

The Song OF THE Sea

The Date of Composition
and Influence
of Exodus 15:1–21

BRIAN D. RUSSELL

Advance Praise for

The Song OF THE Sea

“Brian D. Russell offers a close, well-informed literary-critical reading of the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 and an insightful investigation of the Song’s interpretive trajectory and theological significance in the development of ancient Israel’s scriptural traditions. His analysis brings into clear focus the centrality of the Song in the compositional history and literary structure of the book of Exodus. Beyond this, Russell carefully examines the influence of the Song’s distinctive language and themes on later compositions, especially Psalms 74, 77, and 78, whose headings ascribe them to the Asaphite guild of cultic singers. In response to the contrary position of Martin Brenner in particular, Russell argues that the intertextual evidence favors a twelfth century date for the Song’s composition, providing renewed support for the view defended on linguistic grounds by Frank M. Cross and David Noel Freedman a generation ago. Thus, this book makes a contribution both as exegesis of a keynote biblical text and as engagement in an ongoing scholarly conversation about the early history of Israelite literature.”

S. Dean McBride Jr., Cyrus H. McCormick Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Interpretation, Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education

“*The Song of the Sea: The Date of Composition and Influence of Exodus 15:1–21* presents a fresh analysis of an old crux in biblical interpretation. The Song of the Sea has long been a vexing text for everyone interested in Pentateuchal studies in general and in the book of Exodus in particular, as well as for researchers of the date and nature of early Hebrew poetry. A strength of Brian D. Russell’s work is his willingness to employ a gamut of methodological approaches, both diachronic and synchronic, including philology and comparative analysis as well as innerbiblical exegesis and rhetorical criticism. His conclusions about the date of the Song of the Sea are well-argued and convincing, and especially helpful is Russell’s comparison of the Song with the Psalms of Asaph as a means of establishing a *terminus ad quem* for Exodus 15:1-21. This book will be foundational for all studies of the Song of the Sea for many years to come.”

*Bill T. Arnold, Professor of Old Testament & Semitic Languages
Vice President of Academic Affairs/Provost
Asbury Theological Seminary*

The Song OF THE Sea

Studies in Biblical Literature

Hemchand Gossai
General Editor

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PETER LANG

New York • Washington, D.C./Baltimore • Bern
Frankfurt am Main • Berlin • Brussels • Vienna • Oxford

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P R E F A C E

More than ever the horizons in biblical literature are being expanded beyond that which is immediately imagined; important new methodological, theological, and hermeneutical directions are being explored, often resulting in significant contributions to the world of biblical scholarship. It is an exciting time for the academy as engagement in biblical studies continues to be heightened.

This series seeks to make available to scholars and institutions, scholarship of a high order, and which will make a significant contribution to the ongoing biblical discourse. This series includes established and innovative directions, covering general and particular areas in biblical study. For every volume considered for this series, we explore the question as to whether the study will push the horizons of biblical scholarship. The answer must be *yes* for inclusion.

In this volume Brian Russell examines the dating of *The Song of the Sea* (Exodus 15:1-21). In arguing for a twelfth Century BCE composition, the author employs three important and pertinent vectors that converge, suggesting if not establishing an earlier date. While this area of biblical scholarship might have inherent value, the implications that Russell proposes do indeed have far-reaching effect. Scholars will find in this study not only a careful examination but a serious and extensive overview of many of the historically influential and current studies on Exodus.

The horizon has been expanded.

Hemchand Gossai
Series Editor

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AN	Analecta Orientalia
ASOR	American School of Oriental Research
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
ASV	American Standard Version
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983.
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BR	<i>Bible Review</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CMHE	Frank Moore Cross. <i>Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CurTM	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
ET	English Translation
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monograph
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HZAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
ITC	International Theological Commentary
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Society of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Society of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Society of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTSSA	Old Testament Society of South Africa
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>

<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Sam.	Samaritan Pentateuch
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>TB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–21)¹ is well known as a celebration of the unsurpassed power of Yhwh² the God of Israel. Exodus 15:1–21 is made up of two poems (vv. 1b–18 and v. 21b), which are introduced and connected by a prose framework (v. 1a and vv. 19–21a). Beyond its importance for the study of Hebrew prosody, the Song serves a significant role in the narrative structure of the book of Exodus. It marks the climax of the account of Israel's deliverance from Egypt (Exod 1–14) and points forward to the journey to Sinai/Horeb and Israel's subsequent sojourn there (Exod 15:22–40:38).

The initial poem, the Song of Moses and the Israelites (15:1b–18), has been the principal focus of scholarly research.³ Scholars have worked primarily in two areas. Some have sought to establish the Song's date of composition, and others have worked to assess its abiding significance and its relationship to its immediate context.

Proposed dates for the composition of Exod 15:1b–18 span almost a millennium with arguments for times as early as the thirteenth century B.C.E. and as late as the post-Exilic period.⁴ Disagreements over proper method for establishing the dates of texts and a lack of dialogue between scholars, who employ divergent approaches, have complicated the debate.

Evaluations of the Song of Moses and the Israelites' importance are just as divided and typically reflect one's assessment of its provenance. For example, Cross and Freedman, in their joint work, reckoned the piece to be "a sort of 'national anthem' of Israel, celebrating the crucial and central event of her history."⁵ In their work, they have consistently and cogently argued that the Song was composed prior to the monarchy. Yet, writing less than a decade before Cross and Freedman, Pfeiffer dismissed it as a flawed late fifth century B.C.E. expansion of the Song of Miriam. He offered these less than flattering remarks on the literary accomplishment of the poet:

But being a peace-loving soul utterly devoid of martial fire, a townsman, who had never seen a battle, he chose a model that he could not emulate and wrote not a miniature Epic, like Miriam [15:20–21], but a homiletic and pious paraphrase thereof. Imitating the historical psalms, without succeeding in carrying out the correct meter, this pseudo-poet praises the Lord for his glorious deeds but, forgetting that his poem was supposed to have been sung at the Exodus from Egypt, he also summarizes the conquest of Canaan (15:13–18) and even refers to the Temple in Jerusalem (15:17)—not Solomon's but the Second Temple, completed in 516.⁶

Whether it is Israel's putative "national anthem," a flawed imitation of earlier forms of Hebrew prosody, or something in between, Exod 15:1b–18 has continued to be the subject of significant scholarly interest. The wide divergence of opinion on these questions demonstrates the need for a fresh review of the available evidence.

The thesis defended in this study has two related components that will attempt to address the issues raised above. First, the poetry of Exod 15:1–21 (specifically vv. 1b–18) was most likely composed during the mid-twelfth century B.C.E. (ca. 1150 B.C.E.). Second, although its core predates the composition of the sources that make up the book of Exodus, Exod 15:1–21 serves in its present context as a theological summary of the book of Exodus. Structurally, it stands at the center of Exodus. It is the climactic conclusion of the deliverance from Egypt and the miracle at the sea, and it serves a preparatory role for the remainder of Exodus by anticipating the wilderness wanderings and the arrival of the people at Yhwh's mountain sanctuary of Sinai. Thus, this study will consist of two parts, which stand in a symbiotic relationship with one another. Part I presents a detailed exegetical analysis of Exod 15:1–21. The exegetical work is foundational for the establishment of the date of composition because several issues regarding the date of the prosody turn on interpretive decisions made by the reader.⁷

Part I moves from a narrow focus on the text itself to a broad view of the significance of Exod 15:1–21 for the book of Exodus as a whole. The approach espoused in Part I may be categorized as a "close reading" of the text. The exegesis is based on an eclectic methodology that draws equally on both diachronic and synchronic approaches.

Chapter Two "The Song of the Sea: Critical Text, Prosody, and Translation" opens Part I with a detailed study of the Hebrew text of Exod 15:1–21. Issues of textual criticism, poetic analysis, textual limits, and translation into English are explored as a precursor to an in depth reading of the Song.

Chapter Three "An Exegetical Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21" follows with an interpretation of the Song of the Sea. Issues of unity, structure, and parallels with the Baal Cycle are assessed. Furthermore, this chapter establishes exegetical decisions on key issues such as the presence of an "Israelite" crossing of the sea in the Song, an explanation for the shift in focus from the victory at the sea (Exod 15:1b–12) to the journey to Yhwh's sanctuary (Exod 15:13–17), and the relationship between the Song of Moses and the Israelites (15:1b–18) and the Song of Miriam (15:19–21). These exegetical matters have implications for the Song's date of composition.

Chapter Four "The Narrative Role of the Song of the Sea in the Book of Exodus" is transitional. It traces and assesses the enduring significance of the

Song of the Sea by describing the narrative function that it serves. It demonstrates that the Song is central to the overall theological message of Exodus. Chapter Four is a fitting conclusion to Part I of this study because it expands the exegetical focus to the entire literary context of Exodus. It is also proleptic in the sense that it anticipates the discussion in Part II of the inner-biblical contacts between the Song and other literature in the Hebrew Bible.

Part II assumes the exegesis of Part I. The study shifts from issues of interpretation to an investigation into the Song of the Sea's date of composition. The principal focus is the poetry of Exod 15:1b–18 and to a lesser extent v. 21b. The secondary literature on this topic is immense, and a plethora of proposals have been offered. A fundamental divide, however, remains over the most convincing methodology to use for the establishment of the dates of composition for texts of unknown origin. Arguably in the case of Exodus 15, the question of date turns on two questions. First, how much weight does one give to the “archaic” grammar and syntax present in the Song of Moses and the Israelites? Second, how does one explain the allusive relationships that the Song shares with other Israelite literature that is often demonstrably late?

The works of two of the main conversation partners in this study illustrate the divide succinctly. Frank Cross argues that all of the evidence points to a late twelfth or early eleventh century B.C.E. date of composition.⁸ He is clearly convinced that the Song is ancient by the typological evidence of the language of Exod 15:1b–18. He buttresses this position by means of a tradition-history schema in which the Song of Moses and the Israelites stands at the beginning. This move allows Cross to explain similarities between the Song and later literature in terms of an evolution of the Miracle at the Sea tradition. The problem with Cross' assessment is that, in order to demonstrate the Song's uniqueness in the tradition stream, he has to deny the presence of an Israelite crossing of the Sea in the Song and to describe the destruction of the Egyptian forces as a naval accident in a stormy sea. Both elements of Cross' proposal, though plausible, do not make the best sense of the internal evidence of the Song.

In contrast, Martin Brenner argues that Asaphite poets composed the Song in the post-exilic period for the celebration of the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem (ca. 444 B.C.E.).⁹ He dismisses the linguistic evidence in Exod 15:1b–18 as intentional archaizing. The most convincing part of his study is the thorough review and linking of the phrases, vocabulary, and style of the Song of the Sea with other literature in the Hebrew Bible. Brenner, however, consistently dates these other texts to the post-exilic period and attributes them to the levitical Asaphite clan. Brenner's work is marked by a

leveling of the development of Israelite prosody, because he finds evidence of the hand of the Asaphites across the canon. Furthermore, he assumes that texts with elements in common derive from the same time period and authorship circle.

The project at hand has adopted an eclectic methodology that strives to bridge the gap between these two competing approaches. The argument in Part II is not fully wedded to any one methodological system. It argues that the date of the composition of the Song of Moses and the Israelites is approximately 1150 B.C.E., but it does so based on the accumulation and convergence of a variety of evidences.

Chapter Five “Linguistic and Comparative Evidence for the Dating of Exodus 15:1b–18” begins to answer the question of date with a review of the archaic grammar and syntax found in the Song of Moses and the Israelites. This analysis reconfirms earlier findings of the significance of these data for a premonarchic date. This conclusion is then strengthened by additional argumentation that draws on the lack of prose particles in the Song, the accumulation of staircase parallelism, and the heavy use of phraseology and word pairs found in the literature of Ras Shamra. Each of these elements tends to support an early date for Exod 15:1b–18.

Chapter Six “Historical Allusions in the Song of the Sea: Implications for Dating” presents an assessment of the Song’s internal data and argues that the twelfth century B.C.E. provides the most compelling backdrop for Exod 15:1b–18. Four elements are examined: first, the reference to the “God of my father” (אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי) in Exod 15:2; second, the identification of the sanctuary described in Exod 15:13 and 17; third, the list of nations (Philistia, Moab, Edom, Canaan) in Exod 15:14–16; and last, the victory dance celebrated by Miriam and the women in Exod 15:20–21.

Chapter Seven “The Inner-biblical Use of Exodus 15:1b-18 and Its Implications for Dating” moves the question of the Song’s date of composition in a different direction by assessing the vocabulary and phraseology that the Song shares with other literature in the Hebrew Bible. The methodology employed here and in the following two chapters will assess the direction of dependence. For example, Exod 15:2a is identical with Isa 12:2b and Ps 118:14. These three texts are used as a test case for the method. Exodus 15:2 is found to be the source for the other two texts. It follows that the Song was composed prior to these other passages.¹⁰ Thus, a *terminus ad quem* is set in the time period in which the earliest of the texts dependent upon the Song was composed. This approach bridges the gap between scholars depending on linguistic and historical arguments and those employing literary approaches to the problem.

Chapter Eight “Exodus 15:1b–18 and the Psalms of Asaph” applies the methodology of chapter seven to three psalms from the Asaphite collection (Pss 74, 77, and 78), which contain allusions to Exodus 15. In each case, it is demonstrated that the Song functions as a source for the Asaphite prosody. Significantly, this chapter denies an Asaphite provenance for the Song. Common features of the Asaphite corpus are contrasted with the Song of Moses and the Israelites. This analysis demonstrates that it is unlikely for Exod 15:1b–18 to have been composed by the same circles responsible for the Asaphite psalms. Finally, the late eighth century B.C.E. is established as the *terminus ad quem* for Exod 15:1b–18 on the basis of compelling evidence for a date of composition of Ps 78 during the time of Hezekiah.

Chapter Nine “Exod 15:1b–18 and the Narrative Traditions of Israel” studies the Song’s relationship to the narrative sources present in Exod 14 and in Josh 2–5. This chapter demonstrates that Exod 15 stands as an older tradition, whose influence can be discerned in these later narrative accounts. Chapter nine ends with a final assessment of the cogency of the argumentation of chapters seven to nine in relation to other methods presented in the extant literature concerning the Song’s provenance.

Chapter Ten brings the study to a conclusion by summarizing its results and describing its implications for the wider field of biblical studies.

PART ONE

The Interpretation of the Song of the Sea

CHAPTER TWO

The Song of the Sea: Critical Text, Prosody, and Translation

Exodus 15:1–21 consists of two prosodic sections (vv. 1b–18, 21b) set within a prose framework (vv. 1a, 19–21a). This chapter offers a critical text with prosodic analysis. An English translation is provided along with extensive notes to the reader. A discussion of the textual limits of Exod 15:1–21 concludes this preliminary section of the study.

Critical Text with Prosodic Analysis

1¹ אז ישיר־משה ובני ישראל את־השירה הזאת ליהוה ויאמרו לאמר

Metrical Analysis	Syllable Count			
2:2	5/5	אשירה ליהוה	כי־גאה גאה	
2:2	4/4	סוס ורכבו	רמה בים	
2:2	6/6	עזי וזמרת יה	ויהי־לי לישועה	2
3:3	7/11	זה אלי ואנוהו	אלהי אבי וארממנהו	
2:2	6/4	יהוה איש מלחמה	יהוה שמו	3
3:2	8/4	מרכבת פרעה וחילו	ירה בים	4
2:2	6/6	ומבחר שלשיו	טבעו בים־סוף	
2:3	7/9	תהמת יכסימו	ירדו במצולה כמו־אבן	5
2:2	5/5	ימינך יהוה	נאדרי בכח	6
2:2	5/4	ימינך יהוה	תרעץ אויב	
2:2	5/6	וברב גאונך	תהרס קמיןך	7
2:2	6/5	תשלח חרנך	יאכלמו כקש	
2:2	5/4	וברוח אפיך	נערמו מים	8
3:3	8/8	נצבו כמו־נד נזלים	קפאו תהמת בלב־ים	
2:2	4/4	אמר אויב	ארדף אשיג	9
2:2	5/6	אחלק שלל	תמלאמו נפשי	
2:2	4/6	אריק חרבי	תורישמו ידי	

2:2	7/4	כסמו ים	נשפת ברוחך	10
2:2	7/5	במים אדירים	צללו כעופרת	
2:2	4/5	באלם יהוה	מי־כמכה	11
2:2	4/5	נאדר בקדש	מי כמכה	
2:2	5/4	עשה פלא	נורא תהלה	
2:2	6/6	חבלעמו ארץ	נטיח ימינך	12
2:2	7/5	עם־זו גאלה	נחית בחסדך	13
2:2	7/6	אל־נוה קדשך	נהלה בעדך	
3:3	7/8	חיל אחו ישבי פלשה	שמעו עמים ירגזון	14
			אז נבהלו אלופי אדום	15
			אילי מואב יאחזמו רעד	
3:3:3	9/10/9		נמגו כל ישבי כנען	
2:2	5/6	אימחה ופחד	חפל עליהם	16
2:2	6/6	ידמו כאבן	בגדל זרועך	
3:3	9/9	עד־יעבר עם־זו קנית	עד־יעבר עמך יהוה	
2:2	9/6	בהר נחלחך	חבאמו והטעמו	17
2:2	6/5	פעלת יהוה	מכון לשבתך	
2:2	6/5	כוננו ירך	מקדש אדני	
2:2	4/5	לעלם ועך	יהוה ימלך	18
			כי בא סוס פרעה ברכבו ובפרשיו בים וישב יהוה	19
			עלהם את־מי הים ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה בתוך הים	
			ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן את־התף בידה ותצאן	20
			כל־הנשים אחריה בהפים ובמחלה	
			והען להם מרים	21
2:2	4/5	כי־גאה גאה	שירו יהוה	
2:2	4/4	רמה בים	סוס ורכבו	

The prosody² of the Song is dominated by short lines of 2:2, which contain approximately the same number of syllables.³ Longer lines, however, are scattered throughout verses 1b–18. A second distinctive feature is the heavy use of staircase parallelism (vv. 6–7a, 11, and 16).

Translation of Exodus 15:1–21

1. Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to Yhwh. They said:⁴

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| “I will sing ^a to Yhwh
Horse and its chariot driver ^b | For he has triumphed gloriously,
He has cast ^c into the sea. |
| 2. Yah(wh) is my strength ^d and protection ^{ef}
He has become my salvation;
This is my God so I will praise him,
The God of my father so I will exalt him. ^g | |
| 3. Yhwh is a man of war | Yhwh is his name. |
| 4. Pharaoh’s chariots and his army
His choicest officers | He cast into the sea;
They were sunk in the Re(e)d sea; ^h |
| 5. The deep waters covered ⁱ them | They went down in the depths
like a stone. |
| 6. Your right hand, O Yhwh ^j
Your right hand, O Yhwh | Glorious ^k in strength;
Shattered the enemy. |
| 7. And by your great majesty | You threw down your adversaries. |
| You sent forth your anger ^l | It consumed them like chaff. |
| 8. And by the breath of your nostrils
Flood waters stood like a heap. ⁿ
Deep waters congealed ^o in the heart of the sea. | The waters piled up. ^m |
| 9. The enemy said
I will divide booty | ‘I will pursue, I will overtake,
My desire will have its fill of
them, ^p |
| I will unsheathe my sword | My hand will destroy them.’ |
| 10. You blew with your breath
They sank like lead | The sea covered them;
In the majestic waters. |
| 11. Who is like you
Who is like you
Awe-inspiring in praises | Among the gods, O Yhwh?
Mighty among the holy ones ^{q?}
Doing wonders. |
| 12. You stretched out your right hand | The underworld ^r swallowed them. |
| 13. You led with your fidelity | The people whom you redeemed;
You guided with your strength
to your holy abode. |
| 14. Peoples heard, they shook | Writhing seized the inhabitants of
Philistia. |
| 15. Then Edom’s chiefs were dismayed
Leaders of Moab, trembling seized them,
All the inhabitants of Canaan melted. | |
| 16. It fell upon them
Because of your great strength
Until your people passed through
Until the people whom you created ^l passed through. | Fear and dread.
They were as still ^s as a stone. |

17. You brought them and planted them On the mountain of your inheritance;
The place for your habitation You made, O Yhwh;
The sanctuary, O Lord Your hands established.
18. Yhwh will reign^u Forever and ever.”
19. For the horses of Pharaoh with his chariots and his drivers went into the sea and Yhwh turned back upon them the waters of the sea, but the Israelites walked on dry land in the midst of the sea. 20 After which, Miriam the prophetess, sister of Aaron, took up in her hand the hand-drum,^v and all the women went out after her, with hand-drums and dancing. 21 Miriam sang to them:
- “Sing^w to Yhwh For he has triumphed gloriously;
 Horse and its chariot driver He has cast into the sea.”

Critical Notes

Exodus 15:1–21 is well preserved with few significant variants.⁵

a. **אָשִׁירָה** (cf. v. 21 **שִׁירוּ**) Several variants have arisen ostensibly because of the similarity between verses 1b and 21b. Verse 1b in Sam. reads **אָשִׁירוּ** in verse 1 and **שִׁירוּ** in verse 21. LXX records **ἄψαλμεν** “let us sing” in both places. The reading in MT is superior. Sam. employs a causative (‘aphel) plural imperative. Apparently, Moses is exhorting all Israel (male and female), “Make song to Yhwh.” LXX is clearly harmonizing MT. It uses the subjunctive mood to preserve the cohortative in verse 1 and a plural ending for the plural form in verse 21.⁶ This harmonization is toward an exegetical end. Moses and the Israelites are initiating the worship in 15:1–21. MT is supported by a similar usage of the first common singular, cohortative in another ancient victory song, Judg 5:3.

b. **וּרְכַבּוּ** The translation “its rider” presents a problem because horses were not used widely as cavalry until the Persian period. The horse-drawn chariot was the principal mobilized weapon of the Ancient Near East. The Greeks and Romans continued its use well into the Christian era. Many scholars repoint the text to **וְרִכְבוּ** from **רֶכֶב** “chariot, chariotry.”⁷ This is unnecessary. Granting that the expression is awkward, there is evidence that MT preserves a common method of referring to horse and chariot driver.⁸ An inscription in Qadesh from the reign of Ramses II (1279–1212 B.C.E.) reports that Ramses mounts his horse (B 88, R 18; cp. P 267). The surrounding wall reliefs, however, depict Ramses driving his chariot, not riding a horse.

c. **רִמָּה** This rare term, found elsewhere only as a participle (Jer 4:29, Ps 78:9) meaning “archer, bowman,” is used typically of shooting arrows from a bow. Here the image is one of Yhwh propelling the Egyptians into the sea.

d. **עָוִי** Barr and Thomas want to derive **עָוִי** from Arabic *gāzā* “go forth to war” or *ghazin/gāzī* “warrior.”⁹ According to Barr this yields the transla-

tion “Yah is my warrior.” Three factors weigh against this option and in favor of deriving עֹזִי from עֹז “strength.” עֹז is found in Exod 15:13 and provides a lexical link between the two parts of the poem. A similar usage of עֹז is found in Ps 29:1, 11. Also, Barr’s and Thomas’s proposed root does not otherwise occur in the Old Testament.

e. **זמרה** The meaning of זמרה has been debated extensively in the literature.¹⁰ It can mean “song” or “protection.”¹¹ A stronger case can be made for translating *zmrt* as “protection.” First, there is evidence in the cognate languages for such a translation. Ugaritic has a root *dmr* that means “protection, strength” in the following citation: ‘*zk.dmrk.l’ak* (CAT 1.108.24). Arabic also has *dmr* “protect.” Second Samuel 23:1 may be evidence of a plural form of this word outside of Exodus 15. Second, LXX reads σκεπαστης “refuge, protector.” Third, “protection” better fits the context of Exod 15:2. There is no confusion about the relationship of strength, protection, and salvation as three epithets of Yhwh in 15:2.¹²

f. **יה עזי וזמרת** This clause is identical to Ps 118:14 and Isa 12:2b. Sam. reads עֹזִי וְזִמְרָתִי. LXX has βοηθός και σκεπαστης “helper and defender” (cf. Ps 118:14 and Isa 12:2 in LXX where the possessive μου is used with each noun). The principal textual problem is the absence of the first common singular pronominal suffix on זמרה.¹³ The best solution is to retain MT and understand the suffix on עֹזִי as doing double duty for both nouns.

g. **עזי...וארמננהו** Cross and Freedman omit verse 2 from the original poem because of metrical considerations. Its meter does not conform to the surrounding 2:2, and the first bicolon is commonly used in the Old Testament (cf. Ps 118:14, Isa 12:2b).¹⁴ The verse is retained in this study.¹⁵

h. **יַם־סוּף** Translational issues dealing with יַם־סוּף are well known.¹⁶ This study opts for the hybrid form “Re(e)d” as a way to acknowledge the complexity of deciding between “Reed Sea”/“Sea of Reeds” and the traditional “Red Sea.” Propp opts to leave it untranslated as “Yam Suph.”

i. **יכסימו** The Song of Moses and the Israelites is characterized by the archaic use of prefixed verbal forms. יכסימו is the only imperfect in vv. 4–5. The other three verbs are perfects. All four lines describe the same event using and should be translated as past, completed action. יכסימו in fact represents the old **yaqtul* (preterite) form. The prefixed form is used consistently along with the expected suffixed verb forms throughout the song for past action.¹⁷

j. **vv. 6–7a** Verses 6–7a are understood as an example of three-line staircase parallelism.¹⁸ Such a construal is supported by the use of the Hebrew-Ugaritic word pair אִיב “enemy”// קִם “adversary” (= Ugaritic *ib* // *qm*) that serves to link verses 6b and 7a.¹⁹

k. **נֹאדְרִי** This form raises two questions. First, as vocalized in MT, the form is a Niphal, masculine, singular participle. How can a masculine participle modify a feminine noun? Second, how is the final ך to be explained?

Moran attempts to resolve both issues by repointing the form as an infinitive absolute.²⁰ He appeals to evidence of infinitive absolutes with ך endings from the Jerusalem and Byblos Amarna letters. This reconstruction has been questioned.²¹ There are clear differences between the use of the infinitive in the Amarna letters and the context of Exod 15:6. First, the infinitive without the preposition occurs only in conditional or temporal sentences. It is difficult to construe the clause in question in verse 6 as a subordinate clause.²² Second, **נֹאדְרִי** follows its subject whereas in the Amarna letters the subject if present follows the infinitive. Last, in nine of the eleven occurrences of the infinitive absolute where it is used as a surrogate for a finite form, it is followed by enclitic *mem*. There is no enclitic *mem* present in Exod 15:6. Cohen suggests that the key to understanding this form is to recognize that verses 6–7a form a three-line staircase structure (cf. v. 11). A parallel structure is found in CAT 1.17 VI 26–28:

Irs hym lAqht ḡzr
Irs hym watnk
blmt wašlhk

Ask for life, O Aqht the valiant,
Ask for life and I'll give it to you,
No-death and I'll bestow it on you.²³

Thus, **נֹאדְרִי** is probably a masculine singular adjectival participle that modifies יהוה. In verse 11, **נֹאדְרִי** likewise refers to God. Cross and Freedman identify the ך as an old case ending.²⁴

l. **vv. 7b–8a** If the above understanding of verses 6–7a is correct, the parallelism in the bicolon formed by verses 7b–8a needs further comment. Cohen suggests that these lines function as a transition from the celebration of the destruction of the enemy (vv. 6–7a) to the description of Yhwh's control over the waters (v. 8bc).²⁵ Verses 7b and 8a are linked by means of the juxtaposition of the synonyms **חַרְרִין** and **אֶף**. These lines appear to represent an example of the breaking up of a composite phrase. **חַרְרִין** is used forty-one times in the OT and in thirty-three of these occasions it is found in the combination **אֶף חַרְרִין**. See Ps 2:5 for another example of this poetic device used with these terms.

m. **נְעַרְמוּ** The translation of verse 8 remains a crux for interpreters.²⁶ This note and the two that follow discuss the translation of three rare words on which the debate centers. **נְעַרְמוּ** is derived from either (I) **עָרַם** “heaped up” or (II) **עָרַם** “be shrewd, crafty.” Both of these roots are found infrequently in verbal forms.²⁷ Several early translations follow root II. *Onkelos* and the *Shirta*²⁸ read, “the waters grew/became wise.” This line of interpretation un-

derstands **נערמו** as an allusion to Exod 1:10 in which the Egyptians are encouraged to “deal shrewdly” (**נתחכמה**) with the growing population of Israelites.²⁹ The problem with this interpretation is that it does not fit the context. Exodus 15:8 consists of three lines, which narrate Yhwh’s mastery of the sea. The waters are not personified anywhere in the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Furthermore, as we will see, Exod 15:8 describes the waters being blown into the appearance of a wall of water.

Most likely, **נערמו** should be translated, “heaped up, piled up.” This translation is based on the noun **ערמה** “heap” or “pile.” **ערמה** is typically used in reference to piles of rubbish (Neh 3:34 [ET 4:2], Jer 50:26) or grain (Ruth 3:7, Cant 7:3, Hag 2:16). Evidence in support of “piled up” is also found in the ancient translations.³⁰

n. **נד** This rare word occurs only four times in undisputed texts (Exod 15:8; Josh 3:13, 16; Ps 78:13).³¹ The last three are dependent on Exod 15:8. **נד** is translated “heap” in KJV, ASV, NASB, and NRSV, and “wall” in NIV. Most ancient translations read “wall.”³² A possible Semitic cognate is Arabic *nadd* “hill” or “mound of earth.”³³ Grabbe argues that meanings such as “bank,” “cliff,” “wall,” and “heap” are also possible connotations.³⁴ The context of verse 8 supports such an understanding. **נד** is likely a synonym of **ערמה**.

An interesting variant occurs in *Pseudo-Jonathan* and the Peshitta. Both translate **נד** as “wineskin.” This apparently is the result of reading **נַד** as **נֹד**. In MT, **נֹד** means “wineskin.” It occurs in Josh 9:4, 13; Judg 4:19; 1 Sam 16:20; Pss 56:9 and 119:83. In post-Biblical Hebrew, the aleph is dropped, and it becomes **נֹד**. Aramaic *nōdā* and Akkadian *nādu* are cognates, and significantly they are not spelled with an **א**. There, however, are no undisputed examples of **נֹד** spelled **נד** in MT.³⁵

o. **קפאו** The meaning of **קפא** in this context is often debated. Its occurrences in the Old Testament suggest “thickening” as a translation (Zeph 1:12; Job 10:10). Cross and Freedman argue that it means “churn.”³⁶ Smith concurs with Cross and Freedman but opts for “foam.”³⁷ This study gives primary weight to the Old Testament occurrences listed above and reads the three lines in Exod 15:8 as roughly synonymous. These lines portray the waters being blown back into the appearance of a solid wall. In such a context, “congeal” is the preferred translation.

p. **תמלאמו** Cross and Freedman argue that the ostensible pronominal suffix should be read as an enclitic *mem*.³⁸ They suggest that the enclitic *mem* as represented in the archaic orthography was later misunderstood as a pronominal suffix. However, this and other occurrences of final *mw* (vv. 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 17) are best understood as the archaic form of the third masculine

plural suffix. In verse 9, it is proleptic. It marks the object of Pharaoh's evil intentions and is a veiled reference to Yhwh's people who come into explicit view only in verses 13 and 16.

q. **נָאֲדָר בְּקֹדֶשׁ** This phrase is generally translated "majestic in holiness" (e.g., NIV, NRSV). The root *'dr* means "to be strong" in both Phoenician and Ugaritic. According to Cohen, it "always refers to physical strength" in early Israelite poetry (Exod 15:6, 10, 11; Judg 5:13, 25).³⁹ It is difficult to deduce how "physical strength" is related to the phrase "in holiness."⁴⁰ This phrase is better translated as "mighty among the holy ones." Such a translation is supported by LXX $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, as well as the context because **בְּקֹדֶשׁ** is in parallel construction with **בְּאֵלִים**. The case is further strengthened when the staircase parallelism is recognized in this verse. There is no reason to emend the text to **בְּקֹדְשִׁים**⁴¹ because **קֹדֶשׁ** may be read as a collective here.⁴²

r. **אֲרֶץ** In this context, **אֲרֶץ** takes on the connotation of "underworld" (cf. Gen 2:6, 1 Sam 28:13, Isa 29:4, and Jon 2:6).⁴³ The Akkadian and Ugaritic cognates *ersītu* and *'ars*.

s. **יָדְמוּ** Dahood has challenged the prevailing view that this word is derived from **דָּמָה**.⁴⁴ He argues that the image of the nations being struck dumb or being still as a stone lacks "crispness." He revocalizes it as *yuddu-mi* (Qal passive or Hophal with enclitic **ם**) from **נָדָה**. This is unnecessary. **דָּמָה** fits the context well. Just as Pharaoh and his forces were powerless before the awesome power of Yhwh and sank in the sea like a stone, so also the nations are impotent before Yhwh's people as they pass through on their way to Yhwh's holy abode under his divine guidance.

t. **קָנָה** The root **קָנָה** can mean "purchase," "acquire," or "create."⁴⁵ In verse 13, the parallel construction **עַם־יִזְרָאֵל גְּאֻלָּה** ("the people whom you have redeemed") occurs. Both *g'l* and *qnh* are descriptive terms for the salvation brought by God. Yhwh is the people's redeemer and creator. God crushes the Egyptian threat to order by using the sea against this enemy (Exod 15:1b–12). He then leads his people through another group of enemies to the holy sanctuary that he has built (Exod 15:13–17). These cosmological overtones in the Song favor the translation "created."⁴⁶ **קָנָה** with God as subject occurs in Gen 14:19, 22; Deut 32:6; Ps 139:13; and Prov 8:22. Deuteronomy 32:6 is the closest parallel to Exod 15:16. Deuteronomy 32:6 describes Yhwh as the creator of Israel:

הֲלוֹא־הוּא אֲבִיךָ קִנְךָ הוּא עֲשָׂךְ וַיִּכְנֶנְךָ

"Is he not your father, your creator, the one who made you and formed you?"⁴⁷

u. **יִמְלֹךְ** The translation adopted in this study reads the imperfect *ymlk* as a future. Verse 15:18 is a proclamation of Yhwh's eternal kingship. Smith

suggests a jussive “may Yhwh reign forever and ever” based in part of the parallel in CAT 1.2 IV: 32 and 36.⁴⁸ Freedman posits that the imperfect presents an “omnitemporal character.”⁴⁹ He offers this translation for 15:18: “As for Yhwh, he has reigned, continues to reign, and will reign from the most ancient times on into the endless future.”

v. **התק** Most English translations read “tambourine” (e.g., NIV, NRSV, NJB) or “timbrel” (NASB, JPS, KJV). Poethig describes a **תק** as a shallow hand-held drum constructed out of a wooden hoop with an animal membrane stretched over it.⁵⁰ References can be found as early as the Sumerian period. In West Semitic, it is known from the Late Bronze Ugaritic materials. The hand-drum should be differentiated from a tambourine because it lacks metal disks. Timbrel can refer to a hand drum, but it also serves as a synonym for tambourine.

w. **שירו** MT’s reading with the support of Sam. over against LXX ᾠσώμεν.

Exodus 15:1–21 as a Discrete Unit

There are literary and narrative clues that clearly demarcate Exod 15:1–21 as a discrete literary unit within Exodus. First, **אז** marks the beginning of the unit and connects 15:1–21 temporally and logically with the events of chapter 14. Second, the passage is framed by an inclusio that marks the beginning and end of the Song of the Sea. Verses 1b and 21b serve as bookends around the unit. These lines are identical except for the form of the verb **שיר**.⁵¹ Third, verse 15:22a is a transitional line inserted by P that marks the start of the wilderness wanderings to Sinai. This is part of the Priestly itinerary notices that serve to arrange P’s inherited material.⁵² Fourth, the subject matter of 15:1–21 marks it off as a unit. Beyond the obvious observation that its mostly prosodic content stands in contrast to Exod 14 and the narrative that resumes in 15:22 lies the important observation that 15:1–21 contains both retrospective and proleptic elements. Verses 1–12 and 19–21 look backwards to the events at the Sea whereas verses 13–18 anticipate the journey through the wilderness to Sinai/Horeb. Thus, 15:1–21 serves a dual function: first, it brings the narrative of the Exodus from Egypt (Exod 1–14) to a climax, and second, it prepares its hearers for the remainder of the book (Exod 15:22–40:38).⁵³ Last, verse 22 begins a new paragraph in the MT (indicated by **ס** in *BHS*).

Additionally, there are clues that the two poems are to be read as a unit. First, as mentioned above, the inclusio operative in verses 1b and 21b serves to bind the unit together as a whole. Second, the causal particle **כי** in verse 19 links verses 19–21 explicitly to verses 1–18.⁵⁴ Verse 19 draws from ele-

ments in 14:23, 26, and 29. This sets the performance of both songs directly after the miraculous crossing of the Re(e)d Sea.

Conclusion

This chapter has established a textual base for the further examination of the Song of Sea. Issues of prosody and translation have been studied, and it has been demonstrated that Exod 15:1–21 stands as a discrete unit in the Book of Exodus. The remainder of Part I now turns to the interpretation of the Song of the Sea.

CHAPTER THREE

An Exegetical Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21

Exodus 15:1–21 narrates the Israelite response to the saving actions of their God at the sea. The people sing of their faith in Yhwh, the incomparable divine warrior, creator, and king. Yhwh has vanquished the power of Egypt and led his people through both the sea and their future enemies to God's holy sanctuary at Sinai. This chapter will build upon the previous one by providing a detailed exposition of the Song of the Sea.

The Unity of Exodus 15:1b–18

The question of the compositional unity of Exod 15:1b–18 turns on the assessment of verse 2 and verses 13–17.¹ Some argue that these verses are the work of later redactors.² This section will demonstrate that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is a unified composition.

The Originality of Verse 2

Cross and Freedman regarded verse 2 as a later addition to the original poem.³ They point out that its meter (2:2::3:3) stands in contrast with the dominant meter of the remainder of the poem. Furthermore, the initial bicolon is virtually identical to Ps 118:14 and Isa 12:2, and thus, it appears to be a common praise formula that was added to modify the Song for liturgical use. In later works, Freedman proffers additional arguments against its authenticity. He argues that the use of first person singular forms in verse 2 seems out of place⁴ and the diversity of divine names and epithets in verse 2 contrasts with the exclusive use of יהוה in verses 1b and 3–18.⁵

None of these objections to the authenticity of verse 2 is compelling. First, the dominant meter of the Song of the Sea is 2:2, but several cola of 3:3 are present. Thus, verse 2a with its 2:2 and verse 2b with its 3:3 (or perhaps 3:2) is not entirely out of place. Second, Ps 118 and Isa 12 are dependent upon the language of the Song of the Sea in multiple ways.⁶ Thus, the similarities between Exod 15:2, Isa 12:2, and Ps 118:14 are best explained as examples of inner biblical exegesis and not as stereotypical oral formulas. Third, the use of the first person forms in verse 2 fits the overall movement of the Song. Verse 1b contains the first person form אֲשִׁירָה. Verse 2 contin-

ues this orientation. Together verses 1b–2 form an introduction to the Song. Verses 3–5 move to third person description followed by verses 6–17, which shift to a second person orientation. Verse 18 marks the climax of the poem and returns to a third person frame of reference. Thus, the Song of the Sea uses three different points of view. Last, the divine names and epithets in verse 2 are not as problematic as Freedman argued. Given the paucity of Hebrew poetry that can be dated confidently to an early period, there is simply not enough evidence to draw sweeping conclusions about what titles and names were used for Israel’s deity. In a later work, Cross reinstated verse 2b to the original song, and he still dated Exod 15:1b–18 to the late twelfth or early eleventh century B.C.E.⁷ Admittedly, הַיְיָ in verse 2a remains problematic for an early date because it is found mainly in late poetic texts,⁸ but it does occur twice in Ps 68 (vv. 5, 19), which is often reckoned early. It remains an open question as to how early the divine name יהוה would have been abbreviated. On the other hand, the combination of וְזָמְרָה עִי (‘‘strength and protection’’) appears to be an old Canaanite clich . These identical terms appear as a divine epithet in Ugaritic literature (CAT 1.108.24 ‘zk.dmrk).

