of the Alexandrian text-type of Judges, which necessitates that he explain some of the labored Greek.

Procopius of Gaza also produced a commentary on Judges. The commentary is line by line and is rather extensive; however, as Bardenhewer notes, Procopius' work is a catena composed of extracts from the works of Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria.[6] Even if this is the case, there does not appear to survive in the modern era a Greek text of any of these Fathers' work on Judges. It is therefore reasonable to treat Procopius' catena work here as the only surviving instance of a more ancient commentary of unknown authorship. Bardenhewer further speculates that Procopius' catena forms the basis for the Catena of Nicephorus in the 18th century. In it the author(s) discusses not only the meaning of the text projected forward onto Christ but also the meaning of the text in itself (a style similar to that of Cyril of Alexandria). In addition, he notes certain places where Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotian have different readings than the text that he is using (both Basil and Gregory of Nyssa produced works on Origen's Hexapla). His text is neither of the Alexandrian nor the

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[5] *Sancti Aureli Augustini Quaestionum in Heptateuchum* (ed. J. Zycha; CSEL 28; 1895) 449–506, esp. 465–67.

[6] Otto Bardenhewer, *Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church* (trans. Thomas J. Shahan; 2nd ed.; Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder, 1908) 542.

Vatican type; this will be explored further in Chapter Two.[7] Of all the writers before him, his

work is the most detailed and extensive.

Isidore of Seville has a set of questions on the Old Testament, similar to Augustine.

There are five questions on Deborah and Jael. His exegesis is of the allegorical type and adds

little to Origen's interpretation. There are no questions devoted to the Song of Deborah.[8]

Rashi, Don Isaac Abravanel, and other Jewish writers have their own interesting and

sometimes unique interpretations, but these are based on the Targumic interpretation (in some

cases) and ultimately on the Hebrew.[9] Their contributions have been analyzed by the scholars of

the previous century and so their work does not need to be explored here.[10]

Writers who came later than the Church Fathers, at least in the West, exclusively rely on

the Vulgate translation of Jerome, which had become normative for Western Christianity. In the

East, commentators generally stick to allegorical readings of Scripture which, although they have

great spiritual value, contain little that illuminates either the history of the text or its meaning for

its original context. In fact, after the close of what is considered the age of the Fathers (A.D. 749,

at the death of St. John of Damascus), there is little scholarship that will lend aid to

understanding either the Hebrew or the Greek of the Song of Deborah.

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[7] This is when compared to the published edition of Judges in volume two of Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint.* (4 vols.; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[8] Migne, *PL* 83. 380-81.

[9] Avraham Fishelis and Shmuel Fishelis, *Judges: A New Translation: Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* (ed. A. J. Rosenberg; New York: Judaica Press, 1983) 34–47.

[10] See especially the introduction of George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC 7; New York: Charles Scribner, 1895). Modern scholarship has been more interested in the works of the Medieval Jewish commentators (who worked from the Hebrew) than of early Christian commentators (who worked from the Greek) and so their insights have been incorporated already in most modern research.

This remained true until after the Reformation. It was a key aspect of Luther's reform that Bibles ought to be translated from texts as original as possible. As a result, Protestant scholars, and even to some extent Catholic scholars, revived interest in the Hebrew text and, to a lesser extent, the Greek texts which are their earliest translations.

Protestants focused mainly on the Hebrew manuscripts and on the analogical value of the text, using them especially for sermonizing. Sebastian Münster, and later Drusius, do little more than explain the meaning of the Hebrew words (a relatively new idea) and make parallels to other passages of Scripture which had hitherto been unrecognized because of the abrogation of the Hebrew Bible.[11] Münster offers an occasional alternate interpretation, and Drusius makes use of the medieval Jewish commentators and Targum Jonathan, but they add little thereby to the overall discussion.

Catholic commentators remained with the Vulgate until the promulgation of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Providentisimus Dei* in 1893. By this time, the modern era of biblical scholarship is well under way among Protestants.

Modern

Modern scholarship on the Song of Deborah can be divided rather neatly into two categories: those works which focus on the Hebrew of the Song and those which focus on the Greek. Since this work intends to explain the relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew as well as the meaning of the Greek in context, it is important to include works on both versions. Furthermore, modern works treat one or more of these essential subjects: the text of the Song, the

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[11] Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia, Latina planeque noua* (Basileae, 1546) 1. 471–74; J. Drusius, *Ad loca difficiliora Josuae, Iudicum, Sam. Commentarius liber* (Fredericus Heynsius, 1618) 204–12.

historical setting of the Song, the poetic style or meter of the Song, and its meaning and function with regard to the rest of the book of Judges.

Works on the Hebrew

Text of the Song. Most older commentators believed that the Song was a unified composition, to the extent that it is an implied assumption in their work. In more recent years it has become more common to find scholars asserting that it is a compilation of several once independent items, a theory put forward by Ewald and found frequently today.[12] In response to this, several scholars have emerged to defend its traditionally held unity.[13]

Numerous also are those commentators who have sought to wrest meaning from the Song of Deborah by emending the text where it seems to be corrupt or unintelligible. Since such instances abound in the Song of Deborah, there has been no lack of suggestions that repoint the consonants, revise the existing consonants, or divide the words differently; most who undertake such a task use all three tactics. It would be a Sisyphean exercise to attempt to collate all of these suggestions, as each new commentator who brings his or her own theories and methods to

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[12] Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (trans. Russel Martineau; 4 vols.; London: Longman, Green & Co., 1869) 2. 350–54. See also D. H. Müller, "The Structure of the Song of Deborah," *AJT* 2 (1898) 110–15; Artur Weiser, "Das Deboralied: Eine gattungs- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studie," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 67–97; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Ballad Style and Psalm Style in the Song of Deborah: A Discussion," *Bib* 42 (1961) 61–76; P. R. Ackroyd, "The Composition of the Song of Deborah," *VT* 2 (1952) 160–62; A. D. H. Mayes, "The Historical Context of the Battle against Sisera," *VT* 19 (1969) 353–60; J. Alberto Soggin, *Judges* (trans. John Bowden; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981); Barnabas Lindars, *Judges 1-5: A New Translation* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995); Carolyn Pressler, *Joshua, Judges, and Ruth* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002).

[13] See for instance Paulus Cassel, *The Book of Judges* (trans. P. H. Steenstra; ed. Johann P. Lange; Commentary on the Holy Scriptures 4; New York: Charles Scribner, 1872); Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*; G. Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics," *VT* 1 (1951) 168–80; Alexander Globe, "The Literary Structure and Unity of the Song of Deborah," *JBL* 93 (1974) 493–512; Michael D. Coogan, "A Structural and Literary Analysis of the Song of Deborah," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 143–66; M. A. Vincent, "The Song of Deborah: A Structural and Literary Consideration," *SJOT* 91 (2000) 63–82.

the discussion seems only to make the matter more turgid. McDaniel's recently self-published work has an extensive discussion of the topic, an almost complete analysis of suggestions of previous commentators as well his own additions to the field.[14]

The present work will not attempt to collate all of the suggested emendations with regard to the Hebrew; it will be enough to collate and discuss the possible variations of the Greek and discuss the emendations of the Hebrew only where they are relevant to the understanding of the Greek.

Historical Setting. The scholarly discussion about the historical veracity of the Song of Deborah contains two issues: how old the Song is and what relation it bears to the narrative section of chap. 4. That the Song of Deborah is among the most, if not the most, ancient piece of work in the Hebrew Bible is still the dominant opinion among scholars.[15] However, there are a number who disagree.[16] Determining the age of the Song is not a simple task, and several factors may be involved in dating it. However, I tend to agree with Soggin and others that dating the

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[14] Thomas F. McDaniel, "The Song of Deborah: Poetry in Dialect," PDF document, 2003, [electronic book; online:<http://tmcdaniel.palmerseminary.edu/Deborah.pdf>; accessed: August 8, 2011].

[15] See for instance Cassel, *The Book of Judges*; Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*; Charles F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1920); William F. Albright, "Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse," *JPOS* 2 (1922) 69–86; Antonin Causse, *Les plus vieux Chants de la Bible* (Ètudes d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses 14; Paris: F. Alcan, 1926); William F. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," *BASOR* 62 (1936) 26–31; Hans-Peter Müller, "Der Aufbau des Deboraliedes," *VT* 16 (1966) 446–59; Peter C. Craigie, "The Song of Deborah and the Epic of Tikulti-ninurta," *JBL* 88 (1969) 253–65; Mayes, "Historical Context"; Baruch Halpern, "The Resourceful Israelite Historian: The Song of Deborah and Israelite Historiography," *HTR* 76 (1983) 379–401; L. E. Stager, "Archaeology, Ecology, and Social History: Background Themes to the Song of Deborah," in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem, 1986* (Leiden: Brill, 1988) 224–26; Geoffrey P. Miller, "The Song of Deborah: A Legal-Economic Analysis," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 144 (1996) 2293–2320. Recently, C. Echols has offered a rather complete analysis of the evidence presented and an extensive discussion on its merits in *Tell Me, O Muse: The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) in the Light of Heroic Poetry* (JSOTSup 487; New York: T&T Clark, 2008), which is a revision of his dissertation, "The Eclipse of God in the Song of Deborah: The Role of YHWH in Light of Heroic Poetry" (D.Phil. diss., University of Cambridge, 2005). He concludes that the Song is, indeed, probably of a very early composition.

[16] See Ackroyd, "Composition"; G. W. Ahlström, "Judges 5:20 f. and History," *JNES* 36 (1977) 287–88; Soggin, *Judges*; M. Waltisberg, "Zum Alter der Sprache des Deboraliedes Ri 5," *ZAH* 12 (1999) 218–32. The evidence presented in these works and many others is analyzed by Echols, *Tell Me, O Muse*, 44–61.

text "can only be done on the basis of objective elements, such as the study of the language used and the references in the text itself."[17] Nevertheless, the problem of analyzing even these data is that on the one hand a composition with older language may have been edited by later copyists to make it more intelligible, and on the other hand a later composition may have been originally composed with archaic linguistic elements, a common feature of Hebrew poetry (and indeed of poetry in general). This work will not engage in a discussion of the merits of the arguments, and as far as the actual date of the Song is concerned I shall adopt an opinion with which the majority of scholars will agree: its composition began no earlier than 1100 B.C. and achieved a final form no later than 800 B.C.

The matter of the historicity of the Song and its connection with chap. 4 (and its historicity) is a discussion almost as complex as that of the text of the Song. Before the modern age, it was assumed that both the narrative and the Song were historical accounts and could be treated as such. Even through the modern era, W. F. Albright used them as guides for interpreting the archaeological data of the areas around Taanach and Megiddo.[18] As research and excavations in the area progressed, however, it became more and more difficult to reconcile the events in Judges 4 and 5 with any particular historical activity, so that modern archaeological reconstructions of the period have ceased to rely on either account for more than corroborative evidence.[19]

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[17] Soggin, *Judges*, 80.

[18] Albright, "Song of Deborah"; Robert M. Engberg and William F. Albright, "Historical Analysis of Archaeological Evidence: Megiddo and the Song of Deborah," *BASOR* 78 (1940) 4–9.

[19] Ahlström, "Judges 5:20"; Soggin, *Judges*; Volkmar Fritz, "Conquest or Settlement? The Early Iron Age in Palestine," *BA* (1987) 84–100; J. D. Schloen, "Carvans, Kenites, and Cassus Belli: Enmity and Alliance in the Song of Deborah," *CBQ* 55 (1993) 18–38.

The connection between the accounts of Judges 4 and 5 is also in question. Generally, it was the case that commentators treated them as separate accounts of a single event and differed because (a) they were told by different people (Deborah writing the Song, the historian writing the narrative), and (b) they were of different genres and so preserved different aspects of the event.[20] It is more common now to find commentators argue for direct dependence between them, in so far as one was composed on the basis of the other, which necessitates an explanation of how the differences arose.[21] That the two accounts are in some way related bears import on the discussion here but the direction of influence does not; the Greek translator almost certainly would have treated the two texts as a unit and used one to interpret the other. In this regard, the Greek text of the Song may be understood more clearly in light of the narrative.

Poetics. The poetical structure of the Song of Deborah in Hebrew may have a greater impact on this study than any other aspect of the Hebrew. The way that Hebrew poetry is understood is still very much debated, and the way it was analyzed by the Greek translator can be understood only if we can describe all the ways in which the Hebrew poetry can be analyzed;

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[20] For this view, which is sometimes explicit and sometimes not, see especially E. Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter und Rut* (Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1845); C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Joshua, Judges Ruth* (Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament 4; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1869); Cassel, *The Book of Judges*; G. A. Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah: Judges IV and V* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1892); K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament 7; Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1897).

[21] On one side, there are those who argue that the narrative account was derived from the Song: Bertheau, *Richter und Rut*; Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*; Eugen Täubler, *Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958); Weiser, "Das Deboralied"; Giovanni Garbini, "Il Cantico di Debora," *La parola del passato* 178 (1978) 5–31; Halpern, "Israelite Historian"; Heinz-Dieter Neef, *Deboraerzählung und Deboralied: Studien zu Jdc 4,1-5,31* (Biblisch-theologische Studien 49; Neukirch–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002); Pressler, *Judges*. Note especially the works of Garbini and Halpern who both gave detailed theories on how the narrative is derived directly from the Song through interpretation without recourse to another source. Halpern, "Israelite Historian," 396, notes: "In sum, Judges 4 seems to present a prime example of an Israelite historian interpreting a source, and having a bad day at it." On the other side, only a very few argue that the Song is based on the narrative; Ahlström ("Judges 5:20"), the most notable, does not argue this specifically but he does feel that the narrative is historically superior and the Song's composition is anterior to that of the narrative.

after that, it is a matter of seeing which methods the Greek translator used and which he did not.

The structure of the Song is analyzed by most scholars only so far as stanzas, thus dividing the

Song into exegetical units. These divisions are usually made along thematic lines, but matters of

textual parallelism do influence those demarcations. Those who are interested in the specific

poetic features frequently discuss parallelism in the song; some also analyze the poetry by

syllable counts or other metrical devices.

Robert Lowth's work on Hebrew poetry is one of the earliest works that analyze the

Hebrew text as a work of poetry and is a good place to begin discussion of the Song of

Deborah.[22] Lowth's work divides the Song into three parts: the exordium (vv. 1-5), the recital of

circumstances (vv. 6-23), and the finale (vv. 24-31).[23] Lowth does not deal specifically with the

internal difficulties of the poem or the problematic language but does note that the recital has

"many difficulties which impair the beauty of the composition." He also asserts the unity of the

composition, despite its wide range of subjects. Although many later commentators also focus

only on the divisions of the song into stanzas, it is not necessary to detail here how each writer

made divisions. There are, however, more traditional poetic devices by which the Song may be

analyzed.

Poetic parallelism is still considered the dominant feature of Hebrew poetry, and much

poetic analysis begins with describing the parallelistic devices. A number of scholars have

restricted themselves only to this type of analysis, usually for the sake of expediency. Cassel

looks for parallelism in alliteration throughout the poem and takes pains to try to reproduce some

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[22] R. Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (trans. G. Gregory; ed. J. D. Michaelis; London: J. T. Buckingham, 1815).
[23] Ibid., 391–400.

of that alliteration in his translation.[24] Moore's analysis interprets one line in light of the line to which it is parallel and points out words and phrases which parallel each other.[25] Gerleman examines in detail what he calls "broken, monotonous parallelism," although a more precise term might be "repetitious parallelism."[26] Hauser, building on Gerleman's work, adds parataxis as a poetic device.[27] After this, most analysts began to focus on parallelism in the Song not because it was expedient but because much doubt had been cast on the ability of metric analysis to produce favorable results. In particular, the focus on parallelism is used to determine the proper structure of the Song, that is, what are its own natural divisions, a task which is deceptively difficult. Vincent, for instance, who examines the Song in terms of its parallelistic tendencies, notes:

> The most serious problem with the use of metrical criteria to support a structural analysis of a poem from the Hebrew Bible is that the metrical system of Hebrew poetry is still subject to great uncertainty and heated debate. It has not even been agreed what we should be counting (whether stresses, syllables, or syntactic features, for instance).[28]

Following this in Vincent's article is a critique of Coogan's metrical analysis (of which more below) which, although one of the best of the metrical studies, is one among many such analyses. Vincent's critique, *mutatis mutandis*, may be applied to any of them. Vincent's own analysis relies on parallel passages to determine the structural schema of the Song. Auffret offers the

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[24] Cassel, *The Book of Judges*, 89–108.
[25] Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*, 127–173.
[26] Gerleman, "Stylistics," 176.
[27] A. J. Hauser, "Judges 5: Parataxis in Hebrew Poetry," *JBL* 99 (1980) 23–41.
[28] Vincent, "Literary Consideration," 67.

most recent analysis of the Song from the standpoint of parallelism and finds in it a chiastic

arrangement.[29]

As noted, for many years of modern scholarship it was in vogue to analyze Hebrew

poetry according to metrical criteria. The majority of scholars who commented on the Song of

Deborah did so by laying the Song out into a metrical schema in which its syllables or stresses

could be counted. Berthau was perhaps the first writer to do so, organizing the Song by a meter

which counts stresses, focuses on the bicola, and is 3+3.[30] Cooke follows Berthau's outline.[31]

Zapletal finds two meters in the Song, one for the introduction (4+4) and a second for the

remainder of the Song (6+6, which is not functionally different from Berthau's 3+3, except in

how long one considers a colon to be).[32] Burney finds a rhythm in the Song which is composed

of lines of a single colon of three beats (stresses) interspersed with lines of bicola arranged 2+2.

In addition, he discusses the arrangement in Hebrew of patterns of stressed and unstressed

syllables which he calls anapestic and iambic by analogy with other forms of poetry but does

little with the idea other than note its occurrence.[33] Albright, in his examination of the Song, first

declares that "the exact character of Hebrew prosody is now reaching a point where the main

principles may be regarded as definitely established," and he regards it as "strange" that any

scholar should still be skeptical of Hebrew metrical structure.[34] However, his method is

symptomatic of many who undertook such an analysis. He describes the Song as falling into a

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[29] Pierre Auffret, "En ce jour-là Debora et Baraq chantèrent: Étude structurelle de Jg 5, 2-31," SJOT 16 (2002) 113-50.
[30] Bertheau, *Richter und Rut*, 81.
[31] Cooke, *History and Song*.
[32] Vincenz Zapletal, *Das Deboraleid* (Frieburg: Univeritaets-Buchhandlung, 1905) 2–3.
[33] Burney, *The Book of Judges*, 158–71.
[34] Albright, "Earliest Forms," 69.

pattern of one 3+3 bicolon followed by three 2+2 bicola, noting that "the Song of Deborah falls without a single disturbance of the order of the stichoi" into this pattern; one must note, however, the following exceptions: (a) lines that are considered to be glosses or at variance are struck, and (b) several stichoi are incomplete. Moreover, his "reconstruction follows the stichic tradition preserved in the Masoretic Bible" but "with hardly an alteration," and "the four-foot strophes should be 2+2." Lastly, the Masoretic form of the text is "excellent," except that "the pointing is often impossible, and the pronominal suffixes and other endings have suffered more than once from dittography."[35] Overall, the Song as presented by Albright is a much emended version of the MT and still only mostly conforms to his schema. Slotki forces the Song into a 3+3 meter but only by increasing the substance of problematic verses by upwards of 100%.[36] Goddard is the first such commentator to acknowledge the great difficulty in making the Song conform to a particular meter: "In our present state of knowledge, however, it is certainly presumptuous to emend the text in any real confidence that the conclusions which underlie the emendations are correct."[37] Globe argues that similar strophic structure across the Song indicates its unity, along with several other kinds of poetic devices and in another article uses metrical analysis as the basis of an in-depth discussion of the text of vv. 4-5.[38] Boling's metrical analysis is cursory, identifying nine parts that display only a rough similarity of structure and do not display a similarity of length.[39] Coogan's metrical analysis is probably the most precise and extensive

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[35] Ibid., 73.

[36] Israel W. Slotki, "The Song of Deborah," *JTS* 33 (1932) 341–54.

[37] Burton Goddard, "The Critic and Deborah's Song," *WTJ* 3 (1941) 93–112, here 101.

[38] Globe, "Structure and Unity"; Alexander Globe, "The Text and Literary Structure of Judges 5:4-5," *Bib* 55 (1974) 168–78.

[39] Robert G. Boling, *Judges* (AB 6A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975).

metrical treatment of the Song.[40] His final count of cola and syllables according to his chiastic pattern of strophes demonstrates a somewhat remarkable quantity of similarity, and his examination of poetic techniques lists instances of alliteration and paronomasia. After Coogan's work, there have been very few attempts to continue the metrical analysis of the Song. Although metrical notation does appear in the work of McDaniel, it more or less follows from Albright's work and counts only stresses; McDaniel seems to use it mostly as a reference point and it does not significantly contribute to his discussion.[41]

Function in Judges. There is a growing interest in the rhetorical function of the Song of Deborah as it lies within the book of Judges—the reasons for its existence and the reason it was preserved in the particular form it was. Brettler and Couturier may be the first to have examined the role that the Song played in the political milieu of its day by means of its rhetoric, but others followed.[42] Johannes de Moor, building on this, even suggests that the original of the song included all twelve tribes in a different order and was later edited to serve a precise rhetorical situation.[43] O'Connell has a book on the subject which covers the whole book of Judges.[44] Sweeney argues that the rhetoric of the Song militates for the Davidic kingship, as does Wong later in two articles.[45] These are, however, not exactly new thoughts, merely new ways of organizing the evidence. It is a stated theme of Judges that "In those days there was no king in

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[40] Coogan, "Literary Analysis."

[41] McDaniel, "Poetry in Dialect," 189–233.

[42] Marc Zvi Brettler, "The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics," *JBL* 108 (1989) 395–418; Guy Couturier, "Débora: Une Autorité politico-religieuse aux Origines d'Israël," *SR* 18 (1989) 213–28.

[43] Johannes de Moor, "The Twelve Tribes in the Song of Deborah," *VT* 43 (1993) 483–94.

[44] Robert H. O'Connell, *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges* (VTSup 63; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[45] Marvin A. Sweeney, "Davidic Polemics in the Book of Judges," *VT* 47 (1997) 517–29; Gregory Wong, "Is There a Direct Pro-Judah Polemic in Judges?," *SJOT* 19 (2005) 90–98; Gregory Wong, "The Song of Deborah as Polemic," *Bib* 88 (2007) 1–22.

Israel" and consequently, "everyone did what was right in their own sight" (Judg. 17:6, 18:1, 19:1, 21:25).[46] It is clear that the function of the book of Judges in general is to establish the historical validity and necessity of the kingship. Cooke even observed this about the Song itself, and the works above only demonstrate with precision what was until then a generalization.[47]

The discussion of the Song's genre, though a related topic, is a more precise question than political function. The scholarly discussion of genre really began only in second half of the twentieth century. Most early commentators label the song a victory song, a *Triumphlied*, a *Siegeslied*, or something similar, but without any recognition that such a label was a 'genre.' Weiser was perhaps the first to make a serious suggestion that the Song had a genre by arguing that its Sitz im Leben was the cult, and that this was essentially a Song of worship.[48] Blenkinsopp took this idea a step further and identified two strains in the Song: a psalm-style which was laid over a ballad-style, such that the two could be separated from one another. "The subtraction of these elements which are cast in psalm style leaves us with a clear-cut ballard [*sic*] in five movements or 'fits' interlaced with short lyric, choral elements."[49] Seale, on the analogy of Arabic Qasida from a much later period, argues that the Song is a war song of a nomadic

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[46] On the function of this statement within Judges, see Robert G. Boling, "'In Those Days There Was No King in Israel'," in *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (ed. Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, and Carey A. Moore; Gettysburg Theological Studies 4; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974) 33-48; William J. Dumbrell, "'In Those Days There Was No King in Israel, Every Man Did What Was Right in His Own Eyes': The Purpose of the Book of Judges Reconsidered," *JSOT* 25 (1983) 23-33; and Amnon Shapira, "'In Those Days There Was No King in Israel; Everyone Did as He Pleased' (Judges 21:25): Was There Really Anarchy?," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29-August 5, 1997, Division A* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999) 125-141 as well as the commentaries.

[47] Cooke, *History and Song*.

[48] Weiser, "Das Deboralied."

[49] Blenkinsopp, "Ballad Style," 69.

desert people.[50] Brettler makes the argument that the Song, although it depicts a victory, is

actually a war preparation song.[51] Echol's book is a careful analysis of both the Song of

Deborah and the genre of heroic poetry, and he finally concludes that the Song has heroic

elements but is not properly to be called heroic narrative poetry.[52]

There are several works which make some explicit comparisons between the Song of

Deborah and the mythological tropes of other cultures. Moshe Weinfeld wrote an article about

the divine aspect of warfare in both the Bible and cultures of the ancient Near East, primarily

Egyptian and Greek.[53] The Song of Deborah forms an integral part of that study. In a similar

way, Vainstub has brought to light a very important parallel between the Song of Deborah and

the Greek myth of the birth of Zeus.[54] This parallel may have been readily apparent to the Greek

readers of the translated Song of Deborah and this work will be explored and expanded in

Chapter Five.

Interpretive Works. This somewhat nebulous label applies to works which focus not on a

text-critical or philological aspect of the Song but rather on particular exegetical understandings

or interpretations of the Bible. For the song of Deborah, works like this are primarily feminist

interpretations, since the subject of this passage is one of the few strong, prominent, and leading

women of Israel. These scholars include Bal, Bos, Goitein, van Dijk-Hemmes, Fewell and Gunn,

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[50] Morris Seale, "Deborah's Ode and the Ancient Arabic Qasida," *JBL* 81 (1962) 343–47.

[51] Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Book of Judges* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[52] Echols, *Tell Me, O Muse*.

[53] Moshe Weinfeld, "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986) 121-47.

[54] Daniel Vainstub, "Some Points of Contact between the Biblical Deborah War Traditions and Some Greek Mythologies," *VT* 61 (2011) 324-34.

Brenner, and Guest, though there are certainly more.[55] Other postmodern works focus on

particular interpretive aspects, new hermeneutical ideas, or selective themes.[56] Such works are

valuable in their own right, but have little bearing on this study.

Works on the Greek translation of the Song

Textual History.

The chief problem presented by the Greek text is that it has undergone many revisions or

recensions. Jerome's work in the LXX describes the problem.

> Alexandria and Egypt attribute the authorship (*auctorem*) of their Greek Old Testament
> to Hesychius. From Constantinople as far as to Antioch the rendering (*exemplaria*) of
> Lucian the Martyr holds the field; while the Palestinian provinces in between these adopt
> those codices which, themselves the production (*elabaratos*) of Origen, were
> promulgated by Eusebius and Pamphilus. And so the whole world is in conflict with
> itself over this threefold variety of text. (Jerome *Praef. In. Lib. Paralip*)[57]

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[55] Mieke Bal, *Murder and Difference: Gender, Genre, and Scholarship on Sisera's Death* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Johanna Bos, "Out of the Shadows: Genesis 38; Judges 4:17-22; Ruth 3," *Semeia* 42 (1988) 37–68; Athalya Brenner, ed., *A Feminist Companion to Judges* (Feminist Companion to the Bible 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); D. N. Fewell and D. M. Gunn, "Controlling Perspective: Women, Men, and the Authority of Violence in Judges 4 & 5," *JAAR* 58 (1990) 389–411; S. D. Goitein, "Women as Creators of Biblical Genre," *Prooftexts* 8 (1988) 1–33; Fokkelien van Dijk-Hemmes, "Mothers and a Mediator in the Song of Deborah," in *A Feminist Companion to Judges* (A Feminist Companion to the Bible 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 110–14; Deryn Guest, *When Deborah Met Jael: Lesbian Biblical Hermeneutics* (London: SCM, 2005).

[56] Yairah Amit, *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing* (BIS 38; Leiden: Brill, 1999); Edith Davidson, *Intricacy, Design, and Cunning in the Book of Judges* (Bloomington: XLibris, 2008); J. Cheryl Exum, "The Center Cannot Hold: Thematic and Textual Instabilities in Judges," *CBQ* 52 (1990) 410–31; E. John Hamlin, *At Risk in the Promised Land* (International Theological Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); Lillian Klein, *The Triumph of Irony in the Book of Judges* (JSOTSup 68; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); Lee Roy Martin, "Pre-Critical Exegesis of the Book of Judges and the Construction of a Post-Critical Hermeneutic," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 88 (2008) 338–50; Tetsuo Sasaki, *Concept of War in the Book of Judges* (Tokyo: Gakujutsu Tosho Shuppan-sha, 2001); K. Lawson Younger Jr., "Heads! Tails! Or the Whole Coin?! Contextual Method and Intertextual Analysis: Judges 4 and 5," in *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective: Scripture in Context IV* (ed. K. Lawson Younger Jr., W. W. Hallo, and B. F. Batto; Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 11; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991) 135.

[57]*PL* 18. 1324-25. Quoted from Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 134.

The work of Origen in compiling his Hexapla was undoubtedly a significant and important work; it has, however, caused the almost insurmountable problem that manuscripts assembled after the Hexapla are almost universally eclectic texts, having selected readings from several different recensions which the copyists felt most accurately reflected the underlying Masoretic text. This process, called Hexaplaric contamination, has almost completely obscured the Old Greek (OG) in many sections of the LXX, and Judges suffers from this more than most.[58] The Hesychian recension may be understood to be a translation, as indicated by *auctorem,* even if the Hesychius mentioned did not himself produce the translation; he was probably a later compiler of a translation that was in use in Alexandria. The Origenic recension is not to be considered a new translation but rather an editing of existing translation, even if occasionally Origen made his own translations of the MT in the fifth column; *elabaratos* does not imply original work. Whether or not the Lucianic recension constitutes its own translation, or if Lucian was a compiler rather than a translator is not clear; *exemplaria* refers to the act of copying, but if the recension had been restricted to "copying" it would not have been distinct.

A number of writers began examining the Greek text of Judges prior to the nineteenth century; their work has been eclipsed by more recent work. Montalvo makes a brief assessment of their contribution to the problems of the text, but these early commentators accepted uncritically that there must be a single original Greek. This view was called into question however by Lagarde in his work on the LXX.[59] In it, he set the framework of a theory that has held sway for many years, namely the Urseptuaginta—the idea that all of the LXX stems

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[58] For greater detail on this problem, see Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*.

[59] Lagarde, *Septuaginta Studien* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlag- Buchhandlung, 1892).

originally from a single source translation. In his examination of Judges, however, Lagarde was

forced to admit that the wide differences in the A and B texts might very well indicate separate

translations.[60] This judgment was strengthened by Moore in his book as well as in a paper and in

a journal article.[61]

Based on these judgments, the two-translation theory obtained acceptance, the

Alexandrian (A) and the Vatican (B) manuscripts being the two chief witnesses to these editions.

The Cambridge LXX gave a published form to Judges, reproducing a diplomatic text based on

the B text with an extensive critical apparatus from which further text-critical work could be

derived.[62] In the text assembled by Alfred Rahlfs the A text and the B text are printed one above

the other, each having their own apparatus.[63]

However, Pretzl wrote an article on problems posed by the LXX text of Judges in which

he challenged this view, but with only scant evidence.[64] Pretzl's work revived the idea that even

in Judges the two text-types share a common Greek ancestor and that the differences arose from

extensive revision, not separate translation. In addition to this, he separated the A text-type into

three families, each of which represents the A text in different stages. His identification of these

families is important, although his assignation of them to particular recensions is questionable.

Billen's article on the text-types of Judges still contains the idea that the two text-types of

Judges are separate translations; however, Billen demonstrates that the subfamilies probably

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[60] Ibid., 71–72.
[61] George F. Moore, "Proceedings for May, 1890," *JBL* 10 (1890) 2; Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*; George F. Moore, "The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint," *AJSL* 29 (1912) 37–62.
[62] Brooke and McLean, *Cambridge Septuagint*.
[63] Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).
[64] Otto Pretzl, "Septuaginta-Probleme im Buch der Richter," *Bib* 7 (1926) 233–69.

represent separate recensions. Most significantly, Billen distinguishes the group KZglnow

(Pretzl's AII group) as representing a text-type that is not quite related either to A or to B, and

which is, in his opinion, mostly free from Hexaplaric contamination. Pretzl had maintained that

this group was Lucianic, and instead prioritized his AIII group as the representative of the OG.

Billen notes that frequently it is the Old Latin which is the only surviving witness in Judges to

what should be called the OG, and furthermore that the AIII group thought by Pretzl to be the

oldest actually shows itself to be a late revision of A towards B, and hence later than both.[65]

Sperber argued in his article that the method of Lagarde was faulty and that it was

impossible to compile a critical edition of the Urseptuaginta by reason of the fact that so little is

known of the recensions, the citations of the Church Fathers cannot be relied upon either to

localize or to date these recensions, and that Jerome's statement indicates independent

translations, not revisions.[66]

Cooper's dissertation on Theodotian, a summary of which appears in the *JBL*, attempts to

make a careful study of the A and B types in order to characterize their distinctive styles.[67] His

conclusion was that A and B showed equal amounts of revision and therefore neither is based on

the other. This rests, however, on the scant data of 150 pairs of synonymous nouns judged

according to which seemed older by distribution of usage. His work, which is largely

unavailable to me, is analyzed and improved upon in the work of David Montalvo (see below).

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[65] A. V. Billen, "The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges," *JTS* 43 (1942) 12–19.

[66] Alexander Sperber, "The Problems of the Septuagint Recensions," *JBL* 54 (1935) 74–81.

[67] Charles M. Cooper, "Theodotian's Influence on the Alexandrian Text of Judges," JBL 67 (1948) 63-68. Unfortunately, his dissertation of the same title is unavailable to me at this time.

Soisalon-Soininen made an important study based on the article by Pretzl which concentrated on the problem of text-types and demonstrated with a depth of evidence not employed by Billen that the two types published by Rahlfs represent in fact only two different revisions of a common Greek translation.[68] The conclusion of his work is that all extant Greek text-types are selected from Origen's work and therefore contain some degree of Hexaplaric contamination, giving rise to the basic theory that the above group cited by Billen maintains a witness of the OG but underwent later revision. The chief evidence of this is the problems both translators exhibit with respect to misunderstanding the Hebrew and the remarkable uniformity of certain characteristics of syntax. The result of this work is that it solidified the Urtext theory that was put forward by Pretzl (at least with regard to Judges) so that it has now gained wide acceptance. This conclusion is marred slightly by the fact that even supposing that there is one Greek original, it was necessary for Soisalon-Soininen to suppose that B still does not depend on A in any fashion but that both A and B arose from Origenic texts and select from it.

Ludlum's work at Yale was a thorough and exhaustive work on the differences between the A and B texts and concludes that they must be based on separate translations.[69] The evidence that militates for this view most strongly is that A and B differ so greatly on the presence of incidentals in their texts (the presence of the definite article with proper nouns, particles with no direct correspondence in the MT, etc.), and that when A and B offer slightly different translations of a particular word or phrase in the Hebrew, it is frequently difficult to determine any reason for

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[68] I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches* (Helsinki: Druckerei-A.G. der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, 1951).

[69] This study is unfortunately unavailable to me at this time, but it is examined carefully by David E. Montalvo, "The Texts of A and B in the Book of Judges" (Ph.D. diss., The Dropsie College, 1977) 34–43, since it is the basis of his own work.

the difference if it arose from revision; hence, it most likely has arisen from independent translation.

Schreiner's work on the Massora and Septuagintal texts, and two subsequent articles on text-types all are based on the Urtext theory as expressed by Soisalon-Soininen.[70]

Lindars makes several important contributions to the understanding of Judges. In his article on LXX readings, he demonstrates the great difficulty the text-critic has in Judges, namely that what must be the original reading is no longer extant in any mss of the LXX, so extensive is revision by editors.[71] His conclusions are based on the Urtext theory of Judges, and he gives several text-critical examples.

Saenz-Badillos's article focusing on the Song of Deborah lends support to the idea that the subgroup AII, miniscules glnw, retain the original OG.[72]

Montalvo's dissertation is an additional argument that favors the idea of two separate translations of Judges. His method is precise and exhaustive, but his conclusions are based to a strong degree on the idea that his criteria for judging the relative value of one translation over another are identical to the criteria that an ancient translator or community would have used in compiling a translation for use. His work, though, is still immensely valuable to the student of text-criticism in LXX Judges and will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Two.

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[70] J. Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter* (AnBib 7; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1957); J. Schreiner, "Textformen und Urtext des Deboraliedes in der Septuaginta," *Bib* 42 (1961) 173–200; J. Schreiner, "Zum B-Text des griechischen Canticum Deborae," *Bib* 42 (1961) 333–58.

[71] Barnabas Lindars, "Some Septuagint Readings in Judges," *JTS* 22 (1971) 1–14; Barnabas Lindars, "A Commentary on Greek Judges?," in *VI Congress of the IOSCS: Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 167–200; idem., *Judges*.

[72] Angel Saenz-Badillos, "Tradicion griega y texto hebreo del Canto de Debora," *Sef* 33 (1973) 245–57.

Tov's work on text makes clear the problem of dislocated translation doublets. He highlights several instances in the Song in which several lines in the MT have been translated twice, and one part of it has been erroneously shifted to another place. He offers an accurate analysis of the problem as well as a few solutions.[73]

Bodine makes several contributions to determining the OG for Judges. His article is mostly a summary of his dissertation, "The Greek Text of Judges," though he does reach a conclusion in which he argues that the sixth column should be classified both as non-*kaige* and as Theodotionic, in that it preserves many OG readings against the *kaige* type, but in a revised form from the OG.[74] His book, published in 1980, is an expansion and revision of that dissertation, incorporating new material.[75]

Of the most recent contributions to the field are from La Bible d'Alexandrie and Septuaginta Deutsch. La Bible d'Alexandrie focuses on textual problems but offers as well some notes of exegetical insight. The work on Judges, by Paul Harle, is the first work to make use of the above textual research to produce a critical edition of the text; nevertheless, the book maintains Rahlfs' style of printing two translated texts, even though the discussion notes blend them together.[76]

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[73] Emmanuel Tov, "The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX," *VT* 28 (1978) 224–32.

[74]"Kaige and Other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980) 45–57.

[75] Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments* (HSM 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980).

[76] Paul Harle, *Les Juges* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 7; Paris: Cerf, 1999).

Non-Textual Research. The only work on the LXX of Judges that is not focused exclusively on the text of it is the 1999 work of Paul Harle, for the series L'Bible d'Alexandrie, and the similar work published in 2011, Septuaginta Deutsch.[77] The volume by Harle makes exegetical notations in the midst of what is mostly text-critical work and does not try to place the meaning of the Song in the context of Greek speaking Judaism. Since it has been only very recently published, I have yet to obtain a copy of Septuaginta Deutsch, but I suspect it is similar in scope. There is a series of a similar variety in English, the SBL Commentary on the LXX series, but currently there is no plan to produce a volume in this series on Judges.

Procedure

The remainder of this study will be devoted to examining the Song of Deborah in the LXX and its meaning in the context of Hellenistic, Greek-speaking Judaism. This is a task of several parts. In Chapter Two I will examine the Greek text of Judges and determine the most authentic ancient text. Once this text is established, I will examine in Chapter Three the translational style and particular characteristics of the Greek translation. In Chapter Four I will analyze and describe the poetic style of the translation in order to explicate and hopefully add to the study of poetry in the LXX. In Chapter Five I will address the meaning of the Song of Deborah in light of the influences that Hellenism exercised on Judaism during the probable period in which the translation was made and draw conclusions from the data that have been presented.

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[77] Ibid.; Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, ed., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009).

Chapter Two:

Greek Texts of the Song of Deborah

The Textual Problem

As I mentioned briefly in Chapter One, the Greek text of Judges is especially difficult and the text of the Song of Deborah even more so. The primary problem is understanding how many independent Greek translations were made of the Song or of Judges in general, how many revisions, and how the variants are related to one another. There has been considerable discussion of the matter, and a fresh perspective is needed. A careful in-depth examination of one pericope in Judges can do so, and the Song of Deborah is an ideal candidate, since Harle indicates that it was this passage that caused Rahlfs and probably even Lagarde to print the book of Judges as a dual text rather than an edited single text.[1]

At the root of this problem are the two primary ancient codices Alexandrinus (A) and Vaticanus (B). These manuscripts present substantial differences in their translations of the Song. Following the basic theory of Lagarde (called that of the 'Urtext' or 'Urseptuaginta'), scholars such as Pretzl, Billen, Soisalon-Soininen, Schreiner, Barthélemy, Lindars, Saenz-Badillos, and Bodine have all presented evidence suggesting that even in the Song there is but one original text from which all others were produced through revision (each separate text is called a *recension* in this work, although *recension* is used as a general term for *edition* elsewhere).[2] However, following Lagarde's exception—which was never reconciled to his basic theory—that there

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[1] Paul Harle, *Les Juges* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 7; Paris: Cerf, 1999).