Two additional lines of evidence support the originality of verse 2 in the Song of the Sea. The noun עַי (v. 2a) recurs later in the poem in verse 13. This provides a semantic link with the rest of the Song. Verse 2b also contains the older uncontracted third masculine singular verbal suffix-anhu (וְאֶרְמְמֵהוּ ‘‘I will exalt him’’). This form fits well with the overall archaic nature of Exod 15:1b–18.⁹

The Originality of Verses 13–17

Alleged tensions between verses 1b–12, 18 and verses 13–17 have led some scholars to regard verses 13–17 as a later addition.¹⁰ First, there are observable differences in content between the two halves of Exod 15:1b–18. Jeremiah points out that verses 1–12 and 18 focus exclusively on Yhwh’s battle against an enemy whom Yhwh drowns in the sea. This drama reaches its climax in the proclamation of Yhwh’s kingship. In contrast, verses 13–17 narrate Yhwh’s guidance of his people to the holy mountain through a named group of enemies.¹¹ Second, verses 1–12 are oriented to the past whereas verses 13–17 look to the future. Third, the differences in meter between the two sections suggest disunity. Fourth, the lack of a defined genre for the poem as a whole raises questions about its unity. Last, the presence of Deuteronomistic language in verses 13–17 implies that this section derives from a later period than the first.

None of these arguments necessitates positing a composite text. First, differences in content are not necessarily indicative of a composite text. The Baal cycle is an excellent example of this. Baal’s victory over Yamm is not complete until after his house has been established. Likewise, verses 13–17 are necessary for the message of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Without verses 13–17, there is no explicit identification within the poem of the recipients of Yhwh’s actions. Verses 13 and 16b identify God’s people in the parallel phrases:

עַם־זֶרְךָ גָּאֵלְךָ
עַם־זֶרְךָ קָנִיָּה

“people whom you redeemed” (v. 13)

“people whom you created” (v. 16b)

Yet the emphasis on Yhwh alone from verses 1–12 is maintained because the recipients are only known in relationship to Yhwh, i.e., as Yhwh’s people. Furthermore, there is a “named” enemy in both halves. Granted “Pharaoh” (v. 4a) is not a national appellation, but it certainly implies a particular country. Thus, it is incorrect to suggest that the list of nations in verses 14–16 stands in contrast to an anonymous foe in vv. 1–12.

Second, there is no difference in temporal orientation because, as argued earlier, the majority of Exod 15:1b–18 should be translated in the past tense. Most of the Song’s prefixed forms may be understood as **yaqtul* preterite forms. The entire Song of Moses and the Israelites looks back in celebration of Yhwh’s foundational acts of salvation.

Third, verses 1b–18 show mixed meter in both halves of the poem.¹² Verses 14 and 15 do evidence the greatest divergence from the more common 2:2 meter, but most of the cola in verses 13, 16, and 17 fit into this pattern.¹³ In the first half, verse 2b (perhaps 3:3), verse 4a (3:2), and verse 8b (3:3) break the pattern as well.

Fourth, there is no consensus on its genre.¹⁴ Attempts to assign the Song to a single category are problematic because of the complexity of the poetry in verses 1b–18. The two most common designations are hymn¹⁵ and victory song.¹⁶ This lack of consensus, however, is a matter for scholarly debate and should not unduly influence the question of unity in light of the evidence in favor of it.

Furthermore, the attempts to isolate verses 1b–18 and 21b apart from their narrative frameworks (vv. 1a, 19–21a) and broader book context have contributed to the lack of agreement regarding form critical matters.¹⁷ It is clear that Exod 15:1–21 is the final unit of the story of the deliverance from Egypt. The Song flows directly from Yhwh’s saving actions and his people putting their trust in him (14:31). Verses 1b–18 contain a recital of Yhwh’s deeds not only at the sea (vv. 1b–12) but beyond it (vv. 13–17). This poem

culminates in the proclamation of Yhwh's kingship (v. 18). Verses 19–20a then reorient the reader back to the immediate aftermath of Yhwh's victory at the sea. The second poem, which virtually repeats verse 1b, exhorts its hearers to sing praises about the one who has triumphed gloriously over his enemies at the sea. Taken as a whole, Exod 15:1–21 takes the form and function of an exhortation to the worship of Yhwh, the incomparable warrior and eternal king. The genre "victory song" is strengthened further by verses 20–21a in which women act in ways stereotypical of those rejoicing at the return of victorious warriors (cf. 1 Sam 18:7).

Fifth, the presence of deuteronomic language in verses 13–17 is debatable. Dozeman offers the following evidence of a deuteronomic addition: 1) The clearest indicator of the deuteronomic understanding of the sea tradition is the use of **יבשה** for the dry sea bed and **עבר** for the crossing of the Re(e)d Sea and Jordan river (e.g., Josh 2:10: 4:23; 5:1). He argues Israel's crossing of the sea is implied in verse 16b. 2) Divine guidance/leading is a key element in verses 13 and 17 (**נחה** "lead," **נהל** "lead," and **ברא** "go, come"). This is also frequent in deuteronomic literature. 3) Verses 14–16 contain the "fear of the nations" motif which is comparable to deuteronomic passages in Deut 2:25 and Josh 2:9, 24.¹⁸ These arguments are not compelling. First, **יבשה** does not occur in the poetry, but is found in verse 19 as part of the prose framework. Furthermore, rather than suggesting a deuteronomic provenance, verse 19 betrays the influence of the P material in 14:23, 26, and 29.

Likewise, regarding the use of **עבר**, Smith notes that non-deuteronomic passages also use it for crossing land and water. This calls into question the practice of lifting out certain terms as key indicators. Regarding the use of **עבר** with reference to a crossing, he notes parenthetically, "what other verb would be used."¹⁹

Sixth, the consistent use of archaic style and grammar serves to bind verses 1b–18 as a whole together.²⁰ Two of the archaic elements occur in both halves of the poem. The Song of the Sea uses the prefix conjugation for past narration in verses 5–7, 12, 14–17.²¹ Also, Exod 15:1–18 contains the densest concentration of the archaic third masculine plural suffix **נן**- in the Old Testament. It is found in verses 5, 7, 9 (2x), 10, 12, 15, and 17 (2x).²² The occurrences of both elements throughout the poem suggest its unity. It would be much to ask of a redactor to maintain the poem's consistent use of archaic forms without leaving evidence of archaizing. Additionally, verses 13 and 16 contain a third archaic form, the relative particle **ו**. These forms are localized to verses 13–17, but their presence further strengthens the claim that these verses are original to the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

Seventh, the use of staircase parallelism is characteristic of the Song of the Sea and serves to bind the two halves of the poem together.²³ It occurs in verses 6–7a, 11, and 16b. Two other features coincide with the first and third examples of staircase parallelism. Before the occurrences in verses 6–7a and 16b, the phrase אֶבֶן + כּ “as a stone” is found. Furthermore, the distribution of the divine name יְהוָה strengthens this structural observation. Outside of verse 2, יְהוָה is the only divine appellation found in the Song. It recurs at least once in verses 1, 3, 6, 11, 16, 17, and 18. Freedman observes that יְהוָה is found in the three examples of staircase parallelism (vv. 6, 11, 16b), but it is in none of the verses in between this framework.²⁴

Eighth, the author of the Song of the Sea employs the poetic devices of assonance and alliteration consistently in both parts of the Song. These are found in 15:1b, 8ab, 9a, 12–13, 16b, and 17a.²⁵

Finally, vocabulary common to both halves supports the unity of composition. First, עֹז “strength” is used in 15:2 and 13. Second, the active presence and power of Yhwh is symbolized with hand and arm imagery in both halves (יְמִינִי “right hand”—15:6 [2x], 12; זְרוּעַ “arm, strength”—15:16; and יָד “hand”—15:17).²⁶

Conclusion

The Song of Moses and the Israelites is a unified composition. The overwhelming accumulation of evidence supports the inclusion of verses 2 and 13–17.

Structure of Exodus 15:1–21

Outline:

- I The Song of Moses and the Israelites (vv. 1–18)²⁷
 - A. Prose introduction (v. 1a)
 - B. Yhwh’s Glorious Victory (vv. 1b–11)
 1. Intention to Praise Yhwh (vv. 1b–2)
 2. Yhwh’s Triumph at the Sea (vv. 3–10)
 - a. Yhwh the Warrior (v. 3)
 - b. Summary of the Victory over Egypt (vv. 4–5)
 - c. Description of the Victory (vv. 6–10)
 3. Incomparability of Yhwh (v. 11)
 - C. Yhwh’s Guidance of His People to His Sanctuary (vv. 12–18)
 1. Yhwh Leads His People (vv. 12–17)
 - a. Guidance to Sanctuary I (vv. 12–13)
 - b. Fear of the Nations (vv. 14–16)
 - c. Guidance to Sanctuary II (v. 17)
 2. Yhwh’s Eternal Kingship (v. 18)
- II The Song of Miriam (vv. 19–21)

- A. Prose Summary of Yhwh's victory at the Sea (v. 19)
- B. Miriam's song of celebration (vv. 20–21)

Discussion of the Song's Structure

This section will examine the structure of Exodus 15:1–21 as a whole and its two main units: verses 1–18 and 19–21. By structure, this study means the division of a passage of Scripture into its main units and sub-units and the description of the compositional relationships that bind these together.²⁸

Exodus 15:1–21. Verses 1–18 and 19–21 are joined together into a coherent whole by two compositional relationships: substantiation and climax with chiasm. First, verses 19–21 provide the rationale for the singing of the Song of Moses and the Israelites (vv. 1–18). Yhwh has been praised for his miraculous defeat of the Egyptians at the Sea (vv. 1b–10) and his guidance of the people to his sanctuary (vv. 12–17). Declarations of Yhwh's incomparability (v. 11) and his eternal kingship (v. 18) form the climactic elements for the two halves of verses 1–18. Verse 19 opens with the causal particle ׀ׁ "for." This particle marks an explicit link between these two units. Verse 19 recapitulates the details of the miraculous crossing through the sea by the Israelites and the drowning of the Egyptians from chapter 14. In verses 20–21, Miriam and the Israelite women go out dancing with hand-drums. Miriam exhorts the Israelites to sing to the Lord because of his glorious triumph over Egypt. Thus, Exod 15:1–18 may be read as the response to Miriam's exhortation.²⁹

Further, verses 1–18 and 19–21 are linked by climax with chiasm. As noted above, verse 1b is repeated almost verbatim in verse 21b. These verses form bookends around the unit. Verses 19–21 serve to bring Exod 15:1–21 to a climax by refocusing the reader on the decisive action of this passage—the deliverance at the Sea. The chief notion present in the Song is the necessity of praising Yhwh because of his dramatic victory over Pharaoh and his forces at the sea. This foundational event forms the heart of the ancient Israelite creed.

It is instructive to observe a chiasmic structure that undergirds Exod 15:1–21:

- A Moses and the Israelite men sing (v. 1)
- B Victory at the Sea (vv. 2–11)
- C Sanctuary at Sinai³⁰ (vv. 12–18)
- B' Victory at the Sea (v. 19)
- A' Miriam and the women sing (vv. 20–21).³¹

The simplicity of this arrangement highlights three key themes: first, it suggests that worship is the proper response of *all* Israel to God's saving actions. Second, the victory at the Sea over the Egyptians stands as the pivotal salvific episode in the history of Israel. Last, the Sinai experience is shown to be the goal of God's redemption of Israel. This chiasmic structure centers on the second half of the Song of the Sea proper. This suggests that the salvation at the sea, though foundational for Yhwh's people, is incomplete without the journey to and sojourn at the divine sanctuary. It is only at the sacred mountain (15:17) that Yhwh's people receive the full benefits of their redemption (לגאל—15:13) and creation (הקנין—15:16).

Exodus 15:1–18. Exodus 15:1–18 forms the largest and most complex unit in 15:1–21. It is comprised of three sub-units. Verse 1a is the smallest sub-unit, and it is the only prose in verses 1–18. It functions as the historical introduction to the poem.

Verses 1b–11 form the second sub-unit. These verses may be divided into three smaller sections. Verses 1b–2 declare the singer's intention to praise Yhwh for his victorious actions at the sea.

Verses 3–10 present Yhwh as the divine warrior and paint a vivid picture of the victory. Verse 3 makes a general statement that Yhwh is a “man of war.” The details of this affirmation are found in verses 4–10. Verses 4–5 summarize the victory over Egypt and verses 6–10 rehearse it in greater detail. Verses 4–5 and 6–10 are divided because of their differences in detail and perspective. Verses 4–5 speak of God in the third person. Verse 6 switches to second person narration. Third person narration does not return until verse 18.

Verse 11 brings verses 1b–10 to a climax by proclaiming the incomparability of Yhwh on the basis of his wondrous deeds, i.e., his victory over Pharaoh.

Exodus 15:1b–11 is marked by a heavy repetition of “sea” language (vv. 1, 4, 5, 8, 10).³² Besides providing a common link, it offers a repeated reminder that the forces of “watery chaos” are not the enemy in this song, but merely Yhwh's instrument for destroying Pharaoh.

Verses 12–18 represent the final sub-unit of Exod 15:1–18.³³ This unit involves a shift of emphasis by focusing on Yhwh's guidance of his people to his sanctuary. It may be divided into two parts (vv. 12–17 and v. 18). Verses 12–17 detail the guidance and care that Yhwh provides his people as they travel to his sanctuary. These verses are structured by contrast with *inclusio*. Verse 12 provides a transition to this section with a final reference to the victory at sea. Verses 13 and 17 envelop 12–17 with references to

Yhwh's loving guidance of his people to God's holy place. This idyllic picture contrasts sharply with that of Israel's enemies, who quake with fear and stand frozen in their tracks in verses 14–16. Verse 18 represents a fitting climax to verses 12–17. Yhwh's guidance of his people to his sanctuary ends with their proclamation of his eternal kingship.

How are the two main units of verses 1b–18 related? There are four compositional relationships that bind these verses together. First, there is a marked contrast throughout the poem. It functions on two levels. Yhwh and his enemies (Egypt and the gods in vv. 1b–11 and the nations listed in vv. 14–16) are contrasted. Both groups are powerless before God. This first level dispels any doubt about Yhwh's position and prominence. There is no one like Yhwh (v. 11). He is the omnipotent divine warrior (v. 3). The second contrast is related to the first, but its focus is the discriminatory nature of Yhwh's power. This is presented in terms of a contrast between the security and guidance that Yhwh provides his people (vv. 12–13, 17) and the destruction and concomitant fear that Yhwh brings upon Egypt (vv. 1b–11) and the nations (vv. 14–16). Yhwh deals in anger with enemies, but reserves אֱמֻנָה "fidelity, lovingkindness" (v. 13) for those blessed to be identified by the appellation "people of Yhwh" (15:13, 16).

Second, although verses 1b–2 are closely tied to the events of verses 3–11, they also function more broadly as a general call to praise for verses 3–18. Verse 1b specifically mentions the defeat of horse and chariot as the reason for worship. This defeat is recounted in detail in verses 3–10. Verse 2 extols Yhwh for the strength and protection that lead to salvation. עֹז "strength" (vv. 2 and 13) provides the explicit lexical link between verses 1b–2 and 12–18. Verses 12–18 fill out the picture of Yhwh's salvation by describing the secure future that Yhwh's people enjoy with their eternal king. God's victory at the sea effectively defeats all of Israel's future adversaries.

Third, there is a recurring description of the destruction of the Egyptian forces. The Hebrew poet in hyperbolic fashion gleefully describes the death of the Egyptians with a host of vivid images. The Egyptians are cast into the sea (vv. 1b, 21b), thrown into the sea (v. 4), shattered (v. 6), thrown down (v. 7), consumed (v. 7), covered (v. 10), and swallowed (v. 12). Furthermore, the Egyptians sink into the sea like stones or pieces of lead (v. 5, 10), and the sea covers them (vv. 5, 10). The only word that recurs is כִּסָּה "covers" (vv. 5, 10).³⁴ This plethora of imagery serves to emphasize that Yhwh, the divine warrior, has entered into human history and obliterated the army of a world-renowned superpower for the purpose of the creation and redemption of a people known here only by their association with their patron (vv. 13, 16).

This perceived truth is the basis of doxology to Yhwh and serves further to secure the future of Yhwh's people (vv. 13–17).

Last, verse 18 brings the poem to an apt conclusion. Its closing acclamation *יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד* “Yhwh will reign forever and ever” is the climax of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Yhwh has been praised for his triumph over Pharaoh, for his incomparability among the gods, and for his loving guidance of his people to his sanctuary. This final verse proclaims a final inference: Yhwh, the incomparable warrior and shepherd of his people, is the eternal King.

Exodus 15:19–21. Verses 19–21 are structured by a causal movement from victory described to a call for worship. Verse 19 summarizes Yhwh's triumph over Egypt and Israel's safe passage through the sea on dry land. Verses 20–21 depict Miriam and the women calling Israel to worship in response to Yhwh's mastery of Pharaoh and his compatriots.

Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21

Exodus 15:1–21 declare the praise of Yhwh, the incomparable divine warrior and eternal king of Israel, for his glorious triumph over Egypt and for his loving and protective guidance of his people to his sanctuary.

Exodus 15:1–21 opens (v. 1b) and closes (v. 21b) with a similar refrain. This framing device establishes the focus on the celebration and praise of Yhwh for his triumph over Egypt at the sea.

As analyzed above, verses 1b–18 may be divided into two parts: verses 1b–11 and 12–18. Verses 1b–11 focus on God's victory at the sea. Verse 1b–2 opens with first person language to describe the singer's intention to praise God. Although the prose introduction (v. 1a) tells the reader that Moses and all the Israelites participate in the singing, the use of *אֲשִׁירָה* “I will sing” suggests that individual Israelites made this song his or her own.³⁵ In fact, verses 1b–2 use first person verbs and pronominal suffixes seven times. This emphatically points to the individual appropriation of Yhwh as the personal god of each member of the worshipping community.³⁶ The cohortative *אֲשִׁירָה* indicates the intention of the worshipping community to sing praises to Yhwh. The use of the first-person pronouns and verbs continues to highlight the personal involvement of the worshipper, but the focus moves quickly from the worshippers to the one who is praised above all others—Yhwh.³⁷

The use of the singular “horse and its chariot” in verse 1b suggests the completeness of the destruction of Pharaoh’s army.³⁸ Yhwh has provided deliverance and salvation. This is the reason for the celebration.

Verse 2 continues the praise of Yhwh for his refuge and protection that leads to salvation. Exod 15:2b is important theologically because of the phrase אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי “God of my father.” This associates Yhwh with the God of Israel’s ancestors. Yhwh has already used this link as a means to identify himself (Exod 3:6, 4:5, cf. 18:4). This phrase takes on added significance within the mythological framework of the Song as described above. This apparent association of Yhwh with the God of the patriarchs adds to Yhwh’s character by showing that the one involved with Israel’s ancestors is in fact the one “who creates cosmos and the possibility of life.”³⁹

Verses 3–10 offer specific details of the victory. Verse 3 sets the tone by using the metaphor “man of war” to describe Yhwh (מִלְחָמָה).⁴⁰ This phrase may be regarded as a war-cry that could be invoked against various enemies.⁴¹ This appellation points to the power of Yhwh.⁴² This picture is developed in verses 3–10 in which the destruction of Yhwh’s opponents is celebrated. Yhwh does all of the fighting in these verses. Moses plays no role in the poetic description of the event. Israel does nothing. Even the mighty pharaoh is a powerless pawn (vv. 9–10) in the face of the divine warrior. In fact, verse 9 is full of dramatic irony.⁴³ By verse 9, the Song has rehearsed God’s victory multiple times. Yet, in this verse, the enemy announces boastfully his intentions to destroy God’s people in rapid-fire staccato style. The singers of the Song and its hearers, however, already know the futility of the enemy’s plan.

Verse 4 is the only explicit reference to Pharaoh (Egypt) in Exod 15:1b–18. The references to “horse and chariotry” (v. 1b), “the enemy” (v. 9), etc. are generic. Likewise, there is no mention of Israel by name, but only the appellation “Yhwh’s people” (vv. 13 and 16). This sense of anonymity serves to elevate the battle at the Re(e)d Sea to something more than a mere ethnic conflict between Israel and Egypt.⁴⁴ It becomes a struggle of good versus evil or more specifically a battle between the creator and the forces of anti-creation. This cosmic conflict has implications beyond the shores of the Re(e)d Sea because Yhwh’s actions become paradigmatic for how he acts in creation.⁴⁵

Verses 4–5 represent the initial description of Yhwh as warrior. It is Yhwh who directly intervenes to cast Pharaoh and his forces into the depths. Sea language is prevalent here (יָם “sea” [2x], הַמַּיִם “deep waters,” מְצוּלוֹת “depths”). Yhwh uses the primordial waters as his weapons. The Egyptians are powerless before this onslaught. Their state of helplessness is heightened

by the use of “stone” imagery. The mighty Egyptian army can do nothing; it sinks into the waters as though it were a stone (כְּמֹר־אֶבֶן “like a stone” cf. כְּעֹרֶפֶת “like lead” in v. 10). This same description is used of Yhwh’s post-Sea enemies as well (v. 16).

Verses 6–7a mark a shift from third person poetic narration to second person hymnic praise.⁴⁶ The use of the three-line staircase parallelism heightens this move. Yhwh’s right hand is extolled. The symbolic power of a deity’s right hand is a familiar one in Ancient Near Eastern literature and iconography.⁴⁷

Verses 7b–8a continue the use of the second person language but transition back to the narration of the salvific event at the Sea. The Song juxtaposes the contrasting images of fire and water to represent Yhwh’s fury being unleashed against the Egyptians.⁴⁸

Yhwh uses the sea (representative of watery chaos) as his weapon against the Egyptians.⁴⁹ The imagery of verse 8 has raised questions regarding the precise nature of the victory over Egypt. Verse 8 is closest to the language employed in the prose accounts of Exodus 14.⁵⁰ Does the Song of Moses and the Israelites depict a wall of water and a path through the sea? Cross and Freedman answer in the negative.⁵¹ Cross argues that in verses 1–12 the destruction of the Egyptians is rehearsed five times.⁵² Each rehearsal is parallel to the others and not consecutive. The focus remains solely on the destruction of the enemy. Cross and Freedman suggest that verse 8 portrays a storm-tossed sea. The Egyptians, who are pursuing God’s people on barges, drown in a raging sea. There is no Israelite crossing in verse 8 because God’s people are not mentioned until verse 13. The only crossing portrayed in the Song occurs in verse 16b, and this is a reference to the crossing of the Jordan into Canaan.

A closer reading of the Song of the Sea, however, offers credible evidence that the Song does indeed describe more than the destruction of Egypt. First, the language in verses 8–10 suggests that something extraordinary happened to the waters. Coats argues that these verses do in fact depict a pathway through the sea.⁵³ In verse 8, the three verbal clauses (“the waters piled up,” “flood waters stood like a heap,” and “deep waters congealed in the heart of the sea”) portray the sea hardening into a wall. This is most explicit in the second line (כְּמֹר־נֶד “like a heap/wall”) because the other occurrences of נָד describe a path through the Jordan river (Josh 3:13 and 16, cf. Ps 78:13). This does not necessarily imply a split sea as in the Priestly account, but perhaps suggests a dramatic recession of the sea bed or the temporary stoppage of a large wave.⁵⁴ Second, verse 9 portrays the arrogant and blood-thirsty enemy in pursuit. Ostensibly, the Egyptians chased someone directly

into the sea or sea bed with their chariots. The need for and fact of a pursuit implies that Yhwh's people were crossing the sea.⁵⁵ Cross and Freedman's reconstruction of an Egyptian pursuit in barges is fascinating, but lacks any textual evidence.⁵⁶ After all, the repeated line in verses 1–21 is that Yhwh has cast *סוס ורכבו* (“horse and its driver”), not barges, into the sea. Third, against the objection that Israel's passage is not mentioned in verse 8, it must be noted that God's people are not referenced explicitly until verse 13. This was intentional on the part of the poet who wanted the emphasis in the first half of the poem to be on Yhwh's unilateral victory over Egypt. God's people, however, are present in verse 9 as the clear antecedent of the suffix *מו* on the verbs *המלאמו* and *הורישמו*. Fourth, it appears likely that an indirect description of the Israelite crossing of the sea is found in the imagery of verses 14–16.⁵⁷ The nations stand as “still as a stone” until God's people pass by/through (*עבר*). *עבר* can be used for crossing the sea or river (e.g., Num 33:8, Josh 4:23–24). Lohfink calls verse 16 “a procession [by God's people] through the avenue of sphinxes.”⁵⁸ Thus, the evidence suggests that verses 8–10 (cf. 15:16) depict the hardening of the waters in order to permit travel through them. Fifth, the immediate context (Exod 14) recounts the story in narrative form of Israel's escape through the Re(e)d Sea. Both the J and P accounts attest to it. It is likely that the Priestly redactors responsible for the present location of Exod 15:1–21 understood verses 8–10 to be telling a similar tale in poetic form.⁵⁹

Verses 1b–10 reach their climax with a rhetorical question (v. 11) proclaiming the incomparability of Yhwh. On the basis of Yhwh's triumphant victory over the Egyptians, the poet asserts that there is no other god like Yhwh. This is indeed the center of the Song of the Sea. This verse boldly and openly declares in a polytheistic world that Yhwh has no rivals. The future is secure for Yhwh's people.⁶⁰ Yhwh is indeed King of creation (cf. 15:18).

Verses 12–13 provide a transition into the second part of the poem (vv. 12–18) by summarizing verses 1–11 and 14–17. The same God who destroyed the Egyptians now lovingly guides his people to the holy sanctuary. Yhwh the Warrior becomes Yhwh the Shepherd.⁶¹ Verses 12–17 are organized around a chiasmic structure:

- | | |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A | Guidance to the Sanctuary (<i>נחלה בעודך... נחלה בעודך</i>) (אל-נרה) (vv. 12–13ac) |
| B | Yhwh's people (<i>עם-זר גאלה</i>) (v. 13b) |
| C | General reference to the peoples (<i>עמים</i>) (v. 14ab) |
| D | Inhabitants of Philistia (<i>פלשה</i>)—West of Jordan (v. 14cd) |
| E | Chief of Edom (<i>אדום</i>)—East of Jordan (v. 15ab) |
| E' | Princes of Moab (<i>אילי מואב</i>)—East of Jordan (v. 15cd) |
| D' | All the inhabitants of Canaan (<i>כל ישרי כנען</i>)—West of Jordan (v. 15ef) |

- C' General reference to the peoples (v. 16abcd)
 B' Yhwh's People (עַמ־יְהוָה קְנִיָּה and עַמֶּךָ)⁶² (v. 16ef)
 A' Guidance to the Sanctuary (All of v. 17).

The identification of this chiasmic arrangement has implications for interpretation. First, it demonstrates that the references to Yhwh's holy place in verses 13 and 17 are roughly synonymous (A//A'). Therefore, it is probable that *נוה קדשך* and *נהלתך בהר* refer to the same location.⁶³ This confirms the witness of Jer 31:23, which combines elements of both:

יִבְרַכְךָ יְהוָה נוֹה־צְדָק הַר הַקֹּדֶשׁ

"Yhwh will bless you, O abode of righteousness, O holy mountain."⁶⁴

Second, verse 12 is the final reference to the destruction of the Egyptians in verses 1b–18. Yhwh stretches out the right hand (יְמִינֶךָ—cf. v. 6), and the earth (אֶרֶץ) swallows the enemy. In other words, as the second half of the poem opens, there is no doubt that Yhwh has dealt decisively with Israel's historical enemy at the Re(e)d Sea. Along with the other references to the sinking of the Egyptians in the sea, this imagery symbolizes the ultimate end of the Egyptians as they descend (involuntarily!) into the underworld.⁶⁵ If the Song speaks indirectly of Yhwh's people passing through the sea, then verse 12 adds irony to the Song and heightens the contrast between Yhwh's people and Yhwh's enemies. The Egyptians are swallowed by the underworld, whereas Yhwh's people emerge freshly "redeemed" (v. 13) and "created" (v. 16) from the realm of the dead.⁶⁶

Third, verses 13–17 depict Yhwh as a shepherd leading his newly formed flock to his sacred abode.⁶⁷ Yhwh's treatment of his people stands in contrast to the nations who are paralyzed with fear as the people of God pass through them. The physical symptoms shown by the nations listed in verses 14–16a are stereotypical reactions to fear that are paralleled elsewhere in the Ancient Near East.⁶⁸ The nations behave in this manner in response to Yhwh's victory at the Sea. This is the one battle that ultimately matters for the on-going life of God's people.⁶⁹ Egypt is destroyed Egypt and the other nations are paralyzed. In contrast, Yhwh's people are led to God's own sanctuary (v. 17). At the sea, Yhwh's past and future enemies have been conquered at the Sea so that Yhwh's people might know that their god will protect them on route to the sacred mountain and beyond.⁷⁰ The security of Israel is brought into focus by the nouns *חֶסֶד* "fidelity" and *עוֹ* "strength" and by the verbs *נָהַל* "led," *גָּאֵל* "redeemed," *קָנָה* "created," and *נָטַע* "planted." All of these may be associated with Yhwh's creation, guidance, and protection of the people.

The Song of Moses and the Israelites reaches its climax in verse 18. This final verse proclaims that Yhwh, the incomparable warrior (vv. 1b–11) and loving shepherd of a newly redeemed and created people (vv. 12–17), is the eternal king of all creation. Freedman suggests that the imperfect embodies an omnitemporal character and may be translated, “As for Yhwh, he has reigned, continues to reign, and will reign from the most ancient times on into the endless future.”⁷¹

Verse 19 immediately reorients the reader’s attention to the victory at the Sea. Miriam and the women call the Israelites to the spontaneous worship of Yhwh. These actions are clearly cultic in function.⁷² Judges 11:34 and 1 Samuel 18:6 (cf. 21:12, 29:5) demonstrate similar actions by women in the context of victory celebrations. The use of dance serves three functions.⁷³ First, it is an expression of joy. Second, it acts as a dramatic representation and celebration of Yhwh’s victory. Last, it is used to honor the divine warrior (Isa 30:29–33).

Miriam is designated by the titles הנביאה “the prophetess” and אחות אהרן “the sister of Aaron” (v. 20). The mention of Miriam by name places her in the leadership circle of Moses and Aaron.⁷⁴ The two titles point to her charismatic and institutional credentials for leadership.

The Rhetorical and Theological Function of the Song of Miriam

Given the close correspondence between verses 1b and 21, it is necessary to ponder their precise relationship to one another and explore the purpose of the repetition.⁷⁵ Why does the Song of the Sea include two seemingly repetitious poems: The Song of Moses and Israelites (vv. 1b–18) and the Song of Miriam (v. 21b)?

The most common explanation suggests that the Song of Miriam represents an antiphonal response by women to the Song of Moses and the Israelites.⁷⁶ This interpretation has led several scholars to argue that ideological forces have been at work to minimize Miriam’s role. Tribble, for example, believes that Miriam’s contribution has been downplayed and suppressed by redactors. She writes,

The song Miriam chants repeats with variation the first stanza of the long poem (Exodus 15:1–18) earlier attributed to Moses. The repetition suggests that her contribution is derivative and his original. Further, though he can sing an entire song, she can cite, and then not perfectly, only the first stanza. By comparison, her performance seems deficient, as does this entire small unit that awkwardly follows the grand Mosaic ending. As a second closure, it is anticlimactic, no more than an afterthought, a token of the female presence.⁷⁷

In like manner, Brenner claims that the tradition of Miriam's song has been suppressed in favor of a narrative that portrays women as unable to act independently of male leadership and lacking the talent necessary to create poetry. In her view, Miriam was the original author and performer of the Song of the Sea (vv. 1b–18), but in the present literary context, she has been reduced to a mere echo of Moses.⁷⁸

This study does not share this assessment of the Song of Miriam in its present context. The Song of Miriam plays a significant role in Exod 15:1–21 apart from hypothetical reconstructions. It does not function as a mere antiphonal echo to verses 1b–18 nor is there evidence that the tradition surrounding Miriam has been suppressed. It follows the Song in verses 1b–18 not as an afterthought, but for key theological and literary reasons that help to shape the message not only of Exod 15:1–21, but of Exod 1–15 as a whole. Before this argument is developed, the insights of historical-critical and narrative studies will be surveyed and evaluated.

It is difficult to evaluate the relationship between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the Song of Miriam from a strictly historical-critical perspective. For example, some understand the poems as doublets from the "Epic" sources.⁷⁹ Generally, verses 1–18 and 20–21 are assigned to J or E respectively. Such source-critical decisions are based more on the assumption that verses 1b–18 and 21b are ancient than on any particular affinity with those sources.⁸⁰ Verse 19 is consistently attributed to P or the priestly redactor on the basis of its similarities to P material in 14:23, 26, and 29.⁸¹

Cross and Freedman argue that the Song of Miriam was an incipit of the longer poem (vv. 1b–18).⁸² This suggestion assumes that the two songs represent doublets from the "Epic" sources (J and E). Rather than repeating the entire poem in full, the redactor only reports the title in verse 21b. Cross and Freedman aver that the poem must predate both of the written sources. Watts disputes this interpretation by noting that there is little evidence for the use of titles in biblical literature and arguing that such an interpretation fails to explain the referent of *וַתִּשָּׁבַח לָהֶם* "and she sang to them" in verse 21.⁸³

Other scholars insist that the Song of the Sea is the result of accretion from the Song of Miriam.⁸⁴ For example, Durham argues that verses 1b–18 are best understood as a composite of two or even three poems. In either case, verses 1b–12 find their original derivation in verse 21b.⁸⁵

Evidence from the Bible suggests that the Song of Miriam is a free-standing poem.⁸⁶ There are several examples of two-line poems that survive in the Old Testament (e.g., 1 Sam 18:7, 21:12, 29:5, 2 Chr 20:21, and Num 10:35). Many of these deal with battle.⁸⁷ A possible parallel is 1 Sam 18:7 (cf. 21:12 and 29:5), in which women come forth to greet the returning army

with song and merriment.⁸⁸ Just as Miriam and the women in Exod 15, they accompany themselves with the hand-drum (תִּק) and are dancing (מַחֲלֵל).⁹⁰ It is clear from the context that the object of their singing is the returning army. Also, the singing is introduced with the same Hebrew root used in Exod 15:21 (עָנָה). Though no song is recorded, Jephthah's daughter greets her father in like fashion with hand-drum and dance upon his return from battle (Judg 11:34). This historical observation suggests that Miriam's actions are no mere afterthought, but stand in a tradition of woman celebrating victory in warfare.⁹¹ The difference in Exod 15 is that the celebration is not for victorious men, but for Yhwh.

Cross and Freedman give the tradition attributing the song to Miriam priority.⁹² They argue that it is more difficult to explain the association of Miriam with the song as a later development if it originally had been attributed to Moses. It will be demonstrated below that the Song of Miriam is also given priority in the narrative time of Exod 15:1–21.

Miriam is held in relatively high regard by the Pentateuchal writers.⁹³ She makes her first explicit appearance in Exod 15:20–21.⁹⁴ She is designated a prophet and the sister of Aaron. These titles suggest that Miriam was an important early leader.⁹⁵ In Num 12, Miriam and Aaron challenge Moses' leadership. Miriam's name is placed before Aaron's. The fact that Miriam was able to vie for power against Moses shows her importance in early Israelite tradition.⁹⁶ After Miriam is shut out of the camp for seven days following her leprosy, Num 12:15 specifically notes that the "people did not set out on the march until Miriam had been brought in again" (NRSV). Apparently, the Israelites were not willing to travel without Miriam. In a later recital of God's saving actions related to the Exodus and Conquest, Miriam retains her place beside Moses and Aaron (Mic 6:4). These remembrances of Miriam point to her significance in early Israel.⁹⁷

The scholarship reviewed so far has attempted to understand the role of Exod 15:19–21 in terms of the prehistory of the text. The results are mixed. The best insight is the association suggested between the Song of Miriam and other Old Testament victory songs and dances.

From a literary analysis, the relationship between the Song of the Sea and the Song of Miriam becomes clearer. This section began with the remarks of Tribble and Brenner who argued that the Song of Miriam becomes an afterthought in Exod 15. They are reacting to the common interpretation of the Song of Miriam as an antiphonal response. There are numerous variations on this theme. For example, Watts argues that verse 21 is the refrain sung after each line of the Song of Sea.⁹⁸ The actions of the women recorded in verses 20–21 are thus simultaneous with the performance of verses 1b–18.

Cassuto regarded verse 21 as an antiphonal refrain that was sung after each strophe of verses 1b–18.⁹⁹ Such interpretations do not hold up under a close reading of the text. Fischer describes the repetition of the praise of Yhwh in the Song of Miriam as unique in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁰⁰ There are repeated refrains in certain Psalms, but not by different speakers. Furthermore, as Janzen cogently argues, there are literary clues that suggest that the Song of Miriam is to be regarded as the first song performed following the defeat of the Egyptians.¹⁰¹ The Song of Moses and the Israelites is, in fact, the response to the Song of Miriam. Rather than degrading the contributions of women, Exod 15:1–21 elevates Miriam and the women of Israel to the role of worship leaders. This literary arrangement is intentional and serves both rhetorical and theological purposes.