[2] Otto Pretzl, "Septuaginta-Probleme im Buch der Richter," *Bib* 7 (1926) 233-69; A. V. Billen, "The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges," *JTS* 43 (1942) 12-19; I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches* (Helsinki: Druckerei-A.G. der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, 1951); J. Schreiner, "Textformen und Urtext des Deboraliedes in der Septuaginta," *Bib* 42 (1961) 173-200; J. Schreiner, "Zum B-Text des griechischen Canticum Deborae," *Bib* 42 (1961) 333-58; Barnabas Lindars, "Some Septuagint Readings in Judges," *JTS* 22 (1971) 1-14; Angel Saenz-Badillos, "Tradicion griega y texto hebreo del Canto de Debora," *Sef* 33 (1973) 245-57; Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments* (HSM 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980).

seem to be for the Song of Deborah two translations, Moore, Cooper, Ludlum, and Montalvo

have all offered analyses which suggest strongly that the Urtext theory is irreconcilable with the

evidence of Judges.[3] Montalvo compiles a preponderance of evidence to justify his argument.

His basic theory is that if there are differences between the two texts *but there is no clear*

distinction in the meanings of the two readings, then these differences probably do not arise from

the action of revision; revision would require improvement of some sort. Thus, these differences

between what he calls 'paired substantives' support the two-translation theory and present an

obstacle for the Urtext theory.

At this point, it is important to present briefly the statistical evidence for this argument.

Montalvo's work is based to a great extent on Ludlum's work on the subject, and Montalvo

begins by summarizing the previous work:

> There are 11,873 words in A (74.3% of its text) that agree exactly with 11,873 words in B
> (76.1% of its text). These agreements occur in 2,790 separate positions, with an average
> number of four words in each agreeing segment. Eight hundred forty-seven exact
> agreements are only one word long, while 460 exact agreements are two words long.
> Therefore 46.8% of the exactly agreeing cases are only one or two words long, the
> majority of these being of such a nature that the theory of translations could explain them
> as coincidences. Much of this agreement is due to the fact that a simple vocabulary is
> found in so many of the agreeing segments. Such simplicity of vocabulary makes the
> coincidences involved in independent translations understandable.[4]

To sum this up in a different way:

Agreement in A and B (num. of words, % of the Total Text)			
	Insigificant Agreement (two words or less)	Significant Agreement (three words or more)	Exact Agreement (total)	Dissagreement
A	1,767 (11.1%)	10,106 (63.2%)	11,873 (74.3%)	4,107 (25.7%)
B	1,767 (11.3%)	10,106 (64.8%)	11,873 (76.1%)	3,729 (23.9%)

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[3] George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC 7; New York: Charles Scribner, 1895) xliii-xlv; Charles M. Cooper, "Theodotian's Influence on the Alexandrian Text of Judges," *JBL* 67 (1948) 66; John Ludlum, "The Dual Greek Text of Judges in Codices A and B" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1957); David E. Montalvo, "The Texts of A and B in the Book of Judges" (Ph.D. diss., The Dropsie College, 1977).

[4] Montalvo, "Texts," 43.

Montalvo adds to this the data of more than a thousand paired variants from the whole of Judges, and almost none of them demonstrates a clear indication of 'improvement' over the other, and there is no discernable pattern to these changes (e.g., the use of articles with proper nouns is sporadic in both A and B, and they rarely agree). This lack of consistency in what would be called 'revisions' in the Urtext theory intensifies if one compares not A and B but the subgroup AII and B. Furthermore, Montalvo demonstrates that A far more consistently holds to Pentateuchal vocabulary while B fairly consistently departs from it, and AII is even more consistent in this regard than AI. Finally, he goes to some length to establish that the AII group represents the oldest stratum of the text of Judges, in part because of its relation to the Old Latin whose translation was made in the second century C.E., but mostly because it most frequently preserves readings found in no other group. When A disagrees with the AII group, its readings are very frequently also found either in B or in Theodotion, but only rarely does AI have a reading not preserved in either AII or in any other family group.[5]

Ludlum and Montalvo both argue that the evidence suggests that the disagreements arise from two translations underlying the Greek texts, and that the agreements arise from the blending of the two translation types over the course of transmission. It is far more difficult to explain the rise of 23.9% and 25.7% differences based solely on the theory of recensions of a single early text (when one considers that a large portion of that disagreement is in words that are synonyms in the Greek) than it is for the two-translation theory to explain the 63.2% or 64.8% significant agreement.

The arguments so far presented by most scholars contain to some extent one significant oversight: the lack of attention given to the group of manuscripts identified first by Moore and Billen and later expounded upon by Lindars and Barthélemy that is identified by the sigla *L*, the Lucianic text named by Lagarde (though this is a bit of a misnomer since it is unclear exactly what the Lucianic recension is) which is composed of two uncials K and Z, which are both

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[5] Ibid., 164-88.

palimpsests and contain large lacunae, and two independent groups of miniscules: glnw and dptv.[6] This same group is given the siglum AII by Pretzl and used by Soisalon-Soininen and others, a better classification because it is neutral. The work done to distinguish the A and B texts is based almost solely on the publication of Rahlfs's LXX, which presented an eclectic A text that largely ignored the readings of *L*. This turns out to be a significant problem, since *L* offers a text that is at times quite different from both A and B. It now seems clear that the AI family is the work of Origen, and although it incorporates many of the readings of the OG there has been significant revision. The strata of this process at times can still be seen in the commentary of Procopius of Gaza. The recovery of what is the Old Greek (OG) depends to a large extent on this AII group so that it ought to have been the central element of the discussion of the style of A. More often than not, it is relegated to the status of a footnote, and the data that it presents are not presented with as much clarity or significance as the readings of A. Even Montavlo, who recognizes the necessity of distinguishing this group from all others, devotes only some fifteen pages of his work to the problem. His conclusions are sound in general but are not supported by a preponderance of evidence since such a task would have required the construction of a full and complete text-critical edition of Judges from the AII group of manuscripts.

Regardless of whether or not it can be proven that the B type is a different translation or simply a revision, it is clear that B presents a significantly different text. Even among those who hold to the Urtext theory, it is still common to find the A type and the B type side by side. It is therefore necessary, from the point of view of textual criticism, to treat the B family of manuscripts as a separate entity from the A family of manuscripts and the family of what was called *L* (or AII) as distinct even from these.

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[6] George F. Moore, "The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint," *AJSL* 29 (1912); Billen, "Hexaplaric Element"; Lindars, "Septuagint Readings"; Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament: Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (OBO 50/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982). The problem of the identification of this as 'Lucianic' is discussed by Harle, *Les Juges*, 27-28, and is based on the earlier work of Moore.

Since the focus of this dissertation is on the meaning of the translated poem in its early Hellenistic context, it will be necessary to work with a text that as closely as possible resembles the OG, that is, the translation that was preserved by communities of Hellenistic Jews. This is no simple matter, since there is no one manuscript which can reasonably claim to preserve the OG; it can be found only in the critical apparatuses of the published editions of the LXX.

Texts and Text-Types

Published Editions of the LXX

The first printed critical edition of the LXX was that of Holmes-Parsons (H.-P.) and remains an invaluable work for the LXX text critic; finding intact copies of the work, however, is difficult. For Judges specifically, Lagarde published the first five chapters of Judges in his work, with A and B on facing pages, but with limited critical notes.[7] In the early part of the twentieth century the Cambridge Septuagint was published under the editorship of Brooke and McLean and prints only the text of B with a large apparatus. It is referred to in this dissertation as the Cambridge LXX or the Cambridge edition.[8] The last of the published Greek texts is that of Rahlfs, which also printed A and B separately, each with its own apparatus. For this study, I shall depend on the published editions wherever possible for the evidence of the many manuscripts of the LXX, but especially the Cambridge whose critical apparatus is by far the most extensive.

In translation, we have three editions, one in English, one in French, and one in German. La Bible d'Alexandrie is especially valuable, since it recognizes the important place of the group that it continues to call *L*. This is mitigated, however, by the constraints of the series that the

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[7] Lagarde, *Septuaginta Studien* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlag- Buchhandlung, 1892).
[8] Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint.* (4 vols.; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

produced translation of the LXX be based upon the published work of Rahlfs, and so the

unique translations of *L* are found only in the footnotes.[9] The German edition, *Septuaginta*

Deutsch, has only recently been published and I have yet to obtain a copy of it. The last, *The*

New English Translation of the Septuagint, is a published translation of the LXX, using the

Göttingen LXX wherever possible but resorting to Rahlfs's edition where, as for Judges, a

Göttingen edition does not yet exist.[10] This translation is presented with brief introductions for

each book but lacks a true commentary or analysis, this task being undertaken in the series *SBL*

Commentary on the Septuagint, for which the volume on Judges has not yet been produced.

Manuscript Families

Manuscripts can be divided into a variety of families and groups, depending on who is

doing the dividing. However, the standard usage is that used by Pretzl, who made the best

definition of the problem, although he relied to a great extent on the work of Lagarde and Moore.

One of the major points that Moore argued was that the A text and the B text were independent

and separate translations of the Hebrew text; Pretzl sought to demonstrate that their similarities

are evidence of a single underlying Greek translation and that the differences between the two

texts came through extensive revision. Pretzl's argument was too brief to contain the necessary

evidence, and so it was examined more carefully by Soisalon-Soininen.[11] It is still widely

accepted that Soisalon-Soininen proved this point for Judges, but there are certainly difficulties

in this assumption, as demonstrated by Montalvo, the primary one being that Soisalon-Soininen's

argument that B represented a revision of A is based only on the examination of significant

differences without examining or seeking to explain sections that differed in the choice of words

but not in their meaning.[12] Therefore, I start from the position that A and B must be treated as

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[9] Harle, *Les Juges*.
[10] Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright, ed., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[11] Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen*.
[12] Ludlum, "The Dual Greek Text of Judges in Codices A and B"; Montalvo, "Texts," esp. 25-33.

though they were separate translations. If it is to be argued that B is a revision of A or of the OG, then this argument bears the burden of proof.[13]

The types A and B can be further subdivided into families which are typically represented by cursives. This work in Judges began with Lagarde's work, but the problem of the families of Judges was brought forward by Pretzl, then refined by Billen and solidified in a more or less final form by Soisalon-Soininen and Barthèlemy. Montalvo added the data of several more manuscripts and refined the idea of families by careful attention to the details of Greek spelling, and I use his groupings and identifications since I consider them to be the most highly refined. The A family is divided into three groups, AI being made up of AGabckx; AII made up of KZgln(o)w and also dptv, which form a subclass of AII; AIII made up of $MNhyb_2$.[14] To this A class can be added: Δ_9, z_{mg}, d_2, H-.P. minuscules 18 64 71 76 84 128, and the translations 𐤔 and 𐤋, according to Montalvo's research of these manuscripts.[15] The B group was divided in two and recognized as distinct groups by Montalvo, although this was mentioned in the classification of Barthélemy: BI made up of $Befj(o)qsz_{txt}$; BII made up of $imrua_2$. To the B class, Montalvo adds H.-P. minuscules 16 63 77 144 209 236 237.

To this impressive classification I make only the following small objections and one addition. First, o almost never deviates from the readings of B and does so only when other B family MSS deviate as well. The MS seems to be related to the AII family only with regard to the spelling of names (the primary criterion used by Montalvo to classify MSS) but not with respect to its readings. It should therefore be classified entirely in the BI family. Also, the

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[13] In the course of this work, reference will be made to manuscripts according to their listings in Brooke and McLean, *Cambridge Septuagint*, except manuscripts which appear only in Holmes-Parsons (R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus* [Oxford: Clarendon; 1798]), in which case they are cited by the H-P number.

[14] This discussion is also mentioned by Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, 2-3, but these family groupings are accepted by all scholars, including those who hold the two-translation position. Montalvo also gives a discussion of the text families in "Texts," 46-67.

[15] Montalvo, "Texts," 53-54. He adds these either because the manuscripts in questions are too newly discovered to have been included in the collations of the major print editions of the Septuagint or because they were collated in the Holmes-Parsons (H.-P.) edition but not in the Larger Cambridge Septuagint and so received little attention in the work of earlier scholars.

statuses of m and h should be reevaluated. It is true that both are of a mixed character; however, their classification into families should be based on which family's readings it shares by default. When the B family reads something substantially different from the A family, a collator/copyist may be excused for deviating from his principal script; however, to which family this collator/copyist belongs is to be found where A and B differ in words but the meanings are substantially the same. At these times, the collator/copyist will almost always reproduce the reading of his default family. This categorization runs counter to the methods used by Soisalon-Soininen and Barthélemy, who felt that a family designation should be discovered in substantial differences, whereas I believe that the family to which a MS belongs should be found in the copyist's default and thus in the minutiae of the readings rather than in substantial variations. Consequently, m should belong to the AIII family and h to the BI family.[16]

One addition to this classification is the text of Procopius of Gaza. As mentioned in the previous chapter, his text has received little interest because he is mostly collecting the commentaries of other writers; however, in Judges at least, the commentary that exists under his name does not appear to my knowledge anywhere else in the works of other Church Fathers. In addition to this, his commentary cites the Scripture passage upon which each paragraph comments and therefore presents a view into his text. This makes his work invaluable to the text critic, and in it there are to be found readings for Judges which exist in no other extant witnesses. Procopius's text cannot rightly be said to belong solidly to any one family, for the readings he gives may follow either family and there are several instances in which he cites *both readings separately*, not as though they were one conflated text. In such cases he clearly presents the readings as alternatives, not as additions. When added to the fact that he will occasionally cite the readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion as separate material, it is difficult to avoid concluding that Procopius is working from a true Hexapla. Furthermore, there are footnotes to

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[16] I intend to write the demonstration of evidence into a brief article to submit for publication and cite that article here rather than present all the evidence now, which would be outside the scope of this dissertation.

the text of Procopius which appear to be marginal notes added by later copyists. In one instance these preserve a third reading in addition to the two cited by Procopius, no doubt the reading that was found in the copyists own LXX and differed from Procopius's text significantly enough to warrant notation. A careful examination of the complete text of his work is an important and necessary contribution to the study of Judges and its MSS but unfortunately does not lie within the scope of this work. His readings will occasionally be cited in the notes below and, where possible, will be used to help unravel the textual puzzle.

Based on the judgments of Moore, Billen, Soisalon-Soininen, Saenz-Badillos, Lindars, and Montalvo, I shall prioritize the AII group as the group of the best manuscripts.[17] When considering the B family alone, the BI group is thought by Montalvo to be the best witness of the family, since BII seems to be of a mixed text-type and therefore unreliable.

The Greek Text

Text-Critical Principles

It is important here to outline the basic principles or canons that will guide the text-critical process, because we must not expect to be guided by the same principles that govern NT textual criticism. Indeed, in some ways we must be governed by principles that are counterintuitive to the NT text critic. It is difficult to decide whether the focus of the text critic of the LXX should be to recover the text as it was read by the first Hellenistic Jewish communities, or the text as intended by the translator. Although both ideas have their merits, I choose to pursue the translator's original text, since it is the text through which all the various editions of the Greek are related to one another. In the LXX, however, we find that it is not at all unusual for transmitters to produce new translations, new recensions, or new editions, any or

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[17] Moore, *Exegetical Commentary*, xliii-xlvii; Moore, "Antiocian Recension"; Billen, "Hexaplaric Element"; Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen*; Saenz-Badillos, "Tradicion Griega"; Lindars, "Septuagint Readings"; Montalvo, "Texts," 173-88.

none of which may have been considered authoritative by later scribes. Thus we find in the LXX a tendency on the part of some scribes to make extensive corrections wherever they felt it necessary with or without recourse to prior versions. Therefore, I must consider carefully on what basis to proceed with the text-critical matter.

As to methodological considerations, it is important not to assume that the Greek had a *Vorlage* other than the MT in any case in which we can explain the difference in other ways. Errors in the text are far more likely to have occurred from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew than from a different Hebrew text. That said, it is important and even crucial to respect the fact that readings which differ from the MT (and which are not explainable through error) obtain a high status since passages which deviated from the accepted MT were so readily replaced by other readings.

Furthermore, it is necessary to assume that at least the two text-types, A and B, are different enough that they must be considered independently. Whether this arises from an act of revision or an act of new translation, the two types are clearly distinct. As such, in selecting an A type text, it is frequently necessary to select texts which differ from the B variety text. With regard to this it is important to stay with the best manuscript group. Even so, we cannot expect even the best group to represent the reading of the OG at all times, for even this suffers occasionally from contamination and the preservation of doublets. These problems arise from the work of Origen, who intended his Hexapla to represent the variations of the Greek translations. However, his fifth column is frequently supplemented with readings from other columns and the markings of the asterisk and obelisk were either used only occasionally or were not preserved along with the copying. To add to this problem, copies of the Hexapla are preserved almost exclusively in Syriac, and existing manuscripts of the LXX in Greek retain only one column where Origen had six. This one column may preserve exactly one column from the Hexapla or may be an eclectic mixture of several columns or, worse yet, may preserve the renderings of several columns one after another, giving rise to one phrase of Hebrew being

translated twice in different forms (doublets). This process is referred to in general as Hexaplaric contamination.

Keeping all these problems in mind, the recovery of the OG must follow these principles:

1) *We should prefer idiomatic Greek to nonidiomatic Greek and older forms to newer forms.* Unlike in the NT, where we should prefer the opposite (because of the tendency of scribes to make a more intelligible Greek), the tendency of translators over the long span of transmission of the LXX is to revise the Greek text to be more in line with the MT. The assumption here is that the first translators made a translation which was readily accessible to its Greek-speaking audience and that the later translators, to bring it more into line with the MT, would have altered it in a fashion that was more literal and less idiomatic. If it should arise, we should prefer Hellenistic Greek to the Greek of another dialect.

2) *We should prefer readings from the group of the best manuscripts.* In most cases, this must be determined beforehand by careful research. In the case of Judges, these manuscripts have been defined and refined over the course of the last 150 years by various scholars. This group may be identified as the group which most consistently preserves the OG readings in other areas of the work. For the purpose of the Song of Deborah, the best manuscripts are glnw𝔏 and to a lesser extent dptv, which are classified as the AII group.[18] This group frequently preserves readings that are found in no other group or only spottily in other groups. Even so, dglnptvw do sometimes have translation doublets, as in vv. 29-30, in which they preserve two complete and completely different translations of these two verses. 𝔏 is the one MS that is most often to be counted on to preserve a reading without any doublets. This does not mean that the text of 𝔏 is always that of the OG, only that 𝔏 was careful to select a finished text that had no translation doublets in it.

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[18] This classification is Pretzl's, but instrumental in identifying AII as the earliest witness and the one most free from Hexaplaric contamination are Moore, "Antiocian Recension" and Billen, "Hexaplaric Element." This position is adopted by the majority of scholars, e.g., Lindars, "Septuagint Readings"; Saenz-Badillos, "Tradicion Griega"; Emmanuel Tov, "The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX," *VT* 28 (1978) 224-32.

3) *We should prefer texts which do not conform to the current state of the Masoretic text to those that do.* This is due to the tendency not only of editors to revise their texts to be more in line with their Hebrew texts but also the fact that the later translators show a tendency to render the Hebrew more literally. I should note here, however, that the doublet is not to be considered a nonconforming text (see below). Furthermore, whatever can be identified as a transmission error cannot be given preference under this rule. Usually this means a reading which arises from a set of consonants substantially similar to the consonants of the MT but read with a different pointing or a different division of words.

4) *We should prefer readings without doublets to readings with doublets, even if there are* no *extant witnesses of the text where a doublet does not exist.* The most common form of Hexaplaric contamination is the doublet, a word or phrase which is present once in the Hebrew but twice (or more) in the Greek. This happens generally because one translator will have translated the Hebrew in one fashion, a second in another, and an editor wished to preserve both renditions without producing several columns. This happens most often in places where the two renditions are based on different readings of the *Vorlage*, resulting in Greek phrases so different from one another in meaning that later editors were compelled to preserve both so as not to lose any sense of meaning. These doublets must not be thought to preserve readings of a *Vorlage* different from the MT but are rather an accident of preservation. The doublet is so prevalent in the LXX, however, that it is not unusual to find passages in which no text preserves a reading without them. In such cases, it is usually not difficult to determine which of the two parts of the doublet was the older rendering and which was a secondary accretion. In such cases, we should strike the secondary accretion, even if this means that our final reading is not found in any of the extant manuscripts.

5) *All other things being equal, we should prefer the shorter reading.*

Canon number one is placed where it is because we assume that the idiomatic Hellenistic Greek translation was the most original. This in turn is based on the assumption that the OG

translation was made for use in the liturgical or social life of the Jewish community and most probably the Jewish community of Alexandria.

Canon two comes where it does because even Origen in the construction of the Hexapla may have contaminated his fifth column by inserting readings from the other versions without marking them as such. It must also be remembered that Origen was concerned, in making the Hexapla, to revise the existing Greek readings towards the Hebrew of his day.[19]

Canon four comes after canons two and three, not so much because it is less in importance—as is evident, this canon may lead us away from extant readings—but because in the process of deciding which part to keep and which to strike, canons two and three are the criteria by which we must determine which more likely belongs to the OG.

Based on these principles, it is possible to reconstruct what is most reasonably the OG text of the Song of Deborah. The OG is more frequently followed in A types than in B types, and so the reconstructed text will be an A type text; the significant differences offered by B will not be discussed here. Below is the eclectic text that will be used in the following chapters and footnotes are given which explain the text-critical decisions.

The Greek Text

[1] καὶ ᾖσεν Δεβορρα[20] καὶ Βαρακ υἱὸς Αβινοεμ[21]

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εἶπον[22]

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[19] Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 101-3.

[20] Personal names are the one phenomenon which is rarely subjected to correction in MSS. Consequently, they are frequently preserved even in MSS where there is a tendency to correct; in this case, Nbdgiklmnpq all preserve a form of the name with a double rho and a single beta while the rest transliterate the Hebrew with a double beta and single rho. Since resh is one of the few letters in Hebrew which is never subject to doubling, the double rho certainly arose out of a desire to make the name seem native to Greek speakers, for whom double rhos are not uncommon. No MS has a spelling with both a double beta and a double rho. The MSS are split on whether the vowel in the middle is long or short, but I chose the omicron since it is preserved in dlnp (from AII) and also iq (both B types).

[21] All the AII MSS preserve this name with an o-vowel, mostly omicron, but n has omega. The 𝔏 reads 'Abdioem.'

[22] The evidence is split between λέγοντες and εἶπον. The former tends to be a B reading, the latter an A reading. A few MSS print both, which, although it is frequently found in the LXX, is not only poor Greek but not

² ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγοὺς[23] ἐν Ισραηλ

ἐν προαιρέσει[24] τοῦ[25] λαοῦ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον

³ ἀκούσατε βασιλεῖς ἐνωτίσασθε[26] δυνατοί[27]

ἐγὼ[28] τῷ κυρίῳ[29] ᾄσωμαι[30] ψαλῶ[31] τῷ θεῷ[32] Ισραηλ

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supported by the Hebrew. It stands here as a doublet arising from reconciliation between the two types. εἶπον is chosen here because it is more natural Greek. It is normal for Hebrew to have a singular verb with two subjects (agreeing with the first, especially here where one subject is feminine and one masculine) but the usual Greek construction is plural.

[23] The A family generally reads ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς ("in the reign of the rulers"); B family reads ἀπεκαλύφθη ἀποκάλυμμα ("an unveiling is unveiled"). MSS gn contain a doublet, printing ἀπεκαλύφθη ἀποκάλυμμα after λαοῦ. Procopius has a reading which is not preserved in any MSS: ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντας ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ("in the time when rulers began to appear in Israel"). Although it seems odd for the dative article to be so far separated from the infinitive that it governs, it almost seems to make this more natural Greek in which the neuter article is used to turn an entire phrase into an abstract idea. Despite the importance of the witness, I cannot read here the text of Procopius without the support of a MS, since the works of the Fathers have occasionally been subject to editorial changes for theological reasons.

[24] MS n reads προελεύσει ("procession," "issuance") instead of προαιρέσει ("choosing," "purpose"); the B family almost unanimously reads ἐν τῷ ἑκουσιασθῆναι ("in preparation").

[25] The article appears here in lw, so I retain it here because it seems to me to be better style.

[26] Most MSS read the aorist imperative; only a reads the present imperative. Aabcglnwx do not have a preceding καί.

[27] The B family generally reads σατράπαι here but many other MSS read σατράπαι δυνατοί. δυνατοί, though, is missing from abx𝕊𝕷 and AIII. σατράπαι δυνατοί should therefore be considered a doublet, and σατράπαι should be struck since it is the element which was imported to the text.

[28] The B family translates the Hebrew אנכי by the rather wooden phrase ἐγώ εἰμι, a characteristic of certain LXX renderings.

[29] In the B family this is followed by ἐγώ εἰμι, translating another occurrence of אנכי in the Hebrew. Although a few A family minuscules have it, its absence in the majority of A minuscules, as well as the fact that it appears under the asterisk in 𝕊, are strong indications that אנכי the second time is either missing in a Hebrew *Vorlage* or, more likely, that it was omitted for stylistic reasons.

[30] The difference between ᾄσωμαι ("sing", found in bcgknqrs) and ᾄσομαι (found everywhere else except u) may be simply a variation of spelling: contracted from ἀείδω, both ᾄσω (a form found here in u) and ᾄσομαι appear as futures (LSJ, s.v. ἀείδω). ᾄσωμαι, however, is an aorist subjunctive, there being practically no distinction between the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive (A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* [3rd ed.; London: Houghder & Stoughton; 1919] 353-57, 870-71). The aorist subjunctive is probably older and was altered to a more common future indicative form, which is a later development in the language (though still prior to the composition of the LXX).

[31] One MS has the verb in the present, but the form ψαλῶ is more natural here. Similar to ᾄσωμαι above, this form may be either future indicative or aorist subjunctive. The MSS are split over whether this is preceded by a καί; most minuscules contain it, but A and B do not, and glnwx𝕊𝕷 also lack it.

[32] Some MSS read τῷ κυρίῳ (ejsz), some read τῷ θεῷ (AMNabdghiklnopqtvwyb₂), some read both (Bcfmruxa₂𝕊). The reading of the MT, ליהוה אלהי, lends itself to the longer reading but τῷ θεῷ is supported by the best MSS.

⁴ κύριε ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου³³ ἐκ Σειηρ³⁴

   ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν³⁵ σε ἐξ ἀγρῶν³⁶ Εδωμ³⁷

   γῆ ἐσείσθη καὶ³⁸ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη³⁹ δρόσους

   καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ

⁵ ὄρη ἐσαλεύθη⁴⁰ ἀπὸ προσώπου⁴¹ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ισραηλ

⁶ ἐν ἡμέραις Σαμεγαρ υἱοῦ Αναθ ἐν ἡμέραις Ισραηλ⁴² ἐξέλιπον

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³³ The majority of MSS read ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου, but Procopius and a both read ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαί σε. The former, however, is both more idiomatic and more common in the LXX.

³⁴ The variations in the spelling of the name here seem insignificant, as they are all differences of vowels (ι, ει, η) that sound the same by the time of Koine Greek (Francis Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* [Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell' Antichità 55; Milano: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976] 1. 235-42).

³⁵ ἐπαίρειν ("rise up") occurs in some MSS here, but ἀπαίρειν ("depart") is both more appropriate to the context and better attested in the evidence. ἐπαίρειν is probably a later change. The sole occurrence of ἐξαίρειν ("rise from the ground," as a bird) is probably a theological change, as it implies a lifting of dignity or honor in addition to a physical lifting or removal.

³⁶ πεδίου in aᵴ is an anomaly; I choose to read ἀγρῶν with cdglnptvx instead of ἀγροῦ (rell).

³⁷ Εδωμ is found almost universally in the A family except g, which has Αιδωμ. There is a curious amount of variation in the B family, including Εδων, Ελωμ, and Εδωρ (in a₂, u, and f, respectively).

³⁸ καί γε is found here in many elements of the B family, and some elements of the AI family. It is the eponymous feature of a particular recension of the LXX, in this case the group identified by Barthélemy as irua₂ and classed as BII by Montalvo. It appears in other MSS as a product of Hexaplaric contamination.

³⁹ This word varies widely from manuscript to manuscript. Most of the A family reads ἐταράχθη ("is troubled"), except glnw which read ἐξέστη ("displace," "change") and A itself which reads similarly ἐξεστάθη. The B family mostly reads ἔσταξεν or ἔσταξε, and one which reads ἐστάλαξεν (all meaning "drop" and reflecting the MT). ἐταράχθη makes very little sense here unless we remove δρόσους, which is missing from some MSS but none of the ones which read ἐταράχθη. ἐξέστη and ἐξεστάθη both can indicate "losing one's faculties," a meaning which only very metaphorically applies to the heavens; furthermore, ἐξέστη as the 3ʳᵈ aorist has a specifically intransitive meaning; δρόσους then would have to be an adverbial accusative, which occurs only with the meaning "shrink from," "shun." As it stands, this phrase could only be translated "the heavens shunned their water." However, in the wide range of meanings of ἐξίστημι there are meanings such as "drive out," "displace," and "become separated from." Although it is not constructed here to have those meanings, I think it likely that the Greek audience would not have needed to strain in order to understand the basic sense of "the heavens divulged drops." This coupled with the fact that it appears in the best group of manuscripts and is the translation which is not in agreement exactly with the MT leads me to believe that this is the proper OG reading.

⁴⁰ ἐσαλεύθη ("shook") appears only in glnw (ἐσαλεύθησαν elsewhere), but since ὄρη is neuter plural, it properly takes a singular verb.

⁴¹ Many MSS here add κυρίου Ελωει τοῦτο Σεινα ἀπὸ προσώπου, but in this the MSS are confused over several issues; many have τοῦ θεοῦ instead of Ελωει; τοῦτο Σεινα is sometimes τοῦ Σεινα and is sometimes omitted entirely. Since the words do not appear in cdlℒ, it seems to me that the confusion in this phrase comes from additions made to harmonize with the Hebrew.

⁴² The evidence is mixed for this reading but Ιηλ (the *nomen sacrum* of Israel) or Ισραηλ appears in bcefijlrw and H.-P. 16, 63, 76, and 237. This means that there is support for this reading in every group of MSS except AIII, including both BI and BII, groups both known for their tendency to harmonize their texts with the MT. This is strong evidence for its originality.

βάσεις[43] καὶ τρίβους οὐκ εὐθείας[44]

ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς ἀπράκτους

7 ἐξέλειπον οἱ κρατοῦντες[45] ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ[46]

ἕως οὗ ἐξανέστη[47] Δεβορρα[48] μήτηρ[49]

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[43] The majority of the B family reads ἐξέλιπον ὁδούς ("they abandoned roads") here while the A family mostly reads βασιλεῖς. A very few MSS read both ἐξέλιπον βασιλεῖς ("kings ceased") and ἐξέλιπον ὁδούς. There are also some changes to ἐξέλειπον ("were ceasing/abandoning"). Harle, *Les Juges*, 113, drawing on a suggestion from J. Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter* (AnBib 7; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1957), suggests that this originally read βάσεις ("movement") which was later misread as βασιλεῖς. Even without the support of a single MSS, we must read βάσεις here, because it a) makes sense, and b) is the reading which explains all the variants.

[44] The majority of MSS read either ἐπορεύθησαν τρίβους ("paths") or read ἐπορεύθησαν ἀτραπούς ("trackless wastes") instead. However, glnwϨ (under the obelisk) all add οὐκ εὐθείας ("not straight") and Procopius implies in his interpretation that this is part of his text. A second line reading ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς διεστραμμένας ("they traveled on twisting roads") appears in every MSS except dptvℒ. This leads me to believe that its presence in glnw may have arisen from harmonization. We have here what might at first glance be a doublet; nearly every MSS prints ἐπορεύθησαν twice, followed by a noun which means "paths" or "roads," which is usually modified by some adjective meaning "unpassable," "difficult." This is strengthened by the fact that dptvℒ all eliminate one of the two sets. However, the Hebrew does have the verb twice, although the first is a participle in the construct state followed by a noun; most modern translations, as well as the B family, understand this to be a verbal idea (i.e., "walking on roads"), but the participle in construct with a noun seems most naturally to function as a noun in Hebrew rather than a verb (i.e., "walkers on roads"; IBHS 616-17). What would be most appropriate then for the Greek is a noun phrase, a verb, and another noun phrase. This being the case, finding ourselves with two occurrences of the verb ἐπορεύθησαν does indicate that this is a doublet, and the first may be struck. The evidence of dptvℒ must therefore be considered as a simplification of the OG and the evidence of glnw as an expansion through harmonization of the OG with the precursor of B. That still leaves us with which words to use where, for there are three nouns which mean "path." ἀτραπούς, however, occurs only in the B family. ὁδοὺς then should be modified by ἀπράκτους ("impassable"), which appears only in dptv.

[45] The B family reads δυνατοί ("strong") here, which is probably the best interpretation of the Hebrew פרזון that appears in the Hebrew Bible only here and in v. 11. The A family, however, is split, most witnesses choosing a word which began as a Greek transliteration, φαράζων (found in x, essentially meaningless in Greek, though one may say, if one stretches the imagination, that it is a transformation of φαράω, "plow" into φαράζω, and thus find oneself curiously not at all far from Albright's "yeomanry" ["Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse," *JPOS* 2 (1922) 69-86, here 81]) or Φαράζαν (found in Procopius), and eventually φράζων ("finding," "showing") on the basis of their similarity; dglnptvw read οἱ κρατοῦντες ("the powerful"), which became οἱ κατοικοῦντες ("the residents") in the AIII family. οἱ κρατοῦντες is the best reading, and has the same meaning as the B family reading.

[46] ἐξέλιπον or ἐξέλειπον appears here for a second time in this verse in many MSS, parallel to the MT. However, it is missing in dglnwℒ. The strength of the witnesses leads me to read with them.

[47] ἐξανέστη and ἀνέστη both appear here, but they carry essentially equivalent meanings.

[48] Most MSS here read either ἕως οὗ or ὅτι, followed by a second occurrence of ἐξανέστη or ἀνέστη. Again, though, the phrase is missing in glnwℒ, the best MSS. On that basis I omit them.

[49] The phrase ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ appears in most MSS but is absent in gn. Although the AII evidence is split on the matter, I think that this is a case in which nonconformity with the MT is the deciding criterion; it may have been duplicated through simple dittography.

8 ἡρέτισαν[50] θεοὺς καινοὺς[51] ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον[52]

σκέπην ἐὰν ἰδὼν σιρομαστῶν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες[53]

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[50] ἡρέτισαν is the reading of the A family. The B family reads ἐξελέξαντο, with no apparent distinction in meaning.

[51] The MSS are split between καινούς ("new") and κενούς ("empty"). The Hebrew חדשים corresponds to καινούς, and it may have been changed for theological reasons or, more likely, confused for κενούς since αι and ε were both pronounced [ε] in the Koine period. However, κενούς has the support of abcdeghijlmnopqrtvwyz, from both the A and B families. Regardless of how the tradition came to read this, it is doubtless that καινούς was the intention of the translator.

[52] This phrase certainly arose out of the difficult reading לחם שערים, which even modern scholars are debating (cf. D. Hillers, "A Note on Judges 5,8a," *CBQ* 27 [1965] 126). Given that every A family MS and even several MSS from BII contain the phrase ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον ("as loaves of barley"), whether before θεοὺς κενούς or after it, it seems that the translators of the OG read לֶחֶם שְׂעֹרִים, "barley bread." Later translators understood לחם to be a verbal form of the word מלחמה and to mean "do battle." לחם is pointed as a verb in the MT, and most modern commentators agree with this interpretation, since it is difficult to make sense of the phrase "barley bread" in this context. Since it is the metaphor which is strained here, and not the language per se, I retain it in favor of the stronger evidence. Even though the secondary translation τότε ἐπολέμησαν πόλεις ἀρχόντων ("then they made war at the cities of the rulers") appears in many MSS, even of the A family, it is lacking in Abclwx𝔖𝔏, so it therefore seems logical to believe that it appears in the A family through contamination.

[53] The original translator probably wrote σκέπην ἐὰν ἰδὼν σιρομαστῶν τεσσεράκοντα χιλιάδες ("whenever the forty thousand saw tunics among the spears"). In the AII family we have a clear instance of a doublet, where most of the MSS of AII print σκέπη νεανίδων σιρομαστῶν ἀνήφθη καὶ νεανίδων σειρομαστῶν ("the tunics of the young spearmen were fastened and of the young spearmen"). The second καὶ νεανίδων σειρομαστῶν is the doublet, as it is unwarranted by the Hebrew. It does not appear in MNgmyb₂. Where the doublet occurs we see first σιρομαστῶν then σειρομαστῶν (i.e., in dlnptvw), further evidence that one of these is secondary, since σειρός was a later spelling of σιρός (LSJ, s.v. σιρός). That leaves σκέπη νεανίδων σιρομαστῶν ἀνήφθη, but there is a question of how to divide the words. The beginning of this phrase would have appeared as ϹΚΕΠΗΝΕΑΝΙΔѠΝ in the uncial and may be divided either as above or as σκέπη νεανίδων. The former is an able if not artistic translation of the Hebrew, rendering each element one for one. It seems doubtless that this is what the first translator intended, since the division of words in the second case seems to bear no relation to the Hebrew whatsoever. The minuscules that carry this combination of letters, however, are unanimous in reading either σκέπη νεανίδων or σκέπην νεανίδων, and the reading of 𝔏, *tegumen iuuenum*, indicates that this was the way it was read from a very early time. The intention of the translator would have been lost completely except that it was preserved as a doublet in a single MS, l, which reads καὶ ἐάν ἴδω, which is followed by Rahlfs. The participle ἰδών was altered to ἴδω because the subjunctive makes more sense. In addition to being the *lexicon difficilior*, ἰδών is the reading which explains the others, since the reading νεανίδων could not have arisen from σκέπην ἐάν ἴδω. Thus, despite its strong evidence in the MSS and its antiquity in the tradition of the community, it is necessary to restore the reading σκέπην ἐάν ἰδών. The problem of ἀνήφθη, which does not render the Hebrew אם־יראה, should not be considered a corruption of the reading in the B family, ἐὰν ὀφθῇ or ἐὰν ὠφθῇ (contra Tov, "Textual History," 232). The MSS of the AII family nearly all have ἀνήφθη (it is missing in g, leaving that MS without a verb in the second half of this verse) and the 𝔏 reads *incensum*, which is a secondary meaning of ἀνήφθη. Furthermore, ἐὰν ὀφθῇ is a reading from B, and it seems unlikely that these MSS both borrowed from B and misread it at the same time. A doublet in the B family, καὶ λόγχη καὶ σειρομαστῆς (present everywhere in B except B itself), indicates that borrowing happened in the other direction. Given further that σκέπη νεανίδων σιρομαστῶν has no meaning in context without a verb, it seems that ἀνήφθη must have been supplied to make sense of that particular reading, and it may be dropped as unnecessary. Finally, the presence of ἐν prior to τεσσαράκοντα and the case of χιλιάδας depend on how the phrase functions with relation to the rest of the verse. The phrase ἐν Ισραηλ at the end of the verse is lacking in glnw𝔏 and has therefore been omitted.

⁹ ἡ καρδία μου ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα⁵⁴ ἐν Ισραηλ⁵⁵

    οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ λαοῦ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον

¹⁰ ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων καθήμενοι ἐπὶ λαμπηνῶν⁵⁶

¹¹ φθέγξασθε⁵⁷ φωνὴν ὀργάνοις⁵⁸

    ἀνὰ μέσον εὐφραινομένων⁵⁹ ἐκεῖ

    δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ δίκαιοι

    ἐνίσχυσαν⁶⁰ ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ τότε κατέβη εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ ὁ λαὸς κυρίου

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⁵⁴ Most A family manuscripts have διατεταγμένα, probably because διατάσσω ("to command") is a stereotyped translation of the Hebrew root חקק. However, it strains the Greek to use the participle to mean 'commanders'; rather, the neuter would make this 'things commanded,' hence the 𝔏 reading *praecepta*; the Hebrew להוקקי can, depending on how it is read, mean either of these things. In this case the sense of the phrase would be "my heart [dwells] upon the commandments to Israel" which, although a common theme in Scripture, is less germane to this context. τεταγμένα, the reading of l and Procopius, is the better choice here, since the perfect passive participle is commonly used in Greek to refer to troops (the masculine being an adjective and the neuter referring to the troops themselves [LSJ, s.v. τάσσω]), which fits the context. Even though the τεταγμένα are the rank and file troops rather than the commanders, it makes a balanced clause with the τεταγμένα in one half and δυνάσται in the other (the ordinary troops and the commanders). The meaning "rank and file troops" is an interpretation of the Hebrew; מהוקקי is the usual word used for commands and those who make them, and the far less common להוקקי might have been understood as "those to whom the commands are given" (cf. ed. Natalio Frenández Marcos, Judges [BHQ 7; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011] 57*).

⁵⁵ Most MSS read τῷ Ισραηλ here, but dptv read as above. It is the only reading that makes sense with τεταγμένα, and since AI and B are nearly unanimous in reading τῷ Ισραηλ I am inclined to think that it occurs in glnw through contamination.

⁵⁶ This verse is loaded with doublets mostly arising from cross-contamination with the reading of the B family, ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ὄνου θηλείας μεσημβρίας καθήμενοι ἐπὶ κριτηρίου καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐπὶ ὁδοὺς συνέδρων ἐφ' ὁδῷ. glnw𝔏 preserve only the text above, whereas every other member of the A family has some degree of contamination, though it is difficult to find two that agree on what is added from the B reading.

⁵⁷ The MSS of the A family are split between φθέγξασθε ("proclaim") and φθέγξασθαι (as the B family is split between διηγεῖσθε and διηγεῖσθαι; in both cases the words are phonologically identical). The only difference is whether the verb is imperative and φωνήν is its object, or whether the infinitive acts in a jussive sense with φωνήν as the subject. φθέγξασθε seems more common in the AII family.

⁵⁸ k adds ἐν ὀργάνοις ("with instruments") after ἀνακρουομένων ("strike up," when used in a musical sense, "begin" when used metaphorically of nonmusical productions such as speeches), which is found in every MSS, and 𝔏 reads *percutientes organa*. The command εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον of v. 9, the semiliturgical injunction φθέγξασθαι, just prior to this, and the subsequent command δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ δίκαιοι strongly indicate a context for this verse which is liturgical in setting and musically inclined. ὀργάνοις, as well as ἀνακρουομένων, derive from reading מחצצרים instead of מחצצים (cf. BHS apparatus). ὀργάνοις and ἀνακρουομένων, then, form a doublet and ὀργάνοις should be retained in favor of ἀνακρουομένων.

⁵⁹ The B family has ὑδρευομένων here. The A family reads εὐφραινομένων, which is probably the reading of the OG. These form different interpretations of the Hebrew משאב, a *hapax legomenon* of uncertain meaning, and εὐφραινομένων is, as Marcos suggests, probably a meaning derived through סבא (BHQ 58*).

⁶⁰ The B family has a form of the verb αὐξάνω.

¹² ἐξεγείρου⁶¹ Δεββορα ἐξέγειρον μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου⁶²

ἐξεγείρου⁶³ Δεββορα, ἐνίσχυσον τὸν Βαρακ⁶⁴

αἰχμαλώτιζε⁶⁵ αἰχμαλωσίαν σου υἱὸς Αβινοεμ

¹³ τότε⁶⁶ ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ⁶⁷

κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς⁶⁸

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⁶¹ ἐξεγείρου is repeated in many MSS, but is not repeated in dw𝔏. עורי appears twice in the Hebrew, and it seems more likely that it was read twice but split between the two phrases, so ἐξεγείρου . . . ἐξέγειρον rather than ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου . . . ἐξέγειρον.

⁶² The phrase ἐξέγειρον μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου is preserved in the AI and AII families, but nowhere else; l is lacking the entire first line of this verse, an omission probably due to haplography, since the first two lines both begin with ἐξεγείρου. The last word of the phrase, σου, appears only in dgnptvw.

⁶³ ἐξεγείρου is not repeated here in mha₂𝔏 and may have been dropped for balance purposes, such as in 𝔏, which has it only once at the beginning of the first line, and so also once at the beginning of the second. I omit the second because it is at variance with the MT and because it seems more balanced poetically without the second occurrence.

⁶⁴ This reading appears in the A family as λάλει μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐνισχύων ἐξανάστασο Βαρακ, and the AI and AII family add καὶ ἐνίσχυσον Δεββωρα τὸν Βαρακ. None of the other groups carry this second phrase. The B family reads λάλησον ᾠδήν ἀνάστα Βαρακ. Tov identifies ἐνισχύων (which is ἐν ἰσχύι or similar in the AII family) as a doublet of μετ' ᾠδῆς, שיר in this case being thought to derive from שרה, for which cognates of ἰσχύς appear with frequency in the LXX and even in this passage (cf. v. 29; Tov, "Textual History," 230-31). In fact, the entire phrase λάλει μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐξανάστασο Βαρακ is a doublet of the phrase καὶ ἐνίσχυσον Δεββωρα τὸν Βαρακ: the first is derived from a Hebrew which reads דַּבְּרִי־שִׁיר קוּם ברק (like the MT), whereas the second read דברה for דברי־ and treated שיר as a noun; שיר קום is then treated as a single concept and translated by ἐνίσχυσον. This reading should be treated as the reading of the OG which was replaced in favor of λάλει μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐξανάστασο Βαρακ. The order of the phrase however has been muddled by the method of its preservation, and so must be restored. Δεββωρα belongs first, replacing λάλει; this should be followed by ἐνίσχυσον, not by μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐν ἰσχύι, replacing ἐξανάστασο; and Βαρακ becomes τὸν Βαρακ. During the preservation of these doublets, the scribe put what he knew to be the doublets next to each other (μετ' ᾠδῆς and ἐν ἰσχύι), and what he did not recognize immediately as a doublet was moved to a phrase at the end of the line, which caused the reading to be preserved out of order. This means that this one line of Hebrew was preserved in four different ways: λάλησον ᾠδὴν ἀνάστα Βαρακ; λάλει μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐξανίστασο Βαρακ; λάλει ἐν ἰσχύι ἐξανίστασο Βαρακ; and Δεββορα ἐνίσχυσον τὸν Βαρακ. The first two mean the exact same thing but do so with different words, the third is probably related to the second through revision, and the last is a different interpretation. This passage demonstrates clearly the problem of assuming that the MSS are related to one another through revision rather than through re-translation, since these must have been the work of at least two different editors.

⁶⁵ There is some variance in the MSS between the present imperative and the aorist imperative, and some MSS have a form of αἰχμαλωτεύω. The A family in general has the present imperative.

⁶⁶ Nearly all MSS have τότε, with only A (πότε) and bcx𝔖 (ὁπότε) deviating. τότε seems to make more sense.

⁶⁷ The B family, following more closely to the MT, has κατέβη κατάλειμμα τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς. The A family all read ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ, reading ידר for ירד, or reading אדירים as a verb, and also reading שריו for שריד. Either way, the OG reading is lacking at least one word that appears in the MT.

⁶⁸ This phrase does not appear here in any MSS, but has been moved here from v. 14 where it is found in AI, AII, and Procopius after Ζαβουλων. The B family reads λαὸς κυρίου κατέβη αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς κραταιοῖς, AI and AII read κύριε ταπείνωσόν μοι τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους μου here, and AIII blends the two, λαὸς κυρίου ταπείνωσόν μοι τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους μου. Tov, "Textual History," draws attention to the doublet and demonstrates that the two readings

^{14} λαὸς^{69} Εφραιμ ἐτιμωρήσατο^{70} αὐτοὺς ἐν κοιλάδι^{71}

ἀδελφοῦ σου^{72} Βενιαμειν ἐν λαοῖς σου

ἐξεγείρου^{73} Μαχιρ κατέβησαν ἐξερευνῶντες

καὶ ἐκ Ζαβουλων^{74} ἐκεῖθεν ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἡγήσεως^{75}

^{15} ἐνισχύοντος Ισσαχαρ^{76} μετὰ Δεβορρας

ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ ^{77} εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα^{78}

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derive from the Hebrew: ‎יהוה ירד (ירד) לי בגברים‎. κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς is found in the 𝔖 under the obelisk, indicating that Origen found it unsatisfactory and replaced it with one he found more acceptable. The originality of the reading is confirmed by the presence in the A family of λαός at the beginning of v. 14. This does not correspond to any word of the MT, if one takes ‎מני‎ to be the last word of v. 13 and utilizes the translation κύριε ταπείνωσόν μοι τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους μου. If, however, it is recognized that the original reading is κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς, then λαός can be explained as the translator reading ‎בני‎ for ‎מני‎. When Origen obelized the phrase and replaced it, he did not include λαός, so that it remains in the A family even though it has no corresponding word in the MT.

^{69} λαός is omitted in B family.

^{70} ἐξερίζωσεν is found in the B family instead of ἐτιμωρήσατο.

^{71} ἐν τῷ Αμαληκ is the reading of the B family, dependent on whether one reads ‎בעמלק‎ or ‎בעמק‎ in the Hebrew.

^{72} ὀπίσω σου in the B family replaces ἀδελφοῦ σου.

^{73} This reading is preserved only in dglnptvw; all other MSS read ἐξ ἐμοί.

^{74} κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς is preserved in AI, AII, and Procopius after Ζαβουλων. It does not correspond to any part of the MT in this verse. Therefore it is moved to the end of v. 13 to replace ταπείνωσόν μοι τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους.

^{75} ἐκεῖθεν ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἐνισχύοντος ἡγήσεως is the reading of glnw; the reading in the B family is ἕλκοντες ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγήσεως γραμματέως, and all the variants in the MSS are blends of these two, including several doublets and k, which reads in part ἡ γῆ ἔσωσεν (corrupted from ἡγήσεως, apparently). ἐνισχύοντος does not belong here, but in the next verse.

^{76} The B family adds καὶ ἀρχηγοί at the beginning of the verse. Ισσαχαρ is preceded by ἐν in most MSS, except for gilnruw. ἐνισχύοντος should appear at the beginning of v. 15, since it renders the Hebrew ‎ושרי‎, construing it as a verb. It was accidentally misplaced one word back, before ἡγήσεως, but it makes no sense whatsoever in that context (Tov, "Textual History," 228-29).

^{77} ἐξέτεινεν in the A family is followed by ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ in the AI group; the phrase ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ, found in the previous line in AI and AII after Δεβορρα, is a doublet; ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ is judged by Tov to be older, and the verb ἐξέτεινεν and its object phrase ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ should be replaced (ibid., 228). The text of Procopius preserves three distinct readings for these two lines, two in the text and one in the Greek footnotes (the additions of a later hand, marking a divergent reading in his own LXX). We must read with 𝔏 here with regard to order, *misit pedibus suos in uallibus*.

^{78} The considerable variation in this verse is probably due to how different the OG, here preserved in glnw𝔏, was from the MT. The reading in the B family (καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ ἐν Ισσαχαρ μετὰ Δεββωρας καὶ Βαρακ οὕτως Βαρακ ἐν κοιλάσιν ἀπέστειλεν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς μερίδας Ρουβην μεγάλοι ἐξικνούμενοι καρδίαν), which is relatively uniform in agreeing with the MT, differs in almost every single word from the reconstructed text of the OG. This is a case in which the shortest reading is the best guide. AIII adds καὶ Βαρακ οὕτως Βαρακ after Δεβορρας while dptv create a doublet by adding καὶ Βαρακ οὕτως Βαρακ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι ἐξέτεινεν πόδας αὐτοῦ in the same place. B family reads ἀπέστειλεν for ἐξέτεινεν in the second line, and AI and AIII add ἐν ποσὶν αὐτοῦ or similar after that. The phrase ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χιλίων appears in Aabcdglnptvw𝔖 after κοιλάδα but it does not belong here. It is a doublet of the first line of v. 16, ἵνα τί μοι κάθησαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν μοσφαθαιμ, as is indicated by both the lack

ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι[79] μεγάλοι ἀκριβασμοί[80]

16 ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χειλῶν

[ἵνα τί μοι κάθησαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν Μοσφαθαιμ[81]]

τοῦ ἀκούειν[82] συριγμοὺς[83] ἐξεγειρόντων[84]

τοῦ διελθεῖν[85] εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην[86] μεγάλοι ἐξιχνιασμοί[87] καρδίας

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of the phrase here in 𝕷 and the translation *labiorum* in v. 16 (cf. ibid., 227-28). Of the fourteen MSS which have this phrase at all, nine read χειλέων (Aacglpw𝕾𝕷; "lip," "edge") and five read χιλίων (bdntv; "battalion"). In this military context χιλίων makes more sense. I disagree with Tov's assertion that ἵνα τί μοι κάθησαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν μοσφαθαιμ is the older of the two readings, since the latter phrase has two of the characteristics of the Kaige recension (בין = ἀνὰ μέσον, and the transliteration of Hebrew words; cf. Bodine, *Recensional Developments*, 25 and Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua* [HSM 28; Scholars Press: Chico, CA; 1983], 270-72) The former reading must be retained even if for no other reason than it is the one that makes sense. The phrase has been moved to the beginning of v. 16 and the phrase it replaces has been bracketed.

[79] The A family generally uses διαιρέσεσι(ν) here, whereas the B family reads εἰς τὰς μερίδας. Only in AII is the phrase preserved with the article and the possessive; they also do not write the movable nu, which makes sense. Furthermore, in AII the name Ρουβην is missing from this verse.

[80] The B family has ἐξιχνούμενοι καρδίαν, and the A family generally reads ἀκριβασμοί for ἐξιχνούμενοι. However, καρδίαν is absent in glnw and the footnoted text of Procopius.

[81] This word in Hebrew appears one or two times in the MT other than here. In Gen 49:14 it is translated by κλῆρος; in Ps 68:14 (LXX 67:14), the questionable שפתים (generally thought to be identical to משפתים, HALOT, s.v. שפתים) is also translated by κλῆρος. Although conjectures about the word's actual meaning in Hebrew abound, it seems clear that the LXX translators interpreted it as "sheepfolds." It is unclear why there should be confusion here but not elsewhere. Procopius notes that Aquila translates κλῆρος, and that Symmachus has τῶν μεταιχμίων, but Procopius himself retains Μοσφαθαιμ. Theodoret in his homilies translates the word as ἀγρῶν (Theodoret of Cyrus, *Questions on the Octateuch* (trans. Robert C. Hill; 2 vols.; LEC 2; Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007) 2. 330).

[82] τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι in the B family; τοῦ εἰσακούειν in AI, AIII, and dptv; τοῦ ἀκούειν in glnw, with no apparent distinction in meaning.

[83] Most MSS read συρισμοῦς here, but that does not actually appear to be a word in Greek; there is no entry for it in LSJ. What is meant is certainly συριγμοῦς, which is a sound like one made by the σύριγξ ("shepherd's pipe"), and especially describes the hissing of snakes. The reading συντρίμμους, "fractures," in ir is certainly a copyist error somewhere; it makes no sense in the context.

[84] ἀγγέλων ("messengers") is the reading in the B family; ἐξεγειρόντων is the reading in all but a few A family MSS. This apparently arises from reading עררים for עדרים (daleth-resh confusion), whereas in the B family, ua₂ preserve the correct reading, ἀγέλων ("flocks"), from which ἀγγέλων rose out of confusion, since the latter appears nearly 3,000 times in the LXX, and the former only ten.

[85] εἰς διαιρέσεις appears here in the B family.

[86] The spelling of the name Ρουβην here shows a remarkable variety in the MSS, considering that there is very little variety on the name in v. 15. In v. 15, Ρουβιμ is present in eijm, Ρουβημ in k, and Ρουβιν in rsx. Here Ρουβιμ is present in dilmpvw (e and j omit the name), Ρουβημ in k, and Ρουβιν in rtx; the name is replaced by καρδίας in fsz. Although it is difficult to explain the lacuna in ej, against the combined witness of the majority of MSS it seems the deletion was more likely made under the influence of v. 15.

[87] ἐξιχνιασμοί is the reading in the A family, ἐξετασμοί in the B family, with no apparent difference in meaning.

¹⁷ Γαδ[88] ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατεσκήνωσεν[89]

κ αὶ Δαν ἵνα τί[90] παροικεῖς[91] πλοίοις Ασηρ παρῴκησεν[92] παρ' αἰγιαλὸν θαλασσῶν[93]

ἐπὶ[94] διεκβολὰς[95] αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν[96]

¹⁸ Ζαβουλων λαὸς ὀνειδίσας[97] ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς θάνατον

καὶ Νεφθαλειμ[98] τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν[99]

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[88] Γαλααδ is the reading in every MS except gnw, which read Γαδ, Γαθ (corrected to Γαδ by the first corrector's hand) and Γααδ respectively. These seem more appropriate, since Gilead is the name of a region and Gad the name of the tribe.

[89] κατεσκήνωσεν in the A family, ἐσκήνωσεν in the B family, with no difference in meaning. In Bfjoqsz, this is preceded by οὗ but this is not substantially different in meaning or style. I choose to read with the better MSS.

[90] ἵνα τί in the A family; εἰς τί in the B family. It is difficult to assign very different meanings to the phrases in this context, but ἵνα τί seems more natural.

[91] Leaving aside the three MSS which read a form of κατοικέω, the witnesses are still divided between the forms παροικεῖ, παροικεῖς, and παροικῆς. The differences seem mostly aesthetic, but by reason of its support from the better part of the A family and its divergence from the MT, παροικεῖς seems the best choice.

[92] παρῴκησεν in the A family and ἐκάθισεν in the B family mean essentially the same thing although in slightly different senses ("dwell" vs. "squat").

[93] The A family reads παρ' αἰγιαλὸν θαλασσῶν, "by the beach of the seas," which although slightly redundant is less so than the B reading, παραλίαν θαλασσῶν, "at the seaside of the seas."

[94] This is usually preceded by καί, but the word is absent in glnw, so is omitted here.

[95] The B family reads διεξόδοις. Most of AI and AIII read διακοπάς, but AII reads as above.

[96] κατεσκήνωσεν in the A family, σκηνώσει in the B family. The future does not make sense in this context, but it translates formally the MT ישכון. The OG understood that this is a poetic device and did not translate the form of the verb but rather its meaning in context and is therefore the preferred reading.

[97] ὀνειδίσας (aorist participle) in the A family, ὠνείδισεν (aorist indicative) in the B family. The meaning is the same, although the style is quite different. The finite verb in the B family makes for a complete clause, whereas the A family's reading makes an essentially verbless clause, an unusual feature in Greek.

[98] The witnesses are divided on the spelling of this name without respect to the family groups; Νεφθαλειμ and Νεφθαλει appear in every family. AII, however, reads Νεφθαλειμ (Nepthalim in 𝕃) with only one dissenter, g, so this spelling has been retained.

[99] The phrase ἐπὶ ὕψει ἀγροῦ (or similar) which appears in this line in every MS also has a dislocated doublet in v. 22. In v. 22, MSS MNadgklnptvwyb²𝕃 have added some or all of the phrase ἐπι ὕβρει εὐθονόντος στέρνα ἐκστάσεως αὐτοῦ. This demonstrates a variety of translations of the Hebrew מרומי שדה. רום can mean "a high place" but can also mean "haughtiness," and is sometimes translated in the LXX with ὕβρις, as it is in Job 22:12 and Prov 6:17. εὐθονόντος seems to be a dislocated doublet of ὁμαλίει found in v. 21, since εὐθονόντος ("make straight") and ὁμαλίει ("make level") have similar meanings. στέρνα is one interpretation of שדה, reading שׁד, "breast" as in Job 24:9; ἐκστάσεως comes from reading שׁד, "violent action, oppression" (HALOT, s.v. שׁד). The latter is most frequently translated in the LXX by either ἀδικία or ἀσεβεία, so "madness" here would make a reasonable translation. It is best to read the phrase with ak𝕃 and the AIII group, τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν, because it makes the most sense and because it offers one translation of the phrase. The presence of this phrase in so many A family MSS suggests that it is authentic to the OG but that its varying forms means that it has suffered from contamination and editorial alteration. Harle notes the presence of the line, but says only "ce pourrait être un doublet du stique précédent, issu d'une relecture conjecturale de l'hebreu," but without conjecturing what Hebrew this translation might be reading (Harle, *Les Juges*, 127). The dislocation of the doublet from v. 18 to v. 22 is the reason that the doublet has not been identified before, and is far enough to require some explanation. Most likely, the phrase was originally preserved in the right margin of v. 18, and was later taken as the left margin of v. 22.

¹⁹ ἦλθον¹⁰⁰ βασιλεῖς καὶ¹⁰¹ ἐπολέμησαν τότε

παρετάξαντο¹⁰² βασιλεῖς Χανααν ἐν Θενακ¹⁰³

ἐπὶ ὕδατος Μαγεδδω πλεονεξίαν ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔλαβον

²⁰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπολεμήθησαν¹⁰⁴ ἀστέρες ἐκ τῶν τάξεων¹⁰⁵ αὐτῶν

ἐπολέμησαν¹⁰⁶ μετὰ Σισαρρα¹⁰⁷

²¹ χειμάρρους Κεισσων¹⁰⁸ συνεψησμένων ¹⁰⁹ αὐτούς

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¹⁰⁰ The B family has either αὐτῷ or αὐτῶν here, a reading also followed by the AIII family as well as dkptv. It is unnecessary, neither adding to nor subtracting from the sense of the line in a substantial way.

¹⁰¹ This καί is omitted in BI and AIII.

¹⁰² Most MSS read παρετάξαντο τότε ἐπολέμησαν, but glnw read ἐπολέμησαν τότε παρετάξαντο. This change may have been made on the very logical grounds that one arranges (παρετάξαντο) one's troops before going into battle (ἐπολέμησαν) with them. This logic depends, I suppose, on whether one interprets the πόλεμος to begin when an enemy is present (i.e., "war"), or whether it does not begin until one actually joins swords (i.e., "battle"). Both senses are present in Greek literature, but the former is more usual, and so the reading of glnw makes perfect sense.

¹⁰³ Spellings abound for Taanach (תענך) in the Greek, from Θααναk to Σθαινα. The most common spellings in the B family have three consonants and three vowels, indicating that they read an ע in the name; the most common spellings in the A family have three consonants and two vowels, indicating that they probably do not read an ע in the name. Although there is no unanimity, the A family mostly has an ε as the first vowel and an α as the second vowel. Most of AI has a double ν in the middle, but none of the AII spellings have a doubled ν. Finally, although nearly every MS ends it with a χ, AII is split: κ (lw𝕷), χ (dptv), or no consonant at all (gn). The choice seems to be nothing more than aesthetic but κ seems best to me.

¹⁰⁴ The B family and AIII read παρετάξαντο, acx𝔖 reads ἐπολέμησαν, and Abdgklnptvw𝕷 read ἐπολεμήθησαν. It is easy to understand how ἐπολεμήθησαν was changed into ἐπολέμησαν, as it is difficult to understand how the stars were subject to war—Sisera, a human general, can hardly make his way into heaven to conduct battle. It may also have changed because of assimilation, since ἐπολέμησαν occurs in the next line. In light of this and its better textual support ἐπολεμήθησαν is retained.

¹⁰⁵ Most of the B family reads τρίβων, whereas the A family reads either τάξεως (most of AI) or τάξεων (in all of AII); the meanings are essentially equivalent, since a star has a path that it follows, and a soldier has a rank to which he belongs; the metaphor allows either to be used according to which side of the metaphor is emphasized.

¹⁰⁶ There is no confusion of voices in this instance; ἐπολέμησαν occurs in all AI and AII except k. παρετάξαντο is in the B family.

¹⁰⁷ Most MSS spell the name Σεισαρα, but l𝕷 spell it as above. Curiously, A reads Ιηλ, but this anomalous reading makes no sense.

¹⁰⁸ This name sees a variety of spellings here, although it does not when it occurs in the next line. I chose the spelling above because it is the most common in the AI and AII families (adklnptvw). I use the spelling Κισσων in the next line for the same reason (abklnptvw).

¹⁰⁹ Most B family MSS use a form of ἐκσύρω ("sweep away"), usually ἐξέσυρεν. The A family nearly all have ἐξέβαλεν ("cast out"). ἐξεσύρισεν ("hissed") is found in qh, picking up on the idea of συριγμός in v. 16, but it makes no sense here. gln, though they do read ἐξέβαλεν, also read συνεψησμένων, an obvious doublet. When the doublet is moved to replace ἐξέβαλεν, cdfgilmn𝕷 all lack a translation of קדומים; its presence elsewhere cannot be counted as a doublet, since it appears in the MT, but it is omitted here on the strength of the evidence. The third phrase, נהל קישון, is also absent in cdfim𝕷 and so has been omitted. This is confirmed by the fact that almost none of the MSS of AII group and several important MSS of the AI and AIII groups which print the phrase χειμάρρους Κεισσων twice have it spelled the same way both times. The MSS of the B family are more consistent on this matter.

ὁμαλίει αὐτοὺς ἡ πτέρνα μου ἐν ἰσχύει[110]

²² τότε ἀνεκόπησαν[111] πτέρναι ἵππων

Μαδαρωθ[112] δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ

²³ [ἴδοιεν ἀρὰς ἴδοιεν ὀδύνας κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν

ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἀρᾶτε ἀπολέσατε

καταράσασθε[113] Μαζωρ[114] εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου

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[110] Nearly all MSS read καταπατήσει αὐτὸν ψυχή μου δυνατή except k which replaces ψυχή with ὁ πούς and 𝔏 which reads *pes meus et anima mea* ("my foot and my soul," a doublet uncharacteristic of 𝔏). However, many MSS also read καὶ ὁμαλίει αὐτοῦς ἡ πτέρνα μου; AII at the end of this verse, AIII and a𝔖𝔏 in the next verse after πτέρναι ἵππων. This is a doublet, as ὁμαλίει αὐτοῦς ἡ πτέρνα and καταπατήσει ψυχή μου are both translations of the Hebrew תדרכינפשׁ and presumably the OG read תדרכין פשׁעי. The MSS show the blending of the OG reading above and the B reading, καταπατήσει αὐτὸν ψυχή μου. δυνατή must be replaced by ἐν ἰσχύει which is only found in k. We find here an instance in which nearly every MS has suffered contamination, and only a few retain the older readings. k is instrumental in this regard for this verse and the next because it preserves in doublets much of the erased text.

[111] ἐνεποδίσθησαν ("their feet were fettered") is the reading of the B family. ἐνευροκοπήθησαν ("they were hamstrung") is found in AIII, as well as adkptvw. The best reading though is ἀνεκόπησαν ("they pushed or beat back"), found in gln.

[112] The B family reads σπουδῇ ἔσπευσαν ("they hastened with haste"), but the A family cannot seem to agree on whether to transliterate a Hebrew word which may not be the one found in the MT or to remove it entirely. The MT reads מדהרות דהרות, but the transliterations suggests מדרות or אמדרות, a word which occurs nowhere in biblical Hebrew. One MS, w, reads ἀβλεψία, which makes fine sense in the context; LSJ records a Greek construction τὰς ὄψεις ἀνακοπείς which has the meaning "to knock unconscious." Given the overwhelming evidence in favor of a proper noun here, I have chosen to keep the transliteration. I have chosen the spelling which is supported by ack𝔖.

[113] The entire B family, AI (except k), and AIII preserve this verse with only a single verb from καταράομαι prior to Μαζωρ. However, AII and k both begin with the above phrase, only ending with καταράσασθε; this phrase seems overfull, and AII seems to preserve occasionally a doublet from another group along with what is probably the OG. For this reason, the whole of the above text is printed in brackets in order to facilitate comparison. The καταράσασθε that appears at the beginning of the third line then is probably a doublet. In such cases, 𝔏 can usually be counted on to preserve the shortest text as Billen, "Hexaplaric Element," has already discussed, and we may turn to it as a test case for eliminating doublets. The reading of 𝔏 in this verse corresponds essentially to ἰδοῖεν ὀδύνας ἰδοῖεν καταράσει καταράσασθαι ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν; this is significantly shorter than what is above in brackets. Compare this side by side to what is the essential B reading: καταρᾶσθε Μηρωζ εἶπεν ἄγγελος κυρίου καταρᾶσθε ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κατοικῶν αὐτὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἤλθοσαν εἰς βοήθειαν κυρίου. From the combination of these two readings, all of the text above in brackets can be constructed except ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἀρᾶτε ἀπολέσατε. The reading of 𝔏 may be obtained by repointing and rearranging the MT; the second part though does not seem to bear any relation to the MT except in ἀρᾶτε. For this reason, although I read with 𝔏 for the most part, I am compelled to retain ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἀρᾶτε ἀπολέσατε.

[114] There is no confusion that this is a proper name, except in w which chooses to translate it as κραταίων. Spellings differ, however, by whether it is Μαζωρ or Μαρωζ. One MS, h, even prints Μαζουρωθ, a word also found in Theodotion in 4 Regn 23:5, meaning "constellations." מזרות are the stars of heaven, perhaps even the stars which bring rain (HALOT 566, citing Dahood, ZAW 74, 208), a theme seen already in v. 8. Its close verbal similarity to Μαδαρωθ in the previous line may also indicate that Μαδαρωθ was understood to be the name of some natural power and may even be a transliteration of מזרות, given that *d-z* confusion occurs occasionally in both Hebrew and Greek.

καταράσει καταράσασθε[115] τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας[116] ἐν αὐτῇ

ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν κυρίου]

ἴδοιεν ὀδύνας ἴδοιεν καταράσει ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἄρᾶτε

ἀπολέσατε εἶπεν ἄγγελος κυρίου

τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν

Κύριος[117] βοηθὸς ἡμῶν, Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατός

24 εὐλογηθείη ἐκ γυναικῶν Ιαηλ ἡ γυνὴ Χαβερ τοῦ Κενναίου[118]

ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ εὐλογηθείη[119]

25 ὕδωρ ᾔτησεν αὐτὴν[120] καὶ γάλα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ[121]

ἐν λεκάνῃ[122] μεγιστάνων[123] προσήγγισεν[124] βούτυρον[125]

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[115] Beijoqrua₂ add πᾶς here, but there is no reason to suppose that it is original.

[116] ὁ κατοικῶν in the B family; and the A family is split between τοὺς ἐνοικούς and τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. The latter reading is supported by agklnptvw.

[117] Κύριος is found here in bcdglnptvxw𝕃 and provides a balance to this line, even if it is not strictly necessary.

[118] There are a few variant spellings of this name, from which I have chosen the reading from l. 𝕃 has the reading *fili Cenei*, but this probably arises from an interpretation of the Greek as it is above.

[119] The phrase ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ appears here in lptvw, in k in a different position, and in gn without ἐκ δευτέρου. The full phrase is a doublet of ἐκ γυναικῶν ἐν σκηναῖς, which is found in every MS; it is based on the reading (ה)משנים בתהל for מאנשים באהל and is the reading of the OG (Lindars, *Judges*, 294).

[120] αὐτήν, lacking in B and AIII, is present universally in AI and AII.

[121] αὐτῷ is present universally in AI and AII but lacking elsewhere.

[122] The MSS fluctuate between ἐν λυκάνῃ, ἐν λεκάνῃ, and ἐν λακάνῃ. The first does not appear to be a known spelling of the word; Attic spelling would be with an ε, and the common Koine spelling is with an α. However, gkln read ἐν ἐσχάτοις (also w has it in a later place), a reading which makes no sense. It is probably a mistake deriving from σκάφεις, which is a reasonable translation of the Hebrew ספל. ספל only appears in one other place in Scripture, in Judg 6:38. There, too, it is translated by λεκάνη, in that case with no significant variation. In addition, λεκάνη/λακάνη only appears in the Scripture in these two verses as the translation of ספל. For these reasons, despite the strong evidence for ἐν ἐσχάτοις, I am compelled to read ἐν λεκάνῃ.

[123] ὑπερεχόντων, ὑπερεχχεόντων, δυνάστων, ἰσχυρῶν, and μεγιστάνων are all found in the MSS at this place, with little apparent difference in meaning. The last is found in gln and w in a doublet.

[124] προσήνεγκεν is found in the B family, with little apparent difference in meaning.

[125] k adds βοῶν ἔκστασιν ἤγγικε θερμῶς here, and 𝕃 agrees in part, reading *principi adproprim-quauit calide*. The presence of the phrase βοῶν ἔκστασιν might be explained as a gloss, since the Hebrew חמאה is not very specific (it may refer to any number of products made from milk, from cheese to yogurt). For that matter, however, despite its definition in LSJ as "butter" and its relation to the English word "butter," the Greek βούτυρον is not actually any more specific than the Hebrew. LSJ does qualify the definition "butter" with the phrase τὸ πῖον τοῦ γάλακτος ("the fat of milk;" LSJ, s.v. βούτυρον), so that βούτυρον may be understood to refer to any product made from cream, butter simply being the most common of such foods. Consequently, the use of βούτυρον here seems to require qualification, especially since it is poetically paired with milk, and butter is certainly not a drink. Therefore, the presence of a qualifying phrase βοῶν ἔκστασιν here is hardly surprising, but with such scanty support it cannot be

^{26} τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἐξέτεινεν^{126} εἰς πάσσαλον^{127}

τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς κατακόπτοντος τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι^{128}

διήλασε^{129} τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ

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retained. ἤγγιχε θερμῶς is a doublet in which one translator read חמה for חמאה, and consequently should be struck. The word θερμῶς occurs in several MS in the middle of v. 26, but it is displaced from here.

[126] glnw read ἐξέτεινεν before εἰς πάσσαλον but all other MSS read it after. I choose to read with the group of the better MSS.

[127] θερμῶς appears here in dglnptvw, but as discussed already it does not belong here; it does not appear here in k𝓛.

[128] εἰς σφῦραν κοπιώντων appears in the B family; AII prints εἰς ἀποτομὰς κατακόπτοντος τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι τῇ σφύρᾳ, which is a nested doublet. κατακόπτοντος τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι and εἰς ἀποτομὰς τῇ σφύρᾳ both derive from the same basic set of consonants, either הלמות עמלים or הלמה מות עלם. There is disagreement between κατακόπων (adj. gen. pl.; the Cambridge LXX mistakenly prints this as κατοκόπων), κατακόπτων (nom. masc. ptc., from κατακόπτω, "strike down," "cut to pieces," though "to weary," "to bore" is a secondary meaning as well), and also κατακόπτοντος (gen. masc. ptc.) in l only. κατακόπων, as an adjective, is unconnected to the syntax of the rest of the verse—there is nothing for it to modify. The reading that makes the most sense in this context is κατακόπτοντος, standing as a genitive absolute and modifying Sisera even though he is not named until four lines later, just as each of the next three lines refer to him through αὐτοῦ. All the other readings probably arose out of visual confusion between this reading and the B family reading.

[129] There are in the rather complex MS record of the second half of this verse six positions for verbs. Considering just the verbs alone (most of the verbs also have an object clause with them), the occurrences of them is different in every MS group. BI reads ἐσφυροκόπησεν / διήλωσεν / — / — / ἐπάταξεν / διήλωσεν. BII: ἐσφυροκόπησεν / διήλασεν / διήλασεν / ἐπάταξεν / ἐπάταξεν / διήλωσεν. AI (except k): ἀπέτεμεν / ἀπέτριψεν / — / — / συνέθλασεν / διήλασεν. AII (except 𝓛): — / διήλασε / συνέθλασεν / συνετέλεσεν (ἐπάταξε in dptv) / ἐπάταξεν / διήλωσεν. AIII (and k): συνετέλεσεν / διήλασεν / διήλασεν / ἐπάταξεν / ἐπάταξεν / διήλωσεν. 𝓛 is the odd one out here, whose readings seem to reflect συνετέλεσεν (confecit) / συνετέλεσεν / διήλασεν (dissipauit) / — / ἐπάταξεν / διήλωσεν. This gives a total of eight possibilities: ἐσφυροκόπησεν ("she hammered"), διήλασε(ν) ("she drove through"), διήλωσεν ("she nailed"), ἐπάταξεν ("she smote"), ἀπέτεμεν ("she cut off," "severed"), ἀπέτριψεν ("she wore out" or "she rubbed away"), συνετέλεσεν ("she brought to an end"), and συνέθλασεν ("she crushed together"). Some things to note here are that only BII and AIII have verbs in all six spots, and both of these groups are heavy synchronizers; it is unlikely then that the OG had six verbs. The MT has four: הלמה / מחקה / מחצה / חלפה: "strike;" "shatter?" (as a *hapax legomenon,* the meaning here is disputed: according to Arabic parallels, it might mean "wipe out," "exterminate"; by Aramaic parallels, it would mean "rub away"; HALOT suggests "shatter"); "shatter," "smash," "wound"; "cut through," "pierce." These seem to correspond to positions 1 / 3 / 5 / 6, based on the noun phrases associated with the verbs, and using the verbs given in the various Greek readings would suggest that the best translation of the MT would be ἐπάταξεν or ἐσφυροκόπησεν / — / συνετέλεσεν, ἀπέτριψεν, or συνέθλασεν / — / συνέθλασεν, διήλωσεν, or ἐπάταξεν / ἀπέτεμεν or διήλασεν. Given our presupposition that the MSS that exist descend from two more or less independent translations, one would like to suppose that the eight different Greek possibilities stem from two different translations of the four Hebrew verbs, which are then eclectically represented in the MS tradition. It can be seen that one of these verbs (ἐσφυροκόπησεν) is unique to the B family; two more (συνετέλεσεν and συνέθλασεν) are unique to the A family, and two (ἀπέτεμεν and ἀπέτριψεν) are unique to the AI group. Furthermore, διήλασε(ν) appears in every A family MS. This indicates strongly that διήλασε(ν), συνετέλεσεν, and συνέθλασεν are all properly part of the OG. This means that we cannot quite split the eight verbs four by four into two translations, and AI must have at some point in time been supplied with at least one (possibly both) of the verbs that appear in none of the other groups and thus in neither of the two "principal" translations that we have supposed. This phenomenon is not unique to this verse though; cf. φραζων in v. 7 where OG almost certainly reads οἱ κρατοῦντες. ἐσφυροκόπησεν comes from the B tradition, and ἐπάταξεν and διήλωσεν probably do as well; these three appear in all the B family MSS, this last (from διηλόω) being probably a more recent derivation of the older verb

καὶ συνέθλασεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ[130]

καὶ συνετέλεσεν τὸν Σισαρα[131]

διελαύνω. It seems then that the B family had three verbs which it used four times—this is indeed the exact situation found in BI, and BII is a group where A family readings are occasionally found, the only A family reading here being διήλασεν. This still leaves us with the problem of whether the OG has three verbs only, three different verbs used four times, or whether one of the AI-unique verbs does actually belong to the OG and was left out of other groups. An analysis of the noun phrases and which verbs they succeed will illuminate to some degree which verbs probably belong to the OG. There are four distinct noun phrases in the MSS: [τὸν] Σισαρα, [τὸν] κρόταφον αὐτοῦ ("his temple"), [τὴν] κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ("his head"), and τὴν γνάθον αὐτοῦ ("his jaw"); the brackets indicate that the word is sometimes present and sometimes not, depending on the source. Only BII and AIII have four noun phrases, unsurprising as they are also the only families which contain six verbs, but they both read κρόταφον αὐτοῦ twice, in second and fourth position. These two families demonstrate a maximum amount of conflation. The MT has three noun phrases, appearing after the first, second, and fourth verbs, and are, respectively, "Sisera," "his head," and "his temple." The BI group has the same nouns in the same positions and so corresponds rather precisely to the MT. AI is the only group which has τὴν γνάθον αὐτοῦ in last position replacing κρόταφον αὐτοῦ but otherwise conforms to the order of the MT. Since τὴν γνάθον, like ἀπέτεμεν and ἀπέτριψεν, are unique to the AI family, it is best to suppose that these appear there through an act of independent revision, quite probably the work of Origen. AII removes "Sisera" from first position and places it after συνετέλεσεν, and has κρόταφον αὐτοῦ after διήλασε, and then again after διήλωσεν, indicating a doublet. The phrase διήλασεν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ, which is in first position in AII, appears in BII and AIII, thus indicating that its presence there is through conflation, making it highly likely that that phrase as it is in AII, διήλασε τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ is authentic to the OG as the first verb of the second half of the verse.