There are four elements in verses 19–21 that are crucial for understanding the rhetorical relationship between the two songs. First, it is necessary to provide evidence that verse 19 is the introduction to verses 19–21 rather than the conclusion to verses 1–18. MT separates verse 19 from verses 20–21 with an open paragraph marker. In the Book of Odes that follows the Psalter in the LXX tradition, the Song of the Sea is the first entry; it includes Exod 15:1b–19. Apparently, the ancient compilers considered verse 19 to be poetic.¹⁰² Verse 19, however, is derived from clauses found in verses 23, 26, and 29 of Exod 14 and is most likely prose narrative.¹⁰³

Some exegetes who recognize the prose character of verse 19 still identify it closely with verses 1–18. The relationship between verses 1–18 and verse 19 is understood in several ways. For example, Calvin argued that verse 19 provided the rationale for the singing at the Sea.¹⁰⁴ If, however, verse 19 merely serves to remind the reader the immediate cause of the song's performance, it is redundant and awkward in its context. As previously noted, verse 19 repeats key elements of chapter 14. The use of **אז** "then" in verse 1 has already established an unambiguous causal relationship between the narrative of the deliverance at the Sea in Exod 14 and the poetry of Exod 15. Additionally, verses 1–18 make repeated references to the destruction of Egypt as the reason for the praise.¹⁰⁵ Also, if verses 1–21 are treated as a literary unit, verses 20–21 declare again Yhwh's glorious victory at the Sea and thus reiterate the reason for the worship. Thus, to argue that verse 19 serves to remind the reader of the impetus for the singing of verses 1b–18 still begs the question regarding the inclusion of verses 20–21.

Others, on source critical grounds, understand verse 19 as a prose conclusion or colophon to verses 1–18.¹⁰⁶ Such a construal is problematic given the problems already discussed regarding source division in Exod 15:1–21. Also, since the source critical analysis gives no explanation for the place-

ment or function of verses 20–21 other than to regard it as a duplicate, it assumes that the redactor possessed little literary sensitivity.¹⁰⁷

Sarna also reckons verse 19 to be a prose summary of verses 1–18, but he does not base this argument on source critical considerations.¹⁰⁸ He describes verse 19 as a coda that summarizes the setting of the performance and concludes the song by reconnecting it with verse 1a. However, in biblical narrative, poems may or may not be framed. The poetry in Gen 49 and Deut 32 is framed by prose statements that clearly serve to introduce and conclude those pieces, whereas Hannah’s Song (1 Sam 2:1–10) and David’s Lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:17–27) only have introductions. On the basis of these observations, Miller argues that a double framing device around a piece of poetry is not compulsory for inserting it into a narrative context.¹⁰⁹

Scharbert argues that verse 19, together with 14:28–31, functions as a framework for the insertion of verses 1–18. It also serves double-duty as the conclusion of Re(e)d sea narrative.¹¹⁰ However, 14:28–31 and 15:19 do not form an obvious frame, and the Song of Miriam, with its close affinity to 15:1b, is clearly the conclusion not only of the Exodus event, but of Exod 1–15 as a whole.

Verse 19 serves as a prose introduction to verses 20–21.¹¹¹ In the presentation of each poem in Exod 15, a report of the act of salvation precedes the song of praise. As we have previously noted, verse 19 is made up of phrases drawn from verses 23, 28, and 29 of Exod 14. Thus, verse 19 serves to reorient the reader once again to a point in time immediately after the miraculous deliverance at the sea and to make a smooth transition to Miriam’s song.¹¹² If verse 19 is linked to verses 20–21, it is unlikely that the Song of Miriam is to be interpreted as an antiphonal response.¹¹³ If the Song of Miriam was meant to be understood as an antiphonal refrain, verses 20–21 could have simply been juxtaposed to verses 1–18 without the interruption of verse 19.¹¹⁴

The second element in verses 19–21 that is crucial for understanding the relationship between the two songs is the proper interpretation of the particle ׀. This particle sets verses 19–21 into a causal relationship with verses 1–18.¹¹⁵ Janzen argues that this unit functions as an analepsis.¹¹⁶ It sets the reader back to the time prior to the singing of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. The reader is once again at Exod 15:1, but this time a key detail is added to the narrative. After God’s miraculous deliverance of Israel at the Re(e)d Sea, Miriam led a victory song and dance that began with the exhortation, “Sing of Yhwh.”¹¹⁷ Thus, the ׀ in verse 19 is used to link the two songs in a causal relationship. The waw-consecutive introducing verse 20

marks the new element in the analepsis and returns the reader to the narrative proper following the introductory remarks of verse 19. The summary of the events of the Re(e)d Sea deliverance in verse 19 is necessary in order to move the narrative time back prior to the singing of Moses and Israel. In short, Moses and the Israelites burst into song because of the exhortation by Miriam.

Third, the meaning of *והען להם* “and she sang to them” in verse 21 is important in the interpretation of Miriam’s song. Hebrew *ענה* corresponds to two different Arabic roots *ny* “to answer” and *gny* “to sing.”¹¹⁸ Both roots have been cited as evidence to justify an understanding of verse 21b as an antiphonal refrain.¹¹⁹ The context of Exod 15:21 suggests that *ענה* means “sing” in verse 21. The *ל* is used to mark the addressees.¹²⁰ Some scholars argue that *ענה* does not merely mean “sing,” but “sing antiphonally.”¹²¹ This may find support in the LXX, which translates *והען להם* with *ἐξηρχεν αὐτους* “she began to lead them” or “she began to sing to them.”¹²² A similar usage of *ענה* occurs in 1 Sam 18:7 (cf. 1 Sam 21:12, 29:5). As noted above, the women are coming out to sing a victory song to Saul and David. Their song is introduced by *ענה*. It is possible that the use of *ענה* suggests that the women chanted their song back and forth among themselves.¹²³ The key point, however, is that *ענה* does not indicate the beginning of a refrain sung in antiphonal response to previous singing. It marks the *beginning* of the singing which may or may not be done in antiphonal style. Thus, appealing to the use of *ענה* as evidence that the Song of Miriam was sung in response to the Song of the Sea simply begs the question.

The final interpretive issue for understanding the relationship between the two poems is the identification of an antecedent for the words *להם* “to them” and *שירו* “sing” in verse 21. The contention here is that both refer to *ובני ישראל* in verse 19.¹²⁴ Noth indirectly supports such an interpretation in his comments on verses 20–21:

This introduction assumes the custom, not very appropriate to the historical situation at the sea, that the women ‘went out’ from their homes to meet their victorious husbands on their return, greeting them with song and dance and singing them a song of victory (cf. 1 Sam. 18:6f); in this one of the women was leader of the singers who ‘sang to them,’ i.e., *the returning warriors*, the song which was then taken up and repeated by the choir formed by the rest of the women (italics added).¹²⁵

Noth’s statement reflects the usage of *ל ענה* in the OT. Following *ענה ל*, *ל* does not mark the ones singing, but the audience of the song.¹²⁶ Miriam is singing to the Israelites who had just experienced the deliverance at the Re(e)d Sea. Thus, Miriam’s song functions in Exod 15 to exhort the company of Israel to sing Yhwh’s praises.¹²⁷ Instead of singing about the glorious

feats of Israelite warriors, Miriam's victory song is a call to worship. Yhwh has delivered Israel; worship is the appropriate response. Moses' and Israel's *אשירה ליהוה* "I will sing to Yhwh" (v. 1b) is an apt reply to Miriam's *שירו ליהוה* "Sing of Yhwh" (v. 21b). This explains the different indirect objects in verses 1b and 21a.¹²⁸ Moses and all Israel sang their Song (Exod 15:1b–18) about Yhwh in direct response to Miriam's call to worship.¹²⁹

This literary arrangement serves a four-fold rhetorical purpose. First, it subverts custom regarding the presentation of victory songs in Hebrew narrative. Watts has studied the ways in which prose and poetry are mixed in the OT. He argues that such mixtures follow certain conventions.¹³⁰ It was observed above that a traditional practice exists in the OT regarding victory songs. They are normally performed by women who greet the victorious warriors upon their return from battle. Thus, the reader is surprised to be confronted initially by men singing the victory song.¹³¹ This serves the theological interest of the poem by emphasizing that the victory belongs solely to Yhwh, the divine warrior alone without the aid of any human military muscle.

Second, by delaying the presentation of Miriam's song, the redactor is able to frame the Exodus narrative with the actions of women.¹³² The heroic actions of the Hebrew midwives, Moses' mother and sister, and Pharaoh's daughter thwarted Pharaoh's initial attempts at genocide (Exod 1–2). It is fitting that a woman is given the last word in the presentation of Israel's celebration of Yhwh's triumphant victory over Pharaoh and the Egyptian army.

Third, the placement of verses 19–21 after the Song of Moses and the Israelites reestablishes for the reader proper temporal orientation.¹³³ Verses 13–18 go beyond the events of the Re(e)d Sea and describe Israel's wilderness wanderings and sojourn at Sinai. Verses 19–21 bring the reader back to the shores of the Re(e)d Sea in order to set the stage for the narrative of Israel's entry into the wilderness (15:22) and journey to Sinai.

Last, by placing verses 19–21 after the Song of the Sea, the redactor creates an *inclusio* between verse 1b and verse 21b. This *inclusio* brings Exod 15:1–21 (and Exod 1–15) to a climax by focusing the reader's attention on the one fundamental historical moment in Israel's history—the deliverance at the Re(e)d Sea.¹³⁴ Brueggeman writes, "Now the story of Miriam and the women is placed as the ultimate verdict of Israel's faith."¹³⁵

This literary study has shown that the redactor has skillfully shaped Exod 15:1–21 to proclaim unequivocally the glorious triumph of Yhwh over Egypt. The relationship between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the Song of Miriam is complementary. Instead of finding evidence that the con-

tributions of Miriam and the women have been suppressed by patriarchal editors, it has been shown that Miriam functions as the leader who first calls Israel to worship on the shores of the Re(e)d Sea and whose song brings the story of the deliverance to Egypt to a resounding climax of celebration.¹³⁶

The above literary analysis suggests that in narrative time the Song of Miriam came first. Is there any reason to doubt that this may be true historically as well? There is a tradition in the Hebrew Bible of women singing songs of victory. The Song of Miriam with its imperative “Sing of Yhwh” in celebration of the triumphant vanquishment of Pharaoh and his chariot army gave rise to the Song of Moses and the Israelites which was sung by all Israel. However, this need not imply that verses 1b–18 are significantly later than verse 21. In fact, both compositions may derive from the same time. If Yhwh alone won the victory, both men and women alike would have had only one role to play: singers of the song of victory. Thus, it is plausible that the two prosodic sections of Exod 15:1–21 even in its earliest form could have existed together with women exhorting the men to sing and the men responding with 1b–18.¹³⁷

The Song of Moses and the Israelites and the Baal Cycle

Exodus 15:1b–18 resembles the Baal cycle in a number of striking ways.¹³⁸ The texts most pertinent to the discussion are found in CAT 1.2–6.¹³⁹ The Baal narrative may be summarized around the themes of conflict, order, kingship, and palace (or temple) building.¹⁴⁰ There is an initial conflict between Baal and Yamm. Yamm represents watery chaos and thus threatens the order of the cosmos. Baal is victorious and is declared king (CAT 1.2 IV 32–37). The victory of order over chaos has cosmological overtones. A palace is then built for Baal as a symbol of his authority (CAT 1.4). Conflict, however, arises again with a new threat, Mot. Baal is initially defeated, but he inevitably is victorious and his kingship is again declared.

The overall movement in the Song of the Sea from a conflict involving Yhwh’s use of the sea in the defeat of Pharaoh’s hordes to references about Yhwh’s holy place, and finally to the declaration of Yhwh’s eternal kingship roughly follows this sketch of the Baal cycle.¹⁴¹ Craigie offers the following outline of the similarities.¹⁴² First, conflict and order are present in Exod 15:1–10, 12. Yhwh defeats Pharaoh and his army. The sea (יָם) serves a weapon wielded by Yhwh, but the god Yamm is absent. Second, the kingship theme occurs initially in verse 11. Although there is no explicit mention of kingship (cf. v. 18), verse 11 posits Yhwh’s incomparability through the use of its rhetorical questions and implies supremacy. Perhaps it is analogous to

Baal's initial exaltation following the victory over Yamm.¹⁴³ Third, a second round of conflict occurs in verses 14–16. Yhwh's future enemies are paralyzed with fear as Yhwh leads his people to the holy mountain. Fourth, the movement in the Song of the Sea shifts its focus from combat to temple. Yhwh's people are brought to Yhwh's sanctuary (vv. 13 and 17). Last, kingship is revisited a final time. The Song of the Sea concludes with an acclamation of Yhwh's eternal reign (v. 18). The parallels here are striking:

Exod 15:18	יהרה ימלך
CAT 1.2 IV 32, 34	b'lm yml[k].

The unity of Exod 15:1b–18 was demonstrated above. In contrast, Dozeman argues that the Song is comprised of two sections: verses 1–12, 18 and verses 13–17. He argues that each of the two sections draws themes from different parts of the Baal epic (vv. 1–12, 18 // CAT 1.2; vv. 13–17 // CAT 1.3–4).¹⁴⁴ This construal is problematic on two levels. First, it does not do justice to the Baal cycle. Kingship is not simply an issue in CAT 1.2, but appears throughout the epic including CAT 1.6. Dozeman also does not explain this self-limitation on the part of the Israelite poets, who limited themselves to only a portion of the Baal cycle. On this point, Craigie's interpretation of the Baal cycle particularly his observation about two acclamations of kingship is more cogent. Second, arguing for an original poem comprised of verses 1–12 and 18 destroys the artistry of the whole. Taken as a unified composition, it is clear that verses 11 and 18 are high-points in the poem.

Theological Implications

The apparent points of contact between the Song and the Baal myth raise several theological issues. First, though it does follow a Canaanite mythological pattern, there is a key difference. Unlike the Baal cycle, the events of the Song of the Sea take place on the plains of human history.¹⁴⁵ Yhwh battles historic Egyptians and not a chaos monster.¹⁴⁶ The sea is not the god, Yamm, but merely an instrument that Yhwh uses for his own purposes. Likewise, the enemies faced in the second half of the poem (vv. 14–16a) are human foes. It is not the assembly of the gods who react positively or negatively to Yhwh's actions, but Yhwh's people who respond by lifting up this song.

In his ascent to power as described in the Ugaritic materials, Baal is aided by various deities. For example, the weapons fashioned by Kothar wa-Hasis are pivotal for Baal's victory over Yamm (CAT 1.2 IV:7–27). The goddess Anat proves to be a close ally (e.g., CAT 1.3 II). Baal can even be rebuked for his actions by his fellow gods. For example, following the van-

quishment of Yamm, Astarte scolds Baal for this action (CAT 1.2 IV: 28–30). In contrast, Yhwh is the only god who is active in the Song. Yhwh’s actions are done unilaterally. There is neither rebuke nor applause from the divine realm. The closest parallel in the Song is the rhetorical question in verse 11:

מי כמכה נאדר בקדש מי־כמכה באלם יהוה
 “Who is like you among the gods, O Yhwh? Who is like you, mighty among the holy ones?”

This functions to assert the incomparability of Yhwh.¹⁴⁷ There is no dissenting voice. Even the concluding assertion of divine sovereignty: יהוה ימלך “Yhwh will reign” (Exod 15:18) comes not from voices in the divine realm but from the mouths of Yhwh’s redeemed people.

In contrast to the Baal cycle in which humanity plays no role, the references to Yhwh’s people (vv. 13 and 16) and the description of Yhwh’s actions on their behalf are striking. For example, the following text is addressed to the goddess Anat:

CAT 1.3.III 28–31	
atm.wank/ibgyh.	Come and I will reveal it
btk.gry.il.spn/	In the midst of my mountain, Divine Sapan,
bqdš.bgr.nhlyt/	In the holy mount of my heritage,
bn`m.bgb`tliyt	In the beautiful hill of my might.

This is clearly an invitation to come to Baal’s mountain. These lines include phraseology that the Song of the Sea uses to describe Yhwh’s sacred mountain (Exod 15:17). Yet after reading the Baal cycle, one is struck by the fact that Yhwh brings and plants the people on his mountain.¹⁴⁸ This is a bold affirmation of the worth of Israel in the eyes of Yhwh. Mann argues that the exaltation of Yhwh in the Song of the Sea implies the exaltation of Yhwh’s people as well.¹⁴⁹

The Song of the Sea’s analogous structure to the Baal cycle also carries cosmological implications. This does not mean that either the Song or the Baal cycle is concerned with absolute beginnings, but rather each is concerned with the manner in which the *ordered* world came into being.¹⁵⁰ Baal’s defeat of Yamm represents a cosmogonic struggle between order and chaos.¹⁵¹ Baal’s victory “creates” order in the world. The concern, however, turns to the maintenance and preservation of the ordered world with the rise of a new threat in the form of the god, Mot. The death of Baal represents those trying periods of famine and drought whereas his return from the dead and victory over Mot symbolizes the return of life and fecundity to the cos-

mos. Thus, the entire Baal epic (CAT 1.2–6) may be understood in cosmological terms.¹⁵² In the Song of the Sea, the victory over the Egyptians is the formative, chaos-controlling event. Yhwh’s people are “created” (בָּרָא—v. 16).

In the second half of the Song (vv. 12–18), a second “threat” is revealed in a list of nations. Under the leadership of Yhwh, God’s people march through the wilderness toward Yhwh’s mountain sanctuary at Sinai. They are threatened by the nations listed in Exod 15:14–16. This new threat parallels the conflict between Mot and Baal.¹⁵³ However, unlike Mot who proves to be a potent foe in the Baal cycle, the danger posed by these adversaries is evanescent because they are depicted as cowering in terror before Yhwh and his people. The victory at the sea provides order *and* guarantees the future for Yhwh’s people. Since the Song of the Sea describes the creation (v.16) and redemption (v.13) of a historical people rather than the cosmos per se, Mann rightly argues that the Song portrays more precisely ethnogony rather than cosmogony.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

The Song of Moses and the Israelites mirrors the general patterns and structure of the Baal cycle. These features add a transcendent quality to the Song by raising its cosmological implications. Furthermore, the mythic elements have been shaped in key ways to further a pro-Yhwh (and pro-Israel) theological agenda.¹⁵⁵

Concluding Theological Reflection on Exodus 15:1–21

Yhwh’s victory over the Egyptians at the Sea is the fundamental and formative event in the history of Israel.¹⁵⁶ This event is celebrated at the beginning (vv. 1–12) and end of this passage (vv. 19–21). It is the one battle that truly mattered in the life of Israel. Yhwh’s people were redeemed and called into existence through it. Future security was assured.¹⁵⁷

The Song of the Sea asserts the unilateral and incomparable power of Yhwh. He acts alone. Moses and the Israelites serve merely as singers (vv. 1a and 20–21a). In fact, God’s people, the recipients of Yhwh’s saving actions, are not mentioned until verse 13. Even at this point, they are not called Israel, but “the people whom you redeemed.” Their identity is found solely in the God who has saved them. The mighty forces of Pharaoh are helpless before the divine warrior. They were not merely defeated; they were annihilated by Yhwh. Additionally, the Sea, the ancient representation of chaos, is demythologized and is a mere pawn in the hands of Yhwh. The incomparable

Yhwh (v.11) uses the water as an instrument of destruction against the Egyptians.

Exodus 15:1–21 also initiates the worship of Yhwh by Israel corporately as God’s people. The Song serves as a victory song that calls the people to worship. The worship includes adoration and witness.¹⁵⁸ Israel demonstrates its adoration of Yhwh through its singing about the saving actions of God. This recital serves a secondary function by providing a witness to the world of Yhwh’s actions. This brings to mind Yhwh’s words to Pharaoh in 9:16, “But this is why I have let you live: to show you my power and to make my name resound throughout all the earth” (NRSV). It also demonstrates the futility of the antithesis of worship—the vocal energetic opposition to Yhwh as epitomized in Pharaoh whose blood-thirsty, boastful threats (v. 9) are sunk by the Divine Warrior and find their resting place in a watery grave.

The Song of the Sea connects important theological portraits of God. Yhwh is proclaimed to be a warrior, shepherd, and king. These three titles overlap and enrich each other to give the reader of Exodus 15 a rich multifaceted representation of Yhwh, the God of Israel. Furthermore, creation and redemption themes are united in the passage. Exod 15:1b–18 depicts both the creation and redemption of the people of God.¹⁵⁹

Exodus 15:1–21 testifies that Yhwh is powerfully present with his people. He fights their battles and leads them into his presence at his holy place. Durham writes, “The poem of Exod 15 celebrates Yhwh present *with* his people and doing *for* them as no other god anywhere and at any time *can* be present to do.”¹⁶⁰

Exodus 15:1–21 links the theologically rich themes of Exodus and Sinai. The deliverance at the sea was the formative event in the history of Israel, but it was a means to an end. The center of Exod 15:1–21 is focused on the journey and planting of God’s people on Yhwh’s sacred mountain, Sinai. This establishes an early witness to the symbiotic relationship between the Exodus and Sinai in the faith of ancient Israel. This observation lends credence to Propp’s suggestion that the poetry of Exodus 15 could just as easily be titled “The Song of the Mountain.”¹⁶¹

The Song of the Sea is established the practice of perpetual praise for Yhwh’s people by holding the past and future in tension.¹⁶² The Song of the Sea proclaims the security of the future (vv. 13–17) because Yhwh has acted decisively against the power of evil in the person of Pharaoh (vv. 1b–12). Hope, security, and confidence are engendered in the face of present and future challenges by the congregation’s on-going recounting of Yhwh’s mighty creative and redemptive acts in the past.

Finally, the cosmogonic themes present in the Song of Moses and the Israelites serve to elevate the narrated events of Yhwh's victory at the sea and Yhwh's people's journey to God's mountain to actions of universal relevance. As such the blending of Canaanite themes with Yahwistic theology presented its hearers with a potent and contextually sensitive proclamation of Yhwh's eternal reign.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Narrative Role of the Song of the Sea in the Book of Exodus

The Song of the Sea is a powerful and elegant hymnic witness to the power of God. In the broader context of Exodus, the Song has an additional function. It forms the pivoting center or fulcrum point of Exodus. It brings the narrative of the escape from Egypt and the deliverance at the Sea (Exod 1–14) to a climax and prepares the reader for Israel’s journey through the wilderness (Exod 15:22–18:27) and sojourn at Sinai (Exod 19–40).

The Song of the Sea and the Structure of the Book of Exodus

Smith has moved the discussion of the structure of Exodus forward by advancing the thesis that the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:1–21) serves as the “pivoting center” of the book.¹ Smith offers this outline of the literary arrangement of Exodus:

- I. Egypt (Exod 1–14)
 - A. Moses’ Journey from Egypt to Midian (Exod 1–2)
 - B. Two Calls/Two Confrontations (Exod 3–14)
 1. Moses’ Initial Call and Confrontation with Pharaoh (3:1–6:1)
 2. Moses’ Second Call and Confrontation with Pharaoh (6:2–14:31)

The Conflict between the Powers of Egypt and Sinai: The Victory at Sea (15:1–21)

- II. Sinai (Exod 15:22–40:38)
 - A’ Israel’s Journey from Egypt to Midian (Exod 15:22–18:27)
 - B’ Two Covenants/Two Sets of Tablets (Exod 19–40)
 1. Israel’s Initial Covenant with Yhwh and the First Tablets (19–31)
 2. Israel’s Second Covenant with Yhwh and the Second Tablets (32–40)²

Smith’s insightful analysis appears to be shaping an emerging consensus on the structure of Exodus. Propp adopts it in his recent commentary.³

Furthermore, Propp observes the degree to which the two halves are structurally symmetrical in such a division.⁴ In the first half, Moses receives two calls. The first (Exod 3:1–6:1) ends in failure as his initial confrontation with Pharaoh is rebuffed and leads to greater persecution and suffering by Israel. The second (Exod 6:2–14:31) ends in the destruction of the power of

Egypt and the liberation of Israel. In the second half, Israel receives two covenants. The first (Exod 19–31) is aborted by the golden calf fiasco (Exod 32–33). The second (Exod 34) is followed by obedient Israel’s construction of the Tabernacle and its filling by the presence of Yhwh (Exod 35–40). Additionally, each half portrays a movement from Egypt to Midian (the apparent location of Sinai/Horeb).⁵ The overall movement of the book focuses on Israel’s journey from slavery in Egypt to a covenantal relationship with Yhwh forged in the Wilderness of Midian at Sinai/Horeb. Israel’s movement is foreshadowed by Moses’ flight from Egypt to Midian (Exod 2:1–11) and subsequent call on Horeb (Exod 3:1–4:17).

This study adopts the essential insights of Smith and Propp with an enhanced outline:

- I. Israel in Egypt (Exod 1–14)
 - A. Israel Enslaved in Egypt (Exod 1–2)
 - 1. Genocidal Threats (1:1–22)
 - 2. Moses Flees from Egypt to Midian (2:1–22)
 - B. Israel delivered from Egypt (Exod 2:23–14:31)
 - 1. God remembers (2:23–25)
 - 2. Moses’ First Call and Confrontation with Pharaoh (3:1–6:1)
 - 3. Moses’ Second Call and Confrontation (6:2–14:31)
- II. The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–21)
- III. Israel at Sinai (Exod 15:22–40:38)
 - A. Israel Escapes from Egypt to Midian (15:22–18:27)
 - 1. Yhwh Provides Water, Food, and Security (15–17)
 - 2. Jethro Visits (18)
 - B. Israel at Sinai (Exod 19–40)
 - 1. Israel’s Initial Covenant / First Set of Tablets (19–31)
 - a. Preparation for Covenant (19)
 - b. Covenant Confirmed (20–24)
 - c. Tabernacle Plans and First set of Tablets (25–31)
 - 2. Israel’s Second Covenant and Set of Tablets (32–40)
 - a. Golden Calf and New Covenant (32–34)
 - b. Yhwh Fills the Tabernacle (35–40)

The structure of Exodus establishes an explicit link between Israel’s two fundamental formative experiences of God: Exodus and Sinai. This is accomplished in part by the placement of the Song of the Sea at the fulcrum point between the main narrative sequences within the book of Exodus.

The remainder of this chapter will describe specifically the way in which the Song functions as the center of the book of Exodus by focusing on key questions: What is this poetic interlude doing in what is otherwise a mostly narrative context? How does the inclusion of the Song shape the theological message of Exodus? Why has the redactor of Exodus included it?

First, as will be argued in Part II of this study, the Song of Moses and the Israelites is perhaps the oldest literary or textual element extant in the Hebrew Bible. It finds its provenance in premonarchic times (c. 1150 B.C.E.). Thus, the poetic core of Exod 15:1–21 was included because of its status as an ancient witness to Israel's formative period and God's revelatory actions.

Second, the Song of the Sea serves a central role in Exodus because its own internal structure is a microcosm of the larger whole. The account of Egypt's defeat and Israel's safe passage through the sea (Exod 15:1–12, 19–21) is bound together with the description of Israel's journey through the wilderness and sojourn at Sinai (Exod 15:13–18).

Last, the Song of the Sea brings Exod 1–14 to a resounding climax and prepares the reader for the subsequent narration of Israel's journey to Sinai (Exod 15:22–18:27) and sojourn there (Exod 19–40). James W. Watts suggests that a helpful modern analogy is found in Broadway-style musicals for describing the role of inset poetry. He writes:

The bulk of a musical play's dialogue is usually spoken, but the action is periodically punctuated by musical numbers involving song and dance either by the main actors alone or with a chorus. In contrast to the prose dialogue which is spoken between characters and passively observed by the audience, the songs are often performed facing the spectators and addressed to them, establishing a more direct rapport between the actors and audience. The most successful numbers may elicit such a positive reaction from the spectators that they become "show-stoppers," literally bringing the action to a momentary halt while the audience registers its approval and, occasionally, prompts a repetition of the song. The writers of musicals therefore invariably place their best number, or at least a reprise of it, at the very end of the performance in order to finish the show on as good a note as possible.⁶

This analogy approximates the significance and role of the Song in the first half of the Exodus narrative. The remainder of this chapter will explore this function.

The Song of the Sea as the Climax of Exodus 1–14

Final Word on the Struggle with Egypt

The Israelite chorus serves as a witness to the unbelievable claim that Yhwh single-handedly defeated the mighty forces of Egypt.⁷ The Song serves to convince its hearers that Yhwh alone is the hero on the basis of the universal assent of Yhwh's people. The desired response of the Song's audience is that they too acknowledge Yhwh's power and supremacy by assuming the posture of Israel in Exod 14:31 of fear and trust in Yhwh (and Moses) and by joining in the chorus of voices proclaiming Yhwh's reign.

Response of Faith

The narrative description of the Re(e)d Sea miracle ends in Exod 14:31, “Israel saw the great work that the LORD did against the Egyptians. So the people feared the LORD and believed in the LORD and in his servant Moses” (NRSV). Exodus 15:1–21 details the focal content or crux of Israel’s faith.⁸ Such an interpretation of the text is found in the biblical materials themselves. Psalm 106, which rehearses much of the Pentateuchal drama, summarizes Israel’s response to the sea miracle in verse 12:

וַיֵּאֱמִינוּ בְּדִבְרֵי יְשִׁירָה תְהִלָּהוּ
 “So they believed in his words and they sang his praises.”

This establishes a paradigm for the communal life of God’s people: God acts—God’s people respond in faith.⁹

This confession of faith stands in contrast to the complaints of Israel elsewhere in Exodus. It is striking that the grumbling of Israel against Yhwh and/or Moses occurs on both sides of Israel’s confession of faith (14:10–12, 15:24, 16:2–3, 17:2). If faith produces confession about Yhwh, then a lack of faith leads God’s people to engage in grumbling.

Personal Appropriation

The Song marks a pause in the action and invites the audience of the text to participate.¹⁰ The recurrence of first person language in verses 1b–2 indicates that the Song offers its singers an opportunity to make the foundational faith their own: “I will sing to the Yhwh...Yhwh is *my* strength and refuge; He has become *my* salvation; This is *my* God so I will praise him; The God of *my* father so I will exalt him” (emphasis added). The story of Israel’s deliverance from Egypt and encounter with God at Sinai is thus appropriated by subsequent generations of Israelites.

Call to Worship

Exodus 15:1–21 initiates the worship of Yhwh. It records the first act of corporate praise of Yhwh in the Bible. It was suggested in chapter three that this victory song functions as a call to worship. The worship includes adoration and witness.¹¹ Israel offers its praise to Yhwh through a recitation of his the saving actions. This performance serves a two-fold function. First, it provides a tangible witness to the world of Yhwh’s actions. This brings to mind Yhwh’s words to Pharaoh in Exod 9:16, “But this is why I have let you live: to show you my power and to make my name resound throughout all the earth” (NRSV). Second, this act of worship culminates the drama of salvation that began with the Israelite cry of misery in Exod 2:23–25. Bruegge-

mann describes this movement from initial cry to concluding shout as the “arc of faith.” The worship initiated by Miriam and proclaimed by the people provides the “lyrical resolution to the grief and cry of 2:23–25.”¹²

Characterization of Moses

Moses is the principal human actor in Exodus as well as the Pentateuch. He is God’s agent in the narrative of deliverance, and he will receive the law and mediate it to the people. The words of 14:31, “[the people] believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses” (NRSV), mark a high point of Moses’ characterization.¹³ Moses is portrayed authoritatively as Yhwh’s chosen servant. The Song of the Sea provides an immediate check against any premature exaltation of Moses.¹⁴ In 15:1, Moses stands again with the people in the praise of God. Furthermore, as argued previously, it is Miriam and women who initiate worship. Moses merely joins with the other Israelite men in response to the call to worship lifted up by Miriam and the women. Moses may be the Lord’s chosen servant, but God alone is to be exalted and worshipped. This dethronement of Moses may also explain the curious omission in 15:20 of Moses’ relationship to Miriam. Miriam is simply referred to as the sister of Aaron rather than of Aaron *and* Moses. These, however, are mere temporary checks in the narrative flow of the Pentateuch. In the aftermath of the golden calf episode, Moses becomes in the words of McBride, “the preeminent medium of Yahwistic revelation and the unique measure of authoritative leadership in the ongoing life of covenantal Israel,” and he continues in this role following his death through the “legacy of the Torah.”¹⁵

Characterization of Yhwh

Ultimately, all biblical materials speak a word about God. Therefore, it is no surprise that Song of the Sea reveals much about the character of Yhwh. In Exod 1–14, the precise identity of Yhwh remains hidden, apart from the repeated references to a past relationship with Israel’s ancestors (2:24; 3:6, 15, 16; 4:5; 6:3, 8). Instead, Exod 1–14 focuses on revealing Yhwh through new displays of divine activity. This is explicit in the redaction of the book through the repeated use of the verb יָדַע “know” with Yhwh as its object (5:2, 6:7, 7:5, 17, 8:6, 18, 9:14, 29–30, 10:2, 11:7, 14:4, 18). Of these, the recurrences in Exod 8:6, 18; 9:14, 29; 10:2; 11:7; 14:4, and 18 occur in purpose or result clauses and thus demonstrate that Yhwh’s intention for unleashing the plagues against Egypt was revelatory.¹⁶ The Song of the Sea does not use יָדַע, but it still represents a theological synthesis of conscious reflection on Yhwh’s character and as such brings the theme in the initial stages of Exodus to a climax.¹⁷ The rescue from the power of Pharaoh has

led to knowledge of Yhwh.¹⁸ In other words, it presupposes that its singers “know” Yhwh.¹⁹ As the climax to Exod 1–14, the Song offers insight into three overlapping areas of Yhwh’s person: Yhwh as God of the Fathers, Yhwh as Omnipotent, and Yhwh as Creator.

Yhwh as God of the Fathers. Exodus 15:2 functions as part of the initial praise of Yhwh and makes explicit links between the deity who has triumphed over the powers of Egypt and the divine patron of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It connects the Song with God’s initial self-description (אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתַי “I am the God of your fathers”) in 3:6.²⁰ The heavy use of first person language in verse two is reminiscent of the intimacy evident in the Patriarchal narratives (Gen 12–50). The God, who has vanquished the enemy at the Sea, is the same God, who previously called Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses.

Yhwh as Omnipotent. Yhwh’s omnipotence is related in the Song of the Sea to the figure of the divine warrior. Yhwh is a warrior (Exod 15:3). The significance of this is manifested in three ways. First, Yhwh is shown to be unique among the gods (15:11). This is also a clear implication of the humiliation of the powers of Egypt. Pharaoh is Yhwh’s foil and antagonist throughout Exod 1–14. Exodus 5:2 establishes this explicitly by reporting Pharaoh’s defiance: “Who is the LORD, that I should heed him and let Israel go? I do not know [יָדַע] the LORD, and I will not let Israel go” (NRSV). The mighty and arrogant Pharaoh meets his doom at the simple exhalation of Yhwh and goes down in the sea (Exod 15:9–10). Second, Yhwh’s power is shown to be universal in scope. Mighty nations are destroyed (Egypt—Exod 15:1–12, 19–21); others stand stricken by fear (15:14–16). Even the mighty waters are mere instruments used by Yhwh. This is fitting because in the plague account Yhwh unleashed various natural forces against the Egyptian environment.²¹ Finally, Yhwh’s power is discriminatory. From the fourth plague on (Exod 8:16–11:10 [8:20–11:10 ET]), Yhwh differentiates between the Hebrews and the Egyptians. The Egyptians alone experience the effects of Yhwh’s wrath. This is emphatically the case in the Song of the Sea. The destruction of Egypt is rehearsed and celebrated repeatedly, and the future enemies of Yhwh are depicted as fear stricken before the triumphant march of the divine warrior. In contrast, Yhwh’s people are safe and protected. In fact, they are led by Yhwh’s חֶסֶד “fidelity” and עֹז “strength” (15:13) and are brought to Yhwh’s own sanctuary.

Yhwh as the Creator. Yhwh is also revealed as the creator of a people (15:16b). Israel is declared to be Yhwh's firstborn son (4:23). Through its mythical overtones, Exod 15 exhibits a cosmological focus that centers on the creation of a people that Yhwh redeems (15:13) from the anti-creational forces represented by Egypt.

Role of Women

Exodus 1–2 and 15:19–21 bracket the Exodus narrative with the actions of faithful women. The Hebrew midwives—Shiphrah and Puah, Moses' mother and sister (Miriam?), and Pharaoh's daughter are featured in the opening chapters; Miriam and “all the women” take the lead in the culminating hymn. More specifically, at the beginning of the deliverance, Exod 2 records the episode wherein Moses is placed in an ark and set afloat in the Nile. Exodus 2:4 and 7–8 describe the actions of Moses' sister. She watches over her brother until he is discovered by Pharaoh's daughter. She, then, immediately volunteers Moses' own mother to serve as his wet nurse. It is possible that this woman in Exod 2 was Miriam. If so, her character is involved on both sides of God's salvific work.²²

Kingship

The parting shout of the Song of Moses and the Israelites (15:18) unequivocally asserts Yhwh's eternal reign (מֶלֶךְ). Forms of this root occur fifteen times in Exod 1–15, but none outside of these chapters. Significantly, 15:18 not only employs the sole occurrence of מֶלֶךְ whose referent is Yhwh, but also the only use of a verbal form of the root. All of the earlier occurrences are nouns and refer to Pharaoh as the king of Egypt.²³ At the end of the day, it is Yhwh alone who “reigns.” Though Pharaoh has shown himself to be capable of evil intent and the enslavement of the Hebrews, all of his schemes and plans come to naught in the waters of the Re(e)d Sea. On the other hand, Yhwh alone, the “warrior” (אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה—15:3) has mustered forth primordial waters to wash away the power of Egypt. Yhwh then brings his people to the sanctuary under his protective care (vv. 13–17), and they then freely offer up the exclamation:

יהרה ימלך לעלם ועד
 “Yhwh will reign forever and ever.”

Additionally, this acclamation demonstrates that the deliverance of Israel was not merely an act of liberation, but principally a reaction to a threat against God's reign. As noted above, the only king mentioned in Exod 1–14 is Pharaoh. At the beginning of this narrative, Yhwh's creational aims for

Israel are being fulfilled (1:7), but now a “new” king arises in Egypt whose intentions are anti-creational: the enslavement and genocide of Yhwh’s people.²⁴ Yhwh’s people are now mere pawns whose sole existence is to serve Pharaoh (1:13, 14, 2:23, et al). Yet, it is Yhwh’s desire that the people serve him alone (4:23). In a sense, the people’s initial act of service to Yhwh is the singing of this Song and their declaration of Yhwh’s kingship linked to their arrival at the holy mountain of Sinai. Yhwh initiates a covenant relationship with Israel and promulgates a new twin vocation for Israel of “sacerdotal dominion and a holy nation” (19:6).²⁵ Following the ratification of the second covenant in Exod 34, Israel functions as Yhwh’s faithful subjects. Their construction of Yhwh’s tabernacle, the movable tent-shrine that will allow the “Sinai experience” to abide with Israel forever, is reckoned as עֲבֹדָה “service” (39:42). Thus, the Song of the Sea serves to portray the exodus as an act of liberation from a human pretender to the service of King Yhwh, Israel’s true sovereign.

The Exodus as Universal Event

As discussed in depth earlier, the mythic patterns present in the Song serve to universalize for the cosmos Israel’s particular historical experience in Egypt, at the Sea, and at Sinai.²⁶ These are events with great typological significance. The future of Yhwh’s people is secure. Later Israelite tradents looked back to the Exodus and miracle at the Sea as hermeneutical lenses by which to understand and envisage “new” acts of Yhwh’s salvation (e.g., Ps 77, Isa 11–12, etc.).²⁷

The Song of the Sea and Exodus 15:22–40:38

The Song not only brings Exod 1–14 to a climax, but it also serves as a bridge to the remaining portions of Exodus by introducing themes that the reader will encounter in due course.