[130] The noun phrase [τὴν] κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ appears in every MS, in BII and AIII as the object of the third verb διήλασεν, but in the other families the object of the second verb. These are: in BI, διήλωσεν; in AI, ἀπέτριψεν; in AII, συνέθλασεν. In this case, I read with the better MSS, giving the second phrase: συνέθλασεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

[131] τὸν Σισαρα is the object of the third verb in AII and so indicates that this noun phrase and its verb should come third. Although Sisera is the object of ἀπέτεμεν in the AI group, it is the object of συνετέλεσεν in AII and in AIII (which has then been left-dislocated to occupy the first position), and so I read with the better MSS again, giving the third phrase: συνετέλεσεν τὸν Σισαρα. After this in AII and AIII is καὶ ἐπάταξεν διήλωσεν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ, but I have no reason to suppose that this did not arise through harmonization with the B family, especially since (1) so far, the OG tends not to leave out the definite article; and (2) κρόταφον seems particular to the B family, appearing only here because it replaced γνάθον. Furthermore, the sense of the verse seems both complete and stylistically sound: three verbs, each with an object phrase, and in a logical progression—first she drives the peg, then she smashes his head, then she ends his life. This is further confirmed by the readings of Procopius here; there are four distinct versions of this passage, and a fifth which can be deduced from his exegesis. His cited text has but one verb so that it is unclear how many are in his base text. A footnote, however, records this half of the verse with three verbs only; what can be deduced from Procopius's exegesis also has three verbs only. The version of Symmachus cited by Procopius has two verbs, but does not include this whole verse, so there may be more that were not cited. Finally, the version of Theodotion cited by Procopius does contain the whole of these lines but contains only two verbs. It is reasonable therefore to believe that the OG here had only three verbs and it is from this that the other A type readings derive. However, this did not meet with the satisfaction of the revisionist whose work is the basis of the AI group, since it did not conform very well to the MT (this revisionist is probably Origen himself, whose fifth column tried to preserve the OG but was modified to conform to the MT, which most astutely describes the readings of AI found here). διήλασεν is an acceptable translation of חלפה but must be moved to the last position instead of συνετέλεσεν, which is not seen as an acceptable translation of any of the four Hebrew verbs of the MT. συνέθλασεν is kept as the translation of מחצה, but this means the first two verbs in the MT need a fresh translation and so we find ἀπέτεμεν and ἀπέτριψεν in AI.

27 ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς ἐσκίρτησεν[132] ἔπεσεν[133]

   ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν[134] ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν ἐταλαιπώρησεν[135]

28 διὰ τῆς θυρίδος, διὰ τῆς δικτυωτῆς ἐπιβλέπουσα

   ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας μετὰ Σισαρα[136]

   διὰ τί[137] ἠσχάτισεν τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι

   διὰ τί ἐχρόνισαν δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ[138] αὐτοῦ

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[132] There is considerable variation for this word; κατεκυλίσθη ("he was rolled down") is found throughout the B family, συγκάμψας ("he bent over") in most of AI (but not k) and in n; βαρυνθείς ("being weighed down") in AIII, k𝔏; and ἐσκίρτησε(ν) συγκάμψας ("he convulsed while bent over") in dglptvw. This is an instance of the translation doublet in dglptvw, συγκάμψας appearing through reconciliation with the AI group. The clue to this is the presence of the moveable nu in dgptv, which would be unnecessary before συγκάμψας, but necessary before ἔπεσεν.

[133] After the first line here there is another line which appears in all MSS except glnw. All of the B family reads καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς κατακλιθεὶς ἔπεσεν ("and he fell asleep between her feet, when he was bedded down, he fell"); the AI group reads ἐκοιμήθη μεταξὺ ποδῶν αὐτῆς ἔκαμψεν ἔπεσεν (he fell asleep between her feet, he bent, he fell"). The AIII group reads καὶ ἀφύπνωσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν σκέλων αὐτῆς ("and he drifted off in between her thighs"). The lack of agreement among the MS families leads me to believe that the reading of glnw is the reading of the OG.

[134] ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν is omitted in the B family and in ad𝔏. The B family reads instead καθὼς κατεκλίθη; kptv and the AIII group read both.

[135] This is ἐξοδευθείς in the B family, and ταλαίπωρος in AI and AIII. I read with the better MSS, even though this is followed in those MSS by another translation doublet, καθὼς ἐσκίρτησε ταλαίπωρος, copying a phrase each from B (replacing the B verb with the AII verb) and AI.

[136] Billen, "Hexaplaric Element," used this verse as the test case to establish the problem of translation doublets, even in our best MSS (glnw), and the value of 𝔏 to the recovery of the OG. He reduces the first half of this verse from διὰ τῆς θυρίδος διέκυπτεν καὶ κατεμάνθανεν ἡ μήτηρ Σεισαρα διὰ τῆς δικτυωτῆς ἐπιβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας ἐπὶ Σισαρρα to διὰ τῆς θυρίδος διέκυπτεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας μετὰ Σισαρα. This reduction assumes that the doublet rests on בעד האשנב, but in order to create the text that he proposes one must also: 1) delete the verb ותיבב (not a serious issue, since the majority of modern translations do so, and the word does not appear in the translation of any of the MSS of the B family or the AIII group), 2) move the name סיסרא to the end, 3) provide a pronominal suffix for אמ, 4) alter the form האשנב so that it is a form of the verb שוב, and 5) supply a second verb of seeing to correspond to ἐπιβλέπουσα. While no one of these alterations is impossible or even unusual in this setting, all five of them together seem unlikely. If, however, one assumes that the whole phrase ἐπιβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας μετὰ Σισαρα is the doublet, based on the Hebrew נשקפה ותיבב אם סיסרא, then one can generate this Greek text merely by altering תיבב to סבבי and אם to עם. It is true that ἐπιστρέφοντας is not a very careful translation of סבבי, which is perhaps why it is altered in the AI family to μεταστρέφοντας, but it is not an uncommon translation throughout the LXX. The only question then is what to do about בעד האשנב, since it does not appear in dkp𝔏. Considering that it cannot be placed in the context after μετὰ Σισαρα, I think it best to read with dkp𝔏, and believe that it appears in glnw through contamination.

[137] BI, AII, and AIII read διότι but the interrogative is more appropriate here than the conjunction.

[138] ἴχνη ἁρμάτων is found here in AI, AIII, and dptv, and πόδες ἁρμάτων is found in BI and BII, meaning essentially the same thing. However, glnw have δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ αὐτοῦ ἴχνη ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ (l: δυσίν ἀναβαταῖς). ἴχνη ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ in these MSS is a doublet copied from other A MSS, as evidenced by the reading of 𝔏: *bini ascensores*; The first half reads the Hebrew consonants as פעמים רכבותי, the latter reads them as the MT: פעמי מרכבותי.

[²⁹ σοφαὶ ἀρχουσῶν¹³⁹ αὐτῆς ἀνταπεκρίναντο¹⁴⁰

    πρὸς αὐτήν¹⁴¹ ἐν ῥήμασιν¹⁴² αὐτῆς¹⁴³

[³⁰ οὐχὶ εὑρήσουσιν αὐτὸν διαμερίζοντα σκῦλα φιλιάζων¹⁴⁴ φίλοις¹⁴⁵

    εἰς κεφαλὴν δυνατοῦ σκῦλα βαμμάτων Σισαρρα σκῦλα βαμμάτων ποικιλίας

    βαφὴ¹⁴⁶ ποικίλων περὶ τράχηλον αὐτοῦ σκῦλον]¹⁴⁷

²⁹ φρόνησις ἰσχύος αὐτῆς ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτή

    ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς

³⁰ καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν διεμερίσθη σκῦλα μήτρας αὐτῆς

    εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐτίτρωσκον δακτύλοις¹⁴⁸

    ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα ἐστηλώθη στίγματα ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκυλεύθη

³¹ οὕτως γένοιντο¹⁴⁹ οἱ ἐχθροί σου¹⁵⁰ κύριε

    ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον¹⁵¹

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¹³⁹ This word is replaced by ἄρχουσαι in the B family.

¹⁴⁰ ἀπεκρίθησαν is found in the B family for ἀνταπεκρίναντο.

¹⁴¹ AI and AIII add καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπεκρίνατο; the B family has καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέστρεψεν, but this repetition is missing in AII.

¹⁴² λόγους is the reading in the B family and in AIII, with no difference in meaning.

¹⁴³ The B family and AIII add ἑαυτῇ here.

¹⁴⁴ φιλιάζοντα is found in AIII and οἰκτείρμων in the B family, with very little difference in meaning.

¹⁴⁵ οἰκτειρήσει is found in the B family.

¹⁴⁶ βάμματα in the B family, βάμμα in AIII, βάθη in Ax.

¹⁴⁷ Verses 29-30 in the MSS uncharacteristically show very little differentiation except in 𝔏. However, at the very end of v. 30, dglnptvw add the above unbracketed text, and 𝔏 contains this text only, preserving no doublet. The text in brackets is left in for the sake of reference, since it does appear in every MS but 𝔏. However, it is clear that these two verses in their entirety have been duplicated because of their distinctiveness, with the addition in dglnptvw witnessing to the OG which has been lost in every other MS.

¹⁴⁸ δακτύλους in n; δάκτυλοι in l; δακτύλοις in dgptvw. I choose to read with the majority even though this means that a subject must be inferred from context; δάκτυλοι cannot serve as the subject of ἐτίτρωσκον.

¹⁴⁹ ἀπόλοιντο appears for γένοιντο in all of the B family, as well as in AIII and in AI with a few insignificant variants. This represents a slightly different interpretation of this verse than is presented in the B translation, as is evident from the way AII preserves the rest of the verse.

¹⁵⁰ πάντες is present before οἱ ἐχθροί σου in nearly all MSS; it appears after it in glw. This dislocation tends to show that its absence in 𝔏 is probably authentic to the OG, and confusion of its placement is due to it being added later.

¹⁵¹ The phrase ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον appears in dglnptvw instead of ὡς ἔξοδος ἡλίου in the B family or καθὼς ἡ ἀνατολὴ τοῦ ἡλίου in the A family, where it appears even in dglnptvw. This is surely a doublet, however, which is confirmed by the reading of the 𝔏, *cum oritur sol*, and by the difference in the opening verbs. The doublet appears in order to preserve both interpretations of the verse.

καὶ οἱ ἀγαπῶντές σε ἐν δυναστείαις αὐτοῦ

καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἔτη[152] τεσσαράκοντα.

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[152] ἔτη appears before τεσσαράκοντα in glnw, so I read with the better MSS.

Chapter Three

Language and Style in the LXX Song of Deborah

The Greek Translator's Use of the Hebrew

In the previous chapter it was necessary to presume that the OG was not based on a text that was substantially different from the text of the MT so that, as far as was possible, I presented a Greek text free from translation doublets. Nevertheless, the Greek text that best represents the original translation has certainly departed from the MT in several important ways; it includes text that is not present in the MT, it leaves out pieces that are in the MT, and occasionally it reads a set of consonants that is similar but not identical to the consonants of the MT. Before one can understand how the Greek translator used his Hebrew text, it is necessary to compare the MT to a conjectural reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* that the Greek translator used, as best as it can be determined. Below I have presented the text of the Greek version, my reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the Greek (which I shall call the Old Hebrew, or OH), and the MT. Both Hebrew texts are presented without vowel points. Printed with an underline are the portions of the MT which have been left out of the Greek and the portions of the OH which do not appear in the MT, as well as the consonants which are not read in the same way in the OG as they are in the MT. Not underlined are the consonants which were pointed differently by the Greek translator than by the MT.

What follows is my attempt to analyze the relationship of the Greek to the OH and of the OH to the MT. These analyses are contingent, insofar as they are dependent on a conjectural reconstruction, but I believe that I stand on firm ground because I have offered a text which is more carefully eclectic than previous attempts.

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
καὶ ᾖσεν Δεβορρα καὶ Βαρακ υἱὸς Αβινοεμ	ותשר דבורה וברק בן־ אבינעם	ותשר דבורה וברק בן־ אבינעם
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εἶπον	ביום ההוא לאמר	ביום ההוא לאמר בפרע
[2] ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν Ισραηλ	בפרע פרעות בישראל	פרעות בישראל
ἐν προαιρέσει τοῦ λαοῦ	בהתנדב עם	בהתנדב עם
εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον	ברכו יהוה	ברכו יהוה
[3] ἀκούσατε βασιλεῖς	שמעו מלכים	שמעו מלכים
ἐνωτίσασθε δυνατοί	האזינו רזנים	האזינו רזנים
ἐγὼ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσωμαι	אנוכי ליהוה אנוכי אשירה	אנכי ליהוה אנכי אשירה אזמר <u>ליהוה</u>
ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ Ισραηλ	אזמר אלהי ישראל	אלהי ישראל
[4] κύριε ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου ἐκ Σειρ	יהוה בצאתך משעיר	יהוה בצאתך משעיר
ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε ἐξ ἀγρῶν Εδωμ	בצעדך משדה אדום	בצעדך משדה אדום
γῆ ἐσείσθη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη	ארץ רעשה גם־שמים	ארץ רעשה גם־שמים
δρόσους[1]	נתפו [טל]	נתפו
καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ	גם־עבים נתפו מים	גם־עבים נתפו מים
[5] ὄρη ἐσαλεύθη ἀπὸ προσώπου	הרים נזלו מפני	הרים נזלו מפני יהוה <u>זה סיני מפני יהוה</u>
κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ισραηλ	יהוה אלהי ישראל	אלהי ישראל
[6] ἐν ἡμέραις Σαμεγαρ υἱοῦ Αναθ	בימי שמגר בן־ענת	בימי שמגר בן־ענת
ἐν ἡμέραις Ισραηλ ἐξέλιπον	בימי <u>ישראל</u> חדלו	בימי <u>יעל</u> חדלו

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[1] This word, which is not a translation of a word which appears in the MT, is probably supplied by the translator. As Lindars notes, the verb נטף always has a direct object except in Job 29:22 (Barnabas Lindars, *Judges 1-5: A New Translation* [ed. A. D. H. Mayes; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995] 231).

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
βάσεις καὶ τρίβους οὐκ εὐθείας	ארחות והלכי נתיבות	ארחות והלכי נתיבות
ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς ἀπράκτους	ילכו ארחות עקלקלות	ילכו ארחות עקלקלות
[7] ἐξέλειπον οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ	חדלו פרזן בישראל	חדלו פרזן בישראל
ἕως οὗ ἐξανέστη Δεβορρα μήτηρ	עד שקמתי דבורה אם	<u>חדלו</u> עד שקמתי דבורה
		<u>שקמתי</u> אם <u>בישראל</u>
[8] ᾑρέτισαν θεοὺς καινοὺς	יבחר אלהים חדשים	יבחר אלהים חדשים
ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον	אז לחם שערים	אז לחם שערים
σκέπην ἐὰν ἰδὼν σιρομαστῶν	מגן אם־יראה ורמח	מגן אם־יראה ורמח
τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες	בארבעים אלף	בארבעים אלף <u>בישראל</u>
[9] ἡ καρδία μου ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἐν Ισραηλ	לבי לחוקקי ישראל	לבי לחוקקי ישראל
οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ λαοῦ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον	המתנדבים בעם ברכו יהוה	המתנדבים בעם ברכו יהוה
[10] ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων	רכבי אתנות	רכבי אתנות <u>צחרות</u>
καθήμενοι ἐπὶ λαμπηνῶν[2]	ישבי על־מדין	ישבי על־מדין
		<u>והלכי על־דרך</u> שיחו
[11] φθέγξασθε φωνὴν ὀργάνοις	שיחו מקול מחצצ<u>ר</u>ים	מקול מחצצים
ἀνὰ μέσον εὐφραινομένων ἐκεῖ	בין מ<u>סבא</u>ים שם	בין מ<u>שאב</u>ים שם
δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ	יתנו צדקות יהוה	יתנו צדקות יהוה צדקת
δίκαιοι ἐνίσχυσαν ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ	צדקת פרזנו בישראל	פרזנו בישראל אז
τότε κατέβη εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ	אז ירדו לשעריו	ירדו לשערי<u>ם</u>
ὁ λαὸς κυρίου	עם־יהוה	עם־יהוה

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[2] The translation λαμπηνῶν is an interpretation of מדין, not a translation of an alternative set of consonants (cf. Lindars, *Judges*, 244).

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
[12] ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα	עורי דבורה	עורי עורי דבורה
ἐξέγειρον μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου[3]	עורי רבבות עממיך	עורי
ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα	עורי דברה	עורי דברי־שׁיר
ἐνίσχυσον τὸν Βαρακ	שׁרי קום ברק	קום ברק
αἰχμαλώτιζε αἰχμαλωσίαν σου υἱὸς Αβινοεμ	ושׁבה שׁביך בן־אבינעם	ושׁבה שׁביך בן־אבינעם
[13] τότε ἐμεγαλύνθη[4] ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ	אז יאדירים שׁרין	אז ירד שׂריד לאדירים
κύριος ἐπολέμει[5] μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς	יהוה ידר־לי בגבורים	עם יהוה ירד־לי בגבורים
[14] λαὸς Εφραιμ ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν κοιλάδι	בני אפרים שׁרשׁם בעמק	מני אפרים שׁרשׁם בעמלק
ἀδελφοῦ σου Βενιαμειν ἐν λαοῖς σου	אחיך בנימין בעממיך	אחריך בנימין בעממיך
ἐξεγείρου[6] Μαχιρ κατέβησαν ἐξερευνῶντες	עורי מכיר ירדו מחקרים	מני מכיר ירדו מחקקים
καὶ ἐκ Ζαβουλων ἐκεῖθεν ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἡγήσεως	ומזבולן משׁם בשׁבט ספר	ומזבולן משׁכים בשׁבט ספר
[15] ἐνισχύοντος Ισσαχαρ μετὰ Δεβορρας	ושׁרי ביששׁכר עם־דברה	ושׁרי ביששׁכר עם־דברה
ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα	בעמק שׁלח ברגליו	ויששׁכר כן ברק בעמק שׁלח ברגליו
ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι μεγάλοι	בפלגות גדלים חקקים	בפלגות ראובן גדלים

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[3] The reconstructed Hebrew is suggested by BHS, 407. I have added a 2nd person pronominal suffix to the BHS suggestion to represent σου.

[4] Words from the Hebrew root אדר are commonly translated by Greek words of the root μεγα-, indicating that the translator treated this as a verb; furthermore, the order of words appears to be different than the order of words in the MT.

[5] The Greek translation ἐπολέμει indicates a confusion of dalet and resh, reading ידר for ירד.

[6] The Greek ἐξεγείρου here indicates that the translator read עורי here.

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
ἀκριβασμοί		חקקי־לֵב
16 ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χειλῶν	למה ישבת בין המשפתים	למה ישבת בין המשפתים
τοῦ ἀκούειν συριγμοὺς ἐξεγειρόντων[7]	לשמע שרקות עֲדָרים	לשמע שרקות עֲדָרים
τοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην	לפלגות ראובן	לפלגות ראובן
μεγάλοι ἐξιχνιασμοὶ καρδίας	גדולים חקרי־לב	גדולים חקרי־לב
17 Γαδ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατεσκήνωσεν	גד בעבר הירדן שכן	גִלְעָד בעבר הירדן שכן
καὶ Δαν ἵνα τί παροικεῖς πλοίοις	ודן למה תָגוּר אניות	ודן למה יָגוּר אניות
Ασηρ παρῴκησεν παρ' αἰγιαλὸν θαλασσῶν	אשר ישב לחוף ימים	אשר ישב לחוף ימים
ἐπὶ διεκβολὰς αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν	ועל מפרציו ישכון	ועל מפרציו ישכון
18 Ζαβουλων λαὸς ὀνειδίσας ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς θάνατον	זבלון עם חרף נפשו למות	זבלון עם חרף נפשו למות
καὶ Νεφθαλειμ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν	ונפתלי על מרומי שדה	ונפתלי על מרומי שדה
19 ἦλθον βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπολέμησαν τότε	באו מלכים נלחמו אז	באו מלכים נלחמו אז
παρετάξαντο βασιλεῖς Χανααν ἐν Θεναχ	נלחמו מלכי כנען בתענך	נלחמו מלכי כנען בתענך
ἐπὶ ὕδατος Μαγεδδω πλεονεξίαν	על־מי מגדו	על־מי מגדו
ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔλαβον	בצע כסף לא לקחו	בצע כסף לא לקחו
20 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπολεμήθησαν	מן־שמים נלחמו	מן־שמים נלחמו

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[7] Further dalet-resh confusion, reading עררים for עדרים.

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
ἀστέρες	הכוכבים	הכוכבים
ἐκ τῶν τάξεων αὐτῶν ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ Σισαρρα	ממסלותם נלחמו עם־סיסרא	ממסלותם נלחמו עם־סיסרא
[21] χειμάρρους Κεισσων συνεψησμένων αὐτούς	נחל קישון גרפם	נחל קישון גרפם <u>נחל קדומים נחל קישון</u>
ὁμαλίει αὐτοὺς ἡ πτέρνα μου ἐν ἰσχύει	תדרכן פשעי עז	תדרכ<u>י</u> נפשי עז
[22] τότε ἀνεκόπησαν πτέρναι ἱππῶν	אז הלמו עקבי־סוס	אז הלמו עקבי־סוס
Μαδαρωθ δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ	מדהרות אביריו	מדהרות <u>דהרות</u> אביריו
[23] ἴδοιεν ὀδύνας ἴδοιεν καταράσει ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἄρᾶτε ἀπολέσατε	<u>ראו מזור ראו אור</u> <u>זדי רמות הרימו אבדו</u>	<u>אורו מרוז</u>
εἶπεν ἄγγελος κυρίου	אמר מלאך יהוה	אמר מלאך יהוה <u>ארו</u>
τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν	ישביה כי לא־באו לעזרת	<u>ארור</u> ישביה כי לא־באו לעזרת
Κύριος βοηθὸς ἡμῶν, Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατός	יהוה לעזרת יהוה בגבורים	יהוה לעזרת יהוה בגבורים
[24] εὐλογηθείη ἐκ γυναικῶν Ιαηλ ἡ γυνὴ Χαβερ τοῦ Κενναίου	תברך מנשים יעל אשת חבר הקיני	תברך מנשים יעל אשת חבר הקיני
ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ εὐλογηθείη	מ<u>ש</u>נים ב<u>תהלה</u> תברך	מ<u>נש</u>ים ב<u>א</u>הל תברך
[25] ὕδωρ ᾔτησεν αὐτὴν καὶ γάλα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ	מים שאל חלב נתנה	מים שאל חלב נתנה
ἐν λεκάνῃ μεγιστάνων προσήγγισεν βούτυρον	בספל אדירים הקריבה חמאה	בספל אדירים הקריבה חמאה

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
[26] τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἐξέτεινεν εἰς πάσσαλον	ידה ליתד תשלחנה	ידה ליתד תשלחנה
τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς κατακόπτοντος τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι	וימינה להלמות <u>עמ</u>לים	וימינה להלמות <u>עמ</u>לים
διήλασε τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ	הלמה <u>רקתו</u>	<u>והלמה סיסרא</u>
καὶ συνέθλασε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ	<u>ומחצה</u> ראשו	<u>מחקה</u> ראשו
καὶ συνετέλεσε τὸν Σισαρα	<u>וחלפה סיסרא</u>	<u>ומחצה וחלפה רקתו</u>
[27] ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς	בין רגליה כרע נפל	בין רגליה כרע נפל
ἐσκίρτησεν ἔπεσεν[8]		<u>שכב בין רגליה כרע נפל</u>
ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν ἐταλαιπώρησεν	באשר כרע שם נפל שדוד	באשר כרע שם נפל שדוד
[28] διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐπιβλέπουσα	בעד החלון נשקפה	בעד החלון נשקפה
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας[9] μετὰ Σισαρα	<u>וסבבי עם</u>־סיסרא	ותיבבאם סיסרא <u>בעד האשנב</u>
διὰ τί ἠσχάτισεν τὸ ἄρμα αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι	מדוע בשש רכבו לבוא	מדוע בשש רכבו לבוא
διὰ τί ἐχρόνισαν δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ αὐτοῦ	מדוע אחרו פעמי<u>ם</u> רכבותיו	מדוע אחרו פעמי <u>מ</u>רכבותיו
[29] φρόνησις ἰσχύος αὐτῆς ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτῇ	חכמות שרותיה תענינה	חכמות שרותיה תענינה
ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τοῦς λόγους	אף־היא תשיב אמריה	אף־היא תשיב אמריה

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[8] The absence of an entire line here in the Greek which is present in the MT may be either due to homoioteleuton, since both lines end with נפל, or it may have been dropped for poetic reasons since the information is repetitive.

[9] Forms of στρέφω and ἐπιστρέφω are not uncommon translations for סבב in the LXX, and here can either mean "turned back," i.e., "returning," or have its specifically military connotation, "routed" (LSJ, s.v. ἐπιστρέφω).

Greek Text	Reconstructed Hebrew	MT
αὐτῆς	לה	לה
³⁰ καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν διεμερίσθη	הלא ימצא ויחלקו	הלא ימצאו יחלקו
σκῦλα μήτρας αὐτῆς	שלל רחם רחמתים	שלל רחם רחמתים
εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐτίτρωσκον¹⁰ δακτύλοις¹¹	לראש גבר חלל אצבעים	לראש גבר שלל צבעים
ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα ἐστηλώθη¹² στίγματα¹³	לסיסרא נצבעים רקמה	לסיסרא שלל צבעים
ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκυλεύθη	לצוארו ושלל	רקמה צבע רקמתים
		לצוארי שלל
³¹ οὕτως γένοιντο οἱ ἐχθροί¹⁴ σου κύριε	כן יהי אויביך יהוה	כן יאבדו כל־אויביך יהוה
ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον	כצאת השמש	ואהביו כצאת השמש
καὶ οἱ ἀγαπῶντές σε ἐν δυναστείαις αὐτοῦ	אהביך בגברתו	בגברתו
καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.	ותשקט הארץ ארבעים שנה	ותשקט הארץ ארבעים שנה

Differences between OG and MT

The differences between the OH and the Hebrew that was preserved by the Masoretes fall into two categories. Although it is valid to refer to these as errors, I do so without passing

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[10] ἐτίτρωσκον reflects the reading חלל, "wound, pierce"; this meaning is not translated by a form of τιτρώσκω anywhere else in the LXX.

[11] δακτύλοις means that the translator read אצבעים instead of צבעים. Whether this was in his text or supplied by him is unclear.

[12] στηλόω is used in the LXX as though it were a synonym of ἵστημι. στηλόω in the active is used in the transitive sense and translates נצב, and in the passive it is used in the reflective sense and translates יצב. It is better though to understand it in its sense of "to erect stele," an activity commonly taken after military victories.

[13] στίγμα appears to be used in the LXX as a word for jewelry, as in Cant. 1:11; here however, it represents the marks made on the stele. The Heb. רקמה is used in 1 Chron 29:2 to indicate decorative stones, which could roughly also describe a victory stele.

[14] It is unclear whether the differences here are part of the translator's text or whether this represents a level of interpretation.

judgment or assigning fault. It is impossible, a priori, to assign the error either to the tradition

of the OH or to the tradition of the MT.

The first category are minor differences, which involve typically only one word which is

read differently by the translator than it was by the Masoretes; the second category are major

differences that involve several words or entire lines, which are either not present in the MT or

are substantially different from the MT. There is a third category of errors that pertain not to the

Hebrew as the translator read it but to the Greek, which were probably not present in the OH but

were added to the Greek by the translator or by later communities in order to facilitate the

understanding of the Greek. This third category will be explored in the exegesis section; it is the

first two categories which concern us in this chapter.

The crucial question to ask is how these differences came into existence, and over this

there is much debate. There are three possibilities—first, that the differences are circumstantial

(because of alternate vocalization or confusion in letters); second, that the changes are deliberate

(motivated by theological reasons, or to make sense of a text which is not clearly understood); or

third, that the translator was working from a different text. No matter what sort of error, it is

important to avoid the third option whenever it is possible to explain the differences through

other means.

Several explanations for these errors have been suggested, the most common being that

the translator misunderstood the words of his text. It is common to believe that the first

translators were hindered by their inability to understand the language in front of them and so

substituted similar looking or sounding words for unclear words or by choosing words that

sounded similar to the word in Greek.[15] I am reluctant to assume that the translators were so free

in their interpretation and find it more likely that the discrepancies are the result of errors in the

manuscript or in the reading of it. This reluctance is due in part because the words that the

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[15] So, for instance, Burton Goddard, "The Critic and Deborah's Song," *WTJ* 3 (1941) 93-112; Lindars, *Judges*; and Natalio Fernandez Marcos, ed., *Judges* (BHQ; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011).

translator is frequently accused of not understanding occur elsewhere the LXX Pentateuch (the only part of the LXX that can safely be assumed to have been known by the translator) or even elsewhere in the Song and are translated correctly. It is unlikely that the translator understood a word in one instance and failed to understand the same word in another. It is easier to believe, and requires fewer assumptions, that the errors of the first category were caused by the translator's text. It is my conjecture that these errors are the result primarily, if not exclusively, from circumstantial errors beyond the translator's ability to control. If this is true, it is necessary to examine all the instances in the Song where the distinction between the presumed Hebrew of the translated text and the Hebrew of the MT are no more than one or two letters.

In v. 11 the possessive αὐτοῦ may mean that the translator read a ו instead of a מ. Also in v. 11 the translator read מסבאים for משבים.

In v. 12 the name Δεβορρα the second time may indicate a confusion of ה and י.

In v. 13 ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ indicates reading שריו for שָׂרִיד.

In v. 14 I have hypothesized that there is confusion between ב and מ, but to my knowledge this has not been suggested before and there may not be consensus on this point. Also, ἐξερευνῶντες reflects reading מחקרים for מחקקים.

Possibly, at the end of v. 15, the lack in the OG of καρδίαν reflects reading חקקים instead of חקקילב. This may not be a textual error but an interpretative translation, or it may have been dropped for other reasons.

In v. 17 the 2nd person παροικεῖς is anomalous and means that the translator did not read יגור as a 3rd masculine singular. This is probably not a textual issue but a level of interpretation.

In v. 21 the reading ὁμαλίει αὐτοὺς ἡ πτέρνα μου ἐν ἰσχύει probably indicates that the translator read תדרכן פשעי עז instead of תדרכי נפשי עז, indicating the lack of a distinction between medial and final forms. The 'ayin was gained or lost through scribal error.

In v. 24 the reading ἐν ἐπαινῷ indicates a confusion of ת and א.

In v. 28 the OG indicates reading סבבי עם־סיסרא for תיבב אם סיסרא, a confusion of ת for ס and of א for ע.

At the end of v. 28 δισσοὶ ἀναβαταί indicates again that there is not an orthographic distinction between medial and final mem.

In v. 30 ἐτίτρωσκον indicates a confusion of ח and שׂ.

In v. 31 the translation οἱ ἀγαπῶντές σε instead of οἱ ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν may suggest a confusion of ו and ך.

The foregoing list of problems does not include the several places in which there has been daleth-resh confusion, a phenomenon that is ubiquitous in the Semitic languages, and in early scripts they are distinguished only through context. It is possible to make some assumptions about the text that the translator used. It is generally agreed upon that the OG LXX was produced in Egypt by a community of Jews who had settled there after the Exile.[16] Since this is the case, it is reasonable to believe that the text in use was preserved in an Aramaic script similar to examples found elsewhere in Egypt. The OG translation of Judges was probably not made earlier than the mid 3rd century B.C., but the text that the translator worked from would certainly have been older than that. There are then two types of errors we should expect to find in such a transition: errors caused by the transmission of a text in Aramaic characters, and errors caused by differences in language between the Aramaic and the Hebrew dialects.

Some of the above examples demonstrate errors that are primarily phonetic—/t̲/, /s/, and /š/ were easily confused, as the phoneme /t̲/ was lost in many Semitic dialects and was replaced by a sibilant phoneme.[17] This is especially common in Aramaic dialects. Phonetic shift also explains the confusion of א for ע, which merged into a single sound in Aramaic. This process explains the readings מְסַבְּאִים for מַשְׁאָבִים in v. 11 and the confusion of סבבי for תיבב and עְם for

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[16] Indicated by the *Letter of Aristeas*. See also Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 59-73.

[17] Angel Saenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. John Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 20; Ronald S. Hendel, "Sibilants and šibbōlet (Judges 12:6)," *BASOR* 301 (1996) 69-75.

אֵם in v. 28. This means that the text probably involved spoken communication at some point, either at the creation of the Hebrew/Aramaic text used by the translator or by the translator himself at the time of his work. It must have happened at some point after א and ע became indistinct and after the sibilant shift, a process which was nearly complete in Aramaic by the 2nd half of the first millennium B.C.[18]

If the remainder of the differences listed above are caused by visual confusion of the letters, it would mean that in whatever script the OH was written there would necessarily be orthographic similarity between the remaining letter combinations. If a script is found that supports all of the necessary visual confusions, then it can be said with a high degree of certainty that the OH was written in this script, as well as give us a basis on which to discuss the nature of the other differences in the text. It will be helpful first to compare the combinations using examples of such letters from the ancient scripts themselves.

There are several related examples of cursive Aramaic scripts which demonstrate important traits. The oldest example comes from Saqqarah, from a letter written by a regional king of Philistia to the Egyptian Pharaoh.[19] Further examples come from Aramaic cursive hands found in Egypt, primarily from Elephantine. The last example comes from the DSS, 4QEx[f], described by Joseph Naveh as an example of "an archaic Jewish hand," and cited by Ada Yardeni as an example of the pre-Jewish Aramaic script.[20] When these examples are compared, it is possible to see the development of the Aramaic script and the possible cause of the errors. The Qumranic hand is late 3rd century B.C., that of the Egyptian cursives 5th century B.C., and that of Saqqarah 6th century B.C.[21]

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[18] Saenz-Badillos, *Hebrew Language*, 47.

[19] Joseph Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Paleography* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982) 82-83.

[20] Ibid., 113; Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2002) 168-69.

[21] The Saqqarah script found in the scans below is found in Naveh, *Alphabet*, 98. Examples of Elephantine and cursive Aramaic come from Joseph Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970), figs. 3 (Early Cursive) and 4 (Elephantine); Naveh's examples of

Letters	First element	Second element	Script
aleph – taw			Saqqarah Elephantine 4QEx[f] (Naveh) 4QEx[f] (Yardeni)
bet – mem			Saqqarah Early Cursive 4QEx[f] (Naveh) 4QEx[f] (Yardeni)
dalet – waw			Saqqarah Elephantine 4QEx[f] (Naveh) 4QEx[f] (Yardeni)
heh – yod			Saqqarah Early Cursive 4QEx[f] (Naveh) 4QEx[f] (Yardeni)
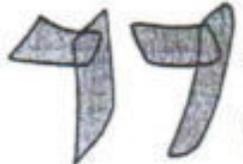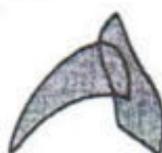
4QEx[f] are found in *Alphabet*, 100, ex. 3. Yardeni's script chart of 4QEx[f] does not give reproductions of actual print; rather, it depicts the strokes that compose each letter and so is an excellent source for comparing letter forms (Yardeni, *Hebrew Script*, 169).

Letters	First element	Second element	Script
waw – kap			Saqqarah Elephantine 4QEx^f (Naveh) 4QEx^f (Yardeni)
waw – mem	Elephantine	Early Cursive	Saqqarah 4QEx^f (Naveh) 4QEx^f (Yardeni)
het – shin			Saqqarah Elephantine 4QEx^f (Naveh) 4QEx^f (Yardeni)
qoph – resh			Saqqara Elephantine 4QEx^f (Naveh) 4QEx^f (Yardeni)
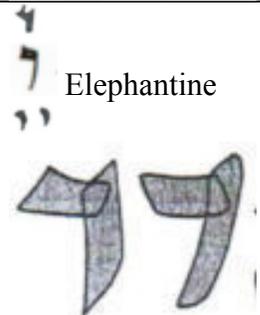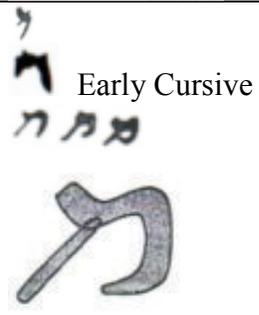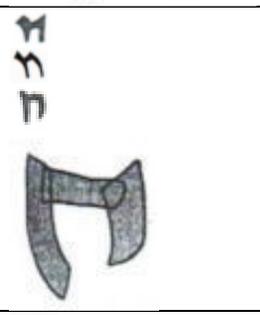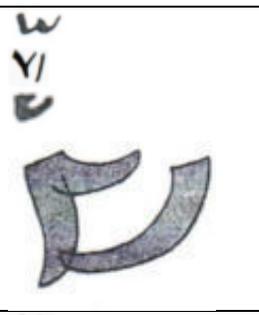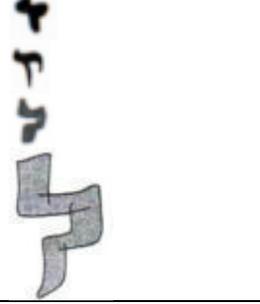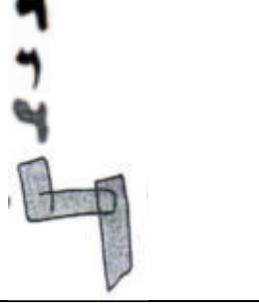
(מ, ו)-v. 11: These letters find similarity in the scripts of Saqqarah and Elephantine. In the Saqqarah papyrus the waw still exhibits a noticeable head due to the presence of a serif. The head flattens and starts to round off by the time of Elephantine scripts and is drawn with two

strokes as Yardeni shows, or with a single stroke. The mem in Saqqarah has a discernible head much like that of the waw, and in earlier examples the crossbar is rather small and, in some examples, does not cut it completely but rather hangs from it.[22] A mem with a small crossbar and a waw with a rounded shoulder would look very similar in Aramaic script of probably the 5th century B.C. By the time of 4QEx[f], the mem has developed a long tail.

(ה, י)-v. 12: In the 6th century the yod consisted of two marks, as it does later in 4QEx[f], but during the 5th century the yod commonly was made with three strokes: "down, then to the left, then curving up and down strongly again to the right."[23] The heh is composed of three lines but from the Elephantine scribes appears to be done in two strokes: the first begins upwards and curves to the left to form the crossbar, and the second is a line drawn either straight down from the crossbar or obliquely. In later examples, the second line is drawn to the right of the letter. These strokes are similar, and in some examples of extreme cursives of the era the two letters are very similar.

(ו, ד)-v. 13: Dalet and waw are drawn in a way nearly identical, both having the upside down h shape that gradually flattens. Even in the 3rd century B.C. they are still frequently confused.[24]

(ר, ק) v. 14: In the Elephantine scripts the qof is composed of a top bar with a sharp but short downturn on the right side and a longer vertical downstroke from the middle of the top bar, but usually not touching it. The resh is formed from a slightly curved top bar and a long downstroke that connects to the right side. If the downstroke of the qof was placed to the right of middle, it would appear to be a continuation of the downstroke from the top bar and look consequently very much like a resh. However, by the 3rd century B.C. the downturn on the qof

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[22] Naveh, *Aramaic Script*, 19-20.

[23] Frank M. Cross Jr, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. George E. Wright; New York: Doubleday, 1961) 133-202, here 143; quoted from Naveh, *Aramaic Script*, 27.

[24] Naveh, *Aramaic Script*, 47.

extends into a full half circle and the resemblance is lost, or at least would have required a very careless scribe.

(מ, ב)-v. 14: In earlier examples of Aramaic the bet and the mem are quite similar—they are both composed of a slightly curving rightward stroke on the top, and the downstroke curves to the left; the right stroke is short and the crossbar short. By the time of 4QEx[f], however, the crossbar of the mem has become elongated nearly to the point of becoming its dominant feature, and the resemblance is lost.

(א, ת)-v. 24: In the Saqqarah papyrus the taw still has the x-shape, and the aleph is formed by a downstroke and a cross stroke; the principle difference between them is that the aleph's cross stroke is composed of two parts (a back and forth), whereas the taw's is a single stroke. These two letters, during this early stage are quite similar, but as the aleph takes the three stroke shape that it exhibits in later scripts this similarity is lost.