The Song of the Sea as Proclamation

The singing of the Song of the Sea by the Israelites serves as the initial testimony of Yhwh’s salvific actions in the book of Exodus.²⁸ God’s intention in unleashing divine power against the obstinate Pharaoh was greater than merely wrenching the control of Israel away from the cruel grip of Pharaoh. Rather, God’s name and renown would be declared to the world (9:16). The Song of the Sea represents the initial proclamation of what Yhwh has done. In fact, the effects of this declaration are already evident in verses 14–16 as the future enemies of Yhwh and his people stand frozen in fear. Later,

Jethro's response (Exod 18:10–11) to the announcement of God's victory (18:1, 8–9) demonstrates that this message is both cogent and also one of good news to outsiders. Jethro offers a confession and thereby models the proper response to the revelation of God. Exodus 18:10–11 records Jethro's words: "Blessed be the LORD, who has delivered you from the Egyptians and from Pharaoh. Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods, because he delivered the people from the Egyptians, when they dealt arrogantly with them" (NRSV). This is comparable to 15:11. Furthermore, it stands in stark contrast to Pharaoh, whose obstinate refusal to obey Yhwh resulted in dire consequences.²⁹ Additionally, the proclamation of Yhwh's identity by his people adumbrates the impending revelation of their vocation as a "sacredotal dominion and a holy nation" (Exod 19:6).

Model for Proper Worship

The Song prepares the reader for the second half of Exodus by establishing a model for proper worship. Miriam initiates authentic worship and stands within Exodus as the exemplary worship leader.³⁰ Part of the legitimate worship at the Sea consisted of dancing (מְחֹרֵל—v. 20). Dancing is found in only one other place in Exodus. Exodus 32:19 records that, when Moses came down from Sinai, he saw the golden calf and the people under the leadership of Aaron dancing about it. This establishes a connection between the scenes in Exod 15 and 32. Aaron and Miriam were important early leaders of Israel's cultic celebrations, but, in their characterization in Exodus, Miriam and Aaron offer contrasting models of liturgical practice.

The Journey to Sinai

Exodus 15:13 and 17 summarize the journey from the waters of the sea to Yhwh's sanctuary: 15:13 "you led with your fidelity (חֶסֶד) the people whom you redeemed, you led [them] with your strength to your holy abode" and 15:17a "you brought them and planted them on the mountain of your inheritance." God's people are under the attentive care of Yhwh. These images evoke a sense of comfort and security. The focus of the movement in 15:12–18 becomes Sinai. Upon arrival, the people proclaim Yhwh's reign (15:18). Exodus 15:22–18:27 describes Israel's journey in narrative form. Yhwh's חֶסֶד manifests itself in tangible ways on the journey to Sinai. Yhwh sweetens stale water (15:22–27), provides manna and quail for food (16:1–36), brings water out of a rock (17:1–7), and defeats the Amalekites (17:8–16). The care, envisaged in 15:13, is realized in vv. 15–18 and then summarized aptly in 19:4, "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself" (NRSV).³¹

Characterization of Yhwh

The Song's portrayal of Yhwh as divine warrior and eternal king begs the question—what kind of God will Yhwh be in the future? In some ways, the portrait of God in Exod 1–15 is chilling. God has brought ecological disaster upon the land of Egypt through an assortment of plagues, the firstborn of Egypt have been killed during the Passover, and 14:30 records that Israel “saw the Egyptians lying dead on the shore.” Exodus 15 celebrates and summarizes God's great victory over Egypt with a shout: “The Lord is a warrior!” The second half of the song (15:12–18) celebrates God's loving guidance of his people, but there remains a nagging question—what kind of a God is Yhwh at the core of his being? Is he a wrathful warrior or a loving shepherd? If Israel were to fall into sin, would they be treated as the Egyptians?³²

Exodus 32–34 engages this issue directly. With Moses out of the picture, Israel, under Aaron's leadership, builds a bull image and offers sacrifices to it. These actions are tantamount to nullification of the covenant announced (19:3–6) and ratified (24:3–8). It is in the aftermath of this fiasco that the reader gains access to an intimate, substantive self revelation of Yhwh. God's internal character is revealed in one of the most profound texts in all of Scripture:

The LORD descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name, “The LORD.” The LORD passed before him, and proclaimed, “The LORD, the LORD, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, yet by no means clearing the guilty, but visiting the iniquity of the parents upon the children and the children's children, to the third and the fourth generation.” (34:5–7, NRSV).

This text answers the questions about Yhwh's character raised by the Song of the Sea. It is later echoed across the Old Testament (Num 14:18, Neh 9:17, Pss 77:7–9, 86:15, 103:8, 145:8, Joel 2:13, Nah 1:3) as a reminder of God's core values.

The Song of the Sea and the Tabernacle

In 15:17, several descriptions are used for Yhwh's sanctuary at Sinai: הַר נַחֲלָתְךָ “mountain of your inheritance,” מְכוּן לְשִׁבְתֶּךָ “place for your habitation,” מִקְדָּשׁ “sanctuary.” In Exod 25–31 and 35–40, Israel receives instructions for the construction of the Tabernacle and its cultic paraphernalia. Significantly, in 25:8, מִקְדָּשׁ refers to the Tabernacle.³³ Thus, in a sense, Yhwh's bringing and planting of his people on the sacred mountain in 15:17 point to the climax of the whole of Exodus. In 40:34–38, upon the comple-

tion of the Tabernacle, the glory of Yhwh fills the tent. Yhwh brings the people to his holy place and then makes a tangible provision by which Yhwh's sanctuary can journey beyond Sinai.

Conclusion

Standing alone, the artistry and majesty of the Song of the Sea is self-evident. Its prominence and power are heightened even more by the recognition that some skilled literary maestro has woven it into the tapestry that is the book of Exodus. As the pivoting center of Exodus, its message is both the climax of Exod 1–14 and the programmatic introduction to the second half.³⁴

PART TWO

The Date of the Composition
of the Song of the Sea

CHAPTER FIVE

Linguistic and Comparative Evidence for the Dating of Exodus 15:1b–18

The Song of Moses and the Israelites employs several features whose presence suggests an early provenance for the prosody: archaic grammar and syntax, lack of prosaic particles, the use of staircase parallelism, and phrases and word pairs in common with Ugaritic prosody.¹ These features along with the criticisms of scholars who question the validity of this method of dating will be evaluated, and it will be demonstrated that such features do provide positive evidence for its antiquity.

Archaic Grammar and Syntax

This section will evaluate Exod 15:1b–18 using the critical text established in chapter two. This text corresponds to the received MT. Attempts to reconstruct an “original” Song of Moses and the Israelites apart from extant textual evidence are hypothetical and ultimately circular in their reasoning because they are based on the assumed antiquity of the poetry. Only those archaic features preserved in MT will be evaluated. The MT of Exod 15 is remarkable for the plethora of archaic forms that have survived the process of transmission.²

The most thoroughgoing study of the use of archaic grammar and syntax for the dating of Hebrew poetry remains the work of David A. Robertson.³ His method involves a comparison of Hebrew poetry of unknown origin with Ugaritic texts and Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters, on the one hand, and standard Hebrew poetry (texts that are datable to the eighth century B.C.E. and later) on the other. Since no Hebrew poetry can be dated indisputably to the early period (ninth century B.C.E. and earlier), Robertson relies upon the extant corpus of Ugaritic literature and Amarna glosses to provide the linguistic criteria for early poetry. Against the objections that Ugaritic may not be a Canaanite dialect (and at best a distant relative) and the Amarna glosses are prose documents,⁴ he argues that the evidence from these texts is important in those areas in which they converge. Texts from the prophetic corpus provide Robertson’s primary examples of standard poetry. Late texts such as Ps 137, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations are also compared with standard poetry. Poems of unknown date are analyzed in order to assess

whether they resemble early Canaanite poetry or standard Hebrew poetry. To be early, a poem must not simply exhibit early forms, but show a clustering of such features without the evidence of archaizing. By this method, Robertson assigns Exod 15; Judg 5; Deut 32; 2 Sam 22 (cf. Ps 18); Hab 3, and Job to the early period. He considers Exod 15 to be the oldest.⁵ He places its date of composition in the twelfth century B.C.E. and states that this finding is “the one unequivocal, firmly grounded conclusion of this study.”⁶ In Exod 15, he finds six examples of an archaic style: (1) the use of **yaqtul* and perfect forms for past narration (throughout), (2) the preservation of final y/w in an open syllable (v. 5), (3) the use of the relative pronoun וַי (vv. 13, 16), (4) the use of -an + -hu in (v. 2), (5) the use of third plural suffix מו (9x in Exod 15:1b–18), and (6) the use of enclitic mem on the preposition כ (vv. 5, 8).⁷ Robertson gives the most weight to the first and the fifth categories because of their multiple occurrences within Exod 15.⁸ Against the charge that all of these can be explained away as examples of intentional archaizing, Robertson points to the clustering of these features and their consistent use within the poem.⁹

The strength of Robertson’s methodology is its lack of dependence on any one category. Its cogency is based on the accumulation of multiple pieces of evidence. Underneath this data lies the key methodological assumption: *the greater the degree of clustering of archaic forms present, the greater the weight that such evidence carries for the assignment of an early date of composition.* Goodwin questions the validity of this methodology.¹⁰ He contends that the alleged archaic forms are not indicative of an early date.¹¹ In what follows, each category of alleged archaic particles and usage will be evaluated individually in order to assess its value for dating Exod 15.

Use of **Yaqtul* Preterite and Perfect Forms for Past Narration

In Ugaritic, prefix, waw with prefix, and suffix verb forms are used for past narration.¹² This phenomenon also occurs in Biblical poetry, but as Robertson demonstrates, a clear distinction exists between early and standard poetry. In standard poetry, the suffix and waw with prefix conjugations are normally used for past narration. There is evidence of the use of the prefix conjugation for past time, but such use is only occasional and functions as either a frequentative or the equivalent of a preterite. On the other hand, early poetry makes almost exclusive use of the prefix and suffix conjugations for past events. The waw with prefix form is rarely used and then it usually occurs in a medial position whereas in standard poetry it is fully independent and is more often in an initial position.¹³

Clustering and consistency are the keys to using this criterion for dating. If a pattern of verbal use cannot be demonstrated, a poem cannot be dated to an early period. If the pattern shows elements of both types, this is evidence of archaizing. Robertson judges that this criterion is indicative of an early date for Exod 15, Judg 5, Hab 3, 2 Sam 22 (cf. Ps 18), Deut 32, and Job.

In his study of Exod 15, Robertson omits the following prefixed forms from consideration: all verbs in verses 1–2, 6–7, and 18 (ambiguity of time) and in verse 11 (general description); verbs in the relative clauses in verses 13, 16, and 17; verbs following *עַר* in verse 16, *יָרָה* and *יָרְדוּ* in verses 4 and 5 (third masculine forms of initial y/w ambiguous in the consonantal text); and *נִבְהֵלוּ* in verse 15 (uncertain of syntax following *אִז*). All the remaining verbs are prefix and suffix forms. The only way to associate this pattern of usage with standard poetry is to argue that all of the prefix forms are examples of past frequentative usage. This is not credible. The lone waw with prefix form occurs in v. 17, and it follows the pattern of waw with prefix form in the Ugaritic literature, i.e., in a medial position following a prefix form.

Two objections have been raised against this criterion. First, Brenner and Butler argue that use of the prefix conjugation for the past tense is simply a matter of style.¹⁴ Such an argument is more rhetorical than substantive. What is the origin of such a style? Furthermore, the Song of Moses and Israelites employs other archaic elements consistently without any evidence of archaizing. Second, Butler avers that verse 1b uses standard tenses, yet it is often regarded as an example of early poetry and that Robertson finds twelve examples in Ps 106 of the prefix conjugation being used for past narration yet concedes that it is post-exilic.¹⁵ Verse 1b is not necessarily an example of standard usage. It clearly is in the future tense so the prefix conjugation is appropriate. Robertson declined comment on this verse because of its introductory nature and ambiguity of time frame. He focuses only on those contexts that are unambiguous examples of past narration. In the case of Ps 106, rather than raising questions about Robertson's method, its verbal pattern actually confirms it. Robertson concludes that the presence of prefix verb forms in Ps 106 is evidence of archaizing because they are isolated occurrences within prosody that otherwise exhibits the characteristics of standard poetry. In conclusion, the consistent use of the prefixed conjugation for past narration is indicative of an early date for Exod 15:1b–18.

Preservation of Final Y/W in Open Syllables

With few exceptions, Ugaritic preserved in its orthography the y/w of a final y/w root when it opened a syllable.¹⁶ It is highly probable that this was the case with early poetic Hebrew as well. After the loss of final short vowels in

Hebrew, a y/w remained in an open syllable only in the third feminine singular and third masculine plural suffix conjugation, the third masculine plural and second masculine plural prefix conjugation, and the feminine singular and masculine plural imperative, i.e., those cases where vocalic sufformatives are added. In standard poetry, even a syllable opening y/w is lost due to the elision that occurs in intervocalic positions. Robertson excludes two cases in which the y/w is preserved. First, without exception (9x), the y/w is preserved in the verb אָהַב. This verb does not follow the standard linguistic pattern. Second, he excludes two examples from prose (Josh 14:8, Deut 8:13) as well as Ps 73:2 in which the text is corrupt.

Standard poetry preserves the final y/w in nine texts from Isaiah (17:12, 21:12.12, 26:11, 31:3, 33:7, 40:18, 40:25, and 46:5). In poetry of an unknown date, most examples of the preservation of final y/w occur in texts that also contain examples of the loss of final y/w (Deut 32:37, Pss 36:8.9, 57:2, 77:4, 78:44, 122:6, Job 12:6, 19:2, 31:38, and Prov 26:7). This suggests that these are examples of archaizing.

Only four texts do not include examples of the loss of final y/w: Exod 15:5, Numbers 23–24, Pss 39:7, and 83:3. Unfortunately, although the preservation of final y/w in these texts resembles the form of early poetry, one example in each case does not constitute the cluster needed to provide strong evidence for an early date. Exodus 15:5 contains the form: יִכְסִימוּ. This provides only slight evidence for an early date. On the other hand, there are no counter examples of the loss of final y/w that might suggest archaizing and the form itself is actually archaic in three ways: 1) preservation of final y/w, 2) use of the prefix conjugation for past narration, and 3) use of third masculine plural suffix גַּם.¹⁷

Use of the Relative Pronoun וַי

וַי is a derivative of the proto-semitic d.¹⁸ It is common in Ugaritic (d) and also occurs in tenth century B.C.E. Phoenician Byblos (z).¹⁹ It is used 15 times in the Hebrew scriptures (Exod 15:13, 16; Isa 42:24 and 43:21; Hab 1:11; Pss 9:16, 10:2, 12:8, 17:9, 31:5, 32:8, 62:12, 68:29, 142:4 and 143:8. Of these, only three clearly derive after the eighth century (Isa 42:24, 43:21, and Hab 1:11).²⁰ Harris argues that these examples found only in the elevated styles of some Hebrew prosody demonstrate that וַי is indeed an old form preserved from traditional literature.²¹ וַי gave way to אֲשֶׁר probably during the tenth century. The occurrences in Exod 15 are comparable to those from the Old Byblian inscriptions.²² This evidence suggests that וַי is in fact archaic, and since the standard relative אֲשֶׁר is not present in Exod 15, the usage in the Song appears to be archaic.

Goodwin argues that וְ is an example of archaizing and that given its usage in Second Isaiah it cannot be proffered as evidence of an early date.²³ Butler concurs with Goodwin and adds that there is no clear evidence that וְ was the early form of the relative pronoun in Hebrew as it was in other Semitic languages.²⁴ These objections are not convincing. First, there is no evidence of archaizing in Exod 15. All archaic elements are used consistently. Second, as noted above, other than Second Isaiah and Habakkuk, no firm dates exist for the texts in which וְ occurs. Furthermore, the occurrences in Second Isaiah appear to be dependent upon Exod 15.²⁵ Both of the Isaianic texts occur in contexts that employ the Exodus theme. Both of the Isaianic texts occur in contexts exploiting the Exodus theme. Last, Ugaritic and Phoenician demonstrate an early use of the pronoun in Northwest Semitic. As shown above, such usages particularly those from Byblos are parallel to the occurrences in Exod 15. Therefore, given the comparative Semitic evidence, וְ may be posited as evidence for an early date for Exod 15. Although it is difficult to give this element alone decisive weight because it only occurs twice in the Song, it points to the antiquity of the poetry in combination with other linguistic data proffered in this chapter.

Use of -an + -hu

The uncontracted third masculine singular verbal suffix -anhu occurs in Exod 15:2 (וְאֵרֵמֶנְהָ).²⁶ Ugaritic exhibits two forms: -nh (early) and -n/nn (late). Biblical poetry rarely uses the first (Exod 15:2, Deut 32:10, Jer 5:22 and 22:24), but usage of the second is frequent, even in prose.²⁷ Early poetry should yield examples of both forms whereas standard poetry will show hardly any examples of -nh. There, however, are no texts that show an accumulation of -anhu with the exception of Deut 32:10 in which it occurs three times, but even here the argument that this is merely poetic style is as probable as positing an early date. Therefore, this criterion provides little solid evidence for the dating of Exod 15.²⁸

Use of the Third Masculine Plural Suffix וְ

The third masculine plural pronominal suffix וְ is considered to be an archaic form.²⁹ Unlike the other elements in Robertson's study, this judgment is not based on materials from Ugaritic or Amarna.³⁰ It is used nine times in Exod 15 (vv. 5, 7, 9 [2x], 10, 12, 15, 17 [2x]) and its consistent use provides evidence for an early date for the poetry. It is found only on verbs in this context. In the Old Testament, it occurs 23 times on verbs, 27 times on nouns, and 66 times on prepositions (לְ, אֶל, and עַל).³¹ It is not found on any verbs or nouns that can be considered standard poetry of a known date. It is

used 15 times on the preposition לְמַר in texts that can be dated to the eighth century B.C.E. or later.³² Thus, the occurrences with prepositions are more significant for dating when they occur in tandem with other instances of מַר.

The only apparent exception to the consistent use of מַר in Exod 15 is עַל־הֵם (v. 16). This, however, is easily explained. First, *-hm* is the third masculine plural suffix in Ugaritic so its appearance in Exod 15 does not constitute evidence of archaizing. Second, it is possible that the text preserves an older form of the suffix, which gave rise to both הֵם and מַר.³³

A further issue in the debate is the relationship of מַר to the more common third masculine plural suffix ׀.³⁴ If ׀ is derived from מַר, then its presence would point to the archaistic usage of מַר in those texts in which both forms occur. This is significant because only Exod 15; Deut 33; and Pss 22, 45, and 58 do not contain any occurrences of ׀. If they derive from parallel developments, the value of מַר for dating depends upon the number of occurrences in a given text. There is no clear answer to this question. Without this criterion for detecting archaizing, only a heavy concentration of occurrences of מַר should be offered as evidence for an early date. The highest accumulation of occurrences is found in Exod 15 (9x), Deut 32 (7x), Pss 59 and 73 (6x each), Ps 2 (5x), and Job (19x). The high number in Job must be evaluated in light of the large amount of material. If ׀ is evidence of archaizing, then only Exod 15 may be reckoned to be early by this criterion.

Brenner contends that the occurrences of מַר in Exod 15 are unnatural.³⁵ Given that Exod 15 contains the highest concentration of מַר in the Old Testament, he argues that the usage is artificial because it only appears on verb forms.³⁶ The consistent usage of מַר in Exod 15 mitigates Brenner's contention. It is certainly true that מַר does not occur on any nouns, but neither does any other third person plural suffix.³⁷ If Exod 15 is in fact early as the evidence suggests, why should the reader be surprised by the high accumulation of this suffix?

There are two additional arguments against the use of מַר as evidence for an early date. First, Butler suggests that, since the suffix is found in no literature that can conclusively be dated before the eighth century B.C.E., its use may simply be evidence of the influx of a non-Jerusalemite dialect.³⁸ Now this is certainly a possibility. There is no evidence for this, however, and it still begs the question of the form's original provenance. It is more probable that it is a genuinely archaic element.

A more substantive argument acknowledges the archaic nature of מַר, but argues that its multiple uses in texts are more a matter of literary type than date.³⁹ Whenever the particle is used two or more times (most single uses also), the text is either portrays God taking vengeance, asks God to take ac-

tion, or describes the ungodly. Brenner thus suggests that this usage falls within the category of imprecation literature. This observation is insightful, but it does not prove that the usage in Exod 15 is archaic. This literary practice may well reflect early use as well.⁴⁰ Also, and more importantly, Exod 15:9 contains two occurrences that do not fit the literary pattern described above. In each case, Israel is the obvious antecedent, and the verbs speak of the Egyptians' desire for the destruction of the Israelites. Thus, rather than suggesting archaizing, Exod 15 demonstrates the consistent use of this suffix and manifests a genuinely archaic pattern.

Use of Enclitic Mem on the Preposition כ

Enclitic mem is used on several prepositions in Biblical Hebrew (כ, ב, ל).⁴¹ Fifty-two of sixty-three occurrences in poetry are examples of כְּמוֹ. Robertson assigns sixteen of these to standard poetry (Isa 26:17,18, 41:25 [2x], 51:6; Jer 13:21, 15:18, 50:26; Hos 7:4, 8:12, 13:7; Zech 9:15, 10:2, 7, 8; Lam 4:6). As before, this criterion turns on the clustering of this form. A significant number of occurrences are found only in Ps 58 (vv. 5, 8 [2x], 9, 10 [2x]) and Job (6:15, 10:22 [2x], 12:3, 14:9, 19:22, 28:5, 31:37, 38:14, 40:17, 41:16). Exod 15 manifests two forms (vv. 5, 8).⁴² Two occurrences are insufficient to prove an early date, but in conjunction with the other data, this criterion does tend to confirm one.

Lack of Prose Particles

Three common prosaic particles (אֲשֶׁר, אֶת־, הֵן) do not occur in Exod 15:1b–18. This is significant in the cumulative case argument for the antiquity of the poem because it adds an additional control to the methodology. Studies by Andersen, Forbes, and Freedman have demonstrated that particle frequency is a useful guide for discriminating between prose and poetry.⁴³ It has less utility for determining the date of poems, but it does have value.⁴⁴ If Exod 15:1b–18 were of post-exilic provenance, a higher particle frequency might have been expected. But to assert that its lack of these particles points to an early date is to rely upon an argument from silence,⁴⁵ yet the poem's use of וַי rather than אֲשֶׁר supports an early date, whereas the appearance of אֲשֶׁר in combination with the sporadic use of וַי would have been evidence of archaizing. The zero prose particle count in conjunction with the use of other archaic features in Exod 15 serves to provide additional confirmation of the poem's antiquity. Conversely, high prose particle counts are useful in the detection of archaizing. For example, the archaic relative pronoun וַי occurs twice in Deutero-Isaiah (42:24 and 43:21). The distribution of prose particles

in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah (אִשֶׁר—28x, הָ—107x, and אֶת־—39x) shows that these two occurrences are examples of archaizing. The lack of the definite article supports an early dating of Exod 15 as well. The definite article is wholly a product of the first millennium B.C.E. after the loss of case endings. It is rare in the best preserved archaic Hebrew poetry.⁴⁶

Use of Staircase Parallelism⁴⁷

Staircase parallelism is a literary device quite common in Ugaritic prosody.⁴⁸ It is characterized by one line that is expanded to two or three lines in the following sequence: an opening formula, a vocative, a repeated formula, and a climactic formula.⁴⁹ Staircase parallelism occurs in two and three colon variations.⁵⁰ In the three-line variety, the third colon parallels the expanded colon. The classic example of staircase parallelism in the Ugaritic literature is:

CAT 1.2 IV 8–9

ht.ibk/b'lm.

ht.ibk.tmhꜥ.

ht.tꜥmtꜥrtk

Now your enemy, Baal,

Now smash your enemy,

Now vanquish your foe.

Here, the second colon completes the idea of the first and the third colon stands in parallel with the first two cola.⁵¹

Staircase parallelism does not occur as frequently in the Old Testament.⁵² It, however, is an example of Canaanite influence because it is not found in Akkadian literature.⁵³

The Ugaritic influence can be seen in Ps 92:10 (ET 92:9), which closely parallels in form and content the above cited example:

כי הנה איביך יהוה
כ־הנה איביך יאבדו
יהפרדו כל־פעלי און

For surely your enemies, O Lord,
Surely your enemies will perish;
All evildoers will be scattered.

There are three examples of staircase parallelism in the Song of Moses and the Israelites:⁵⁴

ימינך יהוה נאדרי בכח

Your right hand, O Yhwh Glorious in strength;

ימינך יהוה הרעץ אוריב

Your right hand, O Yhwh, Shattered the enemy

וברב גאונך תהרס קמיך

And by your great majesty, you threw down your adversaries. (Exod 15:6–7a)

מי־כמכה באלם יהוה	Who is like you among the gods, O Yhwh?
מי כמכה נאדר בקדש	Who is like you mighty among the holy ones?
נורא תהלת עשה פלא	Awe-inspiring in praises, doing wonders. (Exod 15:11)
עד־יעבר עמך יהוה	Until your people passed by,
עד־יעבר עם־זו קניה	Until the people whom you purchased passed by. (Exod 15:16b)

The occurrences of staircase parallelism in Exod 15 point to the variety of the form. None of these follow the ideal form ABC:ABD:EFG. Only Exod 15:16b (ABC:ABD) approaches it, but it has no final colon. Exod 15:6–7A and 11 may both be diagrammed as ABCD:ABEF:GHIJ, but both have their peculiarities.

In Exod 15:6–7a, the vocative יהוה is part of the recurring element in the first two cola. It is then modified by the intervening phrase בכח נאדר־י that functions in apposition to it. This usage of a word in apposition to the vocative is paralleled in CAT 1.17 VI 26–28:

irš.hym.laqt.gzr	Ask for life, Aqhat the Hero,
irš.hym.watnk	Ask for life, and I'll give it,
blmt/wašlhk	Deathlessness—I'll endow you. ⁵⁵

Exodus 15:11 serves as a rhetorical question that declares the incomparability of Yhwh. The repeating element consists of an interrogative particle followed by a comparative preposition and pronominal suffix (מי כמכה). Unlike Exod 15:6–7a, each line of Exod 15:11 is a complete thought unit. It does not require the repetitive colon to make sense.⁵⁶ Ugaritic material also exhibits the usage of a rhetorical question along with staircase parallelism. Consider CAT 1.4 IV 59–62:

p'bd.an.'nn.aṭrt/	So am I a slave, Athirat a slavegirl?
p'bd.ank.aḥd.ult/	Am I a slave who handles tools,
hm.amt.aṭrt.tlbn/lbnt	Or Athirat a servant who molds bricks?

Both Exod 15:11 and CAT 1.4 IV 59–62 expect a negative answer to the questions as they seek to exalt their respective god.

Exodus 15:16b consists of two repeating temporal clauses beginning with a preposition. As in Exod 15:11 both clauses could stand alone. Habakkuk 3:2 also uses a preposition as the initial word of the repeating element (בקרב). There is no clear example in Ugaritic of a staircase beginning with a preposition.⁵⁷

All three examples of staircase parallelism in the Song function as refrains that praise Yhwh. The poet has shown creativity in adapting this Canaanite poetic form to his own usage. It exhibits the characteristics of the Ugaritic literature without appearing simply imitative.

Does the poet's use of a poetic form with strong ties to Ugaritic prosody have implications for dating? Albright and his students have argued that the presence of staircase parallelism suggests the antiquity of a text.⁵⁸ The basic assumption is that the greater the amount of staircase parallelism, the earlier the poem. The Song of Deborah in Judg 5, which is regarded as early by many scholars, is full of examples of repetitive parallelism (vv. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30).⁵⁹ Exod 15 and Ps 29 also fall into this category.

This position has not gone without criticism. Kugel is not convinced by Albright's approach because examples of staircase parallelism have been found in a wide variety of Hebrew texts including those of a late date (e.g., Eccl 1:2 and Cant 1:15, 4:8, 9).⁶⁰ Kugel argues that, although Ugaritic is often viewed only in terms of its antiquity in relation to biblical Hebrew, it is also from a geographic area north of Israel and Judah. Thus, perhaps stylistic affinities with Ugaritic do not suggest age, but rather a northern origin.⁶¹ While in some cases geography may play a role, it must be objected that no undisputedly late texts use staircase poetry to the extent that alleged early poetry such as Exod 15, Judges 5, and Ps 29 does.

Brenner appeals to an alleged similarity between the three occurrences in Exod 15 and CAT 1.2 IV 8–9 (see above) in order to support a post-exilic date.⁶² He argues that all follow the same pattern: a/b/vocative : a/b/c. Since this exact pattern occurs in late texts such as Isa 26:15, Pss 77:17, 89:52, 92:10, and 93:3, the usage in Exod 15 does not favor an early period. Brenner's argument is specious. First of all, it cannot be stated unequivocally that this pattern favors a late date. For example, Hab 3:2b, which is certainly pre-exilic, follows the pattern ABC:ABD:EFG. In fact, the diversity and creativity of the examples in Exod 15 suggest an early date because they portray a creative poet standing in the stream of Canaanite prosodic tradition rather than a scribe in a late period merely imitating the classical forms of the literature. Second, Brenner fails to notice the diversity in the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Exodus 15:6–7a and 11 are three-line staircases whereas 16b is two-line. Also, each one has peculiarities (see above) that exhibit freedom from the pattern noted by Brenner.⁶³ This diversity renders Brenner's argument untenable.

In conclusion, staircase parallelism is a literary form found in Ugaritic epic literature that has influenced Hebrew prosody. While it is unwise to

state that the mere presence of staircase poetry is indicative of an early date, it appears credible to state that, if a poem can be shown to be early on other grounds, the presence of staircase parallelism (especially its accumulation as in Exodus 15, Judges 5, and Psalm 29) further strengthens the case.

Ugaritic Phrases and Word Pairs⁶⁴

Staircase parallelism is not the only feature of the Song enhanced by a comparison to the Ugaritic materials. The Song of Moses and the Israelites also shares phrases and word pairs in common with texts from Ras Shamra. These affinities will be highlighted and then evaluated in terms of their implications for dating Exod 15.

First, examples of Canaanite formulae in the Song of Moses and the Israelites will be examined in the order of their occurrence in Exod 15:

- (a) Exod 15:1
אֲשֶׁרָה לַיהוָה
“I will sing to Yhwh”
- CAT 1.24 1
a[š]r nkl wib
“I will (let me) sing of Nikkal-and-Ib”

In both of these texts, the poet uses the same formula to announce an intention to sing. This is the initial phrase in each piece of prosody.

- (b) Exod 15:2
עֲזָרִי וְיִמְרָתִי יְהוָה
“Yhwh is my strength and protection”
- RS 24.252
ʿzk.ḡmrk.lʾak
“Send your strength, your protection.”

As discussed in the initial chapters of this study, this parallel has aided in the translation and interpretation of 15:2.

- (c) Exod 15:11
מִי־כַמֶּכָּה בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה
“Who is like you among the gods, O Yhwh”
- CAT 1.16 V 10–11
my]bʾilm.[ydy.mrš
“Who among the gods will drive out the disease?”

Exodus 15:11 is a rhetorical question that implies the incomparability of Yhwh. The Ugaritic text functions in a similar vein. El implies his own incomparability by raising this question in the divine assembly.

(d) Exod 15:15

אלופי אדום אילי מואב “chiefs of Edom leaders of Moab”

CAT 1.15 IV 17–18

‘lh.ṭh.tš‘rb.

“She will bring to him his dukes (‘bulls’)”

‘lh. tš‘rb.zbyh.

“She shall bring to him his barons
(‘gazelles’).”

This is not a direct parallel, but it shows that the names of certain animals could function as political titles in Canaanite culture.⁶⁵

(e) Exod 15:17

בהר נחלתך
מכון נלשבחך
מקדש אדרני“On the mountain of your inheritance
The place for your habitation
The sanctuary, O Lord”CAT 1.3 III 29–31⁶⁶

btk.ḡry.il.špn

In the midst of my mount, the god of Sa-
phon

bqds.bḡr.nḥlty

In the holy place, the mount of my inheri-
tance

bn‘m.bgb’.liyt

In the pleasant place, in the hill of my vic-
tory.

RS 24.245

b‘l.yṭb.kṭbt.ḡr

“Baal was seated like the seat of a moun-
tain”

CAT 1.3 VI 14–16 (1.1 III 1)

kptr/ksu.ṭbth.

[Kaphtor], the thr[one of his dwelling]

hkpt/arš.nḥlth

[Memphis, the land of his possession]

CAT 1.4 VIII 12–14 (1.5 II 15–16)

mk.ksu/ṭbth

Low, the throne of his dwelling

hh. { . } arš/nḥlth

Filth, the land of his possession

These parallels will be examined in the next chapter.

(f) Exod 15:18

יהרה ימלך

“Yhwh will reign”

CAT 1.2 IV 32, 34

b‘lm yml[k]

“Baal will reign”

CAT 1.6 I 55

ymlk.ṭtr.rz

“Let Athtar the strong reign.”

Exod 15 most resembles CAT 1.2 because, unlike CAT 1.6 which expresses a wish, both are acclamations celebrating enthronement. The contexts, however, are different. In Exod 15:18, the worshippers proclaim Yhwh's kingship in light of Yhwh's victory over Egypt and guidance of Yhwh's people to Yhwh's mount. In contrast, this section of the Baal cycle records Baal's victory over Yamm. The acclamation is best described as a death-bed confession that Baal will rule by the vanquished Yamm.⁶⁷

Second, there are multiple examples of parallel word pairs in common between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the prosody of Ugarit. Again, these will be presented in their order of occurrence. Comments will be offered only on (f) and (i).

- (a) Exod 15:6–7 אַרְיֵב... קַמִּיךְ // CAT 1.10 II 24–25 ib...qm
- (b) Exod 15:8 אַפִּיךְ וּבְרוּחַ // CAT 1.18 IV 25–6, 36–7 rḥ...ap
- (c) Exod 15:9 יָדֵי חֶרֶבִי... יָדֵי // CAT 1.15 IV 24–25, V.7–8 yd...hrb
- (d) Exod 15:9 נַפְשִׁי... יָדֵי // CAT 1.5 I 18–20 npš...yd
- (e) Exod 15:11 קִדְשׁ... אֱלֹהִים // CAT 1.2 I 20–21, 37–38; 1.2 III 19–20; 1.17 I 2–3, 7–8, 10–11, 12–13, and 21–22 ilm...bn qdš
- (f) Exod 15:11 מִי... מִי // CAT 1.16 V:14, 17, 20 my...my
This word pair is used in a parallel context as well. Both are used in rhetorical questions that imply the incomparability of the deity, i.e., Yhwh in Exodus and El in the Epic of Kirta.
- (g) Exod 15:14–15 יֵאָחֲזֶמוּ... אַחֲזֵנִי // CAT 1.11.1–2; CAT 1.2.I.40 aḥd...aḥd
- (h) Exod 15:17 מִכּוֹן לְשִׁבְתֶּךָ // CAT 1.14 I:11+23 mknt...ṭbt
- (i) Exod 15:18 יִמְלֶךְ לְעֵלָם // CAT 1.2 IV:10 mlk. ʿlmk.
In each case, these affirmations of kingship follow a victory over an enemy.

In conclusion, this investigation of Ugaritic parallels has demonstrated the close connection between the prosody of Ugarit and the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Obviously, there are many parallels between the literature unearthed at Ras Shamra and the Old Testament literature of all periods. Thus, taken alone this evidence is ambiguous for the dating of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. As part of the overall case for the antiquity of Exod 15, the heavy clustering of such parallels serves to corroborate this thesis.⁶⁸

The End of the Matter: Archaizing or Archaic?

The accumulation of archaic elements in Exod 15 is beyond question. There, however, remains the possibility that the alleged features represent intentional archaizing rather than evidence of a genuinely archaic prosody.⁶⁹

The key issue is consistent usage. If a text contains archaic forms used incorrectly or mixed with later ones, this would suggest the presence of archaizing. For example, Pss 78, 105, and 106 use preterite forms for events occurring in the past. As discussed above, the **yaqtul* preterite represents an archaic usage. The occurrences within these Psalms, however, may be rightly labeled archaistic because they are used within a text that otherwise exhibits standard poetic forms.⁷⁰ There is no such evidence of archaizing in Exod 15.⁷¹

Three alternative interpretations of the use of archaic features in Exod 15 remain to be explored. First, responding to Robertson, Butler recognizes that the linguistic argument for an early date for Exod 15 is built on the clustering of early forms. He suggests a different construal of the evidence. Since every category of linguistic evidence is found in deuteronomistic literature, he argues that these “archaic” features may in fact be later developments.⁷² While Butler’s suggestion may be regarded as plausible, it is certainly not probable. Our above study has established the archaic nature of the linguistic features in questions.⁷³ Butler’s case would be strengthened if he could muster evidence for the late creation of these linguistic features. Furthermore, all of these later texts evidence a mixing of archaic with standard forms and may rightly be labeled archaistic.

Second, Brenner argues that Exod 15 represents an intentional accumulation of archaic elements and poetic devices.⁷⁴ His case turns on his insistence that this accumulation is a stylistic device and thus both artificial and late.⁷⁵

Brenner’s argument is problematic because he dismisses the *consistency* of the archaic usage. There is no evidence of archaizing in Exod 15. This is remarkable given its length. Cross has observed that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is more consistently archaic than any other Hebrew text of similar length.⁷⁶ Also archaizing is usually recognized by its misuse or its mixed use with later forms, not its consistent use.⁷⁷

Brenner’s case would be stronger if he could posit a motive for the style of Exod 15. Craigie argues that a claim of consistent archaizing for a given text needs to be supported by a credible discussion of motivation for such a stylistic device.⁷⁸ Such a conversation is typically lacking in the work of those who level the charge of consistent archaizing against the Song of Moses and the Israelites.⁷⁹ What would motivate the Hebrew poet to compose in this unique style? From where does it derive? Given the major influ-

ence of Exod 15 on other poetic texts (e.g., Pss 74, 77, 78, 118, Isa 11:11–12:6), why are there no other poems composed in a similar fashion?⁸⁰ Given its prominent position in Exodus, if it were indeed a late text, does it not seem reasonable that other poets would have picked up its style, i.e., a “neo-archaic” style? This points to the more probable conclusion—namely, the language and style of Exod 15 is in fact archaic and indicative of an early date. The presence of Ugaritic parallels and its general affinities with other early Ancient Near Eastern victory texts provide further confirmation of this finding.

Last, Young argues that archaic biblical Hebrew is not so much an indicator of age as it is a style of writing from pre-exilic times, which employs archaic and dialectical forms more readily than standard biblical Hebrew.⁸¹ The principal evidence for this is the mixture of archaic and standard forms found in most of the poetry judged to be early in Robertson’s work (Judg 5, Deut 32, 2 Sam 22 (cf. Ps 18), Hab 3, and Job). In essence, Young avers that the differences between Robertson’s categories of archaic Hebrew poetry and standard Hebrew poetry are best explained synchronically rather than diachronically. Young does not dispute that the archaic features studied in this chapter are authentically old forms. He simply questions their role as “primary evidence for dating these texts.”⁸² Exodus 15 does not fit neatly into this hypothesis because it alone of the corpus of “archaic biblical Hebrew” is consistent in its use of archaic elements.⁸³

In conclusion, on the evidence of the linguistic evidence alone, Robertson posited a date in the twelfth century B.C.E. This chapter has supplemented his research with the complementary evidence of the Song’s heavy use of staircase parallelism, its complete lack of prosaic particles, and its heavy employment of phrases and word pairs in common with Ugaritic poetry. Taken together this evidence supports a date for the Song in Early Iron I with the twelfth century B.C.E. being the most likely. The possibility of consistent archaizing remains, but the plausibility of this objection has already been questioned in this chapter. Furthermore, the remaining chapters of this study will amass historical and literary evidence, which taken as a whole support the conclusion reached here—the Song of Moses and the Israelites is, indeed, an ancient poem from Israel’s earliest period.

CHAPTER SIX

Historical Allusions in the Song of the Sea: Implications for Dating

The previous chapter demonstrated the plausibility of a twelfth century B.C.E. date of composition for the poetry of Exod 15:1b–18 based on linguistic criteria. This chapter seeks to confirm this early date by exploring four historical allusions present in the Song: the list of the nations that cowered in fear before Yhwh (Exod 15:14–16), the identification of the sanctuary or sanctuaries described in verses 13 and 17, the reference to אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי “God of my father” in verse 2, and the victory dance celebrated by Miriam and the women in Exod 15:20–21. None of these elements contradict the proposed twelfth century provenance for the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

Fear of the Nations

In Exod 15:14–16, Philistia, Moab, Edom, and Canaan are the nations or geographic regions that have been affected by Yhwh’s actions on behalf of the redeemed people of God.¹ Cross and Freedman have argued that this list of nations, though not decisive, allows one to posit the early twelfth-century B.C.E. as a *terminus a quo* and the eleventh century B.C.E. as a *terminus ad quem*.² The mention of Philistia is significant because scholars have been able to discover the approximate appearance and settlement of the Philistines in the ancient Near East. The Philistines were part of the migration of the Sea Peoples whose arrival in the ancient Near East marks the transition from the Late Bronze to the beginning of the Early Iron periods. Pharaoh Ramses III foiled their attempted invasion of Egypt (c. 1190 B.C.E.) and settled them as Egyptian mercenaries in the coastal towns of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod.³ Assuming that the events of the Song occurred earlier, the reference to the Philistines must be reckoned as anachronistic. Thus, some time passed between the arrival of the Philistines and the composition of the Song in which the time frames of the Philistine settlement and early Israelite history were blurred.⁴

A second issue revolves around the absence of Ammon in this list of nations. Ammon like Philistia, Moab, and Edom was a long-time traditional enemy of Israel. The implication for dating turns on the apparent fact that the

Ammonites were late-comers on the scene perhaps not arriving until the eleventh century. Thus, the omission of any reference to Ammon and the mention of Philistia may provide a mid-to-late twelfth century B.C.E. provenance for the Song.⁵ This, however, is admittedly an argument from silence and the omission may be justified on poetic grounds.⁶

In a later work, Freedman attempts a broader construal of the evidence in support of this basic argument.⁷ He argues that the twelfth century is the time period that makes the best sense of the four nations listed in terms of providing a credible historical context for the composition of the Song. This is the only century in which these peoples co-existed between the border of Egypt and northern Palestine. In the Song, Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Canaan are frozen in place as Yhwh's people march through the wilderness. According to Freedman, the eleventh century marks a transitional time. The Ammonites became important militarily in the Transjordan region and exerted pressure on the Moabites. The Canaanites were virtually eliminated as a political force by the pincher movement of Israel from the east and the Philistines from the west. After the victory over the Canaanite kings recorded in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5), the Canaanites are not mentioned in any other early poem or in any prose passage after the time of the Judges. This does not include usage in stock stereotypical phrases such as 1 Kgs 9:16 or 2 Sam 24:7. Freedman suggests 1150 B.C.E. as the date of this battle. Thus, Exod 15:14–16 best describes the political situation of the first half of the twelfth century. Freedman dates the Song of Moses and the Israelites to the time frame (1175–1150 B.C.E.).⁸

What can be said about the early history of Edom, Moab, and Ammon? Does the evidence support Freedman's proposal? Evidence for the entire period of Late Bronze to Early Iron transition is sketchy.⁹ Egyptian control of the general region of Palestine waned, and people groups began the movement toward territorial statehood. Moab and Edom are both mentioned in thirteenth century Egyptian texts. There is evidence of some Early Iron Age settlements, but neither area was densely populated during this time. Little is known about Ammon.¹⁰ Archaeological remains (shards and tombs) have been unearthed from the Late Bronze age in Amman and its vicinity. This evidence indicates that the area at least was populated during the period. The biblical record shows that the Ammonites were major opponents of Jephthah and Saul. This allows for the hypothesis that Ammon was able to organize itself into a kingdom sometime after the incursion of the Sea Peoples.

This evidence supports a few tentative conclusions. First, Cross's position, that the Song of Moses and the Israelites' use of מואב אלוֹפֵי אֶדוֹם אֵילָי "chiefs of Edom, leaders of Moab" in reference to the nobles and chiefs of

Edom and Moab portrays correctly the political scene of the premonarchic periods of these nations, is warranted.¹¹ The use of animal names as titles for the Canaanite rulers during this same general time period is paralleled in CAT 1.5 IV 17–18:

‘lh.trh.tš‘rb.

“She will bring to him his dukes (‘bulls’)”

‘lh. tš‘rb.zbyh.

“She shall bring to him his barons (‘gazelles’).”

Second, although neither Edom nor Moab can be described as a major military threat during this time, given that nascent-Israel was also small and insignificant, viewing Moab and Edom (along with Philistia) as Israel’s earliest enemies is not without substance. Third, Ammon certainly posed a threat in the eleventh century, so although still an argument from silence, the non-mention of Ammon as a criterion for dating the Song of Moses and the Israelites to the twelfth century B.C.E. remains plausible.

How does the list of nations in 15:14–16 compare with the other literature of the Hebrew Bible? Exodus 15 is the sole context in which *only* these four nations are described as Israel’s enemies. The point of view of the Song of Moses and the Israelites is Yhwh’s people outside of the land. A survey of contexts in which three of the following nations (Canaan, Edom, Moab, Philistia, and Ammon)¹² are found portrayed as the enemies of Israel yields some interesting results. First, Canaan functions not as an enemy of Israel, but merely as a geographical referent. For example, in Zeph 2:5, “Canaan” is placed in apposition with “land of the Philistines.” Second, Philistia, Moab, and Edom occur together only in Ps 60 (cf. Ps 108). Third, Edom and Moab are portrayed as Israel’s major opponents in the Transjordan in the Oracles of Balaam (esp. Num 24:17–18) during the time of Israel’s initial settlement. Last, Ammon is omnipresent in queries involving the target groups. Ammon is listed frequently in conjunction with Philistia, Moab, and Edom (1 Sam 14, 2 Sam 8, 1 Chr 18, Isa 11, Jer 25, Ezek 25, Amos 1–2 and Ps 83).¹³ Ammon occurs with the Philistines and Moab in Zeph 2 and Judg 10. Ammon is found in combinations including Edom and Moab in Deut 23, Judg 11, 2 Chr 20, and Jer 27.

This brief survey of the biblical occurrences allows for several inferences. First, it highlights the relative importance of the Ammonites. They become an oft-mentioned Israelite foe. The absence of Ammon in the list from Exod 15 does appear glaring in light of biblical usage. Again, it bears repeating that, other than Exod 15, there is only one text in which Philistia, Moab, and Edom occur together without Ammon (Ps 60, cf. Ps 108). The only text that posits Ammon as an obstacle along with Edom and Moab in the Transjordan region derives from post-Exilic history of the Chronicler (2

Chr 20). This suggests that Exod 15 correctly reflects the conditions faced by Israel in the twelfth century Transjordan.¹⁴ Second, it raises questions for those who might argue that the list of nations in Exod 15:14–16 better fits an Iron II context (900–600 B.C.E.). If Exod 15 reflects anachronistically the conditions of Iron II, then why would not the author have included more substantive foes, such as the Arameans, the Ammonites, or even the Assyrians?

Brenner reads Exod 15:14–16 in a radically different way.¹⁵ He argues that the fear of the nation's motif, specifically divinely enhanced fear is a product of deuteronomistic thought. He argues that earlier traditions do not posit such a fear on Israel's enemies and that in fact the opposite may have been true. For example, God leads the Israelites away from the Philistines (Exod 13:17) lest they become disheartened, and the Israelites avoid a fight with Edom when their request for peaceful passage is denied (Num 20:14–21). Thus, he locates its actual historical context in the fifth century B.C.E. during the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Accordingly, the author of the Song of Moses and the Israelites uses Israel's enemies at the time of the Exodus to represent the opposition faced by the Jews in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah: dwellers of Canaan are the Samaritans led by Sanballat in Neh 6:1 (the dwellers of the cis-Jordan), the Edomites are the Arabians led by Geshem (Neh 6:1), the Moabites represent those from the trans-Jordan led by Tobiah (Neh 2:10, 19), and the inhabitants of Philistia refers to Ashodites (Neh 4:7).

Though Brenner's construal attempts to make sense of Exod 15:14–16 in terms of a fifth century date of composition,¹⁶ it proves problematic. First of all, the motif of divinely-induced fear cannot be reduced to being the mere product of deuteronomistic thought. The language of Exod 15:14–16 finds parallels in other extra-biblical texts.¹⁷ For example, the thirteenth century B.C.E. Assyrian Epic of Tikulti-Ninurta contains the following passage in Column I:

He who—the extremities of the four winds, all kings without exception live in dread of him:/ As when Addu bellows, the mountains tremble,/ As when Ninurta lifts his weapons, the quarters of the world are reduced to continual aguish.¹⁸

Furthermore, Brenner's interpretation is based on a selective reading of the Pentateuch. Numbers 22:3 describes the terror of Moab at the approach of Israel. Granting that the word for terror used here (יָרָא) is not the same as found in Exod 15, Deut 2:25, or Josh 2:9, Brenner's dismissal of such evidence amounts to special pleading. He suggests that unlike the above mentioned texts, there is no trace of a divinely instilled fear.¹⁹ This said, a

reading of Deut 2:25 and Josh 2:9 demonstrates that although Yhwh may be instilling the fear, the object of the nation's fear is Israel.²⁰

Last, the group associated with Moab is led by Tobiah (Neh 2:10, 19; 4:3). Tobiah is explicitly described as the "Ammonite." How probable is it that a writer in the fifth century B.C.E. would substitute Moab for Ammon when the Ammonites were also a traditional enemy of Israel from the earliest times? Last, on what basis can Brenner read Exod 15:1–12 as an actual recitation of Yhwh's victory over Egypt, but then interpret 15:13–17 symbolically, i.e., nations listed represent Israel's fifth century foes and verses 13 and 17 represent the completion of the Second Temple and walls around Jerusalem? Why not consciously and explicitly alternate back and forth between contemporary and ancient events as other Psalms do (e.g., Pss 77, 78, etc.). Brenner's position would be stronger if he could muster up compelling examples which were composed and used in the same proposed manner.

The conclusion of this review of the list of nations in Exod 15:14–16 does not prove conclusively that the Song of Moses and the Israelites has a premonarchic provenance. It, however, does demonstrate true historical memory of the time, and thus leaves open the possibility of a date near the beginning of the Iron Age. It has also disputed attempts to date the poetry much later on the basis of Exod 15:14–16.

God of My Father

The reference in verse 2 to אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי "God of my father" does not contain any specific references to the patriarchs of Gen 12–50, but it does present the essence of the patriarchal lore as noted by Alt and others, i.e., the worship of the God of the Fathers.²¹

The exact phrase "God of my father" occurs in Gen 31:42, 32:10, Exod 18:4; "God of their fathers" is found in Exod 4:5; "God of their father" Gen 31:53; "God of your father" Gen 46:3, 50:17; Exod 3:6; "God of your fathers" 3:13, 15, and 16. All of these texts with the exceptions of Gen 32:10 (J) and Exod 3:16 (J) are from the E source. Thus, depending upon one's view of Pentateuchal development Exod 15:2 may offer an indirect reference to Patriarchal religion.²² This evidence, however, does not provide any substantive help for dating as scholars remain divided over the interpretation of the Patriarchal narratives.

Victory Dance

The relative antiquity of the prose framework of the Song of Miriam (15:20–21a) can be affirmed by observing its similarity to other victory celebrations

led by women. Judges 5:1, 11:34, and 1 Sam 18:7 (cf. 1 Sam 21:12 and 29:5) record female leadership of victory songs and dances. Psalm 68:26 also records in similar fashion (dancing and hand-drums) female participation in a liturgical act. Jeremiah 31:4 uses the imagery metaphorically. The latest attested depiction of this custom occurs in Jdt 15:12–14.

Exodus 15:20–21 is closest in form and vocabulary to those passages from Judges and 1 Samuel which ostensibly describe practices and events from Israel's early days. Poethig agrees, but, on the basis of its lack of archaic terminology, she concludes that Exodus 15:20–21 is probably derivative of the above passages.²³ She, however, does not doubt the antiquity of the portrayal of prominent women leading other women in Exod 15:20–21 and dates the actual poetry to the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.E. Again, such evidence does not prove the antiquity of the Song of Moses and the Israelites, but it adds further plausibility to the argument that it derives from Israel's earliest times.

Referent of Yhwh's Mountain in Exodus 15:13 and 17

The geographical referent of four phrases in verses 13 and 17 is important for dating. The phrases in question are אֱלֹהֵינוּ קִדְשׁךָ “to your holy abode” (v. 13), בְּהַר נַחֲלָתְךָ “in the mountain of your inheritance,” מְכוּן לְשִׁבְתֶּךָ “the place for your habitation,” and מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָנִי כִּוְנָנוּ יְדֶיךָ “sanctuary O Lord that your hands established” (v. 17). The problem in the identification of the locale is the ambiguity of the terminology. Debate has occurred throughout the history of interpretation. For example, in the Jewish interpretive tradition, Mekhilta viewed the phrase in verse 13 as a reference to the temple in Jerusalem. This was disputed by the medieval exegetes Ibn Ezra and Rashbam who favored Sinai and Canaan as a whole respectively.²⁴

Scholarly debate continues over the following possibilities: Jerusalem,²⁵ land of Canaan,²⁶ Sinai,²⁷ Gilgal,²⁸ Shiloh, a mixture of two or more options²⁹, or ambiguous.³⁰ This array of options illustrates the complexity of the matter and lack of consensus among scholars. However, the identification of Yhwh's mountain remains a crucial task for interpreters because its location has implications for the date of the poem. Whereas associations with Gilgal, Canaan, or Sinai allow for the possibility of a premonarchic date, the link with the temple in Jerusalem establishes a *terminus a quo* during the reign of Solomon in the tenth century B.C.E.³¹ This is still a relatively early date, but most who opt for this locale assign the poem to a much later period. A fresh review of the evidence will attempt to clarify the referent.³²

Two of the options can be set aside from the start of the investigation. To assert the ambiguity of Exod 15:13 and 17 only serves to restate the *crux interpretum* and begs the question. To argue for a mixture of referents also proves problematic because it has already been demonstrated that the language in verses 13 and 17 may be viewed as synonymous.³³ Now the most viable options will be evaluated.

Land as a Whole

Scholars who view the language of verses 13 and 17 as a description of the land of Canaan interpret the Song of Moses and the Israelites in terms of a two fold progression: exodus and guidance into the land. Verses 13–17 describe the journey of Israel into the promised land to take possession of it. Craigie points to the phrase *נחלתך בְּהַר* as evidence.³⁴ *נחלה* “inheritance” is frequently used to describe the land (or a portion thereof) as the people’s inheritance (Deut 4:21, 38, 15:4, 19:10, 20:16, 21:23, 24:4, 25:19, 26:1; Josh 13:14, 33, 14:3, 17:4, 17:6, 14, 19:49; Judg 18:1; Pss 78:55, 135:12, 136:21–22; Num 16:14, 27:7, 36:2, etc.). The land of Canaan is specifically described as Yhwh’s *נחלה* in 1 Sam 26:19, 2 Sam 14:16, 2 Sam 20:19, and Jer 2:7. Fretheim argues from the context of Exodus that verses 13–18 refer to the settlement of the land and the establishment of Yhwh’s abode in Canaan. He suggests that “this is a natural extension in view of earlier texts regarding the land promise ([Exod] 3:8, 17, 6:8, 12:25, 13:5, 11).”³⁵ This position does not rule out a premonarchic date because the *terminus a quo* remains the arrival of the Philistines. This position is generally held by scholars who posit a pre-Solomonic date for the song.

Canaan, however, is never explicitly spoken of as Yhwh’s dwelling place.³⁶ Additionally, Clements notes that Mt. Zion was significant as Yhwh’s dwelling place precisely because it represented the entire land of Canaan.³⁷ Thus, it is problematic to posit Canaan as the referent in Exod 15.

Gilgal

Gilgal was an important site in Ancient Israel. In the biblical materials, Gilgal served as the staging area for Israel’s settlement in Canaan (Josh 9:6, 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43, and 14:6). It apparently retained religious significance in Israel. It marks the spot of the Jordan river crossing. This event was commemorated by twelve stones removed from the Jordan (Josh 4:19–20). Joshua 5 narrates two religious acts observed at Gilgal: circumcision and the celebration of Passover. Judges 2:1 records the “angel of Yhwh” going up from Gilgal to proclaim a message. On the eve of monarchy, Gilgal along with Bethel and Mitzpah functions as part of a circuit that Samuel traveled

while performing his duties as a judge (1 Sam 7:16). It was a place of sacrifice (1 Sam 10:8, 11:15, 13:1–15, 15:21) as well as the site for Saul’s confirmation as king over the people (1 Sam 11:14). During the ninth century B.C.E., Elijah and Elisha are active in the area around Gilgal (2 Kgs 2:1, 4:38). The latest references to Gilgal derive from the eighth century B.C.E. prophets. Hosea and Amos rail against the worship at the site (Hos 4:15, 9:15, and 12:12; Amos 4:4, 5:5). Micah at the end of the century alludes to the crossing of the Jordan (6:5).

Gilgal has been related to Exod 15 on the basis of Cross’s “ritual conquest” theory.³⁸ Exodus 15 links Yhwh’s kingship and sanctuary with victory over his enemies. In Exod 15:14–16, the foes are not mythological ones, but Israel’s historic enemies during the Conquest. This idea suggests that its performance would have occurred at a site in Canaan. Cross reconstructs a “ritual conquest” liturgy from Josh 3–5. Thus, the early Israelite celebration of the Conquest and holy war can be linked plausibly to the cult at Gilgal. The Song of Moses and the Israelites can then be understood in light of the Gilgal cult. The repeated refrain in Exod 15:16b “until your people cross over” is interpreted as a reference to the crossing of the Jordan. Once this move is made, the remainder of 15:13–17 fits the scenario well. Cross argues that the “holy encampment” in verse 13 might refer to Sinai or Qadesh, but more likely it refers to Shittim. This is the traditional site for the beginning of the Israelite conquest as well as the region that served as the backdrop for Moses’ final words as recorded in Deuteronomy. Micah 6:5 mentions the movement “Shittim to Gilgal” (6:5b). Exodus 15:14–16a records the paralyzing fear felt by Israel’s enemies on the eve of holy war. Verse 16b celebrates the river crossing. Gilgal thus functions as the goal of Israel’s journey, i.e., as Yhwh’s mountain (Exod 15:17). The fact that Gilgal is not located on a mountain presents no problem. As Clifford demonstrates, the temple district in Sidon was known as “the high heavens,” and Mount Zion is called the highest of the mountains (Isa 2:2 cf. Mic 4:1).³⁹ The language of Exod 15:17 bears the mark of Canaanite mythology (CAT 1.3 III 26–27):

btk . ḡry . il . špn

In the midst of my mount (who am) the
god of Saphon

bqdš . b̄gr . nh̄lty

In the holy place, the mount of my
inheritance

bn’m . bgb’ . tliyt

In the pleasant place, in the hill of my
victory.

How might this traditional Canaanite phraseology have worked its way into Israelite prosody? Gilgal was a Canaanite sacred place before the arrival and settlement of any Israelites. Batto speculates that the agricultural festival

that would have been celebrated at Gilgal mirrored the same mythic lore that shaped the liturgies used at Ugarit.⁴⁰ Thus, it is not inconceivable that the Baal myth in which Baal defeats Prince Yamm/Lord Nahor formed the core of this festival.

Gilgal lends support for an early date because it is clearly attested as a shrine from the earliest periods of Israelite memory. Given that it falls from prominence late in the pre-exilic period, it does establish a *terminus ad quem* in the seventh century B.C.E.

There, however, are problems with locating “Yhwh’s mountain” at Gilgal. First, there is no doubt that Exod 15:1–18 influenced the material in Josh 3–5.⁴¹ Second, not all of the elements of 15:13–17 fit into a “ritual conquest” model as neatly as one might wish. As demonstrated above, it is much better to read verses 13 and 17 as essentially synonymous. Regardless, given the paucity of biblical references to Shittim, it is hard to conceive of the poet employing the lofty language of verse 13 to portray it. Also, the list of nations in verses 14–16 makes little sense. Edom and Moab were threats before Israel ever got to Shittim (cf. Mic 6:5a). No conquest tradition mentions the Philistines. Third, not enough information is available to evaluate the probability of the pre-Israelite use of the Baal myth at Gilgal. Last, as argued earlier, the reference in Exod 15:16b more likely refers to the crossing of the Re(e)d Sea or of the Wilderness en route to Sinai.

Shiloh

Explicit traditions in ancient Israel associated the referents in Exod 15:13 and 17 with the shrine at Shiloh.⁴² The evidence for this is drawn from Ps 78 whose relationship with the Song of Moses and the Israelites will be examined in depth below. Psalm 78 justifies the rejection of Shiloh in favor of Jerusalem as the official shrine of Yhwh. Psalm 78 demonstrates the importance of using the language of Exod 15 to authenticate or legitimate a particular site.⁴³

Shiloh has solid biblical support as a key shrine in early Israel. The Tent of Meeting is located at Shiloh during the days of Joshua. It marks the place for the gathering of the community for the division of the land. In Judges, the house of God was at Shiloh (Judg 18:31) and a feast of Yhwh was held annually (Judg 21:19). The call of Samuel is associated with Shiloh. It was the place where Yhwh appeared and revealed himself (1 Sam 3:21). The Shilomite priesthood is disenfranchised by Solomon following Abiathar’s disloyalty (1 Kgs 2:27). Prophetic activity continues to be associated with Shiloh through the reign of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:29, 12:15, 14:2, 14:4, 15:29). By Jeremiah’s time, Shiloh has become a symbol of rejection by Yhwh (Jer

7:12, 14; 26:6, 9; and 41:5) and serves as a warning to Jerusalem and a harbinger of its fate.

Shiloh, however, is not the original referent in Exod 15:13, 17. Chapter eight below will demonstrate that the poets responsible for Ps 78 consciously drew upon the language of Exod 15:1b–18 in the composition of their psalm. First, Ps 78 splits the language of the Song of Moses and the Israelites between Shiloh and Jerusalem. This should be viewed as a transference of the terminology from one shrine to another. The author of Ps 78 used the Song of Moses and the Israelites as the language of legitimization. It legitimized Shiloh, and now it affirms the centrality of Zion. Second, the idea of a tent-shrine as the “house” of Yhwh in Israel is associated with Sinai (Exod 25–31, 35–40).⁴⁴ Assuming the possibility of some type of nomadic desert tent-shrine that derived from the Sinai experience, the appearance of the “Tent of Meeting” at Shiloh and later in Jerusalem again suggests the transfer of Sinai motifs to shrines in the land for purposes of legitimization.

Jerusalem

The importance of Jerusalem to the religion and theology of ancient Israel cannot be exaggerated.⁴⁵ Jerusalem and Zion occur eight hundred seven and one hundred sixty-five times, respectively, in various contexts throughout the Old Testament. Jerusalem and Zion are referred to as God’s holy mountain in Pss 2:6, 3:4, 15:1, 24:3, 43:3, 48:2, 87:1, 99:9; Isa 2:3 (cf. Mic 4:2), 11:9, 27:13, 56:7, 57:13, 65:11, 65:25; Jer 31:23; Ezek 20:40, 28:14, 28:16; Dan 9:16, 9:20, 11:47; Joel 2:1, 4:17; Obad 16, 17; Zeph 3:11; and Zech 8:3. It is designated הַר יְהוָה “Yhwh’s mountain” in Ps 24:3, Isa 30:29, and Zech 8:3.

This is the most popular option. It has obvious implications for dating as it moves the *terminus a quo* to the reign of Solomon (mid-tenth century B.C.E.). This is not a uniform position as its adherents do not agree on the period of its writing. Options range from the tenth century⁴⁶ to the fifth century or later.⁴⁷ This interpretation assumes that the movement in the poem is from Exodus to Settlement in the Promised land. Thus, verses 13 and 17 refer to a site in the land, i.e., Jerusalem and/or Mt. Zion. The Ugaritic parallels in verse 17 do not necessitate an early date because Ugaritic parallels are not confined to the earliest levels of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Isa 27:1). Also, advocates of Jerusalem can appeal to the Canaanite literature as well.⁴⁸ For example, Zion is explicitly associated with Zaphon, the sacred mountain in Canaanite literature in Ps 48:3. If one is able to date the Song of Moses and the Israelites on other grounds to the time of the monarchy or later, then it is virtually axiomatic that the language of verses 13 and 17 refers to Jerusalem because of its prominence in Old Testament thought.

Butler builds a strong case for Jerusalem and/or Zion on the basis of the study of the key terms in question.⁴⁹ Since these terms will be examined below, Butler's work will be summarized. *נרה* "abode" refers to Yhwh's place of habitation in Jer 25:30, 31:23; Isa 27:10, 33:20; and 2 Sam 15:25. Each is related to Jerusalem in some way. Therefore, the occurrence in Exod 15:13 refers to Jerusalem as well. *נחלה* "inheritance" refers in most cases to Yhwh's people (Deut 4:20, et al.). The only clear reference to a particular place outside of Exod 15 is Ezek 45:1 which refers to the land around the temple. Butler concludes that *נחלתך בהר* functions in a manner similar to that of Ezek 45:1, i.e., it localizes the community on a specific mountain. This is most likely Zion, but the whole land is possible (cf. Jer 2:7, 16:18, Ps 79:1).⁵⁰ *מכון לשבתך* "the place for your habitation" also is best identified with Jerusalem. *מכון* refers to Yhwh's earthly or heavenly dwelling which is often Jerusalem (Isa 4:5, Ezek 2:68, Dan 8:11). Finally, *מקדש* "sanctuary" most frequently refers to Jerusalem (Ps 78:69, Ps 74:7, Lam 1:10, etc.).

Butler's analysis is helpful, but not decisive. First, he favors Jerusalem as the referent because the majority of the occurrences of the key terms points to Jerusalem. As will be demonstrated below, there are other possible referents for each term. Given the prominence of Jerusalem and Zion in the Hebrew Bible, it should not be surprising that most terminology used for religious sites points to Jerusalem. Second, Butler downplays the importance of the Ugaritic parallels on this point. Regarding the parallel expressions in Exod 15:17, Butler writes, "[Those advocating the importance of these parallels, i.e., Albright, Cross, Freedman, etc.] have not demonstrated the point of reference of the term, nor have they demonstrated the earthly counterpart to the 'cosmic' shrine."⁵¹ Butler's principal contention will be answered below, but this comment misses the significance of the Ugaritic parallels. The parallel expressions show that the religious terminology did not originate with Jerusalem, but that it goes back at least as far as the Late Bronze Age. Therefore, the expressions could have been introduced into Israel at any time and with reference to any shrine. This circumstance mitigates the high frequency of occurrences in the Hebrew Bible that point to Jerusalem.

Day building on the earlier work of Mowinckel argues that Exod 15:1b–18 resembles an enthronement psalm and therefore ought to be located in the Autumn festival held in Jerusalem. This would provide a setting for the Song sometime during the Davidic monarchy. He notes the following parallels between the Song and previously recognized Enthronement psalms: 1) References to Kingship (v. 18 // Pss 47:9, 93:1, 96:10, 97:1, 99:1), 2) Victory at Sea (Exod 15:1–10 // Ps 93:3–4), and 3) Exaltation over the gods (v. 11 // Pss 95:3, 96:4–5, 97:7).⁵² Day's proposal is substantive, but not compelling. First

of all, references to kingship do not have to be located in the Hebrew monarchy. Exodus 15:18 is paralleled in the Baal cycle by b'lm yml[k] "Baal will reign" (CAT 1.2 IV 32). The Ugaritic context portrays the dying Yam proclaiming Baal's eternal reign. Additionally, other poetry from the Old Testament that is often considered pre-exilic hailed Yhwh as king (Num 23:21; Deut 33:5; Pss 29:10–11; 68:24).⁵³ Second, the sea in Exod 15:1–18 is not an opponent or threat to Yhwh. It functions merely as the instrument by which Yhwh destroys the Pharaoh's army. Third, the Song certainly lifts up Yhwh over the gods in verse 11, but this is hardly a reason to posit Exod 15 as an enthronement psalm given the fact that the incomparability of Yhwh is a common theme throughout the Old Testament and occurs across genres and forms.⁵⁴

Sinai

Given the problems with each of the above positions, a strong case can be made that Sinai/Horeb is the original referent of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. One approach, however, needs to be dismissed. This is the construal that reads the Song of Moses and the Israelites as a full blown salvation history schema or at least a historical progression from the Sea (vv. 1b–12) to Sinai (v. 13) to Canaan (vv. 14–17).⁵⁵ As previously demonstrated, verses 13 and 17 describe the *same* religious site.

Once the terminology for the shrine described in verses 13 and 17 is seen as synonymous, a compelling case can be made for Sinai.

Literary Evidence for Sinai. Chapter four demonstrated the importance of the Song of the Sea (15:1–21) within the book of Exodus. It occurs on the heels of the narrative recital of the deliverance at the Sea and before the journey through the Wilderness to Sinai. This is significant for interpreting the Song itself. It is clear that 15:1b–12 contains a poetic celebration of God's victory over Egypt at the sea. As such, it serves as a summation of Exod 1–14. Given this, it seems reasonable to expect 15:13–18 to relate the next salvific act of Yhwh as recorded in Exodus, i.e., the journey to Sinai. If this analysis is correct, the holy place described in verse 17 refers to Sinai, because this is the mountain to which Israel travels in Exod 15:22–18:27. Israel is not brought and planted in the land of Canaan or Jerusalem in Exodus (or in the Pentateuch for that matter), but on Horeb/Sinai. As such, this is strong evidence in favor of interpreting Exod 15:17 as a reference to Sinai.

This can be argued from the standpoint of redaction criticism as well. Smith argues that the priestly redactors responsible for the final form of Exodus may have understood 15:17 as a reference to Sinai.⁵⁶ Exodus 15:19 is

priestly material. Priestly redactors may have inserted the Song of the Sea into the Exodus narrative, but most likely they received the song in its current location and added v. 19 in the redactional process. There is evidence that P interpreted Exod 15:17 as a reference to Sinai. First, structurally, P inserts and definitively shapes the Sinai pericope (Exod 19:1–Num 10:10) which dominates the structure of the Pentateuch. Thus, the post-Re(e)d Sea focus is on the Sinai covenant. Second, theologically, Sinai was more significant for P than Jerusalem.⁵⁷ Implicit in this interpretation is that P would have understood 15:16b as a description of the journey to Sinai and vv. 14–16 as fear from a distance. Smith’s understanding of the work of Priestly tradition is compelling, but he argues that this is a misinterpretation of the original referent of Exod 15:17 which he believes to have been a site in Canaan.⁵⁸ However, given the importance of the Song of Moses and the Israelites in the literature of the Hebrew Bible, how plausible is it to suppose that tradents working relatively late in biblical history, would radically alter the original meaning of a traditional poem by reinterpreting it? Given the available evidence, it seems likely that P reflects the historic understanding of the work, i.e., *הר נחלתך* “mountain of your inheritance” is a reference to Sinai, Yhwh’s holy mountain.

In the context of the Pentateuch, Sinai/Horeb is the mountain. Mt. Zion is never mentioned, and the only possible references to Jerusalem are Gen 14:18 in which a Canaanite priest is in view and Gen 22:2 in which Abraham is summoned to Moriah for a test of faith. 2 Chr 3:1 associates Mt. Moriah with the location of the Temple in Jerusalem. In contrast, references to Sinai/Horeb dominate the Pentateuch.

Sinai is referred to by name in three types of contexts. It is explicitly called *הר סיני* “Mount Sinai” in Exod 19:11, 18, 20, 23; 24:16; 31:18; 34:2, 4, 29, 32; Lev 7:38, 25:1, 26:46, 27:34; Num 3:1; and 28:6. It also occurs in another geographic referent, *מדבר סיני* “desert of Sinai” in Exod 16:1; 19:1, 2; Num 1:1, 19; 3:4, 14, 9:1, 5; 10:12; 26:64; 33:15 and 16. Lev 7:38 demonstrates that the terms are describing the same general area.

Sinai occurs in a poetic context in Deut 33:2 (cf. Judg 5:5; Ps 68:8, 17). This verse implies that Sinai was Yhwh’s abode. This may have added significance given that this poem is often thought to be premonarchic in origin.⁵⁹

Horeb is first mentioned in Exod 3:1. Significantly, it occurs with the phrase *הר האלהים* “the mountain of God” in apposition. This context is also important because in 3:12, God reassures Moses saying, “And this will be the sign to you that it is I who sent you: When you have brought the people out of Egypt, you will worship God on this mountain.” This verse explicitly

names Yhwh's mountain the initial if not the primary goal (cf. Exod 3:8) of the deliverance from Egypt. Horeb occurs in Exod 33:6; Deut 1:2, 6, 19; 4:10, 15; 5:2; 9:8; 18:16; and 29:1. A final reference to Horeb is found in Exod 17:6. This is the water from the rock story located at Mas-sah/Meribah.⁶⁰

Sinai/Horeb is also frequently called הַהָר "the mountain."⁶¹ The refer-ences are as follows: Exod 3:12; 19:2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23; 20:18; 24:4, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18; 25:40; 26:30; 27:8; 32:1, 15, 19; 34:2, 3; Deut 1:6; 4:11; 5:4, 5, 22, 23; 9:9, 10, 15, 21; 10:1, 3, 4, 5, and 10.

The phrase הַר הָאֱלֹהִים "the mountain of God" is found four times (Exod 3:1, 4:27, 18:5; and 24:13). Each one refers to Sinai/Horeb (3:1 does so explicitly). This phrase is significant because it establishes Sinai/Horeb as "God's mountain" in the Pentateuch. The related expression הַר יְהוָה "Yhwh's mountain" occurs in Gen 22:14 and Num 10:33. The referent in Gen 22 is Mount Moriah; in Num 10:33 it is again Sinai/Horeb in mind.

What about Canaan? Is it not often conceived of as "hill country?" None of the promises about land in Exodus refer to Canaan as a "mountain" or "hill country" (3:8, 17; 6:8; 12:25; 13:5, 11; 23:23–31). The conception of the land in Exod 23:23–31 is much more expansive than merely the hill country. It asserts that Israel will possess greater Syro-Palestine. Numbers 13–14 records the exploration of the land by spies as well as a failed invasion. הַר is used to describe *part* of the promised land (13:17; 14:40, 44, 45). The clearest references to the Promised Land as "hill country" occur in Deuteronomy (1:19, 20; 8:7; 11:11). However, even these must be read in the context of 1:7 which describes the Promised Land as including the Negev, Arabah, hill country, coastal regions, and Lebanon as far as the Euphrates. By far, the dominant designation in the Pentateuch for Israel's future habitation is simply אֶרֶץ (Gen 12:1, Exod 3:8, Lev 14:34, Num 13:2, Deut 4:5, et al).

Therefore, given the overwhelming amount of evidence for Sinai/Horeb as Yhwh's mountain, it follows that within the literary context of the book of Exodus and the Pentateuch as a whole, the most likely antecedent for בְּהַר in Exod 15:17 is Sinai/Horeb.

Further, Exod 15:13 associates Yhwh's abode with holiness.⁶² There are only three places that are specifically labeled "holy" in the Pentateuch: Si-nai/Horeb (Exod 3:5, 19:23), the Tabernacle (Exod 26:33, 34, et al), and God's heavenly abode (Deut 26:15). Given that the Tabernacle represented the movable extension of the Sinai experience, every reference directly or indirectly refers to Sinai/Horeb except Deut 26:15.

Additionally, Sinai is the clearest referent to a recurring theme in the prelude to the exodus of Israel going out to worship/serve (עבד) Yhwh. As part of Moses' initial call on top of Horeb, Yhwh gives Moses a sign: Moses will worship God on this mountain. When Moses confronts Pharaoh, the reason that he gives for demanding the release of the Hebrew slaves is so that they may worship or serve (עבד) Yhwh (4:23, 7:16, 7:26, 8:16, 9:1, 9:13, 10:3, 10:7 and 10:26). Moses also gives a second rationale to Pharaoh. The people need to be freed so that they can offer sacrifices (זבח) to Yhwh in the desert (3:18, 5:3, 5:8, 5:17, 8:4, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 10:25). Sacrifice may clearly be regarded as a specific part of "serve" or "worship." Fittingly following the ten plagues, Pharaoh's farewell words to Moses are "Go, serve (עבד) Yhwh" (cf. 10:8 and 24). In Exod 19–40, Sinai is the location where Israel explicitly initiates its service of its God.⁶³ Moses builds an altar at the foot of Sinai upon which burnt and peace offerings were made (24:4–5 cf. 18:12).⁶⁴ It is in the construction of the Tabernacle according to the plans revealed to Moses on Sinai that marks Israel's initial service (עבד) to Yhwh. At the completion of the Tabernacle, Exod 39:42 notes that Israel complete all of its service (עבדה).⁶⁵

Finally, Exod 15:18 proclaims Yhwh's reign as the culmination to Yhwh's victory at the Sea and Yhwh's gracious actions in guiding Yhwh's people to the mountain sanctuary. It is at Sinai that Yhwh formally becomes Israel's sovereign. It is at Sinai that Israel formally enters into covenant with Yhwh (see especially, Exod 19–24, and 34).