(שׁ, ח)-v. 30: In the Saqqarah papyrus the shin is composed of four strokes in the w shape, but in Elephantine only three and frequently the right stroke does not meet the others. In examples of Aramaic form the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. the vulgar cursives have developed a form where the first two strokes are connected (as seen in Yardeni's example). The third stroke starts from the right side and slants downward towards the bottom left. If a shin was written carelessly so that the downward stroke touched the top bar and did not touch the left downstroke, it might be confused for a het. This necessitates a level of vulgarity in the hand that may be untenable, and as such cannot be said to support my contention, but the forms indicate that such confusion is certainly possible.

(כ, ו)-v. 31: These two letters have the greatest similarity around the time of the Saqqarah papyrus. At this time, the head of the kaf coalesces from two strokes into a single curving stroke; at the same time, the inverted h shape of the waw is flattening out to a slight curve before becoming flat by the time of 4QEx[f].

Although there is no extant script which can explain all the above discrepancies, the Elephantine script comes close. A script that has developed from the style of the Saqqarah papyrus towards the Elephantine style, and which may incorporate elements of the later 4QEx[f], could demonstrate most, perhaps even all, of the errors listed above. This theory may also explain certain variations on the transliteration of names in the text, such as the name Κεναθ for Αναθ in codex A in v. 6—in many of the scripts of Egyptian cursive, 'ayin took on a shape very similar to kaf, the only difference being the length of the oblique left downstroke.

It can be seen that the all of the minor discrepancies between the Greek translation and the Hebrew of the MT can be explained by the transmission of the text through an Aramaic speaking, cursive writing scribe of the 5th – 4th century B.C., a theory totally in line with what is already known or presumed about the *Vorlage* of the LXX. It should be possible then to put to rest, at least for the Song of Deborah, the idea that the translator engaged in practices such as replacing words he did not know with words that were similar, as though that were a legitimate substitution.

The errors of the second category, the more major departures from the text of the MT are somewhat more difficult to explain. The major discrepancies I believe have three explanations. First, some of the errors may have been deliberate changes on the part of the translator for the sake of expediency in his translation; this can be upheld only when the meanings of the words are redundant or implied. Second, major errors of this sort can be explained by scribal error more significant than the misreading of a letter. If neither of these can explain the origin of the discrepancy, then and only then should it be said that the OG had a different *Vorlage* than the MT.

Deliberate changes resulting from poetic expediency can explain: the absence of ליהוה from v. 3; the additional of δρόσους in v. 4; the absence of חדלו, שׁקמתי, and בישׂראל from v. 7; the absence of בישׂראל in v. 8; the absence of וישׂשכר כן ברק, ראובן, and probably לב in v. 15;

reading Gad for Gilead in v. 17, as well as reading תגור for יגור; the absence of נהל קדומים נהל קישון in v. 21; the absence of דהרות in v. 22; the absence of בעד האשנב in v. 28; and the absence of צבע רקמתים in v. 30. The additions in the Greek in v. 23 are too many to be considered poetic embellishment. The altered word order in v. 26 may be the result of poetic license, but it is difficult to see what the translator thought he gained by rearranging it; the absence of several words in addition to the order makes it unlikely that such sweeping changes were deliberate. The missing second line of v. 27, as noted above, may belong either to this category or to the category of errors.

Examples of scribal errors are thankfully few. The missing line in v. 5 may be either a loss in the OG through homoioteleuton or, as has sometimes been conjectured, a marginal gloss (זה סיני) that was erroneously replicated into the text of the MT and then expanded through dittography.[25] The presence in the OG of עורי in v. 14 is certainly an error of the Greek translator or the OH, as it is duplicated here through homoioteleuton from v. 12, where עורי occurs after בעממיך in my reconstruction. This error serves the accidental function of confirming that in v. 12 the phrase עורי רבבות בעממיך did occur in the OH. In v. 21 the difference between the MT and the OG indicate that an 'ayin was either gained through dittography (in the OG) or lost through haplography (in the MT).

There are still several places in which the OG departs from the MT and in the absence of one of the above explanations it can be said that the OH had a different *Vorlage* than the MT. Israel instead of Jael in v. 6 is a difference of *Vorlage*, as explained in Chapter Two. The abbreviated form of v. 10 in the OG cannot be explained completely through interpretation; the missing phrase "those who walk upon the roads" is a necessary part of the sense of the verse, and so we must conclude that it was missing from the OH. The Greek phrase μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου in v. 12 must have been present in the OH, because only thus can the error of עורי in v. 14 be

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[25] William F. Albright, "Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse," *JPOS* 2 (1922) 69-86, here 75, originally proposed this but was followed by many others.

explained. The missing word and the arrangement of the remaining words in the first line of v.

13 are not the product of poetic alteration, since information is lost; these too must be part of the

OH. The radically different form of v. 23 in the OG and in the MT also clearly points to a

difference in *Vorlage*, at least in the first half of the verse; I believe v. 26 is different in the OH

for the same reason. The transposition of letters in v. 24 (משנים instead of מנשים) alters the sense

of the passages, and must have originally been part of the OH. Last, although it is not certain, in

v. 31 the change in verb and the rearrangement of the words probably indicates that the OH is

different here also.

The Style of the Greek Translation

Much has been said about the quality of the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible and it

is most often highly critical. Until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it was generally

thought that the LXX represented a highly corrupt and poorly preserved text that disregarded its

source material at whim.[26] Once the evidence of the DSS came to light, however, the LXX

began to be thought of much more seriously as a witness to a Hebrew text that predated the MT.

For this reason, the way that scholars characterize the Greek translation of the Hebrew has

changed in tone and attitude, and it is worth seeking out sources that postdate the discovery of

the DSS. In the case of Judges, however, even the scholars of the early twentieth century were

using the LXX text to analyze the MT critically, especially in the Song of Deborah.[27]

With the reconstruction of the OG text, it is necessary to begin anew the discussion of the

style of the Greek translation of Judges. This work presents to my knowledge the first such

analysis based on an eclectic text of the OG. Analyzing the way that the translator used the

Hebrew text means rating him on a scale of translation with wooden literalness on one end and

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[26] For a full discussion of the various positions, see Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 314-37.

[27] See George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC 7; New York: Charles Scribner, 1895); Otto Pretzl, "Septuaginta-Probleme im Buch der Richter," *Bib* 7 (1926) 233-69; A. V. Billen, "The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges," *JTS* 43 (1942) 12-19.

dynamic equivalence on the other. Characterizing the style of the Greek translation depends on a careful examination of three criteria: the rigidity of grammar and syntax, the use of vocabulary, and the degree of correspondence between the source language and the target language. These three things together can be used to gauge the style of the translator.

In general, it is thought that later translators and editors were more wont to be literal, whereas earlier translators were more dynamic. For instance, Aquila, who rates high on one-to-one correspondence and literalness is late, into the 2nd century A. D.; the Kaige recension, which is distinguished by its use of stereotyped vocabulary, is frequently identified in the work of Theodotion, who is known to have been an editor of the OG near the end of the 2nd century A.D.[28]

Grammar and Syntax

Rigidity of grammar and syntax concerns the surface structures of the source and target languages. A translation with high rigidity will translate participles with participles, plural verbs with plural verbs, and so on. This method rarely produces smooth reading in the target language. It means, for instance, that a rigid translation would not make use of the finer distinctions in the Greek verb tenses or of the degrees of the Greek adjectives and adverbs. At the same time, it will produce some characteristically strange constructions, such as the attempt to translate a Hebrew infinitive absolute, used adverbially, with a Greek infinitive, which rarely serves the same kinds of adverbial purposes in Greek. The examples below are organized by type.

Verbs. There are many instances in the Song where the translator departs from his source text grammatically in order to ensure that a verb in the Greek is appropriate to the context of his translation. The following list presents all of the cases in which the parsing of the source verb and parsing of the target verb says something significant about the process of translation but

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[28] Cf. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* 76-83, 92-94. Symmachus is the exception to this, having produced a translation that attempted to be idiomatic Greek as opposed to the wooden literalness of his contemporaries.

omits cases which are trivial. For example, רעשה in v. 4 is translated by the passive ἐσείσθη because of the meaning of the words in their respective languages, and it is therefore trivial that one is active and the other is passive.

1—לאמר, infin. constr.; καὶ εἶπον, 3rd pl. indic. These verbs are not congruent, and yet each fits its context. The Hebrew infinitive construct is used here adverbially, an indicator of what is said. Its usage is standard in Hebrew to introduce direct speech but in Greek it is unnecessary. Whereas most of the LXX translates this as λέγοντες (as does the B family here), it makes better Greek (and better English) to say "they sang and they said," instead of "they sang, saying." The ל prefix turns into καί because the context demands it, even though they are hardly equivalents.

2—בפרע, infin. constr.; ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι, infin. This is a case in which the form of the Hebrew has been preserved in the Greek, with the result that the function of the Greek infinitive has been force-fitted to a certain meaning. The Hebrew infinitive expresses the temporal circumstances of its clause and, although the Greek construction manages to mean that, it would be far more natural Greek to have used a participle.

בהתנדב, hithpa'el infin. constr.; ἐν προαιρέσει, noun. The same construction in the previous line, to which this example is parallel, received a relatively rigid rendering, but this infinitive is not even translated with a verb. Although modern commentators treat this infinitive as circumstantial (as בפרע in the previous line), the Greek translator treated it as a descriptive relative clause and rendered the word appropriately.

3—אשיר, impf.; ᾄσωμαι, aor. subj. The use of the aorist subjunctive here does not seriously alter the meaning of this phrase, as the distinction between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative is similar to the difference between the English "shall" and "will."[29] The

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[29] See for instance A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (3rd ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919), 846-51, who remarks that most Greek writers make the distinction unconsciously and without deliberative difference, though the writer of the Gospel according to John does.

Hebrew imperfect expresses both of these, but it is possible that the translator understood and intended the distinction.

4—בצאתך, infin. constr.; ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου, noun. This example is very similar to the one in v. 2; the infinitive is descriptive and the translation is made with a noun rather than a verb.

בצעדך, infin. constr.; ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε, infin. As in v. 2, the parallel infinitives construct are translated differently, and this time it is the second of the pair that has been force-fitted to the Greek infinitive. These four examples of the translation of infin. constr. + ב, in vv. 2, 4, by noun, infinitive, infinitive, noun, seems to be almost deliberate in their parallel formation, indicating that possibly the translator thought that v. 2 was parallel to v. 4.

5—נזלו, 3rd pl.; ἐσαλεύθη, 3rd sg. Although ὄρη is plural, it is neuter and therefore properly takes a singular verb. This is noteworthy since in every other family but AII this was changed to ἐσαλεύθησαν.

6—הלכי, pl. ptc.; τρίβους, noun. It is difficult to say with certainty that here the reconstruction of the OG is correct. Although I believe that I have given the most plausible reconstruction, it would be better not to use this as an example in determining the style of the translator, so that what conclusions I make are not based on shaky foundations.

7—שקמתי, 1st or 2nd person; ἐξανέστη, 3rd person. The Hebrew is, in form, the 1st common singular, but it is recognized that the same form was also archaically used as a 2nd feminine singular, and the LXX does not always translate it accordingly.[30] Here, however, the MSS are unanimous in reading a 3rd person verb, even while the tense and mood vary.

8—יבחר, 3rd sg. impf.; ἡρέτισαν, 3rd pl. aor. The change in number arises from the presumed subject, which must be Israel. The Hebrew treats this as a singular (the nation of Israel), whereas the OG treats it as a plural (the people of Israel). The B family and a very few members of the A family use a singular verb here. The translator also recognized that the

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[30] GKC §44h and IBHS 498; cf. J. Alberto Soggin, *Judges* (trans. John Bowden; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981) 86.

imperfect verb here is a poetic imperfect, which, like the historical present in Greek, is the retention of the thought of the actor in a historical account, and did not translate it with a future verb.[31]

אם־יראה, impf.; ἐὰν ἰδών, ptc. In this case, the function of the verb determines its form, and an unreal condition is expressed differently in Hebrew than in Greek.

9—המתנדבים, ptc.; οἱ δυνάσται, noun. This change is demanded by context but is accomplished without trying to force-fit a Greek participle to this context, whereas the B family translates this οἱ ἑκουσιαζόμενοι. This also comes after the translation of חוקקי by τὰ τεταγμένα, which, although it is participle for participle, is noteworthy for being perfect, which is the proper tense for use as a noun in Greek. These translations are designed to fit the context more than the source language.

11—ירדו, pl.; κατέβη, sg. There was a similar change in v. 8, although the subject here is עם rather than ישראל which, though plural in Hebrew, is singular in Greek (ὁ λαός). Several MSS print κατέβησαν, even though the subject is ὁ λαός.

12—שרי קום; ἐνίσχυσον. The change here represents a substantially different understanding that what belongs to any of the other MS families. Even so, this translation is hardly literal, yet it makes sense and is fluid Greek style.

16—לשמע, infin. constr.; τοῦ ακούειν, infin. This translation is an infinitive for an infinitive, but in this case it is not a force-fit. The Greek infinitive here is used to express result, one of the natural usages of the articular infinitive in Koine Greek (at least, in the LXX).[32]

לפלגות, infin. constr.; τοῦ διελθεῖν, infin. This translation is less elegant than the previous infinitive in this verse, since it is intended to express result. This example seems more forced since a result clause does not make as much sense in context and strains the remaining syntax.

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[31] IBHS 502-4.
[32] F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn and Stock, 1905) §§ 59-60.

17—יגור, 3rd sg. impf.; παροικεῖς, 2nd sg. pres. It is unclear whether the change from 3rd to 2nd is a change introduced by the translator or if the translator read תגור in his MS. The translation of the Hebrew imperfect with the Greek present is one of context; from the point of view of the speaker of the poem, the tenses are appropriate in their respective languages.

ישכון, impf.; κατεσκήνωσεν, aor. Although the form of the Hebrew here is imperfect, like יבחר in v. 8 above, the meaning is not. The Greek translator correctly translated a proper form in Greek, although the translator of the B family did not.

18—חרף, pf.; ὀνειδίσας, ptc. In this case the Greek translator treated the verb as the beginning of a descriptive clause, and so translated it with a participle.

למות, infin. constr.; εἰς θάνατον, noun. The translator thought of למות as a nominal idea and so translated it with a noun.

21—גרפם, pf.; συνεψησμένων αὐτούς, ptc. This translation is difficult to explain, since the participle does not seem to serve the purpose that the Hebrew finite verb did. It is neither a match of grammar nor a match in function. The Greek participle should probably be understood as circumstantial.

תדרכן, impf.; ὁμαλίει αὐτούς, fut. indic. If, as v. 3 might indicate, the Greek translator was conscious of the fine difference between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative, then perhaps this translation expresses that difference between what one *wants* to happen and what one believes *must* happen. The Hebrew imperfect is volative and would as such would be most naturally translated by a form of the subjunctive in Greek.

26—תשלחנה, 3rd pl.; ἐξέτεινεν, 3rd sg. Although the MT is pointed as plural, it neither makes sense in this context nor is it ever translated as a plural by modern commentators. Lindars provides several possibilities on how the Hebrew should be read, but it is sufficient here to

recognize that the Greek translator either did not read a plural or was willing to emend his reading of the text.[33]

27—שדוד, ptc.; ἐταλαιπώρησεν, indic. The shift here from participle to finite form does not alter the meaning at all and is probably done under the influence of the context. The verse already contains five finite verb forms, and this last may simply be assimilated to its context.

28—לבוא, infin. constr.; παραγενέσθαι, infin. This construction arises out of the use of the infinitive as a verbal complement, a normal situation in both Hebrew and Greek. It is worth noting, however, that the Greek ἐσχατίζω takes an infinitive as a complement because it does not appear in Greek literature outside of the LXX and is therefore probably a neologism of the LXX translators (LSJ s.v. ἐσχατίζω).

29—תעינה, pl. impf.; ἀποκριθήσεται, sg. fut. This future is worth noting because it is retained only in the AII family; every other family preserved an aorist verb here. The Hebrew verb is imperfect because the action expressed is hypothetical rather than real. The shift from the plural to the singular depends on the context—the Hebrew treats שרותיה as individuals, whereas the Greek translator here interprets it as an abstract quality.

תשיב, impf.; ἀπεκρίνατο, aor. indic. This verb is imperfect in Hebrew for the same reason as the example above but in this case the translator chose an aorist, highlighting that either one can be an acceptable equivalent in the context.

30—ימצאו, hiph. impf.; εὑρέθησαν, aor. indic. (unaugmented) The translation here suggests that, first, the translator read this as a niphal rather than a hiphil (the difference is only a matter of pointing), and second, that the function of the imperfect in an unreal context is fluid and can reasonably be translated by the aorist. These same comments apply to the translation of חלקו as διεμερίσθη.

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[33] Lindars, *Judges*, 278.

31—כצאת, infin. constr.; ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, infin. This translation is not very fluid Greek and would have been better translated with a noun as in v. 4. ἅμα is not truly equivalent in meaning to Hebrew כ, but it fits the context.

The translator's use of verbs demonstrates a wide variety and a free style. Here it can be seen that meaning is a more important consideration in his style than conformity to the Hebrew text.

Prepositions, Adverbs, and Conjunctions. Prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions do not always function the same ways in Greek as they do in Hebrew. The following list identifies where in the Song the translator was not able to be both literal and idiomatic with his translation. This does not include prepositions attached to verbs that are dealt with above. Certain prepositions can be translated in several ways that are both idiomatic and literal, so prepositions are dealt with in the section on stereotyped language as well.

3—ליהוה, τῷ κυρίῳ. The preposition, as a marker of the beneficiary of the action, is translated by the case of the noun rather than by a word.

8—אז, ὡς. These two words are not equivalent in meaning, and they function differently in their contexts. Lindars suggests that ὡς here is a "virtual transliteration" of אז, but I am hesitant to accept that as the reason for this translation.[34]

אם, ἐάν. These words are formally equivalent, but the meaning that they have is not quite the same. Both particles are typically used to introduce conditional statements, but in Hebrew this is mostly the simple conditional with or without an apodosis, whereas the Greek conditionals are much more complex and usually require an apodosis.[35] It is difficult to say exactly how ἐάν functions in this context, but the resultant meaning is not the same as the meaning of the Hebrew.

ורמח, σιρομαστῶν. ו is not translated.

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[34] Lindars, *Judges*, 239.
[35] See IBHS 510-11 and Herbert W. Smythe, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), §§ 2298-2368.

בארבעים, τεσσαράκοντα. This is another instance in which the translator let the case of the translated noun indicate the function of the preposition instead of adding a word.

9—לחוקקי ישראל, ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἐν Ισραηλ. The prepositions here are not equivalent in meaning but both are appropriate to their contexts. The relationship of the nouns in construct is not indicated by the typical genitive noun expected in the Greek; rather a preposition is inserted to make the sense clear.

בעם, τοῦ λαοῦ. The case of the translated noun performs the function of the preposition.

10—ἐπί. This word does not translate any part of the Hebrew text, but is present because it is normal usage to designate the object phrase of the verb ἐπιβαίνω (LSJ, s.v. ἐπιβαίνω).

11—מקול, φωνήν. The preposition becomes unnecessary in the Greek and is dropped. The B family reads ἀπὸ φωνῆς.

למחצצרים, ὀργάνοις. The case of the translated noun indicates the function of the preposition, which is untranslated.

13—לי בגבורים, μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς. The ἐν here is unnecessary, since ἐπολέμει can take the dative of the object fought against. It may, however, be present to separate the function of μοι from the function of δυνατοῖς. The case of μοι takes the place of the preposition ל.

14—בשבט, ἐν σκήπτρῳ. In this case the ב means "with," a meaning not present within the semantic range of ἐν.

15—ושׂרי, ἐνισχύοντος. ו is not translated.

ביששכר, Ισσαχαρ. Without a case, the noun cannot indicate the function of the preposition. The information conveyed by the preposition in Hebrew must be gleaned from the context.

ברגליו, πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ. The preposition is not translated, its information being carried by the case of the noun.

16—εἰς. This translates no particular Hebrew word, but is necessary to the Greek translation.

17—בעבר, ἐν τῷ πέραν. ב in this case means "on" or "at," neither of which is really within the semantic range of ἐν.

לחוף, παρ᾽ αἰγιαλόν. The Greek construction is a proper translation, even though ל is not equivalent to παρά.

19—על־מי, ἐπὶ ὕδατος. על is formally equivalent to ἐπί, but since this is not a naval battle it is not possible to have a battle *upon* the waters. What is meant is "next to, by," which is not within the semantic range of ἐπί.

23—ישביה, τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. The Hebrew does not contain a preposition but only a verb with a pronominal suffix. The Greek context requires a preposition in order to complete the sense.

לעזרת(ינו), βοηθὸς ἡμῶν. Whether or not the possessive suffix was read by the translator or supplied by him, the ל here is understood only through the context.

24—משנים, ἐκ δευτέρου. The מן here may be expressing either the partitive function or the comparative function. The Greek ἐκ is not necessary to perform either function, both of which can be accomplished through the genitive state without the use of a preposition; the use of δευτέρου, however, strongly indicates that the translator interpreted this comparatively.

25—καί. This is not present in the Hebrew and is supplied to facilitate the Greek structure.

27—שם . . . באשר, ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐκεῖ. The resumptive pronoun, which is normal usage in Hebrew, does not formally translate very well into Greek; more natural Greek usage would be ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ, or ὅπου by itself.

28—בעד, διά. These do not mean the same thing but the translation is appropriate to its context.

ἐπί. The preposition here is not strictly required by the verb ἐπιβλέπω, but the verb is used with ἐπί and a prepositional phrase by Dinarchus and Aristotle. Its use here is in accord with Classical style.

29—אף. This is not translated in the Greek.

30—הלא, καὶ οὐχ. These two phrases bear some formal similarity but the καί does not correspond to it. The Greek translator used the appropriate form for a question expecting an affirmative answer.

לסיסרא, ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα. This translation is neither formally equivalent to the Hebrew nor does it make clear sense in the Greek. This verse, however, is problematic at best and demonstrates more than any other the problems of reconstructing the Hebrew underlying the OG.

לצוארו, ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ. This translation, although less jarring than the previous example, is still not fluid Greek, nor is it formally equivalent to the Hebrew.

Adverbs and conjunctions show the same freedom from conformity that verbs show. The prepositions, however, seem to demonstrate a more rigid and less fluid style of translation, since the translator often uses them incorrectly or unnecessarily. This indicates that the translator's understanding of the Greek language is fluent, but not on the level of native fluency.

Pronouns. Pronouns serve very different functions in different languages but there is some overlap between the functions of a Hebrew pronoun and a Greek pronoun. The following pronouns are those which highlight the differences in the way that pronouns, either in Greek or in Hebrew, function in their context.

1—ההוא, ἐκείνη. ἐκείνη here is probably a better choice than αὐτῇ, which would be a formal equivalent for the Hebrew.

4—בצעדך, ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε. The pronominal suffix is possessive in Hebrew but in the Greek is translated by the accusative, which functions as the subject of the infinitive. The meaning is the same but the constructions are not formally similar.

15—בפלגות, ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι. It is unclear why the possessive is included here. Although it is reasonable to assume that the translator read בפלגותיו, it is more likely a result of the untranslated ראובן, the name being understood from context.

16—ישבת, σὺ κατοικεῖς. No pronoun is expressed in Hebrew, and it is unnecessary in the Greek. It must have been added by the translator to facilitate the Greek.

לפלגות ראובן, τοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην. It is unclear what information the translator was intending to convey by means of τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην, probably either "the affairs" of Reuben or "the houses (i.e., districts)" of Rueben. In either case, that information is not inherent to the Hebrew text.

25—שאל . . . נתנה, ᾔτησεν αὐτήν . . . ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. The pronouns here do not contain counterparts in the Hebrew, but the gender of the Hebrew verbs is inherent to their forms. It is therefore necessary for the proper flow of Greek syntax to supply the pronouns in order to make clear which third person verb is performed by the female in the scene and which by the male. What is curious here is that the translator accomplishes this not by providing the gendered *subject* pronouns (indicating who was acting) but by the *object* pronouns (indicating who was acted upon).

29—היא תשיב אמריה לה, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τοῦς λόγους αὐτῆς. This translation makes masterful use of the Greek pronoun to communicate the meaning of the Hebrew, although it required some rearrangement of words in order to accomplish it.

The translator's use of pronouns demonstrates his faculty with the Greek language. The examples cited above highlight his desire to facilitate the meaning of his Greek text and to create a pleasantly readable final product.

Vocabulary

The style of the Greek vocabulary is determined by the stereotypes the translator used in his translation. The following list presents all of the Hebrew roots found more than once in the

Song except for proper nouns and certain words in Hebrew whose translation in Greek is consistent enough to be unremarkable (e.g., בן = υἱός). This list also cannot include examples where the Hebrew text before the translator is in question. This list duplicates some data presented above, except where noted.

ב (27 times): ἐν—22 times; εἰς—1 time; not translated—4 times. A number of these (as noted above) must be considered stereotyped translations, since the resulting syntax in Greek is strained.

ל (15 times, excluding forms with a pronominal suffix functioning essentially as personal pronouns): ἐπί—1 time; εἰς—5 times; ἐν—2 times; παρά—1 time; not translated—6 times.

ו (15 times): καί—10 times; not translated—5 times.

מן (9 times): ἐκ or ἐξ—7 times; ἀπό—1 time; not translated—1 time;

עם ("people"; 5 times): λαός—5 times.

אז (5 times): τότε—4 times; ὡς—1 time.

על (4 times): ἐπί—4 times.

ברך (4 times): εὐλογέω—4 times.

ישׁב (4 times): κάθημαι—1 time; κατοικέω—1 time; παροικέω—1 time; ἐνοικέω—1 time.

לחם (in the Niphal, נלחם; 4 times): πολεμέω (active)—2 times; πολεμέω (passive)—1 time; παρατάσσω—1 time. The four occurrences of this word appear together in two short verses, so the differing translations are significant, even if there is little difference in the meaning of the Greek.

בין (3 times): ἀνὰ μέσον—2 times; ἐν μέσῳ—1 time.

רכב (3 times, twice as a noun, once as a verb): ἐπιβαίνω—1 time; τὸ ἅρμα—2 times.

עורי (3 times): ἐξεγείρω (active)—2 times, ἐξεγείρω (middle)—1 time. That the same imperative in Hebrew is rendered with different meanings in Greek indicates a distinction in exegesis.

מֶלֶךְ (3 times): βασιλεῖς—3 times.

בּוֹא (3 times): ἔρχομαι—2 times; παραγίνομαι—1 time.

אמר (3 times, twice as a verb, once as a noun): λέγω—2 times; λόγος—1 time.

מים (3 times): ὕδωρ—3 times.

שׂרי (3 times): ἰσχύος—1 time; ἐνισχύω—2 times. In contrast to much of the rest of the LXX, in the OG of the Song words from this root are never understood as persons; in fact, in v. 29, where the context almost demands a person, שׂרותיה is translated by the abstract concept ἰσχύος αὐτῆς.

אשׁה (2 times): γυνή—2 times.

ארחות (2 times): ὁδούς—1 time; βάσεις—1 time.

כרע (2 times): ἐσκίρτησεν—1 time; ἔκαμψεν—1 time.

לֵב (2 times): καρδία—2 times.

ירד (2 times): καταβαίνω—2 times.

שׁלל (2 times): σκῦλα—1 time; σκυλεύω—1 time.

חדל (2 times): ἐκλείπω—2 times.

רגל (2 times): πεζός—1 time; πούς—1 time.

נפל (2 times): πίπτω—2 times.

שׁיר (2 times): ἀείδω—2 times.

קום (2 times): ἐξανίστημι—1 time; ἐνισχύω—1 time. This second is especially telling since שׂרי קום and ἐνισχύω can be considered equivalents only through their context.

שׁכן (2 times): κατασκηνόω—2 times.

פרזון (2 times; probably thought of as identical in meaning to the root רזן): οἱ κρατοῦντες—1 time; ἐνίσχυσαν—1 time. רזנים (v. 3): δυνατοί.

נטף (2 times): ἐξίστημι—1 time; στάζω—1 time.

שׁמע (2 times): ἀκούω—2 times.

פרע (2 times, once as a verb and once a noun): ἄρχω—1 time; ἀρχηγός—1 time.

מדוע (2 times): διὰ τί—2 times.

יצא (2 times): ἐκπορεύομαι—1 time; ἐξέρχομαι—1 time.

נדב (2 times): προαιρέω—1 time; δυνάστης—1 time.

שׂדה (2 times): ὁ ἀγρός—2 times.

פלגה (2 times): ἡ διαίρεσις—1 time; διελθεῖν—1 time.

מה (2 times, both as למה): ἵνα τί—2 times.

צדקה (2 times): οἱ δίκαιοι—1 time; ἡ δικαιοσύνη—1 time. In this case the translations are separated by only a single word and, although the translating words come from the same root, they are distinct. The distinction is not inherent to Hebrew, so the distinction is a deliberate mechanism of the translator.

עזרה (2 times): ἡ βοήθεια—1 time; βοηθός—1 time.

גדול (2 times): μέγας—2 times.

גבור (2 times): δυνατός—2 times; גבורה (1 time): δυναστεία—1 time.

אדיר (2 times): μεγαλύνω—1 time (cj.); μέγας—1 time.

ראשׁ (2 times): κεφαλή—2 times.

שׁלח (2 times): ἐξαποστέλλω—1 time; ἐκτείνω—1 time.

גם (2 times): καί—2 times. It is the eponymous characteristic of the Kaige recension to translate this καί γε.

הלם (2 times, cj. a third in v. 26a): ἀνακόπτω—1 time; διελαύνω—1 time; κατακόπτω—1 time (cj.).

שׁם (2 times): ἐκεῖ—2 times.

שׁמים (2 times): οὐρανός—2 times.

אנכי (2 times): ἐγώ—1 time; not translated—1 time. Although these two occurrences are not enough to establish a pattern, this example is worth noting because it is one of the primary

characteristics of the Kaige recension to translate אנכי with ἐγώ εἰμι, as the B family does twice in v. 3.

The foregoing list of vocabulary suggests that the translator probably had some manner of Hebrew-Greek lexicon, even if only in his head; there are certainly instances in which he translates the Hebrew based upon its equivalent in Greek, but there are many more times in which he departs from the expected translation in order to render a sensible Greek text. Many words exhibit translations from varying roots within the Greek, and vice versa. The only time the translator appears to make a serious effort to adhere to this lexicon is in the translation of prepositions.

Correspondence

In this section I will detail every instance in which the Greek translator departs from a simple one-to-one correspondence from source language to target language, which is the default method of translation. There are naturally many instances in which the Greek language is unsuited to translating syntagms in Hebrew with exact equivalents. Trivial items, like the presence of the article with certain nouns, will be ignored. Any of the shorter differences underlined above that are not explainable as visual or audible confusion of letters and sounds may indicate that the Greek translator was choosing to leave out or insert something that was not in his text; on the other hand, it may indicate that the translator was working from a text that differed from the text of the MT. Those instances in which there is strong evidence to believe that the difference is inherent to the OH are not dealt with here.

In v. 3 the translator does not translate the second instance of the personal pronoun אנוכי, nor does he translate the second instance of ליהוה. These words seem most likely to have been dropped for balance purposes, since the meaning which the words convey is redundant, even in the Hebrew, so that the translator felt free not to overburden his work.

In v. 4 the Greek reads ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη δρόσους where the MT reads שמים נתפו. It is unclear whether the translator's Hebrew read טל or the translator added the word for the sake of balance; in this case, the length of the lines in Greek seem to suggest that without an object, the line in question would be light. Also, as noted above, the translator may have felt that the verb necessitated an object.

In v. 11 יתנו צדקות יהוה is translated by δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ even though צדקות יהוה is a construct chain. The translation given seems to require a ל in the Hebrew which is not present.

In v. 15 there is a transposition of phrases in the text. According to the Hebrew word order, the line should read εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα before ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ, not after. The shift in word order may have arisen from the circumstances of its preservation, but the most reliable source (𝔏) has it in this order.

In v. 16 the translator employs the phrase τοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην as a translation for לפלגות ראובן. Perhaps the translator interpreted לפלגות according to its context in 2 Chr 35:5, where the same word (but with different vowels) refers to the division of houses; as in v. 15, LXX 2 Chr 35:5 translates לפלגות with διαίρεσις.[36] Strict correspondence would demand only Ρουβην, or perhaps εἰς Ρουβην, but the phrase εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην is indicative of the translator's desire to make the poem accessible and fluid Greek.

Verse 23 offers a variety of readings, and the OG seems to be reading a substantially different text here than the MT. Although it is impossible to say with certainty what the Hebrew text is for the first half of the verse, it seems that the second half of the verse is based on a text probably identical to the text of the MT. In the second half of this verse, there is a shift in the meaning of the text. The Hebrew, which reads לא־באו לעזרת יהוה לעזרת יהוה בגבורים, means "they did not come to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord with warriors"; the Greek

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[36] Cf. Lindars, *Judges,* 259.

translator, however, divides the line in a different place and disassociates לעזרת from יהוה by making יהוה the subject of the next line, giving Κυρίος βοηθὸς ἡμῶν, Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατός. In this interpretation, the LORD is the help, not the one in need of help. This change reflects a theologically motivated translation, as it would have been inconceivable that the LORD should need help. The last word, δυνατός, does not translate a word in the Hebrew, but it does provide balance as well as complete the sense of μαχηταῖς.

In v. 25 as mentioned above, there are two pronouns which, although necessary in the Greek for distinguishing the differently gendered subjects, are nevertheless not the subject pronouns.

In v. 26 the Hebrew word ידה is translated τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστεράν. Whether or not it is believed that ידה implies the left hand specifically, it is worth noting that the Greek translator, of the three attributive positions, chose the longest one to render this word. In the next line, וימינה is translated τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς, a much shorter translation and still communicating the information carried by the Hebrew. The parallelism in the Hebrew is not identical to the parallelism of the Greek.

In v. 30 the phrase רחם רחמתים was probably understood in a construct chain, and רחמתים was read as a plural, not a dual. The translation μήτρας αὐτῆς indicates that the "womb of wombs" was understood to refer to someone in particular, hence the translation "her womb."

These examples demonstrate that the translator is more concerned with his translation than with making a Greek that corresponds interlinearly with the Hebrew. There is nevertheless a surprising level of correspondence, enough at least to demonstrate that it was a goal of the translator to hold to it when possible.

Conclusion

After reviewing the material it is possible to say without reservation that the Greek translator was on the freer end of the translation spectrum. His primary goal was to produce a

sensible, readable document that appealed to a Greek-speaking Jew. This is not to say, though, that the translator worked in whatever way seemed best to him; rather, it is apparent that he was guided by certain translational principles to which he held as often as was reasonable. In addition, the constructions which are left that are not fluent Greek seem to be left because the translator knew they would be understood by his audience. This indicates that he was probably writing for a community that still had either Hebrew or, more likely, Aramaic within its cultural consciousness, or that such a community was large enough to have retained residual Aramaisms within its adoption of the Greek language.

It is also possible to say that this difficult passage of Hebrew was, before the time of the translator, transmitted in an Aramaic script, and suffered copying errors (either in the copy used by the translator or in the copy that survived to the Masoretes) caused by both visual and phonetic confusion. It also, not surprisingly, was read with a vocalization tradition that differed greatly from the Masoretic tradition. It presents a consonantal text that is similar to the MT, but there are places where the same consonants are arranged differently.

However, the assertion that is made with regard to some LXX books, that the Greek is intended to be a Greek language guide to the original version, cannot be upheld with regard to this book. The translation clearly is intended to be used by itself without recourse to the Hebrew upon which it is based. On the other side of the spectrum, there are scholars who argue that the LXX translations are intended to be commentaries on the text by expanding on the meaning of the Hebrew, much like the Targumim, but neither can this be upheld. Although there are certainly portions of the translation which are not apparent in the Hebrew, these do not seem to have the role of commenting on the text but only on ensuring that the text is as clear as possible.

Chapter Four:

Poetic Style in the LXX Song of Deborah

Translating Poetry

The translation of poetry, unlike the translation of prose, presents its own special problems. When the poetry is sacred, the problems are compounded. In the analysis of the Greek translation of the Song of Deborah, it is my endeavor to determine what, if any, poetic structures come through in the various translations to see in what fashion the earliest translators considered the Song of Deborah to be poetry. Gerstenberger has noted that "the distinctive linguistic structure of the lyrical literature, its musical quality, and its ritualistic setting, all serve to identify it as a separate literary genre and consequently call for a method of analysis responsive to the particular characteristics and needs of the Hebrew poetic materials."[1] In this chapter I will attempt to offer an analysis of the Greek poetic style of the Song of Deborah that is responsive to the particular characteristics and needs of the community that translated it. In order to do this I begin with two assumptions.

The first assumption is that the translator of the OG had some understanding of the Song of Deborah as poetry and some conception of how poetry functioned in the Hebrew language. This is not to say that his conception is correct or even necessarily recognizable to the modern scholar, but it is necessary to assume that he appreciated the Song as poetry in its own right.

Secondly, although it would have been the primary job of the translator to render a faithful and accurate translation, the act of translation leaves a certain amount of leeway in the process, enough at least so that the translator could preserve some sense of the poetic even if he could not produce true poetry.

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[1] E. Gerstenberger, "The Lyrical Literature," *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. D. Knight and G. Tucker; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 409-44, here 409.

The clues to the poetic structure in the OG, whatever there is of it, are to be found in places where the translator has departed from literal translation or where he used words and phrases that would have been a better grammatical or thematic fit. As has already been demonstrated in Chapter Three, the translator exhibited a curious blend of literal and dynamic translation. This makes it more difficult to assert that every departure from strict literalism is tied to his sense of poetry but it is not impossible. In order to get a sense of the Greek translator's poetic style it is important to comb carefully the parts of the translation that depart from the strictly literal (which were detailed in Chapter Three) and ask why he departed. In many cases the answer will be that it rendered a better translation, but there are some cases in which the answer lies in the translator's conception of poetry.

The task of finding poetic patterns within the translation will take two forms. First, the translation must be analyzed by itself to determine whether there is evidence of poetic devices present. Such evidence by itself cannot provide proof that the translator controlled his translation in such a way as to produce something poetic; however, this evidence forms the basis of a hypothesis (or several hypotheses). Second, the hypotheses that were formed in the first part will be tested by examining the translation as it relates to the original to see whether or not they are supported by evidence.

Before this analysis can begin, it is necessary to ask whether or not it is possible, a priori, for a Jewish translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek to be profitably analyzed with regard to its Greek style at all. In other words, is there any reason to believe that a Greek-speaking Jew would have been conversant in the styles of Greek poetry, philosophy, or literature and be willing to employ poetic devices in Greek at all? There are two primary indicators that this belief is not only reasonable but very nearly certain.

The first are the points of contact between Jewish and Greek thinkers. In the 3rd century B.C.E., there are several accounts in Greek writers of contact between the great Greek thinkers

and Jews. Theophrastus and Clearchus of Soli, both pupils of Aristotle, record encounters with Jewish philosophers. The Jews in these accounts are held in high esteem by the Greeks and are considered part of the tradition of Eastern wisdom from Asia along with Indian wise men. They are thought to be a nation of philosophers. Hecataeus also brings Jewish history, specifically Moses, into his history of Egypt and depicts Moses as a person of strength and great moral character, qualities that are highly prized in Greek culture. On the other side, Jewish writers such as Aristobulus credit the Greeks with an innate understanding of the principles of God and of his just law, to the extent that he records that Plato read the Hebrew scriptures and derived some of his philosophy from them, and that Socrates' 'divine voice' was inspired by Moses.[2] The writings of Philo and Josephus both demonstrate that Jewish thinkers of the Hellenistic age had an eye on Greek readers and took pains to bring the two together. The historicity of all of these accounts (some of which are historically impossible) is not at issue; they all demonstrate the fact that there was contact between Jewish thought and Greek philosophy and that each was highly regarded by the other.