There, however, remains one difficulty. The use of the verb נטע "to plant" is problematic on the surface for the proposed reading of Exod 15:17 because the imagery of planting is often evoked to describe Yhwh's original settlement (as well as the return from exile) of Israel in Canaan (1 Sam 7:10; Ps 44:2, 80:9; Isa 5:2; Jer 2:21, 11:17, 24:6, 32:41; Amos 9:15). Canaan functions as Yhwh's vineyard (Isa 5). Thus, this might serve as evidence that 15:17 has the land of Canaan in view. But this evidence is not decisive.

Propp suggests that in the context of Exod 15, נטע may imply that Israel "camps" at Yhwh's mountain. This connotation of נטע is found explicitly in Dan 11:35 where it occurs in the phrase, "pitch a tent."⁶⁶ Second, 15:17 begins with two verbs in the same cola (תבאמו והטעמו) that are modified by the prepositional phrase בהר נחלתך. A clue for understanding "planting" as descriptive of the sojourn at Sinai comes from Exod 19:4, "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself." This verse can be read as a summary of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. The first clause evokes the memory of 15:1–11, the second clause brings to mind Yhwh's loving guidance of Yhwh's people in

15:13 to the holy place as well as strong protection provided by Yhwh against potential threats (15:14–16), and the third clause is descriptive of the arrival at Sinai (15:17).

Historical and Canonical Evidence for Sinai. Freedman argues that, if verses 13 and 17 refer to any location in Canaan, then the Song of the Sea represents the entry and settlement as peaceful or at least without the resistance of the inhabitants.⁶⁷ This is contrary to the testimony of OT sources. Of course, the cogency of this observation depends upon the interpretation of Exod 15:14–16 as well as texts that describe the Israelite settlement.

Further, several early poems assert that Yhwh came from Sinai in the southland (Judg 5:4–5, Deut 33:2–3, Ps 68:8–9, 18, cf. Hab 3:2–3). All of these poems appear in archaic garb.⁶⁸ Clifford argues that these poems are best set historically in the pre- or early settlement phase.⁶⁹ All describe a march by Yhwh in or through the Southland. This motif is not a description of Yhwh leading “Israel” into Canaan. All activity begins and ends just south of Canaan. These texts thus locate Yhwh in the area of Seir, Edom, Paran, Teman, and Sinai.⁷⁰ Cross adds that this early activity continued at least into the ninth century B.C.E. as Elijah journeys to Horeb (the Southland) in 1 Kings 19:8. Archaeological remains from Kuntillet Ajrud, where the phrase “Yhwh of Teman” occurs alongside “Yhwh of Samaria,” further this.⁷¹ It seems reasonable to posit that Sinai was understood in some sense to be Yhwh’s dwelling place⁷² or perhaps ought to be reckoned “the true ‘home’ of Yahweh.”⁷³ Cross associates proto-Israel or the “Mosaic group” (cf. “people of Yhwh” in Exod 15:13 and 16) with the group(s) from the south that entered Canaan through the Transjordan and formed the nucleus of biblical Israel.⁷⁴ Though Cross associates Exod 15:1–18 with Gilgal, one may plausibly fit the events of the Song into his reconstruction of proto-Israel. “Israel” is not named. The people are known only by their association with Yhwh (15:13, 16). Verses 14–16 list the enemies of the Yhwh’s people in the early period before the settlement in Canaan. Verses 13 and 17 then function as references to the southern sanctuary, i.e., Sinai.

Last, the overall persistence of Sinai in the Hebrew Bible in the face of the multitude of references to Jerusalem and Zion lends support to the notion that Yhwh’s holy mountain remained Sinai and that its authority passed secondarily to other sites. The Pentateuch certainly testifies to this reality. This is true elsewhere as well. When struggling in the face of Jezebel and the prophets of Baal, Elijah does not journey to Jerusalem, Shiloh, Gilgal, or any site in Canaan, but to Horeb, the mountain of God (1 Kgs 19:8). Horeb also is mentioned in Mal 4:4 and Ps 106:19.

The Language of Exod 15:13 and 17 as Evidence for Sinai. Although the terminology used in 15:13 and 17 has been much debated, it points to Sinai. A closer look at the OT and extra-biblical usage of the key terms in Exod 15:13, 17 will serve to clarify the discussion.

נֹרָה is used in several ways in the OT. The LXX translates it καταλυμα “lodging”. Akkadian cognates *nawum/namu* mean “pasture, steppe.”⁷⁵ First, it may be used generally of a dwelling, i.e., a house or tent (Job 5:3, 24; 18:15; Prov 3:33, 21:20, 24:15) or even as the home (land) of an entire people, e.g., land of Judah (Ps 79:7, Jer 10:25), Sharon and Valley of Achor (Isa 65:10), Canaan (Jer 50:19). Second, it carries pastoral connotations denoting “pasturage” for flocks, frequently used symbolically with Yhwh as the shepherd (2 Sam 7:8 [cf. 1 Chr 17:17]; Jer 23:23, 33:12, 49:19–20, 50:44–45; Ezek 25:5; and Zeph 2:6) or wilderness imagery (Isa 34:13 and 35:7).

The occurrences in two contexts warrant further discussion. First, in 2 Sam 15:25, David commands Zadok to return the ark to Jerusalem. The verse ends with a conditional sentence whose apodosis reads, וְהָיָה אִתּוֹ אֶתֶר וְאֶתֶר־נֹרָה. There is debate over the antecedent of the third masculine singular suffixes. A survey of some modern English translations will demonstrate the options:

“let me see both it and place where it stays” (NRSV)

“show me both it and His dwelling place” (NKJV)

“let me see it and his dwelling place again” (NIV)

“let me see both it and his habitation” (RSV)

“to see the Ark and the Tabernacle again” (NLT)

“allow me to see it and its tent once more” (NJB).

The issue is two fold. Do the two occurrences of the third masculine singular suffix have different antecedents? What is the meaning of נֹרָה here? The NKJV, NIV, and RSV translate with two antecedents (אֶתֶר “ark” and Yhwh) with the clear implication that Yhwh’s נֹרָה is Jerusalem. The NRSV, NLT, and NJB translate the passage with אֶתֶר as the antecedent of both suffixes. This suggests that וְהָיָה refers to the tent set up by David (2 Sam 6:17) to house the ark and not specifically to Jerusalem.⁷⁶ Though both translations are grammatically possible, it seems unnecessary to posit different antecedents in this context. Second, נֹרָה is used extensively in Jeremiah (11x). This represents the highest distribution of the term in the OT. The term is used with several shades of meaning. Jeremiah 23:23, 33:12, 49:19–20, and 50:44–45 are all examples of pastoral imagery. Jeremiah 25:30 in language reminiscent of Amos 1:2 pictures Yhwh roaring from his temple against his נֹרָה. This appears to refer to the entire land of Judah. Jer 50:7 uses נֹרָה צְדָק as a divine appellation for Yhwh, “dwelling of righteousness” or “true dwelling.” Perhaps, the most significant occurrence falls in Jer 31:23. In this pas-

sage, *נרה־צדק* occurs in apposition to *הר הקדוש*. This context clearly refers to Jerusalem/Zion. Brenner's comments focus on Jer 31:23.⁷⁷ He argues that this verse is the product of the same Asaphite school that he posits as the author of Exod 15:1b–18. Thus, if *נרה* refers to Jerusalem in Jer 31:23, then it must in Exod 15:13 as well. However, at most, this indicates that term could be applied to Jerusalem during Jeremiah's time. It is difficult to argue for Asaphite influence given that the phrase is found only in Jer 31:23, 50:7, and Job 8:6. Besides as shown above, Jeremiah uses *נרה* to convey several shades of meaning and not merely as a reference to Jerusalem.

Cross argues that *נרה* refers to a localized tent-shrine.⁷⁸ Exodus associates the institution of a tent-shrine to Yhwh with Israel's experience at Sinai (Exod 25–31, 35–40). Exodus 15:13 certainly contains pastoral motifs and desert connotations as Yhwh leads his people to his holy place.⁷⁹ The overall context of Exodus associates Sinai with pasturage for flocks as Moses initially visits Sinai/Horeb while shepherding the flocks of Jethro (Exod 3:1).

הר (ב) נהלתך is a formula common in the Ugaritic literature of the Late Bronze age. It refers to the deity's locus point whether it be a heavenly or an earthly place. A striking and significant parallel to Exod 15:17 occurs in CAT 1.3 III 29–31:

btk.ǵry.il.spn

In the midst of my mount (who am) the god
of Zaphon

bqdš.bǵr.nhlyt
bn'm.bgb'.tliyt

In the holy place, the mount of my inheritance
In the pleasant place, in the hill of my victory.

Notice that the mountain is named “Zaphon” (*צפון* “north”). This was Baal's mountain. Cross has shown that El also had his own sacred mountain, Mt. Amanus.⁸⁰ These examples suggest that the expression in Exod 15:17 refers to an actual mountain. This evidence points away from scholars who understand the phrase to mean the entire land of Canaan. Commenting on the Ugaritic evidence, Clements argues that local temples and holy mountains functioned as representations of the region over which the deity reigned.⁸¹ This phrase then has in view a specific sanctuary and is not a vague reference to a territory. The two most viable options in the Hebrew Bible for such a place are Sinai and Zion. Sinai is the most compelling. Traditions first applied to Sinai were later transferred to Jerusalem. For example, Solomon's dedicatory prayer in 1 Kgs 8:13 alludes to Exod 15:17:

בנה בניתי בית זבל לך מכון לשבתך עולמים

“I have certainly built an exalted house for you, a place for your habitation forever.”

Additionally, Ps 78 describes the transfer of the shrine from Shiloh to Jerusalem using vocabulary drawn from the song's description of Yhwh's sanctuary.⁸²

An expression similar to *הר נחלתך* is found in the Ugaritic materials in parallelism with *ks'u tbt*, a phrase comparable with *לשבתיך מכון* in Exod 15:17. This phrase refers to the dais of the deity's throne and thus points to a sanctuary as well.⁸³

CAT 1.3 VI 14–16 (1.1 IV 1)

kptr/ksu.tbth.

hkpt/arš.nhłth

[Kaphtor], the thr[one of his dwelling]

[Memphis, the land of his possession]

CAT 1.4 VIII 12–14 (1.5 II 15–16)

mk.ksu.tbth

hh.{.}arš/nhłth

Low, the throne of his dwelling

Filth, the land of his possession

These Ugaritic parallels have implications for both the date of composition of the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the referent of Exod 15:17. First, these last two cited parallels cast doubt on viewing Exod 15:17 as the whole land of Canaan. This parallel suggests that the Song of Moses and the Israelites could have used *ארץ נחלתך* to express this unambiguously. Second, before the discoveries at Ras Shamra, scholars confidently ascribed the terminology in Exod 15:17 to Jerusalem. Reacting to this, Cross and Freedman argue that the phraseology of verse 17 does not prove a post-Solomonic date because the Ugaritic parallels demonstrate that such phrases could have been used by an Israelite poet at any time.⁸⁴ This is a key contribution of the Ugaritic materials on questions of dating Hebrew poetry. Childs, however, reminds scholars that, although the parallels are legitimate, the question of the manner in which the Canaanite traditions functioned within Israel and time in which they made inroads remains.⁸⁵ Day echoes this caution by noting that Ugaritic parallels do not prove decisively an early date because demonstrably later parts of the Hebrew Bible use Canaanite motifs as well (Isa 27:1, Ps 48:3). The recognition of allusions to earlier Canaanite literature, however, leaves the question of date open and thus also the possibility of sites other than Jerusalem.⁸⁶

A study of biblical references, in which the phrase Yhwh's *נחלה*⁸⁷ occurs, proves inconclusive. The bulk of the references refer either to the people (Deut 4:20, 9:26, 9:29, 32:9; 1 Sam 10:1; 1 Kgs 8:51 and 53; 2 Kgs 21:14; Isa 19:25, 47:6, 63:7, 17; Jer 10:16, 12:7–9, 51:19; Joel 2:17, 4:2; Mic 7:14 and 18; Pss 28:9, 33:12, 78:62, 78:71, 94:5, 94:14, and 106:40) or to the land (1 Sam 26:19, 2 Sam 14:16, 20:19, Jer 2:7) as Yhwh's inheritance. Nei-

ther of these options is viable in Exod 15:17. Psalm 79:1 offers the clearest link between Yhwh's inheritance and a particular place:

אלהים באו גוים בנחלתך	God, the nations have come to your inheritance,
טמאו את־היכל קדשך	they have defiled your holy temple,
שמו את־ירושלם לעיים	they have laid Jerusalem in ruins.

Yhwh's inheritance is used in a parallel tricola with "your holy temple" and "Jerusalem." This evidence might be decisive except for two key factors. First, Ps 79 is from the Asaphite collection, and chapter eight will demonstrate that the Asaphite materials drew upon the Song of Moses and the Israelites for inspiration and reinterpreted them, frequently with a pro-Jerusalem slant. Second, the parallel materials from Ugarit as well as the ambiguity of the Hebrew suggest that the meaning in Exod 15 ought to be read alongside the Baal cycle.

The phrase, *מכון לשבתך* "the place for your habitation," refers to the platform upon which Yhwh's throne sits. *מכון* is used in the Old Testament of Yhwh's dwelling (heaven—1 Kings 8:39, 43, 49; Isa 18:4; Ps 33:14, etc.; Zion—1 Kgs 8:13, Isa 4:5, etc.). The exact phrase in Exod 15:17 is found in 1 Kgs 8:13:

בנה בניתי בית זבל לך מכון לשבתך עולמים
 "I have certainly built an exalted house for you, a place for your habitation forever."⁸⁸

This occurrence would prove decisive for establishing Zion as the likely referent in Exod 15:17 except that its context betrays dependence upon prior *traditum*. This echo of the terminology in the Song of Moses and the Israelites serves to legitimate Solomon's actions in building a temple for Yhwh in Zion. The fact that the context of 1 Kings 8 is full of allusions to the Exodus and Sinai experiences⁸⁹ demonstrates the probability that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is in view in 1 Kgs 8:13 rather than old Canaanite religious terminology.⁹⁰ The use of these allusions forges a bond between the ancient traditions of Exodus, Sinai, and the royal theology of Zion. Rather than serving as proof of the Song of Moses and the Israelites's dependence upon deuteronomistic tradition, this evidence points to the influence of early Exodus-Sinai traditions on the later theological construal of Zion.

The word *מקדש* is best translated "sanctuary." This term as well as *מכון לשבתך* portrays God's heavenly palace and throne room over against temples constructed by humans. According to Freedman, such a picture fits Sinai and no other location. Sinai was the location where Moses was given directions for the construction of the tabernacle and where it was actually

first built. The use of the word *הבנת* “pattern” in Exod 25:9 suggests that Moses was not given a blueprint but actually shown the divine prototype.⁹¹ This answers the criticism of Butler who contended that the Baltimore school had not specified the precise referent of the term or the earthy counterpart to the heavenly shrine.⁹²

By far the heaviest concentration of occurrences of *מקדש* refers to the Jerusalem sanctuary. However, the term is used with reference to shrines at Bethel (Amos 7:13), Shechem (Josh 24:26), and miscellaneous sanctuaries in Israel (Lev 26:31, Amos 7:9).

Thus, the plethora of references to Jerusalem proves nothing other than the indisputable importance of Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible. Within the Pentateuch, *מקדש* most often refers to the tabernacle (Lev 12:4, 19:30, 20:3, 21:12, 21:23, 26:2; Num 3:38, 18:1, and 19:20).⁹³ Exodus 15:17 could seemingly refer to any sanctuary. Given its literary context, Sinai is the most compelling option.

Summary of the Discussion of the Referent in 15:13 and 17

The book of Exodus reaches its climax with the powerful presence of Yhwh filling the Tabernacle (Exod 40:34–35). Thus, Yhwh the God of Sinai becomes the God who inhabits a portable tent shrine and leads Israel from Sinai to its (and Yhwh’s!) new abode in Canaan. To posit an original referent to Sinai allows one to explain the competing options.⁹⁴ Exodus 15 designates Sinai as Yhwh’s inheritance and divinely made sanctuary. The imagery and phraseology used of Yhwh’s *original* holy place (vv. 13, 17) in turn served as the language of legitimization for later competing Yahwistic shrines.⁹⁵ Obviously, Exod 15 has points of contact with the Exodus–Conquest theme celebrated at Gilgal (Josh 3–5). The authors of Ps 78 felt it necessary to justify the move of Yhwh’s shrine from Shiloh to Jerusalem using the lexicon and motifs of Exod 15:13–17. Likewise, the other Asaphite psalms apply the descriptive terms of Yhwh’s mountain to Jerusalem. The dedication of the Jerusalem temple recorded by the deuteronomist in 1 Kgs 8:13 alludes to the designation of Yhwh’s original shrine. The narrative of the Pentateuch as well as several poems affirms that Yhwh was not an original resident of Canaan.

Therefore, Sinai is the most likely referent in Exod 15:13, 17. Since there were early league shrines, Gilgal and Shiloh are plausible alternatives, but neither is compelling due to lack of evidence and relative obscurity. Given the prominence of the Song of Moses and the Israelites in later Israelite literature (see chapters 7–9), it is hard to imagine the original “mountain of Yhwh” ever falling too far from view. Jerusalem is the most viable alterna-

tive, but the fact that strong traditions remained alive, i.e., the apparent need of the author of Ps 78 to justify a shift from Shiloh to Jerusalem or the Pentateuch's exaltation of Sinai, points to another prior site, namely Sinai. The above study demonstrates that Sinai controls the bulk of the evidence and best explains use of similar language for competing shrines within the land of Canaan. Thus, the Song of Moses and the Israelites stands at the vanguard of the tradition and its theology helped to shape liturgy in Israel's religious life.

Conclusion

The investigation into possible historical allusions in the Song has proven profitable for the dating of the prosody. This is true particularly when combined with the findings from the previous chapter that demonstrated the genuinely archaic nature of the language of Exod 15:1b–18.

The present chapter serves to confirm a twelfth century B.C.E. date of composition. The study of the shrine language of 15:13 and 17 points to Sinai as the most likely referent. This along with the Ugaritic parallels allows for a wide range of dating possibilities, but most importantly, it permits a premonarchic date with the mid-twelfth century B.C.E. being the most likely. The identification of Sinai as the referent in combination with an early date becomes a compelling explanation for the competing shrines that crop up in Canaan and reflects the traditions found in the Song of the Sea. An early date is further supported by the victory dance genre illustrated in Exod 15:20–21, which finds its closest biblical parallels in texts set ostensibly in the period of the Judges and early monarchy. The fear of the nations motif in Exod 15:14–16 fits best in this early time frame as well.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Inner-biblical Use of Exodus 15:1b–18 and Its Implications for Dating

The Song of the Sea (especially the segment attributed to Moses in vv. 1b–18) served as an influential work in ancient Israelite life. Its phraseology and style can be discerned across the canon of Ancient Israel.¹ This chapter and the next two will attempt to delineate the intertextual use of the Song by later tradents and assess its implications for dating. Intertextuality deals with a received text (a *traditum*) and reinterpretations of it in later literature (*tradio*).² Following Hays, intertextuality is defined as “the imbedding of fragments of an earlier text with a later one...the voice of Scripture, regarded as authoritative in one way or another, continues to speak in and through later texts that both depend on and transform the earlier.”³ The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the influence of Exod 15 on other texts in the Hebrew Bible, and, once the line of dependence is established, to describe the relative chronology that exists between the texts. By doing this, a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the Song will be set at the date of the earliest text shown to be dependent upon it. In this chapter and the two that follow, the relationship between the Song and Pss 74, 77, 78, 118; Isa 11–12; Josh 2–5; and Exod 14 will be the focus of study.

Of these, the ties between Exod 15, Isa 11–12, and Psalm 118 are the most explicit. In Exod 15:2a, the MT reads:

עזי וזמרת יהוה יהי לי לישועה

“Yah(weh) is my strength and protection, he has become my salvation.”⁴

This line is repeated almost verbatim in Ps 118:14 and Isa 12:2b. The issue, however, is ascertaining the direction of the borrowing. The relationship between these three texts (Exod 15:1b–18, Ps 118, and Isa 11–12) will function as the test case for the method in the remainder of this chapter.

Intertextuality is a broad-based term that describes literary and psycholinguistic relationships between texts.⁵ As used in this study, it has a narrower diachronic scope. The terms aggadic or inner-biblical exegesis also apply.⁶

Identification of Intertextual Relationships

The identification of intertextual relationships turns on the ability of readers/hearers to discern quotations, allusions, echoes between texts.⁷ A rhetorical hierarchy exists that moves from quotation to allusion to echo. Hollander explains:

Actual *quotation*, the literal presence of a body of text, is represented or replaced by *allusion*, which may be fragmentary or periphrastic. In the case of outright allusion, as Reuben Brown pointed out so well in his *Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion*, the text alluded to is not totally absent, but is part of the portable library shared by the author and his ideal audience. Intention to allude recognizably is essential to the concept, I think, and that concept is circumscribed genetically by earlier sixteenth-century uses of the word *alluding* that are closer to the etymon *ludus*—the senses of “punning” and “troping.” Again it should be stated that one cannot in this sense allude unintentionally—an inadvertent allusion is a kind of solecism.

But then there is echo, which represents or substitutes for allusion as allusion does for quotation. There seems to be a transitive figurational connection among them; it points to what we generally mean by *echo*, in intertextual terms. In contrast with literary allusion, echo is a metaphor of, and for, alluding, and does not depend on conscious intention.⁸

Explicit Citations of the Traditum

This category includes quotations or other references to the received tradition that are introduced explicitly as such. An example of this category is Ezek 18. In verse 2, a proverb is introduced by the formulaic לֵאמֹר “saying.” The remainder of the chapter rejects this bit of tradition through a lengthy (vv. 3–32) aggadic reworking.

Close Comparison of the Language and Style

In the vast majority of cases, the presence of aggadic exegesis must be discerned implicitly. Typically this involves the identification of multiple lexical links between texts that contain common themes.⁹

Quotations. Quotations of traditional material suggest the presence of aggadic exegesis. For example, the profound characterization of God’s internal being in Exod 34:6–7 is reworked in several other Old Testament contexts (e.g. Jon 4:2, Joel 2:13).

Vocabulary. The use of key terms may indicate dependence between texts. Care must be taken not to draw far-reaching conclusions upon the presence of shared terms that occur with great frequency in the OT. This category carries greater weight when two texts hold multiple terms in common and/or

when the recurring words are of relative low frequency. By this criterion, Ps 77:9–10 can be shown to be a virtual commentary on Exod 34:6.¹⁰ These texts share the key terms (חֶסֶד, אֵל, הַנֵּן, רַחֵם, and אֱיָרָה). The Psalmist rearranges parts of the creedal formula into a poignant questioning of the *traditum*.

Synonymous Terms. This is a sub-category of vocabulary. By itself, synonymous terms prove little, but this category in combination with others supports a case of dependence of one text upon another.

Similar Context. Contextual comparison illuminates the manner in which the *traditum* is used in its new setting. Often inner-biblical exegesis uses the *traditum* in a typological manner. For example, the Crossing of the Jordan and the Conquest in Josh 3–5 are portrayed in terms of the Exodus and Crossing of the Re(e)d Sea.¹¹ Joshua is the new Moses (cf. Josh 3:7, 4:14), and the Jordan crossing occurs during Passover season (5:10–11).

Fixed rhetorical expressions are sometimes used to mark the relationship.¹² For example, in Josh 3–5, the particle כַּאֲשֶׁר “just as” (3:7, 4:22–24) makes explicit the connection between these events and the Exodus. Such words alert the reader to the typological relationship between events.¹³

There are also cases in which the move from *traditum* to *tradio* involves a shift from a prosodic setting to a prosaic one. Halpern convincingly demonstrates the use of poetic texts as sources for prose accounts of events.¹⁴ His studies focus on Exod 14–15 and Judg 4–5. In both instances, the poetic and prosaic accounts of the same event stand side by side. Halpern’s works are interested primarily in Israelite historiography, but his careful studies of the ways in which the ancient Israelite “historians” utilized their source texts (or *traditum*) are relevant for this current study. In each case, the poetic account is the principal source for the prose. Halpern makes the following methodological observations about the prose historian’s use of Judg 5 as a source for his narrative:

- 1) Though the prose historian does not use all of the material in the poem, there is almost nothing structural in the prose account that does not come from the poem or from inferences stemming from the poem; 2) Though the prose historian tends to interpret his source in a literal fashion, the historian fills in gaps in the story with hypothetical reconstructions and to attach other traditional materials which have only a superficial association with the event described.¹⁵

Shared Literary Forms. Related texts may also exhibit similar literary or poetic techniques. Psalm 77:17 is structured by a classic example of staircase parallelism:

ראוך מים אלהים
 ראוך מים יחילו
 אף ירגזו ההמה

Waters saw you, O God,
 Waters saw you and trembled,
 Even the depths were terrified.

This verse shares key terms with Exod 15:14 (רָגַז, חִיל).¹⁶ Exodus 15 also contains three examples of staircase parallelism (15:6–7a, 11, 16b). Given the psalmist’s use of the terminology and imagery of Exod 15, this appears to be an example of the psalmist utilizing one of the Song’s characteristic prosodic techniques.¹⁷

Cautions and Controls on the Method

Care must be taken in asserting dependence between texts lest the interpreter find examples of inner-biblical exegesis “upon every high hill and under every green tree.” Alleged similarities may be merely a coincidence of language.¹⁸ This provides a helpful reminder that arguments for dependence carry greater weight in proportion to the amount of evidence proffered in their support.

Similarities may in fact merely show that both texts drew from a common pool of tradition or oral formulaic expressions derived from the cult.¹⁹ The possibility of explaining similarities in language between texts in terms of oral formulas raises two additional arguments against a theory of dependence.²⁰ First, implicit in a study of inner-biblical exegesis is the assumption of the existence of a literary author. The issues of dependence and the reshaping of prior tradition may well be present in an oral environment. The problem is that it is difficult to study a phenomenon unless it is written. The example of Ezek 18 cited above does not assume that the *traditum* being reworked by the prophet was written, nor does it assume that the prophet did not first speak these words. Also, if the necessity of a literary period is posited as evidence for a late date of any borrowing in the literature of the Hebrew Bible, then an appeal can be made to examples of “inner-biblical exegesis” in the ancient Near East.²¹ For example, the Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Elish*, forms a *traditum* that is reworked and reinterpreted by later Assyrian tradents to serve the theological and political interests of that empire. Second, the possibility of the presence of oral formulas suggests an alternative explanation in alleged cases of borrowing that do not have much corroborative evidence. For example, it is certainly the case that Exod 15 has points of contact with other psalms that may be best explained in terms of oral formulas and common tradition. Building on the work of Culley, Butler isolates portions of the Song of Moses and the Israelites that perhaps reflect formulaic language.²² For example, 15:1b אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה “I will sing to Yhwh” is found also in Ps 13:6.

Besides the danger of wrongly positing intertextual relationships, there is also the possibility of overinterpretation due to misunderstanding the textual transmission of the *traditum*. Texts may be related indirectly without any mutual awareness of the other.²³

Hays suggests five possible ways that intertextuality may be understood in terms of the hermeneutical event that occurs when the relationship is discerned.²⁴ His discussion serves to bring to light key interpretive issues concerning intertextual studies. First, the original author's intention is crucial for assertions about intertextuality. Claims about intertextuality are strengthened when specific textual evidence is gathered, which suggests that the tradents responsible for a given text intended to allude to a specific *traditum*. Second, the competence of the text's original audience is an issue. The text's target audience must be shown to have the ability to perceive the allusion.²⁵ This is especially pertinent in contexts in which quotations are not identified as such.²⁶ Recognition requires persons to be well versed in the Scriptures and/or traditions. It becomes easier to posit such competence the longer the quotation or the more prominent the tradition to which allusion is made. The focus of this study is the Exodus tradition as found in the Song of the Sea. It seems reasonable to assume that the target audience of the texts under consideration in this study would be aware of this Song and recognize elements of it. Third, the rhetorical and literary structure of the text itself may offer clues of its (i.e., implied author/reader) conscious awareness of intertextuality. Fourth, the awareness of intertextuality occurs in an individual's personal act of reading apart from any other validation. Fifth, the reading conventions of a community of faith govern the discernment of intertextuality. As Hays comments, all five of these options touch on important elements of interpretation. One and two focus on the original historical setting of the text and its audience. Four and five are concerned with reading the text in the present. Option three attempts a middle path by focusing on the world of the text itself (implied author/reader). This study of intertextuality hopes to present a compelling picture of the use of the Song of the Sea by later tradents, a picture that is conscious of the complexity of intertextual interpretation.

Such an approach assumes a nascent process of canonization. Inner-biblical exegesis builds on a prior *traditum* that is recognizable as such.²⁷ It is clear from the Old Testament itself that groups of texts existed as far back as pre-Exilic times. Psalm 137:3 implies that a collection of "Songs of Zion" was current. There are also hints of long-lost ancient texts from which Israelite tradents drew material (e.g., "The Book of the Wars of Yhwh" in Num 21:14 and "The Book of Jashar" in Josh 10:13). Deuteronomy is explicit in positing its own self-understanding. Deuteronomy 4:2a reads:

לא תספו על-הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו

“Do not add to this word which I have commanded you and do not subtract from it.”

The term inner-biblical exegesis, however, does not necessarily imply that the *tradtum* interpreted by later tradents is always found in the canonical books of the Hebrew Bible, but only that it was important or recognizable as authoritative at the time of its use.²⁸

A final control is a clear demonstration of the direction of the dependence. Without explicit indication within the texts themselves (i.e., quotation or reference clearly marked as such), the danger of circularity is real. This is even more problematic in the study of poetic texts because there is often little consensus on dating. The question of the direction of dependence ultimately turns on which reconstruction is most “economically explained by hypothesizing dependence” on another.²⁹

Seven Criteria for Intertextual Relationships

Hays provides seven tests for discerning the presence of intertextual relationships.³⁰ These criteria serve to provide methodological control and to answer many of the issues raised above.

Availability. Intertextuality implies a diachronic relationship between texts. Was the proposed *tradtum* actually available to the authors? Unlike Hays’ intertextual study of Paul’s use of the Old Testament, this project cannot assume the availability of Exod 15 to later tradents. This chapter seeks to establish that Exod 15 was in fact available by demonstrating convincingly that later tradents drew from it.

Volume. The cogency of an argument for intertextuality depends on the amount of explicit repetition of phrases, words, and syntactical patterns. This criterion is a guard against coincidental similarities between texts.

Recurrence. Arguments for an intertextual relationship between texts are strengthened when it can be shown that a tradent alludes to the same passage in different texts. Texts must share a common author or stream of tradition for this criterion to be valid. Thus, this criterion will only prove helpful in the discussion of the use of the Song of Moses and the Israelites in certain Asaphite psalms (74, 77, and 78).³¹

Thematic Coherence. This criterion seeks to explore the function of the allusion. How does allusion fit in with the message of the text? How is its mean-

ing illuminated by drawing upon the *traditum*? The present study will touch on this criterion only so much as is necessary to demonstrate dependence.

Historical Plausibility. This test revolves around authorial intention and the competence of the audience. Did the writer intend to allude to the *traditum*? Could the text's original hearers discern the allusions?

History of Interpretation. Have other interpreters (ancient and modern) found the same intertextual relationships? Though this criterion serves as a hedge against overinterpretation, it cannot negate the weight of evidence in favor of dependency between texts. Intertextual studies may in fact illuminate connections that have receded over time from the consciousness of interpretive communities.³²

Satisfaction. Does the intertextual reading of the passage provide a compelling interpretation? According to Hays, this test is more subjective and does not necessarily depend upon the results of the previous tests.

The Song of Moses and the Israelites and Isa 11:11–12:6 and Ps 118

This section will explore the literary relationship between Exod 15, Isa 11:11–12:6, and Ps 118 in order to determine the line of development. The focus will be on two related issues. First, evidence will be presented that suggests the probability that one text has drawn upon another. Second, having demonstrated the existence of a literary relationship between two texts, the direction of the dependence will be discerned, i.e., which text serves as *traditum* and which as *traditio*?

Evidence of Relationship Between Exodus 15 and Isaiah 11:11–12:6

Isaiah 11:11–12:6 is the conclusion of the initial section of Isa 1–39.³³ Isaiah 11:11–16 envisions a second exodus for those Israelites scattered in exile. This is followed by a song of praise and thanksgiving to Yhwh for this new act of salvation (12:1–6).

Quotations. Exodus 15:2a and Isa 12:2b are virtually identical in MT. Exodus 15:2a reads: עָזַי וּזְמוֹרָתָהּ יְהוָה וַיִּהְיֶה לִּי לִישׁוּעָה; Isa 12:2b, כִּי עָזַי וּזְמוֹרָתָהּ יְהוָה וַיִּהְיֶה לִּי לִישׁוּעָה. The Isaianic text simply introduces the line with the causal particle כִּי.³⁴

Vocabulary. There are several lexical links between these two texts. Besides its usage in the quotation (Exod 15:2a, Isa 12:2b), *ישועה* “salvation” also occurs in Isa 12:2a and 3. The proclamation of Yhwh’s salvation in Exod 15:2 has been described as the theme of the Song of Moses and the Israelites.³⁵ The three-fold repetition in Isa 12 demonstrates that salvation is also the reason for this song of thanksgiving.

יָם “sea” is used repeatedly in Exod 15 (vv. 1, 4 [2x], 8, 10, 21). The sea is the arena for God’s victory over Egypt. In Isa 11:15, the sea is again used by Yhwh as a means for saving his people.³⁶

Whether רוּחַ is translated “wind” or “breath,” it figures prominently in Yhwh’s mastery of the sea in Exodus (15:8, 10 [cf. 14:21]) and, in the case of Isaiah, the Euphrates river (11:15).

In both Exod 15:16 and Isa 11:11, קָנָה “acquire, create” is used to summarize the effect of Yhwh’s saving actions for Israel. In both the original and the second Exodus, Israel is given a new beginning as “Yhwh’s people.” They are “repossessed” from exile or in a sense “created” anew as a community.³⁷ In its seventy-six occurrences in the OT, קָנָה with God as the subject and Israel as object is found elsewhere only in Deut 32:6 and Ps 74:2.³⁸

Last, Exod 15:14–15 and Isa 11:14–15 contain three of the nations hostile to Israel, mentioned in identical order (Philistia, Edom, and Moab).³⁹

Synonymous Phrases. Exodus 15:1b (cf. 15:21b) and Isa 12:5a are close in language. Exodus 15:1b reads, *אֲשֶׁרָה לַיהוָה כִּי גָאֵה גָאֵה* “I will sing to Yhwh for he has triumphed gloriously,” and Isa 12:5a *זָמְרוּ יְהוָה כִּי גָאֵה* “Sing of Yhwh for he has done glorious things.”

Synonymous Words. In Exod 15, Yhwh’s right hand (יְמִינֶיךָ) symbolizes the awesome power of God to save (vv. 2, 12). Isaiah 11:11 and 15 use the synonym יָד “hand” to represent the same reality.

Similar Context. Isaiah 11:11–12:6 and Exod 15 share a similar context. The Song of the Sea immediately follows the prose narration of the deliverance at the Sea. It represents the climax to that account as well as the final word on the entire exodus story (Exod 1–15). The Isaianic text functions in a similar way. Isaiah 11:11–16 describes a second exodus in which God delivers Israel anew from captivity. Just as Moses and Israel burst forth in song, Isa 12:1–6 celebrates the new exodus with singing and thus brings the salvific message of Isa 11:11–16 as well as the hope embedded in 1–11 to a climax. There are certainly differences, but the movement in each is a narration of deliverance followed by a song of celebration.

Isaiah 11:11–16 invites this typological comparison not only with the above-mentioned elements, but also through the use of explicit rhetorical clues.⁴⁰ The pericope is framed by such invitations. Isaiah 11:11 contains the phrase יָרַד שְׁנִיָּה יְהוָה “The Lord will again stretch out his hand a second time.” The use of יָרַד and שְׁנִיָּה declare that what follows is a repetition of a prior event. Isaiah 11:16 closes the pericope with a line that further highlights the exodus *traditum*:

כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיוֹם עֲלֵהוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
 “just as there was for Israel in the day that [Israel] came up from the land of Egypt.”

Exodus 15: Traditum or Traditio

The key criterion is the similarity of the contexts. Isaiah 11:11–12:6 shows an awareness of the literary setting of Exod 14–15.⁴¹ The movement is from salvific deed to song of praise.⁴² Additionally, Isa 11:11 and 16 exhibit explicit features that betray a self-understanding of the event described in terms of an earlier work of Yhwh. To reverse this argument would require envisaging that the author of the Song of Moses and the Israelites composed the Song in light of twelve verses of Isaianic prophecy and then juxtaposed it to a narrative account.

The line held in common by Isa 12:2b and Exod 15:2a reveals dependence upon the Exodus passage.⁴³ In the Song of Moses and the Israelites, this line follows the opening declaration of the song, “I will sing to Yhwh, for he has triumphed gloriously. Horse and rider he has cast into the sea.” Thus, in the Song, 15:2a assumes the announcement of Yhwh’s triumph over Egypt and represents the personal confession of the implications of Yhwh’s victory for the individual. However, in Isa 12:2b, this line is introduced with the causal particle כִּי. This line substantiates the poet’s confession of faith in verse 2a by directly alluding to the Exodus tradition from the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

The close correspondence in language between Exod 15:1b and Isa 12:5a also betrays Isaiah’s knowledge of the Song. Unlike Exod 15:1b which focuses on the foundational salvific event for the nation of Israel, Isa 12:5a by its use of the plural גְּאוּרָה shows reflection on Yhwh’s saving actions over a long period of time. For Isaiah, Yhwh’s saving actions culminate in a second Exodus.

The remaining vocabulary words shared by both do not alter the argument. Thus, the evidence suggests that Isa 11:11–12:6 makes use of Exod 15:1b–18 in its reinterpretation of the Exodus tradition for a new day.

Evidence of Relationship Between Exodus 15 and Psalm 118

Psalm 118 is a hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance from enemies. It is not explicitly part of the Exodus tradition; but, as will be argued below, its contact with the Song is in terms of a shared theme of praise following a salvific act of Yhwh.

Quotations. There are three lines in common that may be regarded as virtual quotations. Exod 15:2a and Ps 118:14 are identical in MT—*עזי וזמרת יה*—*עזי וזמרת יה* “Yah(weh) is my strength and protection, he has become salvation for me.” 118:21a *לי לישועה* “you have become salvation for me” is close to Exod 15:2aβ. The only difference is the shift to a second person singular form of the verb *היה* in Ps 118. Other than a difference in perspective (third person versus second person) and one verbal root (*נרה*, *ירה*), Exod 15:2b *וארממנהו אבי ואנוהו אלהי אבי ואנוהו אלהי אבי* “this is my God so I will praise him, the God of my father so I will lift him up” and Ps 118:28 *אלי אתה ואורדך אלהי ארוממך* “you are my God so I will give you thanks, my God so I will lift you up” are the same. Both also share in common the alliterative use of five consecutive alephs.⁴⁴

Vocabulary. The shortened form of the divine name (*יה*) is a distinctive of Ps 118. Its six occurrences (vv. 5 [2x], 14, 17, 18 and 19) represent the highest concentration found in the OT. Exodus 15 uses it in the quotation that the two texts share (v. 2a // 118:14).