The second witness to this is the *Letter of Aristeas*. Although the letter itself is of uncertain origin and is almost certainly not written by a Greek official as it claims but by a Jew concerned with the reputation of the LXX translation of the Pentateuch, it does demonstrate more clearly than any other document how important it was to the Jewish biblical community to be conversant in Greek thought, even though it also takes pains to give priority to Jewish religion.[3] This makes it not only possible but likely that the Jewish translator(s) were familiar with Greek literature. There is no reason to suppose that their education in Greek philosophy did

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[2] Erich S. Gruen, "Hebraism and Hellenism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies* (ed. George Boys-Stones, Barbara Graziosi, and Phiroze Vasunia; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 129–39, here 131-36.

[3] Note for instance that in the Letter of Aristeas the questions posed to the Jewish scholars are all answered by pointing to God, ibid. 135. See also Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003).

not also include education in Greek poetry. This suggests that probably the translation served

two purposes: first, to function as a liturgical document for Greek-speaking Judaism, but also

second, to serve as a basis for contact between Jewish thinkers and Greek thought.

Analysis of the Greek Translation

It is necessary to define what manner of criteria we should be looking for in the poetry. It

seems reasonable that, whether or not ancient Hebrew poets composed in metrical or rhythmic

fashion, early readers of Hebrew poetry would have been seeking or expecting the poem to have

either a rhythm or a beat, since Greek poetry and Syriac poetry are both composed in metrical

fashion. It is also generally acknowledged that alliteration and consonance were used by Hebrew

poets.[4] The most important characteristic of Hebrew poetry, however, is parallelism.[5] This

parallelism can come in a wide variety of forms and range in content from very partial to nearly

complete. These are the primary factors that the translator may have had in mind when reading

the Song of Deborah.

Greek poetry is a different animal. Classical poetry rarely regards parallelism as

definitive and relies much more heavily on the meter of the poem, which is measured by long

and short syllables in the text. A classical Greek poem had a defined meter from which it rarely

deviated. In a translation work such as this, it would have been virtually impossible to retain the

sense of the original and have it fit one of the Greek meters; nevertheless, it is something worth

keeping in mind while analyzing the structure of the Song. Although they are less prominent in

Greek poetry, consonance and assonance are also qualities that should not be ignored. The

quality of the translation may also be judged by its preservation of the original parallelism. On

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[4] Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) 103-24.

[5] Ibid., passim; Michael O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980) passim.

this basis, the poem should first be analyzed with respect to its possible metrical elements and then second with regard to its verbal and semantic elements.

Metrical Analysis

The poem should be arranged as carefully as possible into lines according to its sense and its syllables and accents counted—these are proposed as metrical characteristics of either Greek or Hebrew poetry. It is a futile effort to count the meter of the Greek in long and short syllables, since such rigorous poetic metrics would have been impossible in a translation, and a cursory examination reveals that there is no pattern to the syllables that could be resolved into a meter. Besides the impossibility of creating a translation in poetic meter, it is likely that by the time of the translation Greek Koine had lost the rigorous distinction between the quantities of vowels, and metrics based on vowel quantity would have become obsolete.[6]

Verse 1 should not be considered from the standpoint of poetic structure, since it serves to introduce the poem proper. The poem begins in v. 2.

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
[2] ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν Ισραηλ	12	4
ἐν προαιρέσει τοῦ λαοῦ	8	3
εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον	8	3
[3] ἀκούσατε βασιλεῖς ἐνωτίσασθε δυνατοί	15	4
ἐγὼ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσωμαι	9	4
ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ Ισραηλ	8	4

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[6] Francis Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (2 vols.; Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell' Antichità 55; Milano: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica, 1976) 1. 325-27; W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca: The Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) 89-95. Although the process of vowel reduction is not clearly complete in the Greek language as a whole until the 1st c. A.D., the process would have begun sooner than that, and Egyptian Greek soonest of all (ibid., 94, n. 9, citing Gignac).

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
[4] κύριε ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου ἐκ Σειηρ	12	4
ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε ἐξ ἀγρῶν Εδωμ	11	4
γῆ ἐσείσθη	4	2
καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη δρόσους	10	4
καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ	10	4
[5] ὄρη ἐσαλεύθη	6	2
ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ισραηλ	14	6
[6] ἐν ἡμέραις Σαμεγαρ υἱοῦ Αναθ	11	4
ἐν ἡμέραις Ισραηλ ἐξέλιπον	11	3
βάσεις καὶ τρίβους οὐκ εὐθείας	9	4
ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς ἀπράκτους	10	3
[7] ἐξέλειπον οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ	13	4
ἕως οὗ ἐξανέστη Δεβορρα μήτηρ	12	5
[8] ᾑρέτισαν θεοὺς κενοὺς ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον	14	5
σκέπην ἐὰν ἴδὼν σιρομαστῶν	10	4
τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες	9	2
[9] ἡ καρδία μου ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα τῷ Ισραηλ	16	6
οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ λαοῦ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον	15	6
[10] ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων	13	3
καθήμενοι ἐπὶ λαμπηνῶν	9	3
[11] φθέγξασθε φωνὴν ὀργάνοις	8	3
ἀνὰ μέσον εὐφραινομένων ἐκεῖ	11	4
δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ	12	4

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
δίκαιοι ἐνίσχυσαν ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ	12	4
τότε κατέβη εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ	11	5
ὁ λαὸς κυρίου	6	2
[12] ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα	7	2
ἐξέγειρον μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου	13	4
ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα	7	2
ἐνίσχυσον τὸν Βαρακ	7	3
αἰχμαλώτιζε αἰχμαλωσίαν σου	11	2
υἱὸς Αβινοεμ	6	2
[13] τότε ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ	12	4
κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς	12	3
[14] λαὸς Εφραιμ ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτούς	12	4
ἐν κοιλάδι ἀδελφοῦ σου Βενιαμειν ἐν λαοῖς σου	15	4
ἐξεγείρου Μαχιρ κατέβησαν ἐξερευνῶντες	15	4
καὶ ἐκ Ζαβουλων ἐκεῖθεν ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἡγήσεως	15	5
[15] ἐνισχύοντος Ισσαχαρ μετὰ Δεβορρας	13	4
ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα	14	5
ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι μεγάλοι ἀκριβασμοί	16	5
[16] ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χειλῶν	12	6
τοῦ ἀκούειν συριγμοὺς ἐξεγειρόντων τοῦ διελθεῖν	16	6
εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην μεγάλοι ἐξιχνιασμοὶ καρδίας	16	6
[17] Γαδ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατεσκήνωσεν	14	6
καὶ Δαν ἵνα τί παροικεῖς πλοίοις	10	6

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
Ασηρ παρῴκησεν παρ᾽ αἰγιαλὸν θαλασσῶν	14	4
ἐπὶ διεκβολὰς αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν	13	4
[18] Ζαβουλων λαὸς ὀνειδίσας	9	3
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς θάνατον	8	3
καὶ Νεφθαλειμ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν	13	6
[19] ἦλθον βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπολέμησαν	11	4
τότε παρετάξαντο βασιλεῖς Χανααν	13	4
ἐν Θεναχ ἐπὶ ὕδατος Μαγεδδω	11	4
πλεονεξίαν ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔλαβον	13	3
[20] ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπολεμήθησαν	11	3
ἀστέρες ἐκ τῶν τάξεων αὐτῶν	10	4
ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ Σισαρρα	10	3
[21] χειμάρρους Κεισσων συνεψησμένων αὐτούς	12	4
ὁμαλίει αὐτοὺς ἡ πτέρνα μου ἐν ἰσχύει	14	4
[22] τότε ἀνεκόπησαν πτέρναι ἵππων	11	4
Μαδαρωθ δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ	8	3
[23] ἴδοιεν ὀδύνας ἴδοιεν καταράσει	13	4
ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἀρᾶτε	11	3
ἀπολέσατε εἶπεν ἄγγελος κυρίου	13	4
τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ	8	3
ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν	11	4
Κύριος βοηθὸς ἡμῶν	8	3
Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατός	10	3

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
[24] εὐλογηθείη ἐκ γυναικῶν Ιαηλ	12	3
ἡ γυνὴ Χαβερ τοῦ Κενναίου	9	4
ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ εὐλογηθείη	13	3
[25] ὕδωρ ᾔτησεν αὐτὴν καὶ γάλα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ	15	7
ἐν λεκάνη μεγιστάνων προσήγγισεν βούτυρον	15	4
[26] τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστερὰν	10	5
ἐξέτεινεν εἰς πάσσαλον	8	2
τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς κατακόπτοντος	11	4
τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι	8	3
διήλασε τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ	10	4
καὶ συνέθλασε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ	11	5
καὶ συνετέλεσε τὸν Σισαρα	10	4
[27] ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς ἐσκίρτησεν	13	6
ἔπεσεν ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν ἐκεῖ	10	4
ἔπεσεν ἐταλαιπώρησεν	9	2
[28] διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐπιβλέπουσα	11	4
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας μετὰ Σισαρα	13	5
διὰ τί ᾐσχάτισεν τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι	17	7
διὰ τί ἐχρόνισαν δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ αὐτοῦ	15	6
[29] φρόνησις ἰσχύος αὐτῆς ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτή	16	5
ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς	15	6
[30] καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν διεμερίσθη σκῦλα μήτρας αὐτῆς	17	6
εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐτίτρωσκον δακτύλοις	13	4

Greek Text	Syllables	Accents
ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα ἐστηλώθη στίγματα	12	4
ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκυλεύθη	12	5
[31] οὕτως γένοιντο οἱ ἐχθροί σου κύριε	12	4
ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον	12	4
καὶ οἱ ἀγαπῶντές σε ἐν δυναστείαις αὐτοῦ	14	4
καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.	14	5

It may not be readily apparent that this data yields any significant results. It is impossible for a translator to have arrived at a translation that was faithful to the original and yet held to any strict poetic meter. Furthermore, it is in doubt whether or not syllable counts played a role in the metering of Hebrew poetry. However, in the case of the translation of the Song of Deborah, what is at issue is not whether or not the original Hebrew poetry was metered through syllable counts but only whether the translator attempted to control that variable to any extent in his translation. To this end, statistical analysis on this data set reveals some interesting patterns.

It shall be my working hypothesis that the translator, to some extent, attempted to control the translation of the Song so that the resulting work had a meter that was at least poetic. As in all statistics, this hypothesis must have an opposite called a null hypothesis, and testing proceeds, not to prove the hypothesis, but to disprove the null hypothesis. In this case the null hypothesis is simply that there is no relationship between the lines and their length, counted either in syllables or in accents. If the null hypothesis is true, we should expect to see the length of the lines in the Song exhibit random distribution; if they do not, then the null hypothesis is disproved. It must first be said that the lines of the Song were divided without regard to their poetic syllabification but only according to their sense; the tested variable (line length) does not influence the results of the test (whether line length is significant).

The poetry as I have presented it contains one hundred and four lines. These lines have an average syllable count of 11.5 with a standard deviation of (σ =) 2.71. Given these pieces of data, it is possible to predict what a random distribution of lines would look like. This chart plots what would be expected from a random distribution of numbers which exhibit that average and standard deviation against what is actually found in the Greek of the Song. Right away, several things appear to stick out; lines of eight, fifteen, and sixteen syllables are more frequent than they ought to be, and lines of nine, ten, and fourteen syllables are less frequent than they ought to be. Are these findings significant? The standard statistical test in this case is the binomial test. Using p<.05 as a standard error threshold, we can determine which values are statistically significant simply by calculating the probability of the results occurring by random chance. For

Line Length in the Song of Deborah
■ Line Length in Syllables　▨ Expected Random Distribution
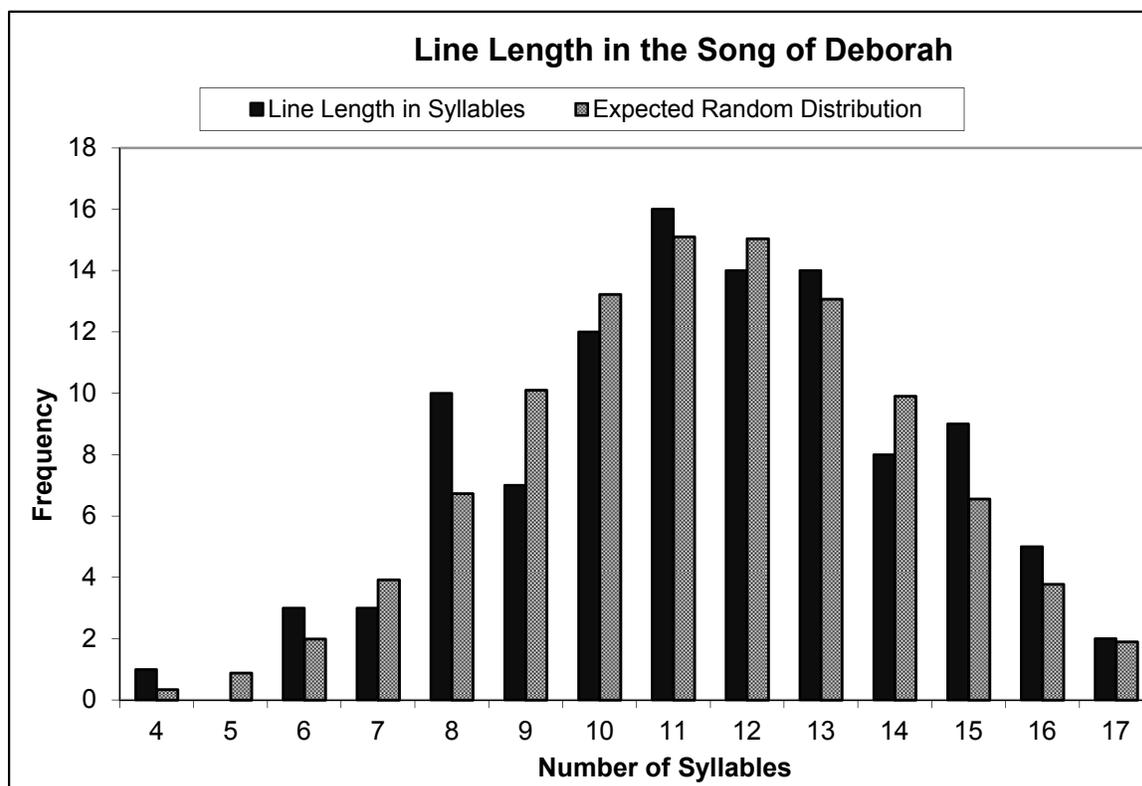
example, if the length of lines were random across our data set, the probability any given line

containing eight syllables is 6.5%. The probability that an observed result (e.g., finding 10 lines

of length 8 in a 104 line data set) is the product of random chance is given by the formula:

$$f(k,n,p) = \left(\frac{n!}{k!\,(n-k)!}\right)p^k(1-p)^{(n-k)}$$

where k=observed number of lines of a certain length, n=number of lines in the

observation, and p=expected probability of a line of that length. Of course, this is only the

probability of finding *exactly* the observed number of lines; where the results are greater than

expected, it is necessary to calculate the probability of getting exactly that result or any result

higher than that; where the results are less than expected, the probability of getting exactly that

result or any result lower. These correspond to the functions:

$$\sum_{i=0}^{k} f(i,n,p) \ \text{and} \ \sum_{i=k}^{n} f(i,n,p) \ \text{which is the same as} \ 1 - \sum_{i=0}^{k-1} f(i,n,p)$$

Applying these functions across all of the observed results yields:

Line Length in syllables	p (probability in a random distribution)	Expected number of observations (rounded)	k (number of observed lines)	Probability that an observation of that size or smaller is due to random chance	Probability that an observation of that size or larger is due to random chance
4	0.003266	0	1		0.288382569
6	0.019109	2	3	0.413389822	
7	0.037664	4	3	0.861168099	0.319852314
8	0.064765	7	10	0.446321309	
9	0.097157	10	7		0.136565641
10	0.127152	13	12	0.197208132	
11	0.145176	15	16	0.42963057	
12	0.144605	15	14		0.442589381

Line Length in syllables	p (probability in a random distribution)	Expected number of observations (rounded)	k (number of observed lines)	Probability that an observation of that size or smaller is due to random chance	Probability that an observation of that size or larger is due to random chance
13	0.125659	13	14	0.453272816	0.655876388
14	0.095263	10	8	0.674909659	0.434848804
15	0.063004	7	9	0.332326795	
16	0.036353	4	5		0.208913092
17	0.018299	2	2	0.82175661	0.327588101

Where the observation is smaller than expected, only the first probability is listed, and where higher than expected, only the second. Where the observation is close to expected, both are left in, although the results are insignificant.

The table shows that none of these results meet the 95% certainty threshold. This means that it is not possible, on the basis of the data, to reject immediately the null hypothesis that the translator had no concern for the length of the lines of his poetry. However, statistics cannot by themselves prove the point. Proving any kind of significance requires the second kind of analysis, where evidence of this kind of control might be found.

The number of syllables may, however, be a result of controlling accents, an equally valid measure of length. It is far more common to find scholars who measure the meter of Hebrew poetry in accent than in syllables; however, since the number of accents per line is fewer than the number of syllables, it is harder to gain certainty in proving variance from an expected norm. Doing so in Hebrew is practically impossible, since it is common when dividing lines of Hebrew poetry to use accents as a control variable (that is, the length of a line is determined in part by how many accents the analyzer thinks ought to be in a line). So the number of accents per line is not statistically independent of the way the lines are divided, making a statistical analysis useless. In translation, however, where the lines divide according to their meaning in *Hebrew*, the number of accents per line in Greek *is* statistically independent of the way the lines

are divided. This makes accent analysis valuable. For the same n=104 lines, the average length

of a line in accents is 4.01, with σ =1.16. Applying the same calculations as above produces the

following:

Line Length in syllables	p (probability in a random distribution)	Expected number of observations	k (number of observed lines)	Probability that an observation of that size or smaller is due to random chance	Probability that an observation of that size or larger is due to random chance
1	0.012134	1	0	0.280940291	
2	0.077259	8	10	0.820469471	0.282724845
3	0.235267	24	22	0.330623363	0.750128473
4	0.342624	36	45		0.035061032
5	0.238628	25	13	0.00290652	
6	0.079483	8	12		0.123022464
7	0.012661	1	2	0.854255446	0.379811968

The statistically significant results are that there are far fewer lines of five accents than is

expected (p =0.29%), and more lines of four accents than expected (p =3.5%). These fall within

the 95% significance test. The larger than expected value for four accents and the smaller than

expected value for five accents indicate that the number of accents per line is not determined

only by random chance.

Why the translator might have chosen to control line length is a separate question;

analysis of line lengths in Hebrew, counting in syllables, has yielded few enough results despite

several centuries of work from scholars who were convinced that this was the determining

criteria.[7] For instance, Coogan's analysis of the Hebrew Song of Deborah is determined heavily

by his understanding of syllabification, yet in his method of counting, even without the certainty

that the length of his lines is statistically independent, the syllable counts of his lines do not

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[7] See for instance William F. Albright, "Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse," *JPOS* 2 (1922) 69–86; Robert G. Boling, *Judges* (AB 6A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 101-20; and Michael D. Coogan, "A Structural and Literary Analysis of the Song of Deborah," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 143–66.

significantly deviate from expected values when subjected to the same analysis as the Greek above; the same can be said of Boling's analysis and the Masoretic counting upon which Boling's analysis is based. Nevertheless, this analysis points to the possibility that the Greek translator either controlled line length for the sake of the Greek or that he read the Hebrew poetry as though it were metered in syllables, accents, or both.

The pattern of the lengths is also a factor. It is worth investigating whether or not putting pairs of lines together that are the same length in syllables is an intentional strategy of the translator. There are two types to look for: adjacent lines with the same syllable count, and sets of lines with a discernible pattern. The following pairs of lines may be significant: two lines of 10 in v. 4 and another pair in v. 20; two lines of seven in v. 12; two lines of 12 in v. 11, three lines of 12 in vv.13-14a, and a run of four in vv. 30-31; three lines of 15 in v. 14 and a pair in v. 25; two lines of 16 in v. 16; and two lines of 14 in v. 31.

The following alternating patterns also need to be tested for significance: four lines running 11-12-12-11 in v. 11; six lines of alternating 13-11 pairs in vv. 18b-20a; the symmetrical (chiastic) pattern of 11-8-13-11-13-8-11 in vv. 22-23a; the chiastic 10-8-11-8-10 pattern in v. 26 may be significant, although these lines may be more significant as a running half pattern of 8 syllable lines: 7-8-12-8-10-8-11-8; and the chiastic 13-17-15-16-15-17-13 in vv. 28b-30a. Any of these patterns may occur by random chance, but we may say that the pattern is statistically significant if the probability of it occurring is less than 5%; however, even this statistical significance must be supported by exegesis: if the lines in question are not related in any other way, then it is of no avail that they might be statistically linked.

The situation may be treated as though we were drawing without replacement from a bag of 104 chips, each of which represents one line, where each chip has marked on it the number of syllables in that line. Several of these situations are statistically related; some must be treated as independent from the rest. So, for instance, when we calculate the probability that the three lines

of 12 in vv. 13-14 are a product of chance, we must ask at the same time whether the lines of 12 in v. 11 and in vv. 30-31 are a product of chance. The null hypotheses in this case would be: from our sampling of 104 chips, where fourteen of them are marked with a 12, it is a product of random chance that only five of them are drawn out in an order isolated from other lines of 12; or that of the fourteen lines of twelve there is one pair, one triplet, and one quadruplet. The hypotheses are similar for the other examples, and a null hypothesis must be constructed for each example.

The problem then may be summed up like this. There is a bag of 104 chips, labeled with numbers: 1 four, 3 sixes, 3 sevens, 10 eights, 7 nines, 12 tens, 16 elevens, 14 twelves, 14 thirteens, 8 fourteens, 9 fifteens, 5 sixteens, and 2 seventeens. These chips are drawn from the bag without replacement and are recorded in the order they are drawn. Under these conditions, I am testing the null hypotheses that the following phenomena result from ordinary random chance rather than by intervention of the person selecting:

1) A ten is drawn immediately after another ten at least twice;

2) A twelve is drawn twice in a row once, three times in a row once, and four times in a row once;

3) A seven is drawn twice in a row;

4) A fifteen is drawn twice in a row at least once and thrice in a row another time;

5) A fourteen is drawn twice in a row;

6) A sixteen is drawn twice in a row;

7) That 26 of the 104 chips (lines) end up adjacent to at least one other like it;

8) That a sequence of x-y-x-y-x-y will occur somewhere in the draw;

9) That a sequence of *-x-*-x-*-x-*-x will occur in the draw (the * representing any number);

10) That a chiastic sequence of four elements (x-y-y-x) will occur at least once in the draw;

11) That a chiastic sequence of five elements (x-y-z-y-x) will occur somewhere in the draw;

12) That two chiastic sequences of at least seven elements (x-y-z-a-z-y-x) will occur somewhere in the draw;

13) That four chiastic sequences of at least four elements will occur within the draw;

14) That three chiastic sequences of at least five elements will occur within the draw.

Calculating the probabilities of these individually would be a mathematical nightmare. Fortunately, the situation just described may be modeled by computer software and the probabilities approximated by the Monte Carlo method: that is, to run a simulation of the situation enough times to be statistically significant and see how often each of our examples occurs. The test was run in MS Excel and coded in the VBA Macro editor. A copy of that code may be found in Appendix A.

Based on a sample of 14,284 runs, the null hypotheses tested as follows:

Null Hypothesis	Number of Positive Results	Frequency
1	4436	31.1%
2	146	1.0%
3	760	5.3%
4	180	1.3%
5	6535	45.8%
6	1015	7.1%
7	2056	14.4%
8	125	0.9%
9	1117	7.8%
10	8311	58.2%
11	8381	58.7%
12	140	1.0%
13	1787	12.5%
14	1262	8.8%

For the lines of 12 syllables and for lines of 15 syllables, the null hypothesis can be rejected (2 and 4). The null hypothesis that three pairs of lines in alternating counts is a product of random chance may be rejected (8). The null hypothesis that the 7 level chiastic arrangements of syllables occurring twice is a product of chance can also be rejected (12).

In the other cases it is not possible to reject the null hypothesis but this does not mean that the phenomena in question are insignificant, only that they cannot be significant on the basis of their mere existence. In a similar way, the rejection of the null hypothesis by itself does not render the other examples significant; it only points out that their presence is determined by more than simple random chance—the significance of them must be determined by deciding what value the translator placed on it and how he achieved it.

As a working hypotheses, it is important to pay attention to the length of lines to see whether the translator controlled his translation for one of the following reasons: lines of a certain length are preferable to others; lines with 5 accents should be avoided; it is preferable when possible to give semantically paired lines the same number of syllables; it is preferable where possible to arrange the lines with a repeated pattern of syllables; it is preferable where possible to arrange a group of semantically related lines with a chiastic pattern of syllable counts. These last two, even though their presence has been determined to be statistically significant, are significant to us only if there is evidence that the translator did this intentionally and/or the lines in question are semantically related in the same fashion that they are numerically related. Ideally, we should find that patterns of chiastic syllable counts correspond to a chiasm in the text itself. Similarly, the other hypotheses are worth testing for even though the statistics do not support their significance.

Verbal and Semantic Elements

The verbal and semantic elements of poetry are less easily seen, harder to prove, and not subject to the same kinds of analysis as the metrical elements above. The three main elements to look at here are consonance (or alliteration), assonance, and parallelism. Parallelism is a ubiquitous element in almost every kind of poetry, but for Hebrew poetry it is the only aspect which has undergone thorough examination. Identifying parallelism is part of discussing the translation and so will be left until the next section.

Consonance and assonance are easy to see but in this relatively brief poetic work it is difficult to be sure whether or not what is seen is truly a pattern. This is complicated by the fact that consonance and assonance usually apply only over a few lines at a time, and what is assonant or consonant in one area of the poem is not identical to what may be found in another area. This kind of analysis can do little except to point out the possibilities of patterns. It is nevertheless worth doing, because paronomasia remains one of the few identifiable features of LXX poetry after it has been translated from Hebrew.[8]

To begin with, the various consonants and vowels must be grouped according to their pronunciation; by the time of Koine Greek, where members of many different language and ethnic groups had begun using Greek as the *lingua franca,* the particularities of Greek vowels and consonants had been reduced or eliminated. At the proposed time frame (2nd century B. C. E.) in Egyptian Greek, ι, ει, η, υ, υι, ηυ, and οι are all pronounced /ῑ/; ε and αι are both pronounced /ə/; ο and ω are both /ō/. The other vowels each had their own pronunciation. In Egypt, the aspirated consonants lost their aspiration and became equivalent to their unvoiced

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[8] See, for example, the repetition of words beginning with πλη- in LXX Isa. 1:11-15; J. Ross Wagner, "Translation, Rhetoric, and Theology: The Day of Atonement in OG Isaiah 1:11-15" (presented at the SBL Annual Meeting Chicago, IL, November 19, 2012).

counterparts, so χ=κ, θ=τ, and φ=π.[9] With such little variety in vowel sounds, finding instances of assonance that are not merely random chance means demonstrating conclusively that the assonance is deliberate. Consonance is somewhat easier since there is more variety.

When looking for degrees of phonetic relationship, one can look for the simple repetition of certain letters or sounds, but there would need to be an abundance of such sounds in a short span of words in order to be audible. A better pattern to look for would be a syllable or cluster of sounds that is repeated a few times. This would be easier for the listening audience to pick up and can apply over larger sections of text. Similar sounding words, especially if they share the same root, can serve to tie together the lines in which they appear. As with the numerical patterns, these patterns are more significant if they correlate exegetically as well as phonetically.

Testing the Hypotheses

My method for testing these hypotheses is to analyze the translation using data from Chapter Three to discover whether any of the above mentioned phenomena can be supported, with some degree of certainty, as poetic devices that the translator sought to retain or attempted to add to his translation. I will begin first by analyzing line by line what choices the translator made in his translation and how this affected the syllable count, the accent count, and the sonorous quality of the line. Then I will bring these elements together in a discussion of the parallelism of the Song.

Individual Elements

The second two lines of v. 3 both contain a proportionally high number of o-class vowels. Of seventeen syllables, they contain seven such vowels, all of which are ω. In v. 4, the fourth

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[9] See Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, 1. 183-294 passim, 63-101 passim.

line adds δρόσους to the end of the line, bringing the syllable count from eight to ten and the accent count to four. This matches the next line, which also has ten and four.

In the second line of v. 5, the translator chooses the preposition ἀπό to translate the prefixed מִן. Although this is in accordance with the style of the LXX Pentateuch, the translator only does this once in the Song out of nine occurrences of מִן. This may be due to the fact that ἀπὸ προσώπου is a stock translation of the Hebrew מפני. Whether it is or not, this line is eleven syllables instead of ten (if the translator had used ἐκ as he does for מִן seven times in the Song). This is not a match either to the previous lines, which are ten, or the next line, which is nine, though the accent count is now four instead of three since ἐκ is proclitic. The next line of this verse is missing several elements that are present in the MT. They may be absent due to their absence in the OH, but it is just as likely that the information of that line was considered superfluous and was eliminated. This ensures that the last line of v. 5 has nine syllables and four accents rather than more.

The first line of v. 7 makes two interesting choices; first, it interprets Heb. פרזון as a noun, when the same word in v. 11 is translated as a verb. Both words are connected to the idea of strength, but here the root of the Greek is κρατ- whereas in v. 11 the root employed is ἰσχυ-. The name Israel has the article, which is by no means consistent throughout the Song. The second line of v. 7 is missing several elements of the MT. Since all of these elements are duplications of words for the sake of poetry in the Hebrew, it is understandable that the translator left them out. The resulting line is twelve syllables long and contains five accents.

The difficulties of v. 8 do not play themselves out in the structure of the lines. In my reconstruction of the OG there are fewer elements than there are in other Greek texts of the Song. Especially noteworthy is the absence of ἐν in the last line of the verse and the absence of Israel at the end of the verse. Israel is an implied entity in v. 8, even though it has not been mentioned since v. 7. The second line of the verse has ten syllables and the last has nine.

The content of v. 9 does not render the MT precisely, although it gives the sense of it quite well. The choice of the translator to use ἐν to clarify the meaning of a construct chain seems especially significant since in the second line of the verse he translates בישראל as τοῦ Ισραηλ as though it were part of a construct chain without the use of ἐν.

In v. 11 מקול is translated without the preposition, and the instrumental dative, ὀργάνοις, is likewise translated without a preposition or even an article. Three words in the first two lines have a φ in them, three words in lines three and four have a δ in them. In addition to this, the word צדקות is translated as δικαιοσύνην in line three but as δίκαιοι in line four. This is certainly intentional, and both lines have twelve syllables.

Some of the oddities of v. 12 are due to the translator's Hebrew text. However, the translation ἐνίσχυσον for the Hebrew שיר קום is certainly odd enough to be significant. There are only three lines in the Song with seven syllables, and all of them occur in this verse. This is also certainly intentional.

The second line of v. 13 reads in part ἐν δυνατοῖς. In this line the preposition does not make a great deal of sense, as it serves to confuse the function of δυνατοῖς rather than to clarify it. πολεμέω can take an object in the dative (the enemy) or it can take compliments with other prepositions to denote allies (μετά or σύν) or enemies (κατά or ἀντί). The phrase "to fight in," however, does not make much more sense in Greek than it does in English. Procopius interpreted this as referring to allies, but the syntax does not support this. The line would have made more sense without the preposition or with a different one, but likely this would not have resulted in this line being twelve syllables long, as are the line before it and the line after it.

The second and third lines of v. 14 seem ill-fitted to their context, but the lines each have 8 syllables. The last line of this verse translates בשבט with the phrase ἐν σκήπτρῳ even though the preposition means "with." A more appropriate preposition would have been μετά, or even

simply to have omitted it, but this would have made the line sixteen syllables rather than fifteen as the previous line is, even though it would have given the line six accents instead of five.

The first line of v. 15 does not begin with καί, even though the line begins with ו in Hebrew and בישׂשכר is translated simply as Ισσαχαρ. This gives the line a slightly different meaning, since Ισσαχαρ is now the subject of ἐνισχύοντος. The purpose of this change is difficult to assess. These changes may have brought the line to fourteen syllables, to match the next, or fifteen, to match the previous one. As it stands the line is thirteen syllables. The third line of this verse also contains some irregularities; it appears to be missing several elements present in the MT and has added a possessive αὐτοῦ. The missing elements are probably not missing from the OH but are implied by the parallel line in v. 16. As it stands, however, this line seems to refer back to Issachar for its subject rather than forward to Reuben. It is not clear which the translator intended.

Verse 16 demonstrates several important features. In the first line the Greek adds the pronoun σύ even though it is unnecessary, bringing the syllable count for this line to twelve, with six accents. In the third line the translator adds τὰ τοῦ, which is unwarranted by the Hebrew text. It is also worth noting that this verse has eleven velar consonants in it.

The two things to note in v. 17 are the replacement of גלעד with Γαδ and that choices made by the translator result in five words beginning with π. This appears to be intentional, since the Hebrew verbs ישׁב and תגור are both translated by forms of παροικέω, and neither of these words required the verbal prefix παρ- to express their meaning.

Verse 18 does not yield anything of note. Verses 19 and 20, however, have several important changes. The Hebrew נלחמו occurs twice in v. 19 and twice in v. 20; this one word is translated in three different ways. In the first line of v. 19 it is translated ἐπολέμησαν, in the second line it is παρετάξαντο. Both have five syllables, but ἐπολέμησαν repeats the labial and lateral sounds of βασιλεῖς, whereas παρετάξαντο repeats the dental pattern started by τότε. The

third line translates עלֿמֿי as ἐπὶ ὕδατος even though παρ' ὕδατος would make more sense. This would have resulted in a line of ten syllables rather than eleven. In the first line of v. 20, נלחמו again is translated by ἐπολεμήθησαν, which is six syllables rather than five. The last occurrence of נלחמו in the third line of v. 20 is translated by ἐπολέμησαν again.

Verse 21 is missing an entire line that is present in the MT and was probably present in the OH but has been dropped for other reasons. The rest of the verse is translated according to the translator's understanding of the text and offers nothing which is definitively a result of the translator controlling the structure of the translation.

In v. 22, the choice to translate the Hebrew מדהרות with the transliteration Μαδαρωθ is certainly curious, but there is little else of note in this verse.

The first three lines of v. 23 are impossible to analyze without a better understanding of what the OH read, without which one cannot tell how much liberty the translator took. The first line though does have an unusual number of δ's, and the second two have a high proportion of labials. The fourth line turns one word in Hebrew, ישביה, into a four-word phrase, τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. The last two lines of v. 23 do not quite match the meaning of the Hebrew, but the translation was driven by theological concerns rather than poetic ones, and a word was added to clarify the sense. It is not reasonable therefore to expect these lines to conform to patterns.

Verse 24 yields nothing to individual analysis. Verse 25, however, has two important changes to mention. First is the addition of the personal pronouns in the first line. As mentioned previously, these pronouns were necessary to clarify the sense of the Greek but the choice of the object pronouns is not warranted by the Hebrew. The feminine αὐτήν instead of the masculine αὐτός increases the incidence of the vowel η; the same can be said of αὐτῷ and the vowel ω. These are both slight, and the resulting assonance is minor, but their deliberateness is obvious.

The second is the addition of καί to the first line, which adds a syllable to that line, bringing it to fifteen.

The seven lines of v. 26 nearly all have some specific alteration which makes it especially likely to find control. The parallel Hebrew terms ידה and וימינה become τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστεράν and τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς. The first is significantly longer than the second and the use of second attributive position is especially interesting, as it adds a syllable and an accent to the line. The adjective ἀριστεράν is added in order to make the parallelism clear (left … right) but the parallelism does not extend so far as to add the noun χεῖρα to the third line (so to have hand … hand). The fourth line is based on an uncertain Hebrew but the Greek is strained enough for it to be remarkable—the translator generally makes sense of his translation even at the expense of other factors. The OH underlying the last three lines is also uncertain though slightly less so— the words do appear, if with a different order, in the MT. It is certainly possible that the order was altered by the translator.

Verse 27 has a number of changes that affect the poetry. Several words have been left out of the translation probably because they repeat information which is already present. The verb כרע, which is translated twice in this verse, is translated ἐσκίρτησεν the first time and ἔκαμψεν the second. The last verb of the verse, ἐταλαιπώρησεν, translates what is a participle in the Hebrew. Although this is possibly assimilation to the context (which has more finite verbs than is usual) it is also less elegant Greek.

Verses 28-30, though not so bad as v. 23, still have their share of problems and the text of the OH is somewhat uncertain. The second line of v. 28 appears to have left out a word in the Hebrew, if the word was indeed in the OH, since it is a synonym of θυρίδος in the previous line. The second line of v. 29 leaves the Hebrew אף untranslated as well as rearranging the pronouns in the sentence. Verse 29 has a total of six words with the diphthong αυ and the rearrangement puts those sounds into closer proximity. In the third line of v. 30 לסיסרא is translated ἐν τῷ

Σισαρρα, which seems an unnecessary expansion when one considers that ἐν is neither a good translation of ל nor does it facilitate the meaning of this context.

Verse 31 uses a much different metaphor for comparing those who love God to those who are his enemies but, without access to the OH, it is impossible to say whether this is an interpretation of the same Hebrew as the MT or whether this is a distinct Hebrew tradition. Given the instances that can be seen in the rest of the Song, it is impossible to decide which of those is the more probable.

Parallel Elements

The parallelism of the translation comes from two places: carried over from the Hebrew, and appearing uniquely in the Greek; and it comes in two basic forms: semantic and syntactical. Examples of syntactical parallelism are of less inherent value than those of semantic parallelism because they would have been less obvious to the ear of the hearer until or unless the hearer was already trained in listening for them. Several of them have been mentioned already.

In v. 2 there is a syntactical construction that is mirrored in v. 4. The elements of it are ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ... ἐν προαιρέσει ... ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ... ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν. Each of these elements is a translation of a Hebrew infinitive construct but treated here in two distinctly different ways: the first and fourth elements are articular infinitives, a construction which is uncommon in Greek outside of the LXX and NT. The second and third are nouns, rendering the nominal idea of the verbs in question. All four elements are introduced by ἐν. Although this represents the ב that appears on all four verbs in the Hebrew, the translator did not always find it necessary to translate words whose meanings were conveyed better by other methods.

The arrangement of v. 4 demonstrates a short chiastic pattern which is made complete only by the addition of δρόσους. So καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη δρόσους demonstrates synonymous

parallelism with καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ, and γῆ ἐσείσθη with ὄρη ἐσαλεύθη. The fact that in the Hebrew the second of these four lines has no object makes it especially likely that the translator was carefully controlling parallelism in these lines. The two verbs ἐξέστη and ἔσταξαν are different yet are translated from the same Hebrew verb, נתפו. The consonants of both verbs are ξ, σ, and τ, and those of both objects, δ and ρ. ἐσείσθη and ἐσαλεύθη both begin with ἐσ- and are aorist passive. Both middle lines are ten syllables long and, although the first and fourth do not have the same syllable count, there was little the translator could have done there to rectify it. The deliberate addition of δρόσους, the similar but distinct manner of translating the verbs, and the careful synonymous parallelism indicate strongly that the translator's consonance and syllable counts are intentional.

Verses 6-8 form a logical unit. It opens with two parallel lines beginning with ἐν ἡμέραις, both of eleven syllables. The next seven lines very nearly form a chiastic arrangement in their syllable counts, missing it only by one syllable: the pattern is 9-10-13-12-14-10-9. The first line of v. 7 with thirteen syllables has two features which indicate that it is as long as it can be: οἱ κρατοῦντες is longer than a similar translation with the root ἰσχυ- would have been, and the fact that Israel appears with the article. The first line of v. 8 with fourteen syllables is as short as it can reasonably be while still translating the sense. Couple this with the deflation of the last two lines of v. 8 and it no longer seems coincidental that the ten and nine there match the nine and ten back in v. 6. Also, the "of Israel" which appears in the MT at the end of v. 8 but which was omitted by the translator suggests that he already treated this verse as being connected with v. 7. This chiastic arrangement centers around the line "until when mother Deborra arose," a fitting pivot point considering that the Song revolves, in part, around her leading Israel in victory. The remaining lines, though they do not form a chiasm thematically or semantically, are syntactically connected; the first line of v. 7 and the first line of v. 8 which surround this central point both begin with a verb, and the presumed subject of the latter is the one introduced in the former. The

lines of v. 6 and those at the end of v. 8 both speak of what can no longer be done in Israel (traveling on normal roads, or seeing proper armaments, respectively).