In Exod 15:13, *חסד* “fidelity” is cited as the motivation behind God’s actions on behalf of his people. The opening and closing segments of Ps 118 (vv. 1–4, 29) envelop the psalm in praise and thanksgiving to Yhwh because of his *חסד*.

Yhwh’s saving power is symbolized by the right hand (*ימינך*) in Exod 15:6, 12 and Ps 118:15–16.

Last, the Song shares use of the root *רום* “be high, exalted” in Exod 15:2 with comparable usage in Ps 118:16 and 28.

Shared Literary Forms. Both Exod 15 and Ps 118 make heavy use of repetitive parallelism (Exod 15:6–7a, 11, 16b; Ps 118:10–12, 15–16). The most important of these examples is a comparison of 15:6–7a and 118:15b–16. Exodus 15:6–7a is an example of a three-line staircase parallelism with the phrase *ימינך יהרה* as the repeating element.⁴⁵

ימינך יהרה נאדרי בכח

Your right hand, O Yhwh, glorious in strength,

יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה הִרְעִץ אֹיִבֶיךָ	your right hand, O Yhwh, shattered the enemy,
וּבִרְבֹּב גְּאוֹנְךָ הִהֲרַסְתָּ קִמְיָךְ	and by your great majesty, you threw down your adversaries.

Psalm 118:15b–16 is also a tricolon that uses repetitive parallelism. Significantly, it contains virtually the same repeating element as Exod 15:6, יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה.⁴⁶

יְמִין יְהוָה עָשָׂה חֵיל	Yhwh's right hand does mighty deeds,
יְמִין יְהוָה רִוּמָמָה	Yhwh's right hand is lifted up,
יְמִין יְהוָה עָשָׂה חֵיל	Yhwh's right hand does mighty deeds.

Exodus 15: Traditum or Traditio

The case for direction of dependence turns on the use of common lines (Exod 15:2a=Ps 118:14 (cf. 118:21) and 15:2b=118:28). Psalm 118:14, 21, and 28 occur at key junctures of the psalm and emphasize the psalmist's thanksgiving for Yhwh's salvation. The reason for their placement is intentional. It evokes the memory and tradition of the Exodus.⁴⁷ It is much easier to accept this scenario than to argue that the author of the Song of Moses and the Israelites drew upon these separate lines and united them into a single verse.

The use of tricola that share almost identical repetitive forms (יְמִין יְהוָה) in 15:6–7a and 118:15–16) supports the direction of dependence. This style is integral to the structure of Exod 15 (15:6–7a, 11, 16b).⁴⁸

The vocabulary in common is not as decisive. יְהוָה is found in its highest concentration in the Hebrew Bible in Ps 118. It occurs only once in the Song (Exod 15:2). Further, חֵסֶד is such a common term that it is hard to draw any firm conclusions about the relationship between Exod 15 and Ps 118. The preponderance of the evidence suggests that the psalmist has drawn on the Exodus tradition as presented in the Song of Moses and the Israelites for the imagery of victory and thanksgiving.

Isaiah 11–12 and Psalm 118

A final issue to be resolved is the possibility that either Isa 11–12 or Ps 118 knows Exod 15 indirectly through the other. The above study renders this unlikely. Given the preponderance of evidence, it is clear that Isa 11:11–12:6 borrowed directly from Exodus 15 and shows knowledge that Exod 15 was attached to a narrative context. The question then turns to the possibility that Isa 11–12, rather than Exod 15, influenced Ps 118. Again this is unlikely because other than the phrase from Exod 15:2a, Isa 11–12 and Ps 118 employ different elements from the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

Implications for Dating

Given the relationship that has been demonstrated between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and these two passages, can we draw any conclusions about the date of the composition of the Song? This comparison of texts at most allows the establishment of a *terminus ad quem* based on relative chronology. Unfortunately, the usefulness of this method for dating the Song turns on the possibility of arriving at firm dates for the texts shown to be dependent upon it.

Date of Isaiah 11–12

No consensus on the date of composition exists presently. Most commentators deal with Isa 11:11–16 and 12:1–6 separately. Kaiser dates Isa 11:11–16 to the late third or early second century B.C.E.⁴⁹ He bases this date on a number of factors. First, it assumes the existence of a worldwide diaspora and thus must be exilic or post-exilic. Second, verse 13 assumes the Samaritan schism. Last, the oppressors (Egypt and Assyria) mentioned in the passage must be the Ptolemies and Seleucids. These arguments are not decisive. As Oswalt notes, Kaiser begins with the assumption that Isaiah could not have conceived of a time when the Jewish people would be scattered abroad.⁵⁰ The Assyrians were known for their use of deportation so it is unlikely that Isaiah himself or another pre-exilic follower would have been unaware of this practice. Kaiser also must assume that the writer confuses Syria with Assyria in order to posit a link with the Seleucids. Verse 13 may be understood in a pre-exilic context in terms of a hope for reunification between north and south. Wildberger dates the unit to the time of Nehemiah and Ezra using Kaiser's first two criteria and adding that Isaiah did not use the Exodus theme.⁵¹ Given that the Exodus is alluded to in 4:5, 10:26–27, and 35:8–10 within 1–39, this argument carries little weight.⁵²

Kaiser dates Isa 12:1–6 to the period of the Second Temple because “no appropriate setting in the prophet's own preaching can be found.”⁵³ As will be discussed below, when 12:1–6 with its clear echoes of Exod 15 is linked with the vision of a Second Exodus in Isa 11:11–16, this text would have been at home in a pre-exilic Passover celebration during the reign of Josiah. Wildberger posits more concrete argumentation for a late date.⁵⁴ Isa 12:1–6 exhibits a borrowing style (e.g., v. 2b=Exod 15:2a). Its expectation of salvation is less concrete than the images of Isa 2:2–4, 9:1–6, and 11:1–9, which Wildberger assigns to the historical Isaiah. It assumes Isa 11:11–16. Appealing to borrowing from earlier traditions does not necessarily mean that a text is late. Wildberger's second objection is subjective and does not take into consideration that when read with 11:11–16 (which Wildberger admits 12:1–

6 assumes), 12:1–6 is a suitable climax and conclusion because it celebrates and gives thanks for the salvation envisaged in 11:11–16 and elsewhere in Isa 1–11.

There are solid arguments for assigning this section of Isaiah a date no later than the time of Josiah.⁵⁵ Sweeney dates Isa 11:1–12:6 precisely to the time of Josiah. He points to the following evidence.⁵⁶ First, the imagery of shoot (חטר) and sprout (נצר) growing anew from a stump (גיזע) or root (שרש) in 11:1 allude to the young king. Second, 11:6b states specifically that a young child will rule. Third, 11:3–5 describes the king's reign in terms of righteousness, justice, and faithfulness. These emphases are not remarkable for a monarch in the ancient Near East, but Josiah is remembered for reform based on a freshly discovered law book (2 Kgs 22:8–20). Fourth, 11:11–16 describes the reunification of Israel and Judah, the reestablishment of rule over Philistia and the transjordan, and the punishment of Egypt and Assyria which were the major obstacles to Josiah's attempt to rebuild the Davidic empire. Finally, 11:11–12:6 shows particular interest in the Exodus traditions. 2 Kgs 23:21–23 describes the celebration of the Passover under Josiah. Given that the Passover celebrates the exodus from Egypt and the return to the land of Israel, this occasion would be crucial to Josiah's program of reform and restoration. The liturgical nature of 12:1–6 suggests that it may in fact have been part of Josiah's Passover observance. This evidence leads Sweeney to argue that the final redaction of Isa 5–12 took place during Josiah's reign. The final redaction attempts to show that Yhwh is responsible for the fall of Assyria and thus fulfill Isaiah's prophecies against Assyria from the previous century. Sweeney writes:

The impending fall of the Assyrian empire and the corresponding resurgence of the Davidic dynasty are the work of YHWH, and fulfill Isaiah's prophecies against Assyria made a century earlier. By projecting the restoration of the monarchy and the return of the exiles, this passage attempts to convince the people that the restoration of the Davidic empire will be a natural consequence of Assyria's collapse and Josiah's rise.⁵⁷

Sweeney's ability to deal with the text more or less as a whole and the specific points of contact with seventh century B.C.E. Judah that he describes carry weight.

In conclusion, arguments for a post-exilic date are not conclusive, and there are good reasons to accept a pre-exilic date for these texts. Therefore, Isa 11:11–16 and 12:1–6 will be tentatively set in the late seventh century B.C.E.

Date of Psalm 118

Arriving at a firm date for Ps 118 is a difficult task. This is in part because Ps 118 offers complicated interpretive issues and contains no concrete historical allusions. As Kraus admits, the date is unknown, and the widely accepted post-exilic dating cannot be proven with certainty.⁵⁸ As will be shown, much of the same evidence is employed to argue for different time periods.

Briggs treats Ps 118 as a composite psalm of two parts (vv. 2–16, 19–26) replete with heavy glossing throughout.⁵⁹ It is a psalm celebrating the Maccabean victories. Briggs points to a number of factors.⁶⁰ First, the mood, language, and style favor this late date. Second, Ps 118 shows familiarity with earlier psalms.⁶¹ Third, Exod 15, which Briggs considers late, is found in glosses. Fourth, the use of אִמְלֵם “I circumcised them” (3 times in verses 10–12) fits the occasion of the Maccabean revolt. It occurs for ironic effect because the Seleucids outlawed the Jewish practice of circumcision.

Other scholars set Ps 118 in the second temple period. It is undeniable that Ps 118 was linked with Pss 113–117 (the so-called “Egyptian Hallel” psalms). Psalms 115–116 make use of the same earlier Psalms (18 and 56) as Ps 118 and are usually considered post-exilic.⁶² Brenner notes that the refrain enclosing the Ps 118 (vv. 1, 29) is characteristic of second Temple singers.⁶³ Key for a post-exilic date is understanding the individual in Ps 118 not as the king but corporately as Israel. Psalm 118 then celebrates Yhwh’s salvation on behalf of Israel throughout history.⁶⁴

Dahood maintained an early pre-exilic date for Ps 118.⁶⁵ This interpretation reads the text in a more literal fashion. Thus, the individual in the psalm is taken to be the king. In his view, the psalm represents a king’s hymn of thanksgiving for an actual deliverance from death and military victory. As evidence for this, he noted its similarities with the early hymn Exod 15 and its economy of language. In particular, Dahood observed the relative clauses in verses 22 and 24 without relative pronouns, and the primitive practice of circumcising one’s enemies described in 118:10–12, which alludes to the episode in 1 Sam 18:24–27. Weiser locates the liturgical use of the psalm not only in post-exilic times, but in a pre-exilic “Covenant Festival of Yhwh” that celebrates the New Year.⁶⁶ Allen calls Ps 118 a royal song of thanksgiving that celebrates a military victory. The psalm is set in a processional liturgy and culminates in the thanksgiving offering (v. 27). The main speaker in the psalm is the king who “testifies in renewed times of praise, using time-honored language of the song of victory (cf. Exod 15:2) to encapsulate his avowal of praise and report of deliverance.”⁶⁷

The date of Ps 118 will have to remain undecided. Though Exod 15 clearly influences the message of the psalm, it is not possible to draw inferences about the date of the Song of Moses and the Israelites based on it.

Conclusion

This chapter represents a starting point for the assessment of the date of the Song of Moses and the Israelites's composition on the basis of its use by later authors as a source text. By using the language and categories of inner-biblical exegesis, the Song of Moses and the Israelites has been shown to be a significant *tradtum* used by later poets and writers in Israel to describe Yhwh's past, present, and future acts of salvation. Unfortunately, no firm *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the Song of Moses and the Israelites was established because of the lack of clear evidence for the date of either Isa 11–12 or Ps 118. A *terminus ad quem* on the basis of intertextuality will have to wait for the following chapters. The methodology described and employed above has proven successful in terms of demonstrating clearly the line of dependence. The study turns to the Asaphite tradition in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Exodus 15:1b–18 and the Psalms of Asaph

The Asaphite psalms form a collection within the Hebrew Psalter.¹ A characteristic of several of these Asaphite psalms (Pss 74, 77, and 78) is a clear interplay with the language and content of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. This chapter will demonstrate that in each case it is the Song, which serves as the source text for the Asaphite poets. This will have important implications for the date of the Song's composition because a *terminus ad quem* will be established in the late eighth century B.C.E.

Exodus 15:1b–18 and Psalm 74

Psalm 74 is a communal lament for restoration in the aftermath of a national calamity. An enemy has ravaged the land and destroyed its holy places. The psalm draws part of its inspiration from Exod 15:1b–18.

Vocabulary

The Asaphite poet responsible for Ps 74 has drawn upon the Song at key junctures.² There are no direct quotations present, but a clustering of important vocabulary terms occurs in 74:2 and 74:11–12.

Psalm 74 laments the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem and the concomitant suffering of the people. Psalm 74:2 utilizes the *tradtum* of Exod 15 to describe the people of God and Zion as part of the psalm's poignant appeal to God for deliverance. Psalm 74:2 alludes to the language of Exod 15:13, 16–17. In the Song, these verses describe the relationship between Yhwh and his people and narrate his gracious guidance to his holy place. The terms in common have been italicized:

Ps 74:2

זכר עֹרֶחַךְ קָנִיתָ קָדָם גְּאֻלָּתָ שְׁבַט נַחֲלֶתְךָ הַר־צִיּוֹן זֶה שְׁכֵנָה בּוֹ

“Remember your congregation whom you purchased (or ‘created’) from of old, the tribe of your inheritance whom you redeemed, Mount Zion in which you dwelt.”

Exod 15:13, 16b–17³

13 נָחִיתָ בַּחֲסֶדְךָ עִם־יְהוָה גְּאֻלָּתָ נִהְלָה בְּעֹדֶךָ אֵל־נֹוֹה קָדְשְׁךָ:

“You led by your fidelity the people whom you redeemed; you guided [them] with your strength to your holy abode.”

ב16 עד־יעבר עמך יהוה עד־יעבר עמ־זו קנית:
 17 תבאמו ותטעמו כהר נחלתך מכון לשבתך
 פעלה יהוה מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך:

“Until your people passed through, until the people whom you created passed through. You brought them and planted them on the mountain of your inheritance, the place for your habitation you made O Yhwh, the sanctuary O Lord that your hands established.”

Psalm 74:2 has placed the verbs **קנה** and **גאל** in parallel cola. These are the only verbs used in the Song of Moses and the Israelites to interpret the significance of the deliverance at the Sea for the relationship between Yhwh and his people. Psalm 74 draws upon this imagery in its plea for Yhwh to remember his prior actions and relationship with Israel. Both **קנה** (84x) and **גאל** (76x) occur frequently in the OT, but they occur together in the same unit in only Exod 15, Lev 25 and 27, Ruth 4, Isa 43, and Ps 74. The texts in Lev and Ruth deal with land acquisition. Isaiah 43 draws upon the Exodus *triditum* in its description of the Second Exodus and may be dependent upon Exod 15.⁴ The line of dependence is clearly from the Song of Moses and the Israelites to Ps 74 because it contains an appeal to Yhwh using the language of the Song to reconstitute his saving actions on behalf of God’s people.

Psalm 74:2 also draws upon the phrase **הר נחלתך** from Exod 15:17. The language of 15:17 describes Yhwh’s holy place to which he has led the people. Psalm 74:2 splits up this phrase and includes elements in 74:2b and 2c. Psalm 74:2b transfers the significance of the designation **נחלתך** to Yhwh’s people rather than Yhwh’s holy site. Psalm 74:2c then explicitly identifies rh in Exod 15:17 as Zion. This move betrays the psalmist’s dependence on the Song because, as was shown earlier, it is unlikely that Exod 15:17 originally referred to Zion. Thus, by applying the traditional language of Yhwh’s holy place to Jerusalem or Zion, the psalmist heightens the damage done to Yhwh’s honor by the forces responsible for the destruction lamented in the psalm.

Psalm 74:11–12 contains the second concentration of terminology from Exod 15. The vocabulary in common with the Song has been italicized:

Ps 74:11–12

11 למה השיב ידך וימינך מקרב חוקך כלה:
 12 ואלהים מלכי מקדם פעל ישועות בקרב הארץ:

Why do you withhold your hand? Your right hand, why does it remain hidden?
 Yet God, my King, is from of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.

Psalm 74:11 laments the perceived inactivity of God during the crisis experienced by the psalmist. God’s present and active power is depicted with hand language throughout Exod 15 (**ימין** in vv. 6 [2x], 12; **יד** in v. 17). It is

precisely the saving actions that God performed with his “hands” during the Exodus that the psalmist desires to see anew in his day.⁵

Psalm 74:12 touches upon two key themes of Exod 15—kingship and salvation. First, it contains a confession of Yhwh’s long-established kingship.⁶ Exodus 15:18 proclaims the eternal kingship of Yhwh as the climax to the saving actions surrounding the events of the exodus. Second, Ps 74:12 also acknowledges Yhwh as the source of salvation (פעל ישועה).⁷ The Song of Moses and the Israelites celebrates this in triumphant fashion describing Yhwh’s foundational salvific act in his victory over Egypt whereas the psalmist yearns to experience this salvation. This association with the Song is strengthened by the observation that the psalmist immediately turns to a description of the exodus event (74:13–15).⁸

The principal element in common in the exodus accounts of Ps 74 and Exod 15 is water terminology. Both utilize מים and ים (Exod 15:1, 4, 8, 10; Ps 74:13). Other synonyms occur: מעין, נחל, and נהר in Ps 74:15; and נזלים and תהמה in Exod 15:8. Further, Psalm 74:13 also uses the term עז to describe God’s saving power in the exodus. The Song employs this word in 15:2 and 13.

Literary Context

In comparing the texts, the motif of enemy language is common to both. Exodus 15 employs איב (vv. 6, 9) and קרם (v. 7); Ps 74 uses איב (vv. 3, 10, 18) and צר (vv. 4, 10, 23) to describe Israel’s (Yhwh’s) foes. This commonality is more convincing when it is observed that each poem also contains the arrogant speech of the enemy (15:9, Ps 74:8). However, once again this intertextual relationship signals a contrast. The enemy’s speech in 15:9 is ironic because the fate of the Egyptians has already been rehearsed three times (vv. 1b, 4–5, 6–8) and verses 9–10 again describe Yhwh’s triumphant victory over the enemy. The tone is much more somber in Ps 74. After the boastful speech of Israel’s foes in 74:8, a report of the successful destruction of places of worship throughout Israel and the lack of a word from Yhwh is given.

The poet responsible for Ps 74 gives clues that a prior *traditum* is in view. The use of קדם (74:2, 12) implies explicit reflection on a prior *traditum*. There is a contrast between the psalmist’s present experience of the absence of God’s saving actions and the *traditum*’s recital of Yhwh’s power and activities on behalf of Israel. It is significant that the סקדם occur precisely in the verses that betray intertextual ties with Exod 15. The use of זכר in Ps 74:2 further strengthens the case. The psalmist pleads with his God to “remember” the *traditum*.

The overall theme and tenor of Ps 74 is a lament of defeat. The use of the exodus imagery in 74:13–15 heightens the lament through contrast. Buchanan writes:

Instead of a victory song, the psalm was a lamentation and a bitter complaint. The psalmist evoked the text of Exodus, not by way of comparison, but by way of contrast. The poet had been disillusioned. His expectations had been crushed. How could the God who delivered his people from the Egyptians abandon them at a later time of great need?⁹

Exodus 15:1b–18 and Psalm 77

Psalm 77 is another of the Asaphite collection that deals explicitly with the exodus tradition. The speaker is in anguish over the condition of Israel. The Song of Moses and the Israelites assumes the role of traditum for the Asaphite tradents.¹⁰ The issue of intertextuality and direction of dependence turns on a clustering of words and contextual observations about the two texts. The majority of the allusions occur in 77:11–16 (ET 10–15). These verses are marked off as a unit by the use of סֵלָה.

Vocabulary and Stylistic Markers

Psalm 77:15 and Exod 15:11 contain the identical phrase עֲשֵׂה פִּלְא “doing wonders.” The identification of this brief quotation is strengthened by the overall similarity of 77:14–15 and Exod 15:11. Both appeal to the incomparability of Yhwh with rhetorical questions. Words in common are italicized:

Ps 77:14–15

אלהים ¹בְּקִדְשׁ דְּרַכְךָ מִ־אֵל גְּדוֹל כְּאֱלֹהִים
אֲתָהּ הָאֵל עֲשֵׂה פִּלְא הוֹדַעַת בְּעַמִּים עֹזְךָ

“Your way, O God, is over the holy ones; What god is great like God? You are the god doing wonders; you have made known your strength among the peoples.”

Exod 15:11

מִ־כִּמְכָה בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה מִ כִּמְכָה נֹאדָר בְּקִדְשׁ
נֹרָא תְהִלָּה עֲשֵׂה ²פִּלְא

Who is like you among the gods, O Yhwh? Who is like you mighty among the holy ones? Awe-inspiring in praises; doing wonders.

The use of עֹז in 77:15 betrays its dependence on the Song of Moses and the Israelites. It occurs nowhere else in the psalm whereas it is the characteristic term for God’s power in Exod 15 (vv. 2, 13). As we will see, Ps 77 draws upon several key terms from Exod 15:13. Additionally, Ps 77 has bro-

ken up the aesthetically pleasing staircase parallelism of 15:11. It is difficult to argue the reverse here.

Psalm 77:11–12, which precedes the above allusion, employs significant terms from the Song of Moses and Israelites. *יָמִיךָ* (77:11; Exod 15:6, 12) is used in each text to symbolize the present and active saving power of God. *פְּלֵא* describes Yhwh's mighty acts (77:12, 15; Exod 15:11). The less common divine name *יְהוָה* occurs in both (77:12; Exod 15:2).

The terms *נַחֲה* and *גֵּאֵל* from Exod 15:13 play a key structural role in Ps 77. *גֵּאֵל* occurs in 77:16 (ET 15); *נַחֲה* in 77:21 (ET 20). Psalm 77:17–20 (ET 16–19) contains a watery description of the miracle at the sea. The Song and Ps 77:17–20 employ much of the same water vocabulary in their respective portraits of the sea event (*יָם*—Exod 15:1, 4, 8, 10, Ps 77:20; *תְּהוֹמָה*—15:5, 8, Ps 77:17; *מַיִם*—Exod 15:8, 10; Ps 77:17, 18, 20). The emphasis in Ps 77, however, is on a theophany laced with storm imagery and on a path through the sea. There is no mention of the Egyptians. The allusions to the Song in verses 16 and 21 effectively frame the psalm's slightly different account of the exodus event. This *inclusio* serves to link two exodus traditions together.

Additionally, Exod 15 and Ps 77 share the use of staircase parallelism. This is a poetic technique that characterizes the style of the Song (vv. 6–7a, 11, 16b). Psalm 77:17 (ET 16) contains an example in the classic ABC:ABD:EFG pattern. The significance of this observation is that, as noted above, numerous allusions to the Song occur in 77:11–16 (ET 10–15), and 77:17 (ET 16) itself shares the terms *חֵיל* and *רָגַז*.

Literary Context

Psalm 77 gives clues that it is consciously appealing to the past in order to find hope for its present and future. This is explicit in verses 11–13 (ET 10–12) with the verbs *חָלַל* “appeal,” *זָכַר* “remember,” *הִגֵּה* “meditate,” *יָצַח* “muse,” and the adverb *מִקֵּדָם* “from of old.” This language focuses the hearer's attention upon God's saving actions in former times. After verses 14–16 which were shown to be related to Exod 15, the psalmist appeals specifically to the exodus tradition (vv. 17–20). Psalm 77:11–16 betrays such a dependence on the Song of Moses and the Israelites that Goulder suggests that the *סְלֵה* following verse 16 consisted of a recitation of Exod 15:1b–18.¹³

Kselman argues cogently that Ps 77:9–10 (ET 8–9) functions as commentary on the description of Yhwh's internal character found in Exod 34:6.¹⁴ These verses represent a questioning of the *traditum*. Given the severity of the psalmist's current situation, how can the goodness and mercy of Yhwh still be affirmed? Allusions to the Song of Moses and the Israelites

(77:11–16, 21) and a recital of another exodus tradition (vv. 17–20) follow immediately and serve to reassert that God’s saving power is still active.

Exod 15 and Ps 77 share a similar movement from the redemption of God’s people to the fear evoked by Yhwh’s saving actions on behalf of his people. Exodus 15:13 celebrates the divine guidance (נחה) granted to the people whom Yhwh has redeemed (גאל). Exodus 15:14–16 describes the fearful response of the nations before Israel’s procession to Yhwh’s holy place.

Psalm 77:16 (ET 77:15) recalls Israel’s redemption. Psalm 77:17–20 (ET 16–18) depicts the personified waters as being fearful before Yhwh. Exod 15:14–16 and Ps 77:17–20 share much the same fear terminology. חיל “writhe” is found in Exod 15:14 and Ps 77:17; רגז “shake” in Exod 15:14 and Ps 77:17, 19. Several synonyms are present as well: רעש “quake” (Ps 77:19 [ET 18]) and בהל “be terrified,” רעד “trembling,” and מוג “melt” (all in Exod 15:15). Psalm 77:21 picks up the divine guidance motif using the same term found in Exod 15:13 (נחה).

Exodus 15:1b–18 and Psalm 78

Psalm 78 is a historical psalm that traces the “riddle” of God’s work in Israelite history. It reaches its zenith in its affirmation of Mount Zion as Yhwh’s chosen sanctuary and David as the chosen servant. The influence of the Song of Moses and Israelites can be discerned in the description of the exodus tradition in the psalm as well as in the description of Yhwh’s sanctuary.

Vocabulary

The Song of Moses and the Israelites serves as an important *traditum* for the Asaphite psalmist responsible for Ps 78. Psalm 78:13b ויצבמים כמו־נר “the water stood up like a heap” is a virtual quotation of Exod 15:8b נצבו ויצבמו “flood waters stood like a heap.” Additionally, 78:13a and Exod 15:16b use the verb עבר “pass through, cross” to narrate the Israelite crossing of the Re(e)d Sea. This is significant because the sea crossing is only associated with עבר elsewhere in Num 33:8 and Josh 4:23. The direction of dependence is supported by the use of the less common water terms תהום “deep waters” (Exod 15:5, 8; Ps 78:15) and נזל “flood waters” (Exod 15:8; Ps 78:16, 44).¹⁵ This evidence is decisive because in Ps 78:15–16 these terms are applied to the water from the rock story. This tradition has little to do with the depths of the sea or primeval waters so it is improbable that the author of the Song of Moses and the Israelites picked up these terms from Ps 78 and applied them to its account of Yhwh’s mastery of the sea.¹⁶

Psalm 78:12 and Exod 15:11 share the phrase *עשה פלא* “doing wonders.”¹⁷ This phrase was also drawn upon by the Asaphites in Ps 77:15. Like Exod 15:11, the language of Ps 78:12 celebrates God’s mighty deeds performed against the Egyptians.

Psalm 78:49aa *ישלח-בם חרון אפו* “he stretched out against them his fierce anger” mirrors Exod 15:7ba *תשלח חרנך* “you sent forth your anger.” *אף* also occurs in 15:8aa. Psalm 78:49 links together the word pair split in the parallelism of 15:7b//15:8a.¹⁸ The recipients of divine anger in each text are the Egyptians. However, a key difference exists between the two. Psalm 78 immediately follows with a description of the plagues that Yhwh sends against Egypt whereas the Song of Moses and the Israelites continues its emphasis on the victory at the sea.

Further, Ps 78:53–54 also contains a cluster of phrases and words drawn from the Song of Moses and the Israelites.¹⁹ Psalm 78:53 reads: *וינחם לבטח* “he guided them in safety so they did not fear, but the sea covered their enemies.” This bicolon is a succinct summary of Exod 15:1–18. Words in common with the Song are italicized. Psalm 78:53a aptly describes the situation of Exod 15:13–17. The people are under the divine care and guidance of Yhwh (vv. 13, 16b–17). In contrast, the surrounding peoples are paralyzed with fear (vv. 15–16a). Psalm 78:53b emphasizes the defeat of Egypt. Each word of 78:53b occurs in Exod 15:1–12.²⁰ Yhwh’s victory over the Egyptian hordes is rehearsed repeatedly in Exod 15:1–12 using various images. *כסה* is the most common verb associated with Egypt’s undoing in the Song (Exod 15:5, 10).

Psalm 78:54 reads *ויביאם אל-גבור קדשו הר-זה קנתה ימינו* “and he brought them to his holy territory, the mountain that his right hand acquired.” The italicized words are found in Exod 15:13, 16b–17.²¹ These verses in the Song focus on the guidance of Yhwh’s people to his holy mountain. The phrase *אל-גבור קדשו* closely mirrors *אל-נוה קדשך* from Exod 15:13. Psalm 78:54 substitutes the common *גבור* (241x in the OT) for the relatively infrequent *נוה* (32x in the OT). Exodus 15:16b applies the content of *hmq* to the people; whereas Ps 78:54 uses it to describe the acquisition of Yhwh’s mountain.²²

Besides these allusions, Ps 78 and Exod 15 share important terms: the divine name *אל* (78:7, 8, 18, 19, 34, 35, 41; 15:2), *גאל* “redeem” (78:35, 15:13), *עז* “strength” (78:26, 61; 15:2, 13), and *ישועה* “salvation” (78:22; 15:2).

Literary Context

The literary setting and arrangement of Ps 78 contain clues that its composers have drawn upon prior *traditum*. Psalm 78:1–11 is generally recognized as the introduction to the psalm.²³ These verses focus on the saving actions of Yhwh on behalf of Israel and Israel’s forefathers who ultimately proved unfaithful. Verses 1–3 clearly express the poet’s intention to reflect upon the past in order to inform the present, especially verse 2 **אפתחה במשל פי 2** **אביעה חידוה מני־קדם** “I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter riddles from of old.” The former things that the poet has in view include the Egyptian plagues, crossing of the Re(e)d Sea, guidance in the wilderness, and settlement in the land. The recital of Yhwh’s past actions and the rebelliousness of Israel’s ancestors ends with the election of Zion as the new site for his sanctuary and the choice of David as king. Obviously, the poet had access to more sources of tradition than Exod 15, but it seems clear from the above evidence that the Song of Moses and the Israelites informed Ps 78.²⁴

The message of Ps 78 emphasizes the importance of Zion as the chosen site for Yhwh’s sanctuary and the Davidic monarchy.²⁵ Both serve as institutions of national renewal.²⁶ The psalmist clearly demonstrates dependence upon the Song of Moses and the Israelites in developing his argument for Zion as the chosen site for God’s sanctuary. Exodus 15:13–17 stresses Yhwh’s guidance of his people to his holy place. As shown above, Ps 78 picks up the language associated with the Song’s holy site (vv. 13, 17) and applies it in 78:54 to describe the initial central sanctuary in the land, which is later identified in verse 60 as Shiloh. This indicates that Exod 15 was already in circulation at the time of the composition of Ps 78 and that it was being interpreted as legitimizing a sanctuary other than the one in Jerusalem.²⁷

In verse 69, Ps 78 does apply one term from Exod 15:17 to Zion—**מקדש** “sanctuary.” The site at Shiloh, in contrast, is identified in verse 60 with the terms **משכן** “tabernacle or dwelling place” and **אהל** “tent.” This is a subtle but effective shift by the poet. Psalm 78 tacitly acknowledges the prior importance of Shiloh, but in the climactic ending to the poem employs a key term from the Song to describe Mount Zion.

The Relationship between Exodus 15 and the Asaphite Psalms

The argument for the dependence of the Asaphite tradents upon the *traditum* as found in Exod 15:1b–18 is strengthened by the fact that this study has shown that this borrowing occurred in three different texts. Each of the psalms studied utilized some different aspect of the Song of Moses and the

Israelites. This limits any attempt to argue for indirect knowledge of the Song.

Characteristics of the Psalms of Asaph

On close examination, the Asaphite psalms (Pss 50, 73–83) show remarkable unity as a collection.²⁸ This raises questions about the dates of the individual psalms because many scholars date the Asaphite psalms over a wide span of time.²⁹ Goulder focuses on six characteristics that bind the psalms together.

*Distribution of the Names of God.*³⁰ Goulder offers this summary of the divine names used by the Asaphites:

Psalms	אלהים	יהוה	אל	עליון	ארני	צבאות	אלוה
50	9	1	1	1			1
73	3	1	2	1	2		
74	4	1	1				
75	3	1					
76	4	1					
77	6	1 (יה)	3	1	2		
78	8	2	7	4	1		
79	3	1			1		
80	5	2	1			4	
81	4	2	2				
82	4		1	1			
83	3	2	1	1			
Total:	56	15	19	9	6	4	1

These data show the overwhelming and consistent preference for אלהים over יהוה throughout the collection. אל is even more frequent than יהוה.³¹

An appeal to a so-called “elohistic” redaction of this portion of the psalter is unconvincing because this hypothesis does not provide a motive behind such a redaction nor does it explain the occurrences of *hw* that remain in the text. The high incidence of *עליון* (9 of 31 occurrences in the OT) is also peculiar to the Asaphite psalms. Perhaps this preference for *אלהים* over *יהוה* as well as the high frequency of *אל* and *עליון* with their links to Canaanite thought suggest an early date for the psalms before Israelite prophets had thoroughly condemned syncretistic religious practices.³²

Prophetic Speeches of Divine Judgment.³³ The Asaphite psalms represent a sequence of calls to repentance, laments, prayers of confidence in God, and appeals to the divine covenant. The collection is especially heavy on laments (74, 77, 79, 80 and 83). Given the public nature of the psalms, this suggests composition during a time of national crisis.

History.³⁴ The Asaphite psalms are marked by an interest in Israel’s historical traditions. Half of the twelve psalms (74:13–15, 77:15–20, 78, 80:9–12, 81:5–8, and 83:10–12) exhibit this feature. The exodus theme is especially common. The significance of this observation is seen in contrast with the rest of the psalter, which outside of “historical psalms” such as Pss 105–106 and 135–36 contains scant mention of Israel’s history. At times, the history portrayed in the Asaphite psalms is also at marked odds with the narrative in Genesis through Samuel. For example, the creation account in Ps 74:12–15 is unrelated to those in Gen 1–2. The description of the plagues in Ps 78 differs from the Exodus narrative.

Northern Echoes.³⁵ The Asaphite psalms are marked by a more frequent mentioning of Joseph and the tribes that are descended from him than elsewhere (77:15, 78:9, 67–68, 80:2–3, 81:5). Further, Rendsburg argues that linguistic evidence points to a northern origin for these psalms.³⁶ Psalm 74 shows seven grammatical/lexical features and one topographic reference that suggest a northern provenance. None of the other Asaphite psalms contains such a large concentration of northern elements, but the collection as a whole exhibits enough traits to sustain the argument. However, the presence of references to Zion and Jerusalem (e.g., 74:2, etc.) is a problem. Goulder solves the problem by arguing that the Asaphite psalms were edited so that they might be used in the Jerusalem sanctuary. This may have been done by the Asaphites themselves or under the direction of the Jerusalem priesthood, which would explain the harsh anti-northern statements in Ps 78:9, 67–69. Rendsburg offers a different move. He argues that statements such as Ps 74:2

demonstrate that some Israelites already accepted the Zion theology of the south.³⁷

Common Language.³⁸ A number of common terms and images link the Asaphite psalms. The relationship between Yhwh and his people is frequently described in terms of a shepherd and his flock (74:1, 77:20, 78:52, 79:13, 80:1). Covenant (ברית) is mentioned in 50:5, 16, 74:20, 78:10, 37. Other rare expressions occur as well.³⁹ Finally, as shown above, the Song of Moses and the Israelites has clearly influenced a number of the Asaphite psalms (74, 77, 78).

Relationship to Deuteronomy.⁴⁰ Goulder argues that the Asaphite psalms were written prior to the work of the Deuteronomists. There are two elements that indicate this. First, the basic Deuteronomic cyclical view of history (grace, rebellion, wrath, repentance, and restoration) is missing in the work of the Asaphites. The final form of the Deuteronomistic History was written after the loss of national sovereignty following the disasters of 597 and 587 B.C.E. in order to explain the purpose of God's wrath and to call Israel to repent. Psalm 78 does not know the destruction of Jerusalem. It certainly is aware that things are bad, but its hopeful message expects God to act as he had during the days of the exodus from Egypt and during the reign of David. This holds true across the Asaphite psalms. Even Pss 74 and 79 do not imply the loss of national sovereignty, but only the destruction of the national sanctuary. Both fully expect God to act in vengeance against those who have pilaged his holy places. Second, Deuteronomic theology calls for one place of worship. Israel's principal sin has been their idolatrous worship at the high places. However, this practice does not seem to concern the Asaphites. For example, Ps 74:8 mourns the destruction of the meeting places of God (מועדֵי־אל). Given these data, it is more likely that the Asaphites influenced the Deuteronomists than vice versa.

These categories certainly serve to bind the Asaphite psalms together as a coherent collection. Given the Song of Moses and the Israelites' relationship to the Asaphite psalms as demonstrated above, is it possible to consider the Song a product of the Asaphites rather than as a *traditum* that influenced the Asaphite?

Why Exodus 15 is not the Product of the Asaphites

One of the fundamental conclusions of Brenner's study of the Song of the Sea is that it is the product of the Asaphites working in the fifth century B.C.E.⁴¹ Throughout his work, Brenner points out the similarities between

the two. As discussed above, there is no question that a literary relationship is present. There is, however, much evidence that Brenner overlooks, which suggests that Exod 15 is not Asaphite in origin.

First, Exod 15 and the Asaphite psalms show marked differences in terms of the use of archaic language.⁴² Though the Asaphite psalms retain traces of archaic forms and usage (e.g., Ps 78 utilizes prefixed verbal forms for past time; Ps 73 exhibits multiple occurrences of the third masculine plural suffix *מָוֹ*—), they are not used consistently and thus demonstrate evidence of archaizing. On the other hand, Exod 15 is consistently archaic with a high concentration of such forms. Second, there is a strong contrast in the distribution of divine names. As seen above, the Asaphite psalms overwhelmingly favor *אלהים* as the name for God whereas the Song of Moses and the Israelites prefers *יהוה*.⁴³ In the Asaphite psalms, even *אל* (19x) is used more than *יהוה* (15x). Third, the people of God are left unnamed in Exod 15. They are identified only in conjunction with Yhwh (15:13—*גאֵלֶּה עַם־זָרָו*; 15:16—*עַם־זָרָו קִנְיָהּ, עַמְךָ*). There is no ambiguity in the Asaphite psalms. In each psalm, in which reference is made to God's people, the people are specifically identified (e.g., Ps 77:15—"descendants of Jacob and Joseph") or associated with a geographic locale (e.g., 74:2—Mount Zion).⁴⁴ Fourth, unlike the Song, the Asaphites consistently regard Jerusalem as the chosen site for Yhwh's sanctuary (Ps 74:2, 76:2, 78:60–69, 79:1). Fifth, the Asaphites show greater affinity with a mythological understanding of the Exodus event.⁴⁵ Psalms 74 and 77 combine elements of a primordial combat between Yhwh and the Sea with the Exodus theme. In the Song, there is no hint of a mythological battle. The sea is not personified; it is a mere passive tool used by Yhwh in his historical victory over Egypt. Last, as demonstrated above, Exod 15 serves as a source for Asaphite prosody. Specifically, Pss 74, 77, and 78 draw heavily from the Song of Moses and the Israelites. There is no evidence of inverse dependence. The Song of Moses and the Israelites functioned as an authoritative traditum of Israel's foundational events from which the Asaphites drew inspiration.

Implications for Dating

This section will attempt to establish dates for the composition of Pss 74, 77, and 78. A *terminus ad quem* for the Song of Moses and the Israelites will be set on the basis of the earliest date confirmed for these psalms.

Date of Psalm 74

Psalm 74 is one of lament and sadness over the devastation of the temple by the enemies of God. It is a bitter plea to God for renewed action as in the days of old. There is much debate about its date. The discussion turns on identifying the occasion of the temple's destruction. Ostensibly, two choices exist for the psalm's composition: first, during the exile following the destruction at the hands of the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E.; or second, during the Maccabean period, following Antiochus IV Epiphanes desecration of the Second Temple in 167 B.C.E. These options will be evaluated first.

A date during the Exilic period (587–520 B.C.E.) is supported by solid evidence. Both Jerusalem and the temple were sacked by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 25). Literature from the exile (Ps 137, Ezek 24) confirms Ps 74's picture of the hostility of neighboring peoples.⁴⁶ There are also similarities with Lam 2:5–17. Mays argues that the psalm was probably written for use at services of mourning that were held during the exile at the sites of ruined sanctuaries (e.g., Jer 41:4–5; Zech 7:1–3, 8:18–19).⁴⁷ There are, however, significant objections to this position. Goulder objects that Ps 74 makes no references to the loss of life or the deportations associated with the disaster of 587 B.C.E. as other psalms do (e.g., Ps 44:11).⁴⁸ Additionally, against the psalm's own lament that prophets were absent, both Jeremiah and Ezekiel were active in their respective communities. A further problem is the lament of the destruction of local shrines in Ps 74:8. Josiah had already destroyed them decades earlier. Buchanan, in the same vein, notes that synagogues were not yet in operation during the sixth century B.C.E.⁴⁹

In support of a Maccabean date, Kraus notes that statements from Ps 74 can be harmonized with 1 Macc 2:4; 4:38; 2 Macc 5:16, 21, and 8:35. The psalm's lament regarding the failure of prophesy also fits this period (1 Macc 9:27, 4:46, 14:41). No exile is mentioned. Once again, there is decisive evidence against a post-167 B.C.E. date. Goulder points out that there are no references to religious persecutions, and the reference to "meeting places of God" (מִוֶּעֵדֵי אֱלֹהִים) in Ps 74:8 is unlikely to refer to synagogues because the LXX translates the phrase with ἑορτάς rather than συναγωγός.⁵⁰ Buchanan objects that Antiochus Epiphanes did not actually burn the temple.⁵¹ The mocking by Israel's neighbors should be associated with the disaster of 587 B.C.E. The parallels noted by Kraus with 1 and 2 Maccabees are no more striking than those noted above with Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Ezekiel. Kraus adds that the failure of prophesy was not a phenomenon unique to the post-Malachi era (1 Sam 3:1, Ezek 7:26, Lam 2:9).⁵² A Maccabean date is also problematic because Ps 74:1, 3, and 9 suggest that it was written some

time after the destruction. This time lag does not fit the Maccabean period as the temple was restored quickly. Dahood and Tate add that this late date is ruled out by the discovery at Qumran of substantial Psalm texts from the first century B.C.E.⁵³

In spite of the problems with these proposals, many scholars opt for the exilic date.⁵⁴ This consensus, however, is not as solid as it might appear because many of its adherents are tentative. Tate writes, “Undoubtedly the psalm had a date of composition and a cultic history, but the specific contexts now seem beyond our power to recover though a date and setting among the people left behind in Palestine after 587 B.C.E. are highly probable.”⁵⁵ Kraus for his part opts for a time close to 520 B.C.E., but reserves “final judgment.”⁵⁶ Weiser is agnostic arguing that the evidence simply does not allow one to demonstrate cogently any date whether it be 587 B.C.E., 167 B.C.E., or some date in between associated with an event unknown to us.⁵⁷

Given the scholarly impasse and problems associated with the two most obvious dates for Ps 74, there is room for other proposals. Buchanan has proffered a radical solution that dates Ps 74 to the period following the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans (post-70 C.E.).⁵⁸ While this suggestion certainly does make sense of much of the data of Ps 74, there are two decisive objections to this date. First, it raises serious questions about the formation of the Psalter. How probable is it that a psalm from late in the first century C.E. would be included in the canonical Psalter? Second, given its affinity with the other Asaphite psalms, how would this relationship be explained? There is no evidence that the Asaphites were still a recognizable element in the Judaism of the first century C.E.

Goulder offers another alternative at the opposite end of the spectrum from Buchanan. Goulder argues that Ps 74 along with all the Asaphite psalms was written during the final days of the Northern Kingdom (732–22 B.C.E.). The composition of Ps 74 was a response to the sack of the sanctuary at Bethel by the encroaching Assyrians. This period of crisis was marked by the absence of prophets. Amos was dead, and the ministry of Hosea had moved to Judah. The principal problem with Goulder’s proposal is the presence in Ps 74 and the other Asaphite psalms of explicit references to Jerusalem and Zion (e.g., 74:2). Goulder is forced to argue that 74:2c is a later expansion that adapts the psalm for use in Jerusalem and that it is awkward in its context, but this proves problematic because as shown above the language of all of 74:2 is drawn from Exod 15.

Still other options are available. Tate mentions three.⁵⁹ An Edomite attack on Jerusalem is known to have occurred in 485 B.C.E. The Persians

moved against it in 344 B.C.E. First and Second Kings mention several other times in which the temple was attacked or plundered that may serve as the occasion for the poetry of Ps 74 (1 Kgs 14:25, 15:18, 2 Kgs 14:14, 16:8, and 24:13).

These widely divergent proposals mitigate the significance of Ps 74 for dating the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

Date of Psalm 77

Establishing the date of composition of Ps 77 turns on the issues of unity and setting. Psalm 77:17–20 is often noted for its archaic language and style.⁶⁰ These four verses are all comprised of tricola similar to Ugaritic verse. Verse 17 is a classic ABC:ABD:EFG example of staircase parallelism. The vocabulary present in verses 17–20 has much in common with other early poetry.⁶¹ The linguistic argument appeals to the use of *yaqtul* preterite forms for past narration in verses 17–18.⁶² However, “standard” forms are present including use of the suffix and w-prefix forms for past tense and loss of final y/w in open syllables (2x in v. 17). This suggests that Ps 77 in fact resembles standard poetry in terms of its language use and thus should be dated after the eighth century B.C.E.⁶³ The vocabulary in common with the early poetry in Hab 3 and Ps 18 may be more the result of sharing a literary genre (theophany).

The language and style of Ps 77 has led some scholars to view it as a composite psalm.⁶⁴ Form is also an issue because Ps 77 exhibits two distinct genres: lament and hymn. However, recent studies have shown convincingly its coherence and unity. Kraus notes the intentional use of three different types of meter within the psalm that cut across the two genres: verses 1–2 deploy 3:4 and 4:4:3; verses 3–15 use 3:3; and verses 16–19 show 3:3:3.⁶⁵ Kselman argues for unity on both rhetorical and structural grounds.⁶⁶ The rhetorical unity comes as a result of the poet drawing on traditions from Exodus. The influence of Exod 15 has already been examined. Psalm 77:9–10 appears to be commentary on the creedal statement of Yhwh’s internal character in Exod 34:6. The psalmist ends the lament section by questioning Yhwh’s attributes. The questions are answered in the hymnic section by appealing to Yhwh’s deeds of old. Structurally, Kselman describes five features that hold the poem together as a unity: first, two-fold repetition of קָרַל in verse 2 and again in vv. 17–20. Second, he points out an inclusion created by the contrast of the outstretched hand (יָד) of the psalmist (v. 3) with the guiding hand of Moses and Aaron (v. 21). Third, there is a fourfold repetition of זָכַר (vv. 4, 7, 12, 12). Fourth, there is a repetition of אֲשִׁיחָה (vv. 4, 7, 13).

Last, a chiasmic structure⁶⁷ that includes portions of the lament and hymn binds vv. 9–21 together.

The setting of the psalm is significant. Who is the speaker? Goulder argues that the speaker is the King who leads the nation in vigil in the midst of a crisis.⁶⁸ Such an interpretation presupposes a pre-exilic setting. Tate and Weiser note that reference to the “sons of Jacob and Joseph” in 77:16 may point to an origin in the Northern Israelite Kingdom.⁶⁹ Most other commentators view the speaker to be a pious individual in distress. The consensus is that the situation presupposed fits best in the exilic or post-exilic periods.⁷⁰ The questions of vv. 7–9 and the statement of verse 10 support this. Mays comments are representative. He writes, “Because it is composed in the style of an account of experience, it is suitable as a liturgical text to lead others to articulate their distress and bring it to confrontation with the God evoked in the hymnic address.”⁷¹

Just as in the case of Ps 74, the date of Ps 77 cannot be established conclusively. It is certainly a unified composition in its final form, but a definite statement about its provenance is not possible without new evidence.⁷²

Date of Psalm 78

Psalm 78 has been dated as early as the tenth century B.C.E. and as late as the post-exilic period. There is, however, substantial evidence for establishing its setting in the late eighth century B.C.E. following the fall of the Northern Kingdom. First, we will examine the evidence for other proposals.

Kraus argues for a post-exilic dating for Ps 78.⁷³ He bases this on the presence of an alleged Deuteronomistic view of history embedded within a wisdom poem. The conflict between north and south is then explained in light of the tensions between post-exilic community and the Samaritans. Brenner is more detailed in his presentation of the psalm’s alleged Deuteronomistic language. He also stresses similarities between Ps 78 and other exilic and post-exilic texts, especially Deutero-Isaiah and Ps 74. However, none of these proves decisive. Psalm 78 may in fact be pre-Deuteronomistic. It is certainly more optimistic than the Deuteronomistic history, and in contrast to it, Ps 78 includes the Exodus and plague narratives.⁷⁴

The early date is also problematic. Dahood points to the fact that the historical references end with the Davidic monarchy and include mention of the defection of the north (vv. 9–11) and the fall of Shiloh.⁷⁵ Additionally, he appeals to the psalm’s archaic heavy use of *yaqtul* forms for past events. According to Dahood, this suggests a provenance during the divided monarchy (922–721 B.C.E.). The appeal to archaic style is sound and will be discussed

below. However, a more nuanced and persuasive interpretation of the psalm's portrayal of history will cause a slightly later date to be posited.

There are solid arguments for a general pre-exilic setting for Ps 78. There is no indication of the exile or its lessons.⁷⁶ Yet, the fall of the north is presupposed,⁷⁷ and the climax of Ps 78 is reached in the emphasis on the importance of Zion and the Davidic monarchy as God's chosen institutions for national and spiritual renewal (vv. 65–72).⁷⁸ This implies a period in which the Davidic monarchy was still in power.⁷⁹ Additionally, there is no mention of the destruction of the temple.⁸⁰

The interest in national renewal through the institutions of the sanctuary in Zion and the Davidic monarchy points specifically to the reigns of the reformers Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18) and Josiah (2 Kgs 23–24).⁸¹ Clifford offers a powerful interpretation of the psalm and demonstrates convincingly that the time of Hezekiah represents the best alternative.⁸² Specifically, he suggests three reasons: first, 78:9 may refer to the defeat of Ephraim in 734–32 B.C.E. and the fall of Samaria a decade later. Second, the inherent instability of the northern monarchy which reached its zenith during its final years (746–22 B.C.E.) contrasts sharply with the southern monarchy and makes the promise of a Davidic shepherd a meaningful one. Finally, the overall message of the psalm offers a tangible new beginning for the northern survivors of the Assyrian onslaught. Thus, a date during the reign of Hezekiah seems probable.⁸³

The Hezekian date is strengthened by the linguistic evidence. Robertson studies the language of Ps 78 and finds several examples of an early style. The most archaic feature in Ps 78 is its heavy use of *yaqtul* forms for past events (vv. 15, 20, 26, 29, 36, 44, 45, 50, 58, 64, 72).⁸⁴ Psalm 78 uses other archaic forms in its prosody: preservation of final y/w in open syllable (v. 44), use of relative pronoun וְ (v. 54), and occurrences of the third masculine plural suffix מַר- with preposition לְ (vv. 24, 66). The presence of these archaic forms, however, is mitigated by the presence of standard Hebrew: the use of w-prefix and suffix conjugations for past events (17x), loss of final y/w in open syllable (7x), use of relative אֲשֶׁר (vv. 16, 17), and heavy use of the third masculine plural suffix ׀- on nouns and verbs (throughout). This suggests that Ps 78 was written during the period of transition between archaic and standard poetic forms.⁸⁵ Such a shift occurred in the Pre-Exilic period and thus would support a Hezekian date for the composition of Ps 78.

A final argument in support of a Hezekian date is the use of "Holy One of Israel" (קדוש ישראל) in verse 41 for Yhwh. This is the well-known divine name favored by Isaiah. Although the phrase is found throughout the entirety of Isaiah, it is possible that this occurrence of it in Ps 78 was influenced by Isaiah's preaching during the eighth century B.C.E. This date is

significant for the overall study of the intertextual use of Exod 15 because it establishes the *terminus ad quem* in the late eighth century.

Conclusion

This chapter has made significant advances for the thesis that the Song of Moses and the Israelites derives from the twelfth century B.C.E. by removing the force of the objection that the Song shares language with late psalm and therefore must be late as well. The focus of this section has been on the Asaphite psalms, which form a collection bound together by common characteristics. Psalms 74, 77, and 78 evidently relied on the Song of Moses and the Israelites as a source for inspiration and further theological reflection. Moreover, the Song has been shown not to share the features in common among the Asaphite collection as a whole. This is important because it suggests that Exod 15:1b–18 was not merely a source for the Asaphite tradents, but a non-Asaphite source. The *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the Song of Moses and the Israelites has been set in the late eighth century B.C.E. on the basis of the establishment of the provenance of Ps 78 during this time period.

CHAPTER NINE

Exodus 15:1b–18 and the Narrative Traditions of Israel

This final chapter of the study will explore the intertextual contacts between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and two related narrative complexes in the Hebrew Bible: the sea narrative (Exod 13:17–14:31) and the crossing of the Jordan river (Josh 2–5). The thesis remains the same as in the previous two chapters: Exod 15:1b–18 serves as a *truditum* that has influenced and inspired the later Israelite traditions responsible for shaping the narratives of Israel's Primary History. This chapter will conclude with a summative assessment of the contribution that the study of the intertextual links between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and later Israelite literature makes in terms of establishing a *terminus ad quem* for the Song.

Before moving directly to the study of the relationship between Exod 15, Josh 2–5, and Exod 14, two methodological dilemmas must be acknowledged. First, unlike the previous two chapters, the object of study is narrative prose rather than prosody. This affects the criteria used to deduce inner-biblical relationships. The possibility of stylistic similarities decreases with the move to prose. Vocabulary and comparable contexts (i.e., portrayal of the events at the sea) will be the primary criteria. Second, the narrative accounts in Exodus and Joshua are typically viewed as composites of several sources. This is exacerbated by the inability of scholars to reach a consensus concerning the correct delineation of the various components of each text. Exodus 14 will be divided into two sources: JE and P. This will be discussed below. In contrast, only the final form of Joshua will be investigated.

The Song of Moses and the Israelites and the JEP Sea Narrative

Source Criticism of Exodus 13:17–14:31

The Sea narrative in Exod 13:17–14:31 is generally recognized as a composite text made up of two or three sources. The precise delineation of its composition remains a *crux interpretum* in Pentateuchal research.¹ The source criticism presupposed for this discussion isolates two primary sources JE and P. JE serves as the base narrative that is later supplemented and reshaped by P. P functions in the sea narrative as redactional element.² The sources are identified following the standard work of Noth as follows:

JE	13:17–22, 5–7, 9a, 10b, 11–14, 19–20, 21b, 24–25, 27b, 30–31
P	14:1–4, 8, 9b–10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c–23, 26–27a, 28–29 ³

The contribution of P to the base JE narrative consists of a series of divine speeches and action sequences (14:1–4 + 8–9, 15–18 + 21–23, and 26 + 27–28) and in two key places a framing of the JE narrative in such a way as to reinterpret it in agreement with P (vv. 21a and 21c frame v. 21b [JE] and vv. 26–27a and 28–29 envelope v. 27b [JE]).⁴

Though the precise delineation of the sources behind the prose narrative is debated, there appears to be evidence that the Song of Moses and the Israelites circulated as part of the JE account. Propp offers several compelling arguments.⁵ First, Deut 2–3, which knows JE but not P, appears to be aware of the Song of Moses and the Israelites.⁶ Second, Josh 2:9–10 and 24 is acquainted with the fear of nations motif and a dry sea bed, which are elements found in both JE and Exod 15:1b–18, but not with P’s split sea. Third, Josh 3:13 and 16 picture the waters of the Jordan standing in a “heap” (גַּי, cf. Exod 15:8) and Josh 4:23–5:1 describes the drying of the sea, Yhwh’s arm, the fear of the nations. All of these elements are found in either the JE account of the sea crossing or in Exod 15:1b–18. This suggests that by the time of the Deuteronomistic historian’s work, JE included the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Weitzman provides a final piece of evidence that is drawn from a comparison of Exod 14–15 to the Piye Stela.⁷ The Piye Stela has its origin in the twenty-fifth dynasty in Egypt and can be dated to approximately 727 B.C.E. It is the only extant example of ancient Near Eastern historiography that attributes the content of songs to characters within a surrounding narrative. Both the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the Piye Stela follow battle accounts. The Piye Stela thus serves as an analogy for the linkage of a prosodic piece to a prose account of the same event.⁸

The source criticism of Exod 15:1–21 is less complex. The two poems (vv. 1b–18 and 21b) stand outside of the traditional sources. This leaves only the prose framework (vv. 1a, 19–21a). Most assign verses 1a and 20–21a to J or E, but with little confidence. The clearest evidence of an association with a source for these verses is the designation of Miriam as a prophet and as the sister of Aaron (Exod 15:20–21a). According to Propp, these elements are indicative of E.⁹ Frankly, there is too little evidence to answer this question with certainty. Given that the Song most likely existed in JE, verses 1a and 20–21a probably do derive from one of these putative sources.¹⁰

Exodus 15:19 carries its own set of questions, but given its affinity with the P material in Exod 14:23, 26, and 29, it most certainly derives from Priestly circles.¹¹ Most likely, Exod 15:19 serves to summarize the Song with

information only implicit in prose and to reset the temporal orientation of the unit in preparation for Miriam's song.¹²

Evidence of Dependence between Exodus 15:1b–18 and Exodus 13:17–14:31

Cross argued that the prose accounts of the miracle at the sea all preserved reminiscences of the Song of Moses and the Israelites, but that Exod 15 could not be reconstructed on the basis of any of the sources.¹³ The strength of his argument turns on the cogency of his insistence that a miraculous escape by Israel through a split or dried up sea is totally absent from the Song.¹⁴ Evidence of a literary relationship between Exod 14 and 15 is found primarily in the close similarities in vocabulary. The vocabulary in common between Exod 14 and 15 is evenly distributed between JE and P: ים “sea” (15:1, 4, 8, 10; JE—13:18, 14: 2, 21, 27, 30; P—14:9, 16, 21–23, 26–29), שְׁעוּרָה “salvation” (15:2; JE—14:13), רֶכֶב “chariot” (15:1; J—14:6, 7; P—14:9, 17, 18, 23, 26, 28), סוּס “horse” (15:1; P—14:9, 23), לָחֵם¹⁵ “fight” (15:3; JE—14:14, 25), פֶּרַעַה “Pharaoh” (15:4; JE—13:17, 14:5; P—14:3, 4, 8, 10, 17, 18, 23, 28), חֵיָל “army” (15:4; P—14:4, 9, 17, 28), מִרְכָּבָה “chariot” (15:4; JE—14:25), שָׁלֵשׁ “officer” (15:4; JE—14:7), סוּרָף “re(e)d” (15:4; JE—13:18), כֶּסֶה “cover” (15:5, 10; P—14:28), רוּחַ “breath, wind” (15:8, 10; JE—14:21), מַיִם “waters” (15:8, 10; P—14:21, 22, 26, 28, 29), רָדַף “pursue” (15:9; JE—14:9; P—14:4, 8, 23), נִשְׁגַּח “overtake” (15:9; P—14:9), יִרָא “fear” (15:11; JE—14:10, 13, 31), נָחָה “lead” (15:13; JE—13:17, 21), גָּדֹל “great” (15:16; JE—14:31), and נָטָה “stretch out” (15:12; P—14:16, 21, 27).

The intertextual links between P and Exod 15 may be inferred also from the following details held in common.¹⁶ Exod 15:4a *מִרְכָּבֹת פֶּרַעַה וְחֵיָלוֹ* “chariots of Pharaoh and his army” is similar to the lists of Egyptian military personnel in 14:9 *כָּל־סוּס וְחֵיָלוֹ וְכָל־רֶכֶב פֶּרַעַה וְכָל־פָּרָשִׁי וְכָל־יְרֵמֵהוּ* “all of Pharaoh's horses and chariots as well as his horsemen and army” (cf. 14:17, 28). Exodus 15:5a *וְהַיָּם כֶּסָהוּ* “the deep waters covered them” and 15:10a *וְהַיָּם כֶּסָהוּ* “the sea covered them” resemble 14:28a *וַיָּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּכְסּוּ* “the waters returned and covered [the Egyptian army].” Exodus 15:12 *וַיִּמְנַח יְמִינְךָ הַבַּיְתָּה וַיִּבְלַעַמּוּ* “you stretched out your right hand; the underworld swallowed them” compares favorably with Exod 14:27–28 (cf. vv. 16, 21, and 26).

On the surface, the simplest solution is to argue that Exod 15 drew upon the final form of the sea narrative.¹⁷ A closer look at the evidence, however, presents compelling reasons for positing the Song of Moses and the Israelites as a source for both the base JE account as well as for the later P additions.

JE and Exodus 15

According to the JE account, God leads Israel out of Egypt with a pillar of cloud and fire. Pharaoh regrets releasing his Israelite slaves and pursues them with an army of chariots. After spotting the Egyptians in hot pursuit, the Israelites are terrified. They grumble against Moses, but Moses exhorts them to stand firm because God will save them. A pillar of cloud moves to shield Israel from Egypt. During the night, God dries the sea bed with a strong east wind. The pursuing Egyptian army is thrown into a panic by God and attempts to flee as soon as it realizes that God is fighting for Israel. The sea, however, returns to its normal level at daybreak, and the fleeing Egyptians are tossed into its waters by God. It is unstated, but apparently the Egyptians pursued Israel onto the dry sea bed. The destruction of Egypt results in fear and faith for Israel.

Exodus 15 as Source Material for JE. Halpern argues that the JE and P narratives drew upon the Song of Moses and the Israelites as source material.¹⁸ His interests are in studying Israelite historiography. He offers a plausible scenario of how Exod 15 influenced Exod 14. He follows Cross' basic assumptions about the portrayal of the sea event, i.e., that Exod 15 describes the death of the Egyptians in a violent storm. This starting point allows Halpern to posit the following reconstruction of the events in the Song of Moses and the Israelites by J. Exodus 14:7 uses 15:4 in its description of Pharaoh's forces. Exodus 14:9a adapts the portrayal of the Egyptians in hot pursuit (רדף) of Israel (Exod 15:9a). The J writer historicizes the Song's poetic description of the sea. In the Song of Moses and the Israelites (Exod 15:8, 10a), it is Yhwh's breath that stands up the waters and causes them to cover the Egyptians. J, however, attributes the dry sea bed to a "strong east wind" (14:21bc). In the morning, the wind apparently stops and the waters flow back over the hapless Egyptian horde (14:27b–d). This is Halpern's strongest point because this interpretation is hard to reverse. It is hard to imagine the writer of the Song not mentioning explicitly a dry sea bed if the Song was dependent on J. Exodus 14:31 הִירַגְדִּלָּה "the great power" derives from 15:16b בְּגִדְלִי זְרוּעֶךָ "on account of your great strength." Perhaps even Exod 14:14 in which Israel is commanded to be still is based on a loose reading of 15:16b–c especially יָדְמוּ כְּאֶבֶן "they stood as still as a stone." His thesis is that JE and P can be explained as interpretations of Exod 15. Thus, the priority of the Song of Moses and the Israelites can be inferred.¹⁹

There are additional reasons beyond those suggested by Halpern that demonstrate the influence of the Song of Moses and the Israelites on the JE Sea narrative. The common use of יְשׁוּעָה "salvation" (15:2; 14:13) is impor-

tant. It occurs only four times in the Pentateuch (Gen 49:18, Exod 14:13, 15:2, and Deut 32:15). Besides Exod 14:13, all of the other occurrences are found in poetry.²⁰ Given the above evidence of dependence, this observation adds credence to the argument. Furthermore, Exod 14:30 uses the verbal form ישע “save.” This is a clear echo back to 14:13 and frames the JE sea miracle with an affirmation drawn from the initial praise section of the Song of Moses and the Israelites.²¹

Yhwh is proclaimed מלחמה איש “man of war” in Exod 15:3. This description stands behind the promise in 14:14, יהיה ילחם לכם “Yhwh will fight for you,” and the terror provoked response of the Egyptians in 14:25, במצרים יהיה נלחם להם “Yhwh is fighting for them against Egypt.” In the Song, Exodus 15:3 serves as a general statement about the totality of Yhwh’s actions as epitomized in 15:1–11. The focus in the first half of the Song of Moses and the Israelites is on the destruction of Egypt by means of the sea. In contrast, the references to Yhwh’s “fighting” in JE are much more specific. They may be viewed as a literalistic interpretation by JE of the Song. Perhaps, the JE writer(s) viewed 15:3–6 as a chronological overview of the miracle, and thus interpreted verse 3 as a description of Yhwh’s actions leading up to the drowning of the Egyptians. The reverse is not plausible. The first half of the Song focuses solely on the actions of Yhwh against Egypt. The fear and cries of God’s people, which are the background for 14:14 and 25, are absent in the Song. Thus, it is unlikely that the poet of Exod 15:1b–18 drew upon JE for its characterization of Yhwh as “man of war.”

The portrayal of Moses in JE suggests that Exod 15:1b–18 is earlier. In J, Moses functions as Yhwh’s mouthpiece (14:13–14). Following the drowning of the Egyptians, Moses stands next to Yhwh in the eyes of the people (14:30–31). In contrast, the Song of Moses and the Israelites does not mention Moses. The focus is totally on Yhwh. How likely is it that a Song, derivative from J, celebrating the Exodus from Egypt and march to Sinai would not contain some reference to Israel’s great leader? A more probable scenario is that the tradent(s) responsible for JE used Exod 15:1b–18 and 21b as a source for its narration of the deliverance at the sea and then developed a role for Moses in the Song of Moses and the Israelites by presenting him as the singer (author?) of the Song.

P and Exodus 15

In P, God hardens Pharaoh’s heart (thereby connecting the Sea narrative with the Plague account) so that glory may be gained over Egypt and that they may know the Lord. The Egyptian army overtakes Israel near the sea, and this prompts Israel to cry out to God. Moses is instructed to stretch out his

staff over the sea and divide it in order to provide a path for Israel to flee as well as an opportunity for God to gain glory over Egypt. Moses obeys and the water divides into two walls. Israel with Egypt in pursuit passes through on dry ground. Then, God commands Moses once again to stretch out his staff. As soon as he does, the water returns to its normal state and covers the Egyptians. This results in the complete destruction of Pharaoh and his army.

Exodus 15 as Source Material for P

The lack of a split sea is a glaring absence in the Song of Moses and the Israelites if it is derivative of P. Exodus 15:8 is the closest parallel to P's portrayal of the miracle at the sea. As has been shown, this verse describes the congealing or petrification (קפא) of the waters of the Re(e)d Sea so that they stand as a "heap" (גד). There is no hint of P's dual walls (חמה) of water. The imagery of the Song also contrasts with the following passages: Pss 74:13–15, 77:17–20, 78:13, Isa 11:11–16, 43:16–19a, and Neh 9:11. The dominant picture of the exodus in these texts is a split sea and a pathway for Israel. All of these texts date no later than the mid-fifth century B.C.E. As argued above, Ps 78 derives from the late eighth century B.C.E. Isaiah 11:11–16, a text dated above to the seventh century, shows that this motif had become ingrained enough in the Israelite consciousness that it could be alluded to in pre-exilic times as a means of envisioning a future deliverance from exile. The influence of Exod 15 on the first four texts has already been demonstrated. How likely is it that, if the Song of Moses and the Israelites was written after P, it would not have picked up this key feature? To object that Exod 15:1b–18 focuses only on the destruction of the Egyptians misses the point.²² The Israelite crossing of the sea is implied in 15:16b. Regardless, the salvation of God's people and the destruction of Egypt are two aspects of the same event. In P, the split sea is the avenue of escape for Israel and the dead-end for Egypt. In the Song, immediately on the heels of God's hardening of the waters (15:8), the enemy arrogantly pursues Israel (ostensibly onto a seabed uncovered by the Lord's breath), and God blows the sea back onto Egypt.

The mode of the destruction of the Egyptians suggests that the Song of Moses and the Israelites was a source for P. In the Song, the annihilation of Pharaoh and his hordes is described in a variety of ways. In verse 1b, God throws (רגה) horse and rider into the sea. In verses 4–5, Pharaoh's troops are cast (ירה) into the sea wherein they sink (טבע) and are covered (כסה) by the waters. The hymnic refrain of verses 6–7a portrays the mighty power of God shattering (רעץ) and overthrowing (הרס) the enemy. In verse 7, the enemies of God are consumed (אכל) by God's fury. In verses 8–10, the waters of the

sea solidify into a heap, the Egyptians arrogantly pursue, and God blows the sea so that it covers (כסה) them and they sink (צלל) like lead. A final image depicts the earth swallowing (בלע) up the Egyptians. The depictions of the demise of Egypt in Exod 15 might rightly be labeled as overkill, but they are clearly much more like the JE account than the P version. Given the multiple modes of destruction in the Song of Moses and the Israelites, if P has influenced it, it is certainly surprising that the poetry does not include some magnified version of walls of water collapsing upon the helpless Egyptians. On the other hand, it is logical and conceivable that P with its cosmological and mythological interests might have elaborated on the imagery of 15:4–5, 8–10 to shape its account.²³

The presence of verse 19 suggests that P needed to highlight key elements of its narrative that are not explicit in the Song. First, it summarizes the victory at the sea including the crucial element in P of Israel walking through the midst of the sea on dry ground. Second, the explicit identification of God's people as Israel makes explicit the identity of Yhwh's people in the Song. Verse 19 thus serves to harmonize the reading of the poem with the prose account. This implies that P was dependent upon Exod 15:1b–18 rather than vice versa because, if the Song of Moses and the Israelites was later, tensions between the dominant picture of P and the Song would likely not be so obvious.

The military terminology employed points to the Song of Moses and the Israelites as a source for P. Every military term found in Exod 15:1b–18 occurs in JE or P. However, when the reverse is explored, a glaring incongruity surfaces. P favors heavily the term פרש “cavalry” or “horsemen” (14:9, 17, 18, 23, 26, 28, and 15:19). Given that even the comparatively rare word שלי is found in Exod 14 and 15, it is hard to make the case that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is dependent upon JEP, i.e., if the Song of Moses and the Israelites depends on JEP for military terminology, why the glaring absence of the most common term in JEP? Furthermore, P's use of פרש may indicate a misinterpretation of the Song. Perhaps P has misconstrued Exod 15:1, סוס ורכבו “horse and its chariot driver” to indicate the presence of cavalry.²⁴

P highlights the role of Moses in the miracle at the sea. At God's instruction, Moses stretches out (נטה) his hand (14:16, 21, 26, and 27). On the first occasion, the sea divides, and, on the second, it covers the Egyptians. This portrayal stands in contrast to that of JE and the Song of Moses and the Israelites. In JE, Moses serves the limited role of God's mouthpiece (14:13–14). God sent a strong wind, dried the seabed, and drowned the Egyptians without the agency of Moses. Moses is not mentioned in the Song of Moses and the

Israelites at all. In fact, the imagery of a hand outstretched against Egypt is limited to Yhwh (15:12). The elevation of Moses' active role in the deliverance seems to be a feature peculiar to P in the sea account. This feature illustrates the movement from the Song of Moses and the Israelites (no role whatsoever for Moses) to J (Moses as Yhwh's mouthpiece) to P (Moses initiates the miracle by stretching out his staff).

The hardening motif serves the function of linking the miracle at the sea with the plague narratives and the departure from Egypt.²⁵ This is a prominent feature in P's redaction of the sea account (14:4, 8, 17). Pharaoh and the pursuing Egyptians are mere puppets being directed to destruction in the P account. The Song of Moses and the Israelites does not have any mention or allusion to this. Given the Song's penchant for glorifying God's victory over Egypt in a plethora of images, is it not surprising that some reference to God's control over the actions of Pharaoh is absent? In fact, the only reference to the actions of the Egyptians in the Song (v. 9) presents an arrogant, bloodthirsty enemy poised to slaughter and despoil the fleeing people of God. The Song is able to extol the greatness of Yhwh (v. 11) precisely because he has overcome so fierce a foe. This again suggests that Exod 15 is an anterior tradition to P.

Knowledge of Yhwh: A Missing Theme

The question of the identity of Yhwh is a key theme that serves to unite 6:2–14:31. In particular, **יְיָ** occurs thirteen times in these chapters and is evenly divided between J and P.²⁶ Given the prominence of this motif and its distribution among the putative sources, its absence in Exod 15:1b–18 is striking. Although an argument from silence, the non-use of **יְיָ** supports the thesis argued here.

Concluding Remarks on the Relationship between JE, P, and Exodus 15

The above evidence forms a strong cumulative case for the relative antiquity of the Song of Moses and the Israelites in comparison to both prose accounts in Exod 14. This reality has implications for the date of the Song of Moses and the Israelites as a *terminus ad quem* is established at the time composition of the JE and P accounts.

Date of the Sea Narrative

Critical scholarship has attempted to arrive at a correct understanding of the composition of the Pentateuch since the eighteenth century C.E.²⁷ The formation of the Pentateuch derives from a long complex process. The approach adopted here associates the final form of the Pentateuch as an achievement of

the Post-Exilic community. The putative sources, however, derive from a much earlier time. The oldest sources J and E (E may have been fragmentary) may date from early in the monarchy, but drew upon earlier “epic” source material.²⁸ The core of the D and P materials share a pre-exilic provenance as well.²⁹ The “priestly” redaction in the sixth century produced the Pentateuch in its penultimate form.³⁰

The possible implications for the dating of the Song of Moses and the Israelites must be tempered by the tentativeness of the above construal. It is plausible, however, to argue that the demonstration of both JE’s and P’s dependence upon the Song of Moses and the Israelites indicates at least a pre-Exilic provenance for Exod 15:1b–18 and the possibility for an even earlier *terminus ad quem* for the Song depending upon the date of J.

Exodus 15:1b–18 and the Crossing of the Jordan River (Joshua 2–5)

There is little question that the miracles at the Re(e)d Sea and the Jordan river are related typologically in the Old Testament. This section will seek to discern the influence of Exod 15 upon the narrative of the Jordan River crossing found in Joshua 2–5.

First, the terror envisaged for Israel’s enemies in Exod 15:14–16a becomes a reality as Israel prepares for its initial foray into Canaan. In Josh 2:9 (cf. 2:24), Rahab utters words that closely parallel those of Exod 15:14–16a (words in common are italicized):

Josh 2:9

והאמר אל־האנשים ידעתי כי־נתן יהוה לכם
אח־הארץ וכי־תפלה אימחכם עלינו וכי נמגו
כל־ישבי הארץ מפניכם:

“And she said to the men, “I know that Yhwh has given to you the land and *fear of you has fallen upon us and all the inhabitants of the land are melting* before you.”

Josh 2:24

ויאמרו אל־יהושע כי־נתן יהוה בידנו אח־כל־הארץ
וגם־תמגו כל־ישבי הארץ מפנינו

“And they said to Joshua, “Yhwh has given all of the land into our hand; *all of the inhabitants of the land are melting* before us.”

Exod 15:14–16

14 שמעו עמים ירגזון חיל אחז ישבי פלשה:
15 אז נבהלו אלופי אדום אילי מואב יאחזמו
רעד נמגו כל ישבי כנען:
16 הפל עליהם אימחה ופחד בגדל זרועך ידמו

כאבן עד־יעבר עמך יהוה עד־יעבר עמ־זו קניח:

“The peoples heard, they shook; writhing seized the *inhabitants* of Philistia. Then Edom’s chiefs were dismayed, trembling seized the leaders of Moab, *all the inhabitants* of Canaan melted. *Fear and dread fell upon* them. Because of your great strength they stood as still as a stone. Until your people passed by, until the people whom you created passed by.”

This allusion to the Song of Moses and the Israelites functions in terms of promise and fulfillment as Yhwh begins to act upon his earlier promises.³¹

אימה “dread” and מוג “melt” are used infrequently in the Hebrew Bible with each occurring seventeen times. Only Exod 15 and Josh 2 use both terms within the same context.³² This is strong evidence for an intertextual relationship.

Joshua 2:9 modifies Exod 15:15b’s כל יִשְׁבֵי כְנַעַן “all the inhabitants of Canaan” by substituting הארץ for כְנַעַן. This fits the context of Joshua well. The proper name כְנַעַן is found infrequently (eight times) in Joshua.³³ In contrast, Josh 1 uses ארץ at least five times to refer to the land of Canaan.³⁴ The phrase כל יִשְׁבֵי הארץ “all the inhabitants of the land” recurs in 7:9 and 9:24. As shown below, this difference is one of perspective.

Brenner argues that this fear motif is found only in Deuteronomistic texts that are traceable to the Asaphite clan.³⁵ The texts most similar to Exod 15:14–16 are Josh 2:9, 24 and Deut 2:25. Deuteronomy 2:25 reads (words in common with Exod 15 are italicized):

היום הזה אחל תה פחדך ויראתך על־פני העמים תחת
כל־השמים אשר ישמעון שמעך ורגזו וחלו מפניך

“This day, I will begin to put *dread and fear of you* upon all of the *peoples* under the heavens who *will hear the report about you* and they *will tremble and shake* because of you.”

Significantly, Josh 2:9, 24 and Deut 2:25 share no terminology, but many words and phrases in each occur in Exod 15. This suggests that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is the source for the fear motif found in these texts rather than merely another component of the post-Deuteronomistic tradition