Verse 9 seems intentionally related to v. 2 by the liturgical call "Bless the Lord." The Greek translator seems to have added to this by the way he translated המתנדבים בעם as two nouns in genitive construction without a preposition. The very similar construction in v. 2, בהתנדב עם, is also translated by two nouns in genitive construction. This is further confirmed by the very similar invocations in v. 3b and in v. 11a: "I will sing to the Lord" and "Sound the voices with instruments." Verse 10 has a high number of labial consonants, both π and β; the first two lines of v. 11 continue this with three words containing ϕ. This labial pattern is repeated with less force in the fifth line of v. 11, with $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta$ and $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. Verses 11b and 11e both have 11 syllables, and the sixth line gives the subject of the verse, "the people of the Lord," to which the imperative in the first line refers. The third and fourth lines of this verse both have 12 syllables and alliterate words beginning with δ. The pattern of syllables, 11-12-12-11, and the near matching lines of 8 and 6 before and after, along with the thematic correspondence and the alliteration, militate strongly for the intentionality of these poetic devices. Any one of these things by itself or even two in concert might be explained as coincidence, but all three devices together cannot be considered so when they have support from the statistical analysis above. Therefore this verse can be considered near proof that the translator was demonstrating his poetic style here.

Verse 12 seems to stand on its own, not truly related to verses before or after it. The language of the Greek forms a parallelism distinct from that of the Hebrew. The Hebrew has two short lines begun by a repeated imperative; in the Greek there are four imperatives but each begins its own line. Unlike in the Hebrew where these imperatives are all identical, only the first and third are identical in the Greek; the second is based on the same Hebrew word but changes voice in order to take an object. The last is based on a slightly different reading of the Hebrew.

The verse shows no definite pattern in regards to its syllables except for the paired lines of seven in the middle of the verse, but of the three lines of length seven and the two of length six, all of the former and one of the latter appear in this verse. The other line of length six appears immediately before this verse. There is an abundance of guttural sounds, especially χ (three times) though all the velar consonants appear here (ten total). This may be merely coincidence, however, since both ἐξεγείρω and αἰχμαλωτίζω are stereotyped translations of עור and שבה, respectively.

Verses 13-18 form a poetic unit, tied together thematically by the naming of the tribes. As in the Hebrew, these lines are arranged in couplets or triplets. The first two lines of v. 13 are connected by the idea of "strength," and are each twelve syllables; the first line of v. 14 is also twelve syllables but is only loosely connected to the previous line by connecting the idea of "war" to that of "vengeance." The second, third, and fourth lines of v. 14 are all fifteen syllables but otherwise share less in common than the Hebrew, where 14c and d both begin with the preposition מן. The first two lines of v. 15 mirror the last four lines of v. 14: v. 15 begins ἐνισχύοντος Ἰσσαχαρ to match ἐξεγείρου Μαχιρ in v. 14, and the translator has switched his word order so that the second line ends with εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα just as the second line of v. 14 begins with ἐν κοιλάδι. The syllable pattern does not match this structure precisely, but the rearranged word order does support the idea that chiasm was one of the tools within the translator's style. The elimination of Reuben in the third line of v. 15 makes this line refer, not forward to where Reuben is mentioned, but rather back to Issachar, disrupting some of the parallelism between vv. 15 and 16 that exists in the Hebrew.

In v. 16 most of the parallelism is inherent to the Hebrew. Although the second and third line share the same number of syllables, the translated text does not demonstrate any other kind of parallelism. The translator does, however, expand the name Reuben into an entire prepositional phrase, εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην. This brings the line up to sixteen syllables and six

accents so that it matches its semantic pair in v. 15, which also has sixteen syllables (but five accents), as well as matching the line just before it to which it is less semantically related.

Gad, Dan, and Asher are the elements which tie v. 17 together and juxtapose their residing with the action of Zebulon and Naphtali in v. 28. The verse also demonstrates an adjustment by the translator. The Hebrew uses three words for residing: שכן, יגור, and ישב, whereas the Greek uses two: κατεσκήνωσεν at the end of lines one and four, and a form of παροικέω in the middle of lines two and three. This verbal parallelism works in conjunction with the repeated use of labial and sibilant consonants in the verse. Parallelism in the syllable counts is absent. The consonance is continued into v. 18, which is missing any other form of poetic structure.

Verses 19 and 20 form a pattern of repeating syllables, and the manner of translation makes it seem intentional. The statistical analysis identified this as a particularly likely place to look for such intentional changes. The three different methods of translating נלחמו are certainly telling. As noted, there is a pattern also of words with a labial and a lateral consonant, with two such words in the first line of v. 19, and two more in the fourth line (πλεονεξίαν and ἔλαβον). The dental pattern in line two is continued in line three with ἐν Θεναχ ἐπὶ ὕδατος Μαγεδδω, three more words with dentals (even though two of them are names) and three lines later with ἀστέρες ἐκ τῶν τάξεων αὐτῶν (four more dentals). The fifth line of this segment (that is, the first line of v. 20) completes the repeating pattern by translating the third occurrence of נלחמו with ἐπολέμησαν, making a line of eleven syllables. The sixth and seventh lines (second and third lines of v. 20) each bear ten syllables. The repeating pattern of 13-11-13-11-13-11, however, begins with καὶ Νεφθαλειμ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν from v. 18. This line is not connected to the pattern semantically, nor does it match the patterns of consonance in these lines. In this case, it should not be considered part of the pattern since it cannot be related to it in any other way, and the fact that it contains thirteen syllables is probably a coincidence. What is probably not coincidence is

the pattern of 11-13-11-13-11 followed by 10-10 in these seven lines. Thus the pattern in question is probably not a repeating pattern but a chiastic pattern of five elements. The parallelism of these lines is determined mostly by the Hebrew writer, but the choices of ἐπολέμησαν for the first and last occurrences of נלחמו bracket the lines.

Verses 21-23 are tied together by several mechanisms. These mechanisms are not part of the MT but come from the translator's interpretation of the text. Aside from going together thematically, there is a large chiastic pattern of syllables in the middle of it. The first three lines, 21-22a, form a subunit of this larger structure. Madaroth (v. 22b) becomes the subject of the curse in v. 23, and the word δυνατῶν forms an inclusio with δυνατός in the last line of v. 23. Furthermore, starting with v. 22b there is a recurrence of words with the /d–n/ consonant group in them (joined with different vowels), occurring in 22b, thrice in 23a, twice as θ-ν in 23e and again in 23f. The syllable pattern runs from vv. 22a-23e, but the sense of these verses is divided more naturally into three groups: 21-22a (three lines), 22b-23e (five lines), and 23e-g (three lines). The curse on Madaroth occupies the middle position, and those five lines are 8-13-11-13-8 in their syllables. These lines bear little resemblance to the MT, so it is not entirely clear how much liberty the translator took; however, the first and last of these do correspond to Hebrew extant in the MT, and they are rather free renderings of what one finds there. This points toward a higher degree of control in these verses. The three lines which bracket the curse on each side are thematically related, the first set explaining what sort of help the speaker received, the second explaining why they were victorious even without the help of Madaroth.

Verse 24 serves as an introductory formula for the final part of the Song, much as verse 2 does for the opening and verse twelve in the middle. The verse demonstrates no internal parallelism that is not present in the Hebrew (the verse begins and ends with εὐλογηθείη), and the line lengths are not significant.

Verses 25-27 form a stanza which is mirrored by vv. 28-30. The first focuses on Jael and her actions after the battle; the second on Sisera's mother and her expectations after the battle. In v. 25, as previously mentioned, the writer made deliberate stylistic choices to increase the assonance of the line, and the two lines are of identical length. Then in v. 26 there is a short five-level chiastic arrangement of syllables but this does not match a chiasm in the text. The lines of this verse, however, are all of a similar length, and they share an abundance of unvoiced dental and lateral consonants; twenty of the former and twelve of the latter. Especially prominent are instances of a dental plus λ: τελ-, διηλ-, εθλ-, and –τελ- occur in the last four lines of v. 26. There are also several instances in this section of velar plus ρ: χειρ-, αχρ-, κρο-, and -σκιρ- are all found in vv. 26-27. The last three lines of v. 26 are either rearrangements of the Hebrew or are a slightly different text than the MT. Either way, they have a similar structure to them: each is simply a verb and an object. The choice of verbs here and their specious relationship to the Hebrew verbs makes the choices of the sounds seem especially significant. Verse 27 does not demonstrate any numerical pattern, and its parallelism is dictated mostly by the Hebrew. Like the Hebrew, this verse is a connected series of finite verbs, given repetitious parallelism through a variety of actions. The last verb in the verse is also finite even though it is a participle in the Hebrew.

Verses 28-30 demonstrate the most significant instances of number correlation in the data set. The parallelism of the verses, however, is mostly determined by the Hebrew, with the translator adding little to it. There is a word that is missing from the second line of v. 28 but this is more to facilitate the sense than the poetry; nevertheless, it is the first element of a chiastic sequence. The first line is not part of this but is tied to it thematically through the repetition in both lines of the sound ἐπι-. The third and fourth lines of v. 28 show staircase parallelism, each beginning with the question διὰ τί and a verb of time. These two lines are parallel in this structure to vv. 29b and 30a. 28d and 29b are further linked phonetically by the main verbs,

which bear the velar sounds –χρον- and –κριν-, and the sound /*tē*/. Verse 28c does not share nearly so much with 30a. Verse 30b, which completes the chiasm across from v. 28b, is also not matched phonetically with its pair. Furthermore, none of these lines appears to share any thematic or verbal similarity, and without having a clear idea of the OH text in these verses, it is difficult to know to what extent the translator controlled the translation to suit his needs.

Verse 30c and d, along with v. 31a and b, are each twelve syllables. These are more clearly controlled to match than the previous examples in this section. Verse 30c and d each begin with ἐν τῷ but neither is integrated very smoothly into the context of the Song here, since the preposition functions here probably only to serve as a marker of the dative. The translator has in other places in the Song declined to translate a preposition when it was possible to indicate its meaning with the case of the translated noun. Verse 31a and b is well translated and makes good sense, but the metaphor they present is substantially distinct from the one offered by the MT, making it unclear whether the OH had the same reading as the MT or not.

The last two lines of the Song are not semantically paired, since the third line completes the metaphor of the first two lines and the last line serves as a concluding sentence for the entire poem. Nevertheless, the translator has added the conjunction καί to the third line so that it and the fourth line both have 14 syllables.

Conclusions

The foregoing presentation cannot, by its nature, produce results that are absolutely sure. Rather, it is intended to highlight important elements and significant probabilities of how the translator understood the poetry of Greek translations of Hebrew poetry. What this research has produced is not definite, but it is highly suggestive. Achieving definite results would require a broader data set, spanning all of the types of literature of the Hebrew Bible and analyzing

samples from nearly every biblical book or, better yet, analyzing every passage of translated poetry in the LXX. The sample size of the Song of Deborah is large enough to produce significant results but not conclusive ones.

The various analyses that I have undertaken in this chapter are intended to test a short list of questions about the poetic style of the Greek translation. In the absence of rhythmic structure in the Greek, what kinds of poetic structure does the translator consider important? Is the number of syllables in a line of poetry important? Is the number of accents or stresses in a line of poetry important? Does the translator retain, ignore, or add to parallelism in his source text? Are phonetic patterns part of the structure of translated poetry?

The careful analysis of the translation indicates that the number of syllables is important to the translator, but not in the expected manner. The translator did not attempt to maintain lines of a certain length throughout the work; the statistical analysis I performed was unable to reject the null hypothesis in this case, and there was no evidence in the translation that the translator preferred lines of one length to those of another. What is found in the work, though, is that the structure of the lines was significant. It seems clear that the translator attempted to create numerical patterns that brought together either groups of lines of the same length or to form a chiastic pattern with them. Both of those ideas are supported by the statistical analysis, where I was able to reject the null hypothesis.

From a statistical perspective, I was able to reject the null hypothesis that the number of accents is insignificant; however, the analysis of the translation turned up no evidence that the translator was concerned with the number of accents in his lines. How then should we understand the rejection of the null hypothesis? I believe that the statistical significance here is merely statistical, that is, it occurs not because the translator was deliberate about that aspect, but because the nature of the Greek language makes lines of five accents unlikely. The translator was not intentional about this, but the way that Greek is structured makes groups of words of

three accents (e.g., article-subject-verb, verb-article-object, preposition-article-object) or four accents (e.g., subject-verb-article-object, subject-verb-preposition-object, article-subject-verb-predicate) normative; we occasionally find "half" lines of two accents, or "double" lines of six accents, but lines of five are rare because Greek does not frequently structure word groups in such ways. Thus, despite its significance from a statistical perspective, the number of accents is not significant. Such is the weakness of statistics.

With regard to the parallelism of the translation, there are instances both of the translator dropping parallelism that is present in the Hebrew and adding parallelism that is not present in the Hebrew. Sometimes this parallelism is structural (forms of words) and sometimes it is verbal (parallel synonyms or parallel phrases), but it is certainly present. Although it is clear from the translator's additions to this area that he was cognizant of its importance, his willingness to change or abandon parallelism in the Hebrew indicates that this was a secondary concern rather than a primary one.

The phonetic element of the translation is also significant. There are several examples of the translator increasing and reinforcing the consonance or assonance of his translation, and some cases in which this phonetic concern serves to tie together lines which might otherwise be dissociated. Given that the other poetic devices employed by the translator may not be discernible to even a well-practiced listener, the consonance and assonance of the Song serves as an audible element of unification. Thus, the aural component of his translation is probably the most significant aspect of the poetic quality of it.

The final product of the translator may still be thought of as poetic, though it certainly is not poetry. The devices of parallelism would have been accessible to one who was listening to the poem, as would have the consonance and assonance. The syllabification, however, would have been much less accessible to someone who was only listening, especially the chiastic arrangements. These structures, as well as at least some of the parallelism, would have been

accessible only to an informed and scholarly reader. This concords with the theory of origin of the LXX, that it was composed by scholars for a scholarly reason. The scholarship of the Alexandrian literary elite is refined, detail oriented, and given toward pedantry, traits which lend themselves to the appreciation of such poetic devices.[10] At the same time, the other aspects of the poetry and translation make it both valuable and endearing to the communities who would have or might have treated this as scripture. Each of those two groups would have assessed the Song as poetic, though each in distinct ways.

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[10] Auguste Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry under the First Three Ptolemies: 324-222 B.C.* (trans. James Loeb; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931) 19-28. Couat relates, for instance, one anecdote in which a scholar in residence by the name of Sosibius boasts to the king that he resolved a difficulty in a passage of Homer by the alteration of a single letter, then has the audacity later to complain to the king that he has not received his salary. "Philadelphus sent for the list of receipts and found the names of Soter, of Sosigenes, of Bion, of Apollonius, and those of others, but failed to find Sosibius' name. 'Of what do you complain,' said he to the learned man; 'look at the first syllable of Soter, the second of Sosigenes, the first of Bion, and the last of Apollonius; does that not spell Sosibius? So your name is on the list; you have received your pay.'" (Couat, *Poetry*, 20, quoting Athenaeus). Couat condemns Alexandrian scholarship as having produced only second rate works, and nothing of inspired genius.

Chapter 5

Meaning of the Greek Song of Deborah

Given how different the OG version of the Song is from what is found in the MT, it is not surprising that a new translation and exegesis of it are necessary. Here I will provide both of these. Where the exegesis of the Hebrew version focuses on the setting of the Song in its ancient Near Eastern context, the exegesis of the Greek must be set in Hellenistic Egypt, where the OG of Judges probably originated. Similarly, where the Hebrew exegesis draws on parallels from Ugaritic and other Semitic styles of poetry, the translation should be understood in light of the heroic battles and myths of Greece, which furnish an abundance of examples.

Outline

I. Deborah Calls Israel (vv. 1-11)

    a. Introduction (vv. 1-5)

        i. Introductory Formula (vv. 1-2)

        ii. Personal Call (v. 3)

        iii. Invoking the Attention of the Lord (vv. 4-5)

    b. The problem in Israel (vv. 6-8)

        i. The State of the Country (vv.6-7a)

        ii. The State of Religion (vv.7b-9a)

    c. The Call to Action (vv. 9b-11)

        i. Setting Religion to Rights (v. 9b)

        ii. Alerting the Populace (v. 10)

        iii. Calling Israel to Proper Worship (v. 11)

II.   Israel Responds (vv. 12-23)

    a. The Muster of Tribes (vv. 12-18)

        i. Deborah Prepares Barak and the People (vv. 12-13)

        ii. Praising the Assisting Tribes (vv. 14-15)

        iii. Questioning Other Tribes (vv. 16-17)

        iv. Further Praise for the Heroes (v. 18)

    b. The Battle of Thenak (vv.19-23)

        i. The Battlefield (v. 19)

        ii. The Soldiers (vv. 20-22a)

        iii. The Damning of Madaroth (vv. 22b-23e)

        iv. The Lord Is Our Help (v. 23f-g)

III.   The Heroine Destroys the Enemy (vv. 24-30)

    a. The Blessing of Jael (vv.24-27)

        i. How Blessed She Is (v. 24)

        ii. The Ruse (v. 25)

        iii. She Prepares (v. 26a)

        iv. She Executes (v. 26b)

        v. Sisera Dies (v. 27)

    b. The Dashed Hopes of Sisera's Mother (vv. 28-30)

        i. Mother's Worries (v. 28)

        ii. Mother's Vain Assurances (vv.29-30)

IV.   Conclusion (v. 31)

Translation

Introduction

[1] καὶ ᾖσεν Δεβορρα καὶ Βαρακ υἱὸς Αβινοεμ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εἶπον·

[2] ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν Ισραηλ,

ἐν προαιρέσει τοῦ λαοῦ, εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον.

[3] ἀκούσατε βασιλεῖς, ἐνωτίσασθε δυνατοί

ἐγὼ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσωμαι, ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ Ισραηλ.

[4] κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου ἐκ Σειηρ, ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε ἐξ ἀγρῶν Εδωμ·

γῆ ἐσείσθη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξέστη δρόσους,

καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ [5] ὄρη ἐσαλεύθη

ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ισραηλ.

Deborah sang, and Barak son of Abinoem, on that day and they said:

When rulers ruled in Israel in democratic election, Bless the LORD!

Listen, kings, and pay heed, O mighty ones,

I will sing to the LORD, I will sing psalms to the God of Israel!

LORD, at your marching from Seir, when you took leave from the fields of Edom,

The earth shook, and the sky gave up its dew,

And the clouds dripped water, the mountains quaked

From the face of the LORD, the God of Israel.

The בְ + construct infinitive in Hebrew is used very frequently to show circumstances of time.[1] The construction, translated somewhat clumsily into Greek as ἐν τῷ + aorist infinitive, does occasionally indicate temporal circumstance in classical Greek but is much more common

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[1] IBHS 603-4.

in LXX Greek.[2] Even a non-Hebrew audience here would have understood it without hesitation or difficulty—though it may be unusual Greek style, it is still understandable Greek.

The second construct infinitive, however, is translated as a noun, which is almost as common a use of the Hebrew as the temporal one.[3] The Hebrew verb בהתנדב means "to offer" or "to give freely," but in the context of rulers and governance, the Greek προαίρεσις λαοῦ can only mean "election" in the democratic sense of the word. Although it has been suggested that ancient Israel enjoyed a democratic institution by the people according to Ex. 24:3, this translation was probably adopted by the Jewish community as a romanticizing of ancient Israel in order to demonstrate its superiority to Greek culture during the Hellenistic period.[4] Such attitudes already exist in Hellenistic Judaism and can be seen especially in the *Letter of Aristeas*. There is, for instance, an extended scene in the *Letter* in which the king questions the elders on matters of state, and all the answers receive his approbation, "and those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they [i.e., the Jewish elders] were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting point" (*Let. Arist.* 235).[5] What the *Letter of Aristeas* communicates is essentially that God is the source of all that is good in the world, including even those things which are thought to have been essentially Greek. The translation of the Song here indicates that the attitude also applies to democracy, which a Hellenistic-Jewish translator probably reasoned belonged first to Israel before becoming part of Greek history.

The Hebrew infinitives in v. 4 undergo the same transitions as the infinitives in v. 2. "Marching" is a meaning within the semantic range of ἔξοδος, and it suits the militaristic context

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[2] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (3rd ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919) 978-79.

[3] IBHS 602.

[4] See for instance Wolfgang Oswald, "Early Democracy in Ancient Judah: Considerations on Ex 18-24 with an Outlook on Dtn 16-18," *Communio Viatorum* 52 (2010) 121-135, who also discusses the state of research on the subject.

[5] *The Letter of Aristeas* (trans. R. H. Charles; CCEL; <http://www.ccel.org/c/charles/otpseudepig/aristeas.htm>) 235.

here. Seir in this verse refers to the mountain of that name in Edom; the reference to Sinai in v. 5 is absent, so that there is no geographic dichotomy to resolve. Edom serves as the entrance point of God into the territory that the Israelites have taken over from the Canaanites.[6] Soggin notes that this same geographical connection is made also in Deut 33:2, Hab 3:3, and Ps 68:8.[7]

Verses 4-5 introduce the nature theme of the Song, where the elements of nature respond to God's desire and serve his purpose. The rainfall becomes a necessary part of the battle in vv.19-21 since it is the source of the raging river. This is meant to highlight the cosmic proportions of the coming battle and the fact that above and beyond the clash of the ordinary troops, this battle is essentially a clash of gods.[8]

The Problem in Israel

[6] ἐν ἡμέραις Σαμεγαρ υἱοῦ Αναθ, ἐν ἡμέραις Ισραηλ ἐξέλιπον

βάσεις καὶ τρίβους οὐκ εὐθείας· ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς ἀπράκτους.

[7] ἐξέλειπον οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ, ἕως οὗ ἐξανέστη Δεβορρα μήτηρ·

[8] ἠρέτισαν θεοὺς κενοὺς ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον·

σκέπην ἐὰν ἰδὼν σιρομαστῶν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες;

[9] ἡ καρδία μου ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα τῷ Ισραηλ·

In the days of Samegar son of Anath, in those days Israel abandoned

The by-ways, and even unstraight paths—they took to the impassable roads.

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[6] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Ballad Style and Psalm Style in the Song of Deborah: A Discussion," *Bib* 42 (1961) 61-76; Robert G. Boling, *Judges* (AB 6A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975) 108.

[7] J. Alberto Soggin, *Judges* (trans. John Bowden; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981) 84-85; contra Barnabas Lindars, *Judges 1-5: A New Translation* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995) 230-31 who views Seir and Edom as two different places.

[8] Weinfeld points out that the earth and mountains shaking is characteristic of deities, and especially of deities going out to battle. Typically, however, they shake before the "voice" of the deity, the voice being equated with thunder; Moshe Weinfeld, "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986) 121-47, here 121-24.

The sovereigns in Israel were deserting, until Mother Deborah stood up.

The had chosen new gods, as barley bread;

Do the forty thousand find armor for spearmen?

My heart dwells with Israel, upon the rank and file.

In v. 6 the verb ἐξέλιπον goes in line with Israel, who is its subject. The normal walking paths and even the paths that are not straight must be abandoned, presumably because military oppression frequently necessitates the control of trade routes.[9] Journeys had to be made by way of roads that were ordinarily considered impassible (ἀπράκτους). This abandonment of their roads by Israel parallels the abandonment of the military by those who had responsibility for it. This may be a veiled reference to Barak who, it was commonly thought by the ancient commentators, was unwilling to lead the army as his station demanded until he was called by Deborah to perform it.[10]

The comparison of "new gods" to barley bread is curious. According to Procopius (whose primary text reads "empty gods," but who was aware of the variants) a person who has an ailment must take bread from barley rather than wheat because barley is less nourishing and therefore more appropriate for a sick person. The choice of barley over wheat is symbolic of choosing idolatry. This is difficult to substantiate, however, since barley and wheat have a nearly identical nutritional content.[11] This means that the primary difference between wheat and

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[9] This is especially true if the aggressor is expecting to have to conduct siege warfare rather than pitched battle. Since chariots are not useful during a siege, the Canaanites must have been prepared for both. Israel Eph'al, "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires: A Research Outline," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986) 88-106; here 93-95.

[10] Cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* 4:8; Josephus *A. J.* 5. 202-203; Theodoret *Ques. Octa.* 7. 12; Procopius, *PG* lxxxvii 1. 1053.

[11] Data on raw barley and raw wheat were looked up at the US Department of Agriculture's food database <http://ndb.nal.usda.gov/>. Barley and wheat also share a growing profile, meaning that growing barley does not require substantially more resources or nutrients from the land than wheat, and may even be more efficient than wheat (Zulfiqar Ali Gurmani et al., "Cost Benefit Analysis of Wheat, Barley, and Oat Crops for Grain Production," *Journal of Agricultural Research* 44 (2006) 335-39). Although production technology and even species of grain have increased yields substantially since the 1st millennium B. C. E., I believe that it is safe to assume that this has benefited wheat and barley in roughly equal proportion, so that the comparison of modern wheat to modern barley is likely to be similar to the ancient comparison.

barley is culinary. Barley is primary produced for animal feed and making beer (since it contains more sugar than most other grains), but as a cooking ingredient is less palatable.[12] Although some ancient cultures were barley eating cultures (the Germanic tribes of northern Europe, for instance), Judaism does not appear to be one of them. The comparison made in the text here may reflect an ancient prejudice against barley, as Procopius' interpretation does, or it may be made to elicit a vague disgust from the listener at the prospect of having to eat barley bread.

In the Song, barley bread serves as the manner of the choosing, or the nature of the new god chosen. Aside from the syntax, this would have made good sense to the Hellenistic world, where Greek gods are propitiated with sacrifices of barley or barley meal. Barley is not, however, a normal part of the Jewish ritual sacrifices, and aside from being subject to the first fruits offering, barley is proscribed as an offering in the law only for a man wishing to test the faithfulness of his wife (Num 5:11-31).

The identification of proper worship with the military victory of Israel is nevertheless quite clear. Before Deborah, the leaders abandoned their posts and the people who serve in the army (σιρομαστῶν) cannot find the necessary equipment. The first line of v. 9 forms a verbless clause, a rarity in Greek. This line then must be treated as we would treat the verbless clause in Hebrew, and complete it with what makes sense in context. The sense of the prepositional phrase is what the heart dwells on, or what is of concern to the heart, which in this case are the ordinary soldiers in Israel. It is only with Deborah and the restoration of Israel's worship of God that military success is achieved.

The Call to Action

οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ λαοῦ, εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον.

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[12] A bread made from milled barley will crumble because it does not have the protein structure necessary to hold its shape, as wheat does. The unique protein structure of wheat is what defines good bread but such bread cannot be made with other grains.

^{10} ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων, καθήμενοι ἐπὶ λαμπηνῶν,

^{11} φθέγξασθε φωνὴν ὀργάνοις, ἀνὰ μέσον εὐφραινομένων ἐκεῖ·

δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην τῷ κυρίῳ· δίκαιοι ἐνίσχυσαν ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ·

τότε κατέβη εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ, ὁ λαὸς κυρίου.

You mighty of the people, bless the LORD,

You who ride on work animals, who sit in covered wagons,

Sound voices with instruments, in the midst of rejoicing there.

They ascribe righteousness to the LORD, the mighty prevail in Israel.

Then they bring down his cities, the people of the LORD.

The mention of the powerful (i.e., the commanders of the army) in the first line transitions from the ordinary soldier in v. 9a to the generals in 9b, thus incorporating the whole command structure, bottom to top. As in v. 2, the invocation "Bless the Lord" is a signal not only that the people must render the worship that the Lord is due (a worship that has been lacking) but reminds them that when Israel blesses the Lord then the Lord shall bless Israel. It is when Israel thus blesses the Lord that her might returns, leaders fulfill their duty, and the army is victorious. This is one of the constant themes of the book of Judges: "The people did evil in the sight of the Lord … and the anger of the Lord flared up against Israel (or, 'The Lord sold them into the power of …')," (2:11, 14; 3:7-8, 12, 4:1-2, 6:1, 10:6-7; 13:1), and it is only when proper worship is restored that victory, prosperity, and peace are again seen in the land.

The quality of v. 10 in the Greek is substantially different than it is in the Hebrew. The meaning of the Hebrew is probably intended to metonymically incorporate all of Israel, from those who ride in the richest ways to those poor enough to have to walk on their own feet.[13] The meaning of the Greek does not carry this same sense. Riding on ὑποζυγίων is a matter of necessity, since the word indicates a work animal (generally an ox). Riding such an animal

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[13] Boling, *Judges*, 110; Soggin, *Judges*, 87.

would only have been done when there was a need to ride, by those who owned no dedicated riding animals, during a time when the creature was not needed for farm work. λαμπῆναι are covered chariots, used for transportation but rarely for war (LSJ s. v. λαμπήνη). In the context of the Song, they are tools of migration. This line refers not to the entirety of the people of Israel, but rather to those people who are choosing to flee or emigrate rather than stay and fight their oppression.

Verse 11 begins with a liturgical call that would be equally at home in a thanksgiving psalm, enjoining singing, playing instruments, and rejoicing. The statement "They ascribe righteousness to the Lord" is indicative in this context of the people's change of heart, although in the Hebrew it probably represents the military victory that the Song describes. This interpretation rests on the word צדקה meaning "victory" in the sense of winning a battle. The translator however seems to take every feminine noun in the Song as though it were an abstraction of quality: ἰσχύος for שׂרות in v. 29, for instance. The Greek δικαιοσύνη can mean victory, but not military victory as the Hebrew probably means. Rather, δικαιοσύνη indicates a kind of forensic victory, such as a victory in court. The image of God taking his people to court for breach of contract is not unknown in the Hebrew bible, and the Greek translator understands the Hebrew of the Song in light of that.

It is after the people of the Lord concede to the Lord the victory that they descend in his name upon the cities of their enemies. The translation κατέβη is in this context is specifically militaristic, and so the pronoun αὐτοῦ must refer to enemies, not to the nearest referent. This is poor construction but, driven by the needs of interpretation and translation, there are few other ways that this could be understood. The translator assumed that the context would provide enough reference for the reader to understand that αὐτοῦ pointed to an implicit rather than explicit noun.

The Muster of Tribes

¹² ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα, ἐξέγειρον μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ σου·

ἐξεγείρου Δεβορρα, ἐνίσχυσον τὸν Βαρακ·

αἰχμαλώτιζε αἰχμαλωσίαν σου, υἱὸς Αβινοεμ.

¹³ τότε ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ· κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς.

¹⁴ λαὸς Εφραιμ ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν κοιλάδι,

ἀδελφοῦ σου Βενιαμειν ἐν λαοῖς σου·

ἐξεγείρου Μαχιρ, κατέβησαν ἐξερευνῶντες.

καὶ ἐκ Ζαβουλων, ἐκεῖθεν ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἡγήσεως·

¹⁵ ἐνισχύοντος Ισσαχαρ μετὰ Δεβορρας ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα·

ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι μεγάλοι ἀκριβασμοί.

¹⁶ ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χειλῶν;

τοῦ ἀκούειν συριγμοὺς ἐξεγειρόντων; τοῦ διελθεῖν;

εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην μεγάλοι ἐξιχνιασμοὶ καρδίας.

¹⁷ Γαδ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατεσκήνωσεν· καὶ Δαν ἵνα τί παροικεῖς πλοίοις;

Ασηρ παρῴκησεν παρ' αἰγιαλὸν θαλασσῶν, ἐπὶ διεκβολὰς αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν.

¹⁸ Ζαβουλων λαὸς ὀνειδίσας ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς θάνατον·

καὶ Νεφθαλειμ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν.

Awake, Deborah, waken the legions with your people.

Awake, Deborah, strengthen Barak

Take captive your prisoners of war, son of Abinoem!

Then his strength is magnified; the LORD fights for me with the mighty.

The people of Ephraim were taking vengeance on them in the valley

For your brother, Benjamin, on behalf of your people.

Awake, Machir! They are coming down from scouting.

From Zabulon, from there with the scepter of command,

Issachar, prevailing with Deborah, sent his infantry into the valley;

In his divisions are important investigations.

Why do you dwell in the middle of the rim?

To hear the whistling of reveille? Just to pass through?

In the houses of Reuben, there is much heartfelt searching.

Gad encamps on the far side of the Jordan, and Dan, why do you live by boats?

Asher lives by the shore of the sea, upon his tributaries he camps.

Zabulon's people reproached its soul unto death,

And Naphtali the violence of their madness.

The people of Israel have shifted from being addressed in vv. 2-11 to here in v. 12 addressing Deborah. In the first part of the Song, Deborah was calling the people to return to the Lord from the evil that they had done (4:1). During Deborah's part of the Song, she restores the "contract" as it were and the people admit that the Lord was in the right (v. 11). Now, the people turn to address Deborah who has become their leader in time of war and command her to rally the troops and to prepare Barak for victory. First person references now refer to Israel or to a member of Israel which represents it; second person references refer to the leaders of the people. Israel also calls Barak to take captives during the fighting, the spoils of war being the prisoners who become slaves upon being captured.[14] The people also now acknowledge that the mighty enemy is fought by God, no matter how much strength the people of Israel have.

The naming of the tribes begins in v. 14, but the Greek is difficult to interpret in the context of preparing for battle. The people of Ephraim is the subject of ἐτιμωρήσατο, "take vengeance," a verb which takes three objects: those on whom vengeance is taken ("them," in the accusative), the person who benefits from vengeance ("your people," in the dative), and the

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[14] Isaac Mendelsohn, "Slavery in the Ancient Near East," *BA* 9 (1946) 74-88.

reason for which vengeance is taken ("your brother Benjamin," in the genitive). The name Benjamin is in apposition to ἀδελφοῦ σου, since it is separated from λαοῖς σου by the preposition ἐν which does not carry any meaning except to mark the dative. The unity of the tribes here, where Ephraim takes vengeance for wrong done to Benjamin, serves to underscore the disunity of chaps. 19-21 where Ephraim must lead a war of vengeance against Benjamin for the murder of the concubine. The crime which was committed upon Benjamin is not made clear, and the interpretation that the Greek translator gives is not found in the Hebrew text. Examples in LSJ that have a person in the genitive indicate that murder was the probable crime committed; this, however, does not clarify the meaning of this passage. Machir also is called to come down to the battle "searching." The word has two basic connotations in the LXX: 1) to search God or God's law in order to know it better, and 2) to reconnoiter land or cities before a battle. This second makes much more sense, hence the translation "scouting." The word is much less specific in wider Greek literature and can indicate any kind of investigation.

Zabulon names a place from which people are coming, not the people themselves, and so goes with the next line where Issachar is the subject of the verse. Issachar is said to be taking strength or prevailing "with Deborah," indicating perhaps that Deborah is leading the battle from the contingent of Issachar, especially if it comes from Zabulon with the "scepter of command." Issachar completes their action by sending its infantry into the valley that was first mentioned in v. 14, so that Issachar is united with Ephraim in its campaign. Issachar, coming from Zabulon, enters the valley from the north, whereas Ephraim, coming from the south with Machir (part of Manasseh), would have entered the plain of Esdraleon from the southeast. The last line of v. 15 is missing the name of Reuben, so that the "great searchings of heart" belong to Issachar. The word for searching, ἀκριβασμοί, appears nowhere in Greek literature outside of the LXX, which prefers to use other derivations of ἀκριβόω, but in all its forms it indicates doing something with exactness or precision.

Verses 16-17 are frequently understood as rebukes, and the interpretation of the LXX supports this. The questions of these verses are, in Hebrew, rhetorically expressed to question the non-participation of certain tribes, whereas the question in Greek asks more why one group did not put forth as much effort as the rest. The narrator of the Greek text asks whether one can hear the morning call to arms (lit., "the piping of the wakers") from the very edge of the encampment, or whether the group from Reuben had come merely in order to pass through, both statements implying that Reuben was present with the encamped forces. Gad (so named possibly to avoid confusion with the person of Gilead) dwells beyond the Jordan river, and so presumably is too far away to send a contingent, but not far enough away to escape judgment for their absence. Asher also falls under this judgment for remaining by the watercourses of their livelihood.[15]

It is Zabulon and Naphtali who receive the approbation in this section. Although the last verse here is without a verb, the participle ὀνειδίσας must stand in for a verb in Hebraistic fashion. The choice of death over life is one that is common in Greek mythology and rhetoric, especially when one's life is given for a greater purpose. Naphtali also spurns τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν, a phrase which is not entirely clear. The phrase possibly indicates the kind of violence that one commits when mad (either from pride, from grief, or from anger), as it sometimes applies to Greek heroes (Ajax, for instance, when blinded by Athena, or the suitors of Penelope in their treatment of the disguised Odysseus).[16] The syntax seems to indicate that this is Naphtali's own hubris; however, the translator in v. 11 employed a construction in which the possessive suffix referred to an implicit enemy rather than, as the syntax would indicate, the prior available

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[15] Alexander Globe, "The Muster of the Tribes in Judges 5 11e-18," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 169-83; L.E. Stager, "The Song of Deborah: Why Some Tribes Answered the Call and Others Did Not," *BARev* 15 (1989) 51-64; Raymond De Hoop, "Judges 5 Reconsidered: Which Tribes? What Land? Whose Song?," in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History and Theology* (ed. J van Ruiten and J. C. de Vos; VTSup; Leiden, 2009) 151-66.

[16] So also for instance the words of Achilles, "Would that strife should vanish from the world of gods and men, and anger too, which enrages even a man of great sense." Homer *Il.* 18.107-108; Marco Fantuzzi and Richanrd Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 104-116.

referent. There is good reason to suppose that the translator is indicating that Naphtali's actions are a reproach to impious arrogance of the Canaanites, as I shall discuss below.

There is a certain amount of discrepancy between the Song and Judges 4 in the Hebrew version, for although it seems that Zabulon, Naphtali, Issachar, Machir, Benjamin, and Ephraim are all participants in the battle according to the Song, it is only Zabulon and Naphtali who participate according to the narrative in chapter 4. In the LXX version of the Song, Machir has the task of scouting, Issachar (coming from the direction of Zabulon) and Ephraim are in the valley, and Benjamin is not explicitly named as a participant (or if it is, as part of the force with Ephraim). It is not hard to imagine then that Barak, who has mustered troops of Zabulon and Naphtali at Mt Tabor, enters the valley from the east and traps the forces of Sisera against the river Kishon while Ephraim and Issachar flank from the northwest and southeast. Not only does the Greek translation help make sense of the mildly conflicting material (a matter which the translator may have been at pains to explain), but it is also good military strategy when facing a more powerful enemy. This may help to explain why the translator choose the renderings that he did.

The Battle of Thenak

[19] ἦλθον βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπολέμησαν, τότε παρετάξαντο βασιλεῖς Χανααν·

ἐν Θεναχ ἐπὶ ὕδατος Μαγεδδω πλεονεξίαν ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔλαβον.

[20] ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπολεμήθησαν ἀστέρες·

ἐκ τῶν τάξεων αὐτῶν ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ Σισαρρα.

[21] χειμάρρους Κεισσων συνεψησμένων αὐτούς,

ὁμαλίει αὐτοὺς ἡ πτέρνα μου ἐν ἰσχύει· [22] τότε ἀνεκόπησαν πτέρναι ἵππων.

Μαδαρωθ δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ, [23] ἴδοιεν ὀδύνας ἴδοιεν καταράσει·

ὑπερηφάνους ὑβριστὰς ἀρᾶτε, ἀπολέσατε· εἶπεν ἄγγελος κυρίου·

τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν.

Κύριος βοηθὸς ἡμῶν, Κύριος ἐν μαχηταῖς δυνατός.

The kings came and they made war; then they mustered, the kings of Canaan.

In Thenak upon the water of Megiddo, gain of silver they did not take.

From the heavens the stars were embattled,

Out of their courses they fought with Sisera.

After winter-flowing Keisson had swept them away,

My heel trampled them in victory, the hooves of horses beat them down.

Madaroth of his mighty ones, may it see wounds, may it see curses!

"You shall curse your arrogant cruelty! You shall die", says the angel of the Lord,

To the inhabitants of it, because they did not come to aid.

The LORD is our help, the LORD, mighty among warriors!

The imagery of battle works on two levels, an earthly level and a celestial level. Verse 19 works on the earthly level, involving troops marching for war and arrayed for battle by the kings of Canaan; they came to fight by the waters of Megiddo, in order to take a plunder of silver. Verse 20 works on the celestial level, so that Sisera is envisioned to bring the war into the heavens to battle the stars and draw them out of their appointed courses. The two images come together in this poem, at once signifying both the simple battle with the Canaanites over a lush valley and the cosmic battle between the elementary forces of the world. The theme of nature that appears also in v. 4 here strengthens the cosmic proportions of the battle, as well as the sure knowledge that nature responds to the will of YHWH.

Once the waters have risen and swept away the enemy, the people complete the rout of Sisera's forces (vv. 21b-22a), as 4:16 describes the army of Sisera fleeing and being destroyed all the way back to Harosheth. The enemy is trampled metaphorically by the Israelites, and probably literally by their own horses—Sisera's army being composed of both cavalry and infantry.

22b begins the curse of which the unknown Madaroth is the subject. Madaroth is cursed for their unwillingness to help (23c) but the Song does not explain the name or the meaning of it. The translator transliterated it not because he did not understand it (although, being a hapax legomenon, he may not have), but because the translator belonged to a reading tradition that treated it as a proper name. The evidence of my text criticism indicates that this proper noun must have served as the subject of the curse.[17] The name is phonetically very similar to מזור in the next line, which the translator takes to mean "wounds" as it does in Hos 5:13. The name here though is a toponym and, the way that translator understood it, most likely stems from the root זהר which becomes דהר in Aramaic, Arabic, and Syriac. The root means "scatter" and a derivative word, מזרים, means "North Wind."[18] If one imagines it to refer to people, it could easily be seen as a place name for a settlement too disorganized to have mustered troops for a combined effort, or perhaps to those people who "scattered" before the armies of Canaan instead of staying to fight (as in v. 10). Madaroth and its inhabitants are cursed an impressive four times in this verse. Ultimately, though, the speaker of this section, the people of Israel, understands that victory is not won by strength of arms nor by strong allies but by the LORD, "mighty among warriors," who is all the help it needs.

The Blessing of Jael

²⁴ εὐλογηθείη ἐκ γυναικῶν Ιαηλ, ἡ γυνὴ Χαβερ τοῦ Κενναίου·

ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ εὐλογηθείη.

²⁵ ὕδωρ ἤτησεν αὐτὴν καὶ γάλα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ·

ἐν λεκάνῃ μεγιστάνων προσήγγισεν βούτυρον.

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[17] This is contra Lindars, *Judges*, 293 and Paul Harle, *Les Juges* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 7; Paris: Cerf, 1999). I disagree that it demonstrates inability on the basis of the fact that it is sporadically used—for instance, the editor of A (possibly Origen) in the Song only transliterates the uncertain פרזון once and the other occurrence is translated. This points not to an inability to translate the word but to a different manner of treatment; cf. Chapter 3 above, 69-70.

[18] See HALOT s.v. זרה and מזרים.

²⁶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἐξέτεινεν εἰς πάσσαλον·

τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς κατακόπτοντος τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι.

διήλασε τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνέθλασε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ,

καὶ συνετέλεσε τὸν Σισαρα.

²⁷ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς ἐσκίρτησεν, ἔπεσεν·

ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμψεν, ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν, ἐταλαιπώρησεν.

Blessed among women be Jael, the wife of Haber the Kennite,

More than who is second in praise, may she be blessed!

Water he asked of her, and milk she gave to him,

In a vessel of mighty ones she brought him cream.

Her right hand she stretched toward a peg,

Her left, cutting him down, to bring him to a useless end.

She nailed his temple, and she crushed in his head

And she brought Sisera to a complete end.

In between her feet he twitched, he fell.

In the place where he bent, there he fell, he suffered.

As a balance to the cursing of Madaroth, the next section deals with the blessing of Jael, whom Israel sees as God's instrument for total victory. Israel itself provided some of the victory in the battle, but the true victory comes only with the death of Sisera. The substance of the blessing is a curious blend of Greek syntax and Hebraistic thought, but the sense of it is "May she be more blest than the second-most-praiseworthy-person," meaning that she is πρότερος ἐν ἐπαινῷ.

The translation of Jael's actions toward Sisera are intended to highlight the irony of his non-evident manliness and Jael's exemplary (and manly, by ancient standards) courage. He requests water in humility, but she brings milk in generosity. The bowl is not described as being

"large" (μέγας) but as belonging to "great men" (μεγιστάνων, an unusual word in Greek). This translation is not due to some stereotype or misunderstanding, for the same word is translated by the verb ἐμεγαλύνθη in v. 13. The word for the item to which she stretches out her right hand is used generally for pegs, but is also used metaphorically of anything small and insignificant, demonstrating how easily he is killed.[19] Jael does not merely kill him, but the construction τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀχρείωσαι implies that she rendered him incapable or useless before killing him. The verbs which describe her actions, διήλασε and συνέθλασε, are violent and physically demanding, more to be expected from soldiers and manual laborers than tent-dwelling women. Sisera, by contrast, is under the complete power of Jael because he is between her feet. His actions are ἐσκίρτησεν, a kind of skittish normally reserved for nervous animals, and ἔκαμψεν, which is used metaphorically to mean "humbled."[20] Jael displays the manly traits of strength, determination, and valor, and Sisera is depicted as weak, useless, animalistic, humbled, and suffering. The purpose of the poem here is to utterly emasculate Sisera while describing his violent end, and the translator chose words that best suited that purpose.

The Dashed Hopes of Sisera's Mother

[28] διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐπιβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας μετὰ Σισαρα·

διὰ τί ἠσχάτισεν τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι;

διὰ τί ἐχρόνισαν δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ αὐτοῦ;

[29] φρόνησις ἰσχύος αὐτῆς ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτή

ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς

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[19] See LSJ s. v. πάσσαλος. It is also used at least once to refer to the *membrum virile*, by Aristophanes *Eccl.* 1020, in a rather pejorative context (a young man unable to satisfy two women). If this is a conscious part of the meaning of the word, it may be an acknowledgement of the overt sexual tension of this scene as well as another serious insult to the manhood of Sisera (see Johanna Bos, "Out of the Shadows: Genesis 38; Judges 4:17-22; Ruth 3," *Semeia* 42 [1988] 37-68; D. N. Fewell and D. M. Gunn, "Controlling Perspective: Women, Men, and the Authority of Violence in Judges 4 & 5," *JAAR* 58 [199] 389-411; Pamela T. Reis, "Uncovering Jael and Sisera: A New Reading," *SJOT* 19 [2005] 24-47). One use by Aristophanes though is hardly sufficient to establish such a connotation, as it occasionally seems difficult to find words *not* used by Aristophanes to some pejorative end.

[20] LSJ, s. v. σκιρτάω, κάμπτω.

³⁰ καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν; διεμερίσθη σκῦλα μήτρας αὐτῆς;

εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐτίτρωσκον δακτύλοις;

ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα ἐστηλώθη στίγματα·

ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσκυλεύθη.

Through the lattice she is looking for those returning with Sisera

Why does his chariot linger to arrive?

Why are his doubled stallions late?

She is answered by her own mighty thoughts

She responds to herself her very own words

"Will they not be found, the spoils of her womb divided?

Can a man's head be wounded by fingers?

On behalf of Sisera stele are being inscribed,

By their necks are they plundered!"

Unlike the Hebrew which gives a picture of Sisera's mother and her ladies in waiting, the Greek translator envisioned Sisera's mother standing a more lonely vigil. Her conversation happens within herself, though the substance of it is different. Sisera's mother has certain expectations about the battle and what is supposed to happen afterward. She opens the scene by waiting eagerly for the return of Sisera and his army, wondering why his chariots (drawn by two horses) are late.[21] In a moment of dramatic irony, the translator says that she is looking for those who with Sisera are τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας; although this word is frequently used in the LXX to

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[21] Art from both Egypt and Assyria depict chariots drawn by either one or two horses; see Oscar White Muscarella, *Hasanlu Special Studies II: The Catalogues of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* (University Museum Monographs 40; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology, 1980) 167; Ada Cohen and Steven E. Kangas, *Assyrian Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II: A Cultural Biography* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, 2010) 225-26; Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2011) 157-58. Greek chariot races from vase paintings are typically four horse chariots, though two horse chariots seem to be the ones used in warfare; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). The phrase δισσοὶ ἀναβαταὶ indicates horses rather than riders.

mean "turn back, return" in Greek it also refers to those who are routed in battle. It is her own thoughts that answer her. Her thoughts are described as ἰσχύος, generally a manly quality. It seems that even Sisera's mother demonstrates more manly qualities than he does in the Song.

In her response, she makes a reference to "her womb" (μήτρας). Unlike in the Hebrew, where she is making a reference to women who are themselves the spoils of war, the spoils Sisera's mother speaks of are the produce of the womb. As elsewhere in the song, the possessive pronoun refers to an implied person, which in this case seems to be Deborah. This holds well because Deborah is a mother in Israel, perhaps even the mother of Israel (v. 7), and because the Greek word μήτρα, whose primary meaning is "womb," is not the usual word for womb (ὑστέρα is more common in most Greek literature, and κοιλία in the LXX). μήτρα also has a secondary meaning, which is "queen-bee" (presumably because she gives birth to the rest of the workers), an obvious reference to Deborah's name. Sisera's mother is expecting that Sisera has taken many captives who are thought of as offspring of Deborah. The Israelites she views as weak and incapable of doing real harm; thus she shrugs of the idea that they might have defeated Sisera with the rhetorical question "Can a man suffer wounds on his head because of fingers?" Rather, she expects that he is being slowed down because time must be taken to erect the proper victory monuments, and because so many "necks" (being used here as a metonym for the people) are being gathered as prisoners of war. The neck here is symbolic of the slave work that such prisoners would have been compelled to do, insofar as they have been reduced to the status of work animals, who are yoked at the neck.[22]

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[22] The same usage for neck is found in Neh 3:5, "the Tekoites carried out the work of repair; however, some of their most powerful men would not submit (לא־הביאו צורם, lit. 'would not bend their necks') to the labor asked by their masters." Isaac Mendelsohn, "State Slavery in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR* 85 (1942) 14-17.

Conclusion

[31] οὕτως γένοιντο οἱ ἐχθροί σου κύριε ἅμα τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον

καὶ οἱ ἀγαπῶντές σε ἐν δυναστείαις αὐτοῦ

καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

May all your enemies be thus, o Lord, like the sun when it sets,

But those who love you (like) when it is in power.

And the land was at rest for forty years.

The Song ends with the fervent wish that all of God's enemies might be going out like the sun, and that the children of Israel, who love God, may rise in power. Having accomplished the will of God in going out to battle, the people and the land have rest for forty years.

Themes

The major themes that run through the Song of Deborah that tie it to the wider world of Greek literature also need to be explored. There are several points of contact between the Song of Deborah and Greek mythology, both in cosmogonic myth and in heroic myth. Although these points of contact go further back in history than the LXX translation, the translation made of the Song into Greek at times serve to heighten these parallels and, in the Jewish fashion, to improve upon their ideals (as in the *Letter of Aristeas*, above). There was already in Greek culture and thought the desire to analyze the myths of old to try and discern in them elements of historical people.[23] This is not to imply that the Greeks made a careful distinction between myth and history; nevertheless, "these tales were subject to doubt, and the critique of myth is probably as ancient as the myths themselves."[24] The Greek parallels would have been far more in the mind

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[23] See especially Carlo Brillante, "Myth and History: History and the Historical Interpretation of Myth," in *Approaches to Greek Myth* (ed. Lowell Edmunds; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) 91-138 for a careful study of the phenomenon and a review of the last century of research on the subject.

[24] Ibid., 93.

of the Hellenistic audience than at any time previous to the translation and so comparisons to Greek sources will facilitate our understanding of the reception of this translation during the Hellenistic period.

The Song as Mythology

The Song of Deborah, by being translated into Greek, suddenly entered a context of which it was not a part during the previous centuries. The myth sharing the most with the Song of Deborah is the Birth of Zeus, as told in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, and to a lesser extent in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The same mythological beginnings are also discussed in Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.1-2, Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1. 22, and few others. The comparison of this to the Song is bound primarily to the names of the characters and their roles within their mythological milieu.[25] Callimachus' hymn was close already to the Alexandrians, since it was probably in honor of Ptolemy Philadelphus that the hymn was composed; this makes the parallels between the Song of Deborah and the cosmogonic beginnings of Greek myth especially germane to the Greek translators of the Hebrew bible.[26]

Before the birth of Zeus, it was foretold to his father, Cronus, that he would be defeated by his own son, just as Cronus defeated his father, Ouranos (heaven), and took his throne in the sky. Accordingly, Zeus' mother, Rhea (flowing stream), flees to Crete, and in a mountain cave there gives birth to the infant Zeus. Rhea causes a stream to erupt from the mountain by striking it with her staff, which floods and washes the body of the infant Zeus and washes away the blood of the birth. Zeus is fed with milk by the mountain goat, Amaltheia, and honey by the bees of the mountain (Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus). According to other sources the honey is fed to Zeus

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[25] A number of parallels between the birth of Zeus and the Song of Deborah are explored by Daniel Vainstub, "Some Points of Contact between the Biblical Deborah War Traditions and Some Greek Mythologies," *VT* 61 (2011) 324-34, with some interesting results, but the issues are not explored as deeply in his article as they might be; he points out that his work is preliminary and more needs to be done.

[26] Auguste Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry under the First Three Ptolemies: 324-222 B.C.* (trans. James Loeb; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931) 199-248.

by Melissa, who is either a nymph (in which case Amaltheia is also a nymph) or is the daughter of the Cretan king Melisseus (in which case Amaltheia is also; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1. 22).[27] In the latter case, the myth also explains how humans first learned to worship the Gods, and accordingly the prophetesses of religion take the Bee as their symbol (and Melissa becomes the priestess of the Magna Mater), since they entered the mouth of Zeus, father of wisdom. Subsequently, they become part of the care of Delphic Apollo:

> Die Pythia heißt die Biene von Delphi, bei Pindar *Pyth*. 4, 106. Man schrieb den Bienen prophetische Kraft zu (so bedeutet der Name der Prophetin Deborah bei den Israeliten Biene nach Josephus B.J. 5. 6), und wie in Delphi die Thrien vom Honiggenusse begeistert die Wahrheit künden, so sollen ebendaselbst Bienen und Vögel zuerst dem Apollon einen Tempel aus Wachs und Federn gebaut haben. Daher findet sich auch die Biene als Typus delphischer Münzen. (Weniger, "Melissa," 2640)

The bee is one of the most important mythological symbols of the prophet, and honey, sacred to the gods, is supposed to cause intoxication (especially the ecstatic fit of prophecy).[28]

Nourished on milk and honey, from there Zeus rises up to do battle against his father, Cronus, and overthrows him in a mighty war, using the lightning bolt as his weapon. It is even possible that the Greek translators knew of a legend in which Zeus defeats his father Cronus while he is drunk with honey.[29]

Many of these elements also appear in the Song of Deborah, the record of a war which seems to share much in common with the cosmic war of Zeus. In the Jewish myth (if myth it is), it is Sisera who bears the greatest resemblance to Zeus. He makes war against the power of Heaven; he is washed in the flooding stream; and, fleeing the murderous wrath of the ruler of

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[27] H. W. Stoll, "Amaltheia," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (6 vols.; ed. W. H. Roscher; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884) 1. 262-66; L. Weniger, "Melissa," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (6 vols.; ed. W. H. Roscher; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1894) 2. 2. 2637-42.

[28] Arthur Bernard Cook, "The Bee in Greek Mythology," *JHS* 15 (1895) 1-24; Susan Scheinberg, "The Bee Maidens of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83 (1979) 1-28.

[29] "Porphyry preserves an Orphic fragment in which Zeus plots to castrate Kronos by ambushing him when he is drunk on 'honey.' Wine, explains Porphyry, had not yet been invented (*De An. Nymph.* 16)," (Scheinberg, "Bee Maidens," 18). Porphyry is late 3rd century A.D., but the fragment would have been significantly older and the tradition of the honey older still.

Heaven, takes refuge in a distant place where he is tended by a woman (nymph) and fed milk. The aspects of Zeus' power however belong not to Sisera but to YHWH. The lightning, Barak, is the general of YHWH's forces; the bee prophetess of the divine is YHWH's prophet and speaks of his victory; the flood rises not to cleanse Sisera but to sweep him away; and the goat, Jael, feeds him with milk as a soporific in order to kill him just as Zeus drugged his father. The lightning is not the weapon of the one who wages war against Heaven, but appropriately the instrument of Heaven itself.

It is not only possible but almost certain that these themes are a result of mythologies crossing international boundaries, and that this thematic correspondence played a part in the formation of the Song at its origin.[30] This thematic correspondence is heightened somewhat in the Greek translation by the specification that Sisera brought war to the stars and possibly he is implicitly responsible for the apostasy mentioned in the Song in v. 8, himself being a symbol or a representative of the imagined deity of "new" worship.[31] In accordance with this theme, Deborah is identified as "Mother Deborah" instead of "Deborah as a mother" in the Hebrew; and Jael is not "blessed among tent dwelling women" (a description which could not possibly apply to any but an ordinary human woman) but is "blessed more than" others. It seems that there may have existed in the mind of the translator an explicit or implicit comparison between the characters of the Song and the gods of Greek mythology.

Alternatively, perhaps one may identify YHWH as Zeus, and Barak as his tool; "Zeus of the flashing bolt (ἀργικέραυνος)" is a common epithet of Zeus in the Homeric epics. YHWH has

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[30] The links between the peoples of Greece and the ancient Near East have been explored extensively, and there have been some very good works recently on the relationship between the Greek and the Near Eastern mythologies; see e. g. Michael C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) and Jan M. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[31] Robert Graves, in his work *The Greek Myths* (2 vols.; Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1975) 11-24 postulates that the myths of one God conquering another are the mythological descriptions of actual migrations of cultural groups; a new culture brought Zeus to an area which formerly worshipped Rhea or Gaia or Ouranos, and the mythology reflects how the new worship became dominant and replaced the older. This theory accords with the Biblical equation of foreign cultural innovation with idolatry.

frequently been compared with the storm god of many polytheistic religions of the Near East and Europe, and the Song itself gives indication that the storm gathers for his benefit, and shakes before him.[32] In this case, it is most natural to find a "bee" as a symbol of his prophet. The "goat" acts in his interests not to feed and nourish YHWH, but to deceive and incapacitate his enemy, Sisera. However, despite the possible connection between YHWH and Zeus, the Song, in Greek at least, makes more sense as a re-interpretation of the cosmic battle myth in which Sisera becomes a Zeus-like aggressor. Furthermore, there does not seem to be in the Jewish thought at this time a move towards syncretism; although the Jews certainly adopted many Hellenistic practices and lifestyles, religion seems to be one thing that the Jews made an effort to preserve.[33] Therefore it seems more likely that the readers of the Song would have seen Zeus' patricide as unacceptably foreign, thus making Sisera to appear as Zeus in the cosmogony.

If this interpretation is correct, then it is a further indication of how, in the milieu of Greek literacy in Alexandria, there is nothing that is part of Greek thought or philosophy that is not already present in Jewish thought and philosophy to a more refined degree. So where Zeus' patricidal myth anchors Greek religion in a pantheistic and diverse setting, the same scene in Jewish religion emphasizes the invincibility of YHWH and the solidarity of Jewish people.

Barak and Jael as Greek Heroes

Barak and Jael also bear a certain resemblance to Greek heroes, and there is no better heroic myth through which they might be understood in Egypt than through the plight of Jason and Medea in pursuit of the Golden Fleece. There are many sources which tell of the story of the

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[32] Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002) treats the subject at length in addition to reviewing the long history of discussion on the topic.

[33] See Erich S. Gruen, "Jews and Greeks," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (ed. Andrew Erskine; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) 264-279 and Erich S. Gruen, "Hebraism and Hellenism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies* (ed. George Boys-Stones, Barbara Graziosi, and Phiroze Vasunia; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 129-39, as well as the books of Macabees and the Letter of Aristeas. The attitude of the Jews of the 1st-3rd centuries B. C. seems to be well disposed towards Greek culture in general, but there is an especially strong resistance so far as the assimilation of their religion is concerned.

Golden Fleece, but the one best known to the Alexandrian reader would have been that of Apollonius of Rhodes. Apollonius was for a time the chief librarian at the Library of Alexandria and his *Argonautica*, written in epic verse, is one of his most celebrated works.[34] This does not mean however that his work is the only source; there were at this time many versions of this same myth circulating in the ancient world that are retained only in fragments, but which give details of the story differently than Apollonius.[35]

There are more than a few profitable comparisons to make in this regard, but the comparisons which help to explain how the Jewish translators would have compared the Song of Deborah to events told in Greek stories probably center around three factors: the male hero, Jason or Barak, has victory delivered to him by a female; the female accomplishes this victory through lulling an enemy into a false sense of security; and finally, the heroic victory/escape is assured by disgraceful murder.

The victory of Jason in the contest against the earth-born soldiers set to him by Aeetes was due to the sorcery of Medea. This sort of victory is objected to by Idas, who considers it shameful that they should seek their victory from the hands of a woman instead of the strength of their arms (Apollonius *Argo*. 3. 555 ff.) This speech is never responded to in the narrative, nor is it ever explained that their actions are not as shameful as Idas suggests. Indeed, from this moment in the book, neither Jason nor any other of the Argonauts win any victory except what is handed to them by Medea, where before they did many mighty deeds and won for themselves great renown. The rest of the heroes and even Jason recede into the background of the story, and the most that can be said of them from there on out is that they managed not to die during their trials. They win no more renown, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Idas' criticism is valid and accurate.

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[34] Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Hellenistic Poetry*, 89-97.
[35] Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 311ff.

In a similar way, Barak too is handed a victory by women, according to the prophecy of Deborah (Judg 4:9). His shame, however, is less shameful than Jason's, especially if one considered Barak to be merely a tool of the deity (as suggested above). Moreover, Barak did lead his troops victoriously in battle, whereas the victories accomplished by Jason or the Argonauts are never more than individual accomplishments. The arts of war looked for by Idas is the passage cited above never occur, even though there are several more confrontations between the Argonauts and the Colchians. Barak however does not figure prominently in the Song, and so comparison between him and Jason belongs to the context of the Song, not to its translation.

Jael figures more prominently in the Song, and the comparisons between her and Medea can be more explicit. Medea intervenes directly with the enemies of Jason twice, first with the serpent which guards the fleece and then with her own brother. The serpent Medea is able to lull to sleep with some kind of potion and with appeals to the goddesses of her art (Apollonius *Argo*. 4. 123-61), though in some older sources she kills the serpent rather than merely lulling him to sleep.[36] In a similar way, Jael lures Sisera into her tent with the promise of refuge, giving him milk to drink.

Medea's conduct with her brother Apsyrtus is, however, the most significant point of comparison, for in it we find the murder of one who should have expected safety. It has been remarked that Jael's act was a serious violation of the custom of hospitality, but it is a violation which goes without reprisal in the text. According to Apollonius, it is Jason who murders Apsyrtus, but in many older sources it is Medea herself who does the deed.[37] Such an act of murder, done in stealth, in a sacred temple no less, incurs a pollution which Jason and Medea

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[36] Ibid. 317-320.

[37] Ibid., 320-34. Bremmer goes on to discuss the various ways that the act has been mitigated in the storyteller's art, including that of Apollonius of Rhodes, wherein she hides her face from the deed as Jason performs it, though her guilt in it remains as the blood "dyes red her silvery veil and robe" (Apoll. *Argo*. 4. 472-72).

spend the rest of the story trying to expiate, and Bremmer demonstrates through a thorough examination of Greek literature that there would have been no other kind of murder to evince such horror from a Greek audience as the murder of a brother by his sister. The Greek and Hellenistic Jewish audience of the Song must have felt then at least unease at the murder of Sisera while under her protection—the Israelites who similarly violated the custom of hospitality in Judges 19-21 were punished by an alliance of all the rest of Israel, whereas Jael is celebrated as a hero. The resolution of this dissonance between her violation and her heroine status, in the Greek milieu at least, lay in her comparison to Medea. For, though Medea was treacherous and disloyal to her family, she is considered to be a heroine in the story of the *Argonautica*. The phrase ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ἐπαινῷ εὐλογηθείη indicates that Jael was thought more highly of by the Jews than Greek heroines. Whereas there is already in the traditions of Greek storytellers a desire to lessen Medea's pollution for such a murder (e.g., by making Apsyrtus a child instead of a man, or by making Jason the murderer rather than Medea) so as to make the act at least expiatable, Jael's action is never seen as less than blessed, for it is by this act of treachery that Israel wins its freedom from Jabin and the Canaanites. The fact that YHWH would condone such an act in a situation where Zeus could not implies that YHWH is either more merciful to those who are polluted or more ruthless in destroying his enemies than Zeus (or both). Besides this, Jewish heroes are celebrated for their ability to deceive the enemies of God, even if Greek characters are reviled for such behavior.

The Song in the Context of the LXX

The story behind the Song of Deborah is comparable to that of Judith, though there are also some distinct differences. The story of Judith actually bears some resemblance to many of the heroes of the OT, including not only Jael but also Rahab, Ehud, Daniel, and perhaps others. It is probably the case that the composition of Judith postdates the translation of Judges in the

LXX, but both events lack a firm date.[38] It seems to me that the story of Judith was probably composed in such a way as to make Jewish heroes and heroines more accessible to a Hellenistic audience, since she combines many of the details of Jewish heroes but the whole story has the style of a Hellenistic composition, even if there was an original Hebrew (or Aramaic). Most germane to our discussion is the deception of the main character resulting in the murder of an enemy. Murder by deception, though more acceptable in Greek society in older times, was from the Classical period onward considered shameful enough to incur the wrath of the gods and requiring expiation, as the alterations of Apsyrtus' murder scene suggest.[39] There is however no compunction in Jewish thought about using deception to gain one's ends: Jacob by deception receives his brother's birthright (Genesis 27), Simeon and Levi through deception murder the Hivite men in their beds, while they convalesce after their circumcision (Genesis 34), Rahab by means of deception assists the Israelite spies in escaping Jericho in order to return at its destruction (Joshua 2), and Ehud by means of deception murders Eglon and frees Israel from his tyranny (Judges 3). These deceptions are acceptable to the Jews because through them the will of YHWH is accomplished.

Judith's deception is a much more acceptable form of deception to the Greeks; Holofernes demands that the subjugated people worship Nebuchadnezzar as the only God (Jdt 6:2), marking him as an impious man worthy of the retribution of any of the gods; Greek characters who take such pride in themselves are never left unpunished (e. g., Arachne, Sisyphus, and Phineus the Seer). Furthermore, Judith employs double talk more than she tells outright lies. She promises that she will say nothing false "to her Lord," and though Holofernes thinks that she means him, in irony this may be taken as referring to YHWH instead (Jdt 11:5). She proclaims,

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[38] See Carey A. Moore, *Judith* (AB 40; 1985) and Toni Craven, "Judith," in *NJBC* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990) 572-75. J. Edgar Bruns, "Judith or Jael?," *CBQ* 16 (1954) 12-14, suggests that Judith is none other than Jael herself, adapted to a new literary context. Although this is probably too simplistic to be exactly the case, he may be on the right track.
[39] Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 322.

"God will successfully perform a deed through you, and my Lord will not fail in any of his undertakings," and then swears these things by the life of Nebuchadnezzar, an oath which would have been meaningless to anyone except Holofernes (Jdt 11:6-7). So Judith convinces Holofernes to follow her advice by means of double talk which she knows he will misinterpret. Such double talk would have been more acceptable than outright lies, as indeed it is one of the celebrated aspects of Greek oracles that they are given in words that may mean one thing or another, frequently to the folly of those who misinterpret. In the celebration of Judith's victory she is called "most blessed among those women who dwell on earth," (Jdt. 13:18) even as Jael is called more blessed than other praiseworthy people.

Judith gives an example of how heroines such as Jael would have been understood and assimilated in Greek thought. In order to approve of the sort of murder she committed it is necessary that the Greek audience consider the object, Sisera, as worthy of such a shameful death. It is significant then that Sisera should be interpreted as an upstart or treacherous war leader whose battle is not against ordinary human enemies but an attempt to unseat the throne of Heaven from among the stars. Sisera is understood, like Holofernes, to be attempting to defy the Lord of Heaven by establishing his king as the only God. In such a context, the curse uttered by the angel of the Lord in v. 23 can only apply to the arrogance and the ὕβρις which Sisera displays such that it serves as tacit permission to violate the virtue of hospitality, insofar as Sisera first violates the more important virtue of piety to the gods.

Conclusions

I believe that I have demonstrated that through the translation of the Song of Deborah into a Greek context it has acquired a new understanding and interpretation than it had in its original time and place. The culture of Hellenism that was already prevailing in Jewish society was giving the audience of Scripture a new set of stories and narratives through which it apprehended and understood the world around them. Though the Jewish community always

sought to preserve the unique character of their faith, it was also important for them that their faith should be able to converse with Greek religion and practice, even if only to demonstrate its own superiority. It is with a new set of mythological tropes that the Jews of the Hellenistic world, and especially those of Alexandria, approach the translation of their scripture or compose new stories.

The Song of Deborah fits very neatly into this mythological context so that she and the characters of this story are readily accessible to a Greek reader. In nearly every respect, however, the Song of Deborah demonstrates that Jewish figures are nobler in nobility, more devious in deception, mightier in battle, and more pious in faith than any of the Greek figures to which they are comparable. Not even the great god Zeus escapes such a comparison: for as great as he is, he still rose to power through ignoble patricide; as propitious as he is, YHWH is more so; though strong in battle, YHWH is stronger. In this way did the Jews who translated their scripture hold conversation with their Greek compatriots, and it is for this reason that their faith continued to survive through centuries of pressure to abandon it.

```
Sub run108draw()

Dim workspace(105) As Integer

Dim randfoo As Integer

Dim foo As Integer

Dim size As Integer

Dim target As String

Dim jump As Integer


Dim num77 As Integer

Dim num1616 As Integer

Dim num1010 As Integer

Dim num1212 As Integer

Dim num121212 As Integer

Dim num12121212 As Integer

Dim num12pairs As Integer

Dim num1414 As Integer

Dim num151515 As Integer

Dim num1515 As Integer

Dim numpairs As Integer

Dim chi4 As Integer

Dim chi5 As Integer

Dim chi7 As Integer   ' for our purposes, any chiastic pattern larger than 7 will count as a chi7
```

```
Dim chi7w17 As Integer

Dim numchi4 As Integer

Dim numchi5 As Integer

Dim numrepeat As Integer

Dim halfrepeat As Integer



Do

num77 = 0

num1616 = 0

num1010 = 0

num1212 = 0

num121212 = 0

num12121212 = 0

num12pairs = 0

num1414 = 0

num151515 = 0

num1515 = 0

numpairs = 0

chi4 = 0

chi5 = 0

chi7 = 0

chi7w17 = 0

numchi4 = 0

numchi5 = 0

numrepeat = 0
```

```
halfrepeat = 0


Call fill 'This subroutine fills the A column with the data set

foo = 1


Do      ' This Do Loop randomly selects values from the data set and assigns them

        ' to the array workspace(). Workspace is an array of integers, and has

        ' indices from 0-108; I am ignoring the 0 index for the purpose of clarity.

    size = getSize()

    randfoo = Int(Rnd() * size) + 1

    target = "A" & CStr(randfoo)

    workspace(foo) = Range(target).Value

    Call DeleteItem(target)

foo = foo + 1


Loop Until size = 1


' having all the values ordered randomly into an array, it is time to check for the Null Hypotheses

foo = 1


Do

    jump = 1

    On Error Resume Next


    Select Case workspace(foo)

    ' this select case is testing for pairs of adjacent lines
```

' the jump value is so that after evaluating a pair of lines or a triplet of lines, the loop

' does not re-evaluate the latter part of that pair. This means that for all numbers but twelve

' a triplet counts as a pair (though 3 lines are added to the number of paired lines)

' but a quad would end up counting as a pair, and then another pair; anything larger will be broken

' down into groups of triplets and pairs (5=3+2; 7=3+3+2; etc.)


```
Case 7
    If workspace(foo + 1) = 7 And workspace(foo + 2) = 7 Then
        num77 = num77 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 3
        jump = 3
    ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 7 Then
        num77 = num77 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 2
        jump = 2
    End If


Case 10
    If workspace(foo + 1) = 10 And workspace(foo + 2) = 10 Then
        num1010 = num1010 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 3
        jump = 3
    ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 10 Then
        num1010 = num1010 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 2
```

```
        jump = 2
    End If


  Case 12
    If workspace(foo + 1) = 12 And workspace(foo + 2) = 12 And workspace(foo + 3) = 12
Then
        num12121212 = num12121212 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 4
        num12pairs = num12pairs + 4
        jump = 4
    ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 12 And workspace(foo + 2) = 12 Then
        num121212 = num121212 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 3
        num12pairs = num12pairs + 3
        jump = 3
    ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 12 Then
        num1212 = num1212 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 2
        num12pairs = num12pairs + 2
        jump = 2
    End If


  Case 14
    If workspace(foo + 1) = 14 And workspace(foo + 2) = 14 Then
        num1414 = num1414 + 1
        numpairs = numpairs + 3
```

```
            jump = 3
     ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 14 Then
            num1414 = num1414 + 1
            numpairs = numpairs + 2
            jump = 2
     End If


Case 15
     If workspace(foo + 1) = 15 And workspace(foo + 2) = 15 Then
            num151515 = num151515 + 1
            numpairs = numpairs + 3
            jump = 3
     ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 15 Then
            num1515 = num1515 + 1
            numpairs = numpairs + 2
            jump = 2
     End If


Case 16
     If workspace(foo + 1) = 16 And workspace(foo + 2) = 16 Then
            num1616 = num1616 + 1
            numpairs = numpairs + 3
            jump = 3
     ElseIf workspace(foo + 1) = 8 Then
            num1616 = num1616 + 1
            numpairs = numpairs + 2
```

```
        jump = 2

    End If


  Case Else

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 1) And workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 2) Then

        numpairs = numpairs + 3

        jump = 3

    ElseIf workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 1) Then

        numpairs = numpairs + 2

        jump = 2

    End If


  End Select
' This If statement is to test for chiasm and and repetition; since there is no worry that
' these will be double counted, they don't affect which numbers get evaluated, and so the jump
' number won't be modified.  For the purpose of sanity, chiasms larger than 10 must be
considered impossible
' and the chiasm will always start with the initial line


If foo + 9 <= 104 Then

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 9) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 8) And _

    workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 7) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 6) _

    And workspace(foo + 4) = workspace(foo + 5) And (workspace(foo) = 17 Or workspace(foo

+ 1) = 17 _

    Or workspace(foo + 2) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 3) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 4) = 17) Then

        chi7w17 = 1
```

numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

ElseIf workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 9) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 8)

And _

workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 7) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 6) _

And workspace(foo + 4) = workspace(foo + 5) Then

chi7 = chi7 + 1

numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

End If

End If

If foo + 8 <= 104 Then

If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 8) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 7) And _

workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 6) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 5) And

_

(workspace(foo) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 1) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 2) = 17 Or _

workspace(foo + 3) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 4) = 17) Then

chi7w17 = 1

numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

ElseIf workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 8) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 7)

And _

workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 6) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 5)

Then

chi7 = chi7 + 1

numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

```
        numchi5 = numchi5 + 1
    End If
End If
If foo + 7 <= 104 Then
    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 7) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 6) And _
    workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 5) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 4) And
_
    (workspace(foo) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 1) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 2) = 17 Or _
    workspace(foo + 3) = 17) Then
        chi7w17 = 1
        numchi4 = numchi4 + 1
        numchi5 = numchi5 + 1
    ElseIf workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 7) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 6)
And _
    workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 5) And workspace(foo + 3) = workspace(foo + 4)
Then
        chi7 = chi7 + 1
        numchi4 = numchi4 + 1
        numchi5 = numchi5 + 1
    End If
End If
If foo + 6 <= 104 Then
    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 6) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 5) And _
    workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 4) And (workspace(foo) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 1) =
17 _
    Or workspace(foo + 2) = 17 Or workspace(foo + 3) = 17) Then
```

```
        chi7w17 = 1

        numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

        numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

    ElseIf workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 6) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 5)
And _

        workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 4) Then

            chi7 = chi7 + 1

            numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

            numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

        End If

        If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 2) And workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 4) And _

        workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 6) Then

            halfrepeat = halfrepeat + 1

        End If

    End If

End If

If foo + 5 <= 104 Then

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 5) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 4) And _

    workspace(foo + 2) = workspace(foo + 3) Then

        chi5 = chi5 + 1

        numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

        numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

    End If

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 2) And workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 4) And _

    workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 3) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 5)
Then

        numrepeat = 1
```

```
        End If

End If

If foo + 4 <= 104 Then

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 4) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 3) Then

    chi5 = chi5 + 1

    numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

    numchi5 = numchi5 + 1

    End If

End If

If foo + 3 <= 104 Then

    If workspace(foo) = workspace(foo + 3) And workspace(foo + 1) = workspace(foo + 2) Then

    chi4 = chi4 + 1

    numchi4 = numchi4 + 1

    End If

End If


foo = foo + jump


Loop Until foo >= 104



If num1010 >= 2 Then Range("E2").Value = Range("E2").Value + 1

If num12121212 >= 1 And (num121212 + num12121212) >= 2 And (num1212 + num121212 +

num12121212) >= 3 _

    Then Range("E3").Value = Range("E3").Value + 1

'    If num121212 >= 1 Then Range("H4").Value = Range("H4").Value + 1
```

```vba
'    If num12121212 >= 1 Then Range("I4").Value = Range("I4").Value + 1

'    If num12pairs >= 11 Then Range("E7").Value = Range("E7").Value + 1

If num77 >= 1 Then Range("E4").Value = Range("E4").Value + 1

If (num1515 + num151515) >= 2 And num151515 >= 1 Then Range("E5").Value =
Range("E5").Value + 1

If num1414 >= 1 Then Range("E6").Value = Range("E6").Value + 1

If num1616 >= 2 Then Range("E7").Value = Range("E7").Value + 1

If numpairs >= 26 Then Range("E8").Value = Range("E8").Value + 1

    If numpairs >= Range("H8").Value Then Range("H8").Value = numpairs

If numrepeat >= 1 Then Range("E9").Value = Range("E9").Value + 1

If halfrepeat >= 1 Then Range("E10").Value = Range("E10").Value + 1

If chi4 >= 1 Then Range("E11").Value = Range("E11").Value + 1

If chi5 >= 1 Then Range("E12").Value = Range("E12").Value + 1

If chi7 >= 2 Then Range("E13").Value = Range("E13").Value + 1

If numchi4 >= 4 Then Range("E14").Value = Range("E14").Value + 1

If numchi5 >= 3 Then Range("E15").Value = Range("E15").Value + 1

If chi7w17 >= 1 Then Range("E16").Value = Range("E16").Value + 1


Range("C1").Value = Range("C1").Value + 1



'For foo = 1 To 108

'    target = "J" & foo

'    Range(target).Value = workspace(foo)

'Next foo
```

```vba
Loop Until Range("C1").Value = 15000
End Sub


Sub DeleteItem(index As String)

    Range(index).Select
    Selection.Delete Shift:=xlUp
End Sub


Function getSize() As Integer
Dim size As Integer
    Range("A1").Select
    Selection.End(xlDown).Select
    If ActiveCell.Row = 65536 Then
        size = 1
    Else
        size = ActiveCell.Row
    End If
getSize = size
End Function


Sub fill()

    Range("A1").Select
    ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "4"
    Range("A2").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "6"

Range("A3").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "6"

Range("A4").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "6"

Range("A5").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "7"

Range("A6").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "7"

Range("A7").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "7"

Range("A8").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A9").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A10").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A11").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A12").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A13").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A14").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A15").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A16").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A17").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "8"

Range("A18").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A19").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A20").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A21").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A22").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A23").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A24").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "9"

Range("A25").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A26").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A27").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A28").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A29").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A30").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A31").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A32").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A33").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A34").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A35").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A36").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "10"

Range("A37").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A38").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A39").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A40").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A41").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A42").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A43").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A44").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A45").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A46").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A47").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A48").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A49").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A50").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A51").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A52").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "11"

Range("A53").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A54").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A55").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A56").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A57").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A58").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A59").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A60").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A61").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A62").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A63").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A64").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A65").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A66").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "12"

Range("A67").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A68").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A69").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A70").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A71").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A72").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A73").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A74").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A75").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A76").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A77").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A78").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A79").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A80").Select
```

```
ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "13"

Range("A81").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "14"

Range("A82").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "14"

Range("A83").Select

ActiveCell.FormulaR1C1 = "14"

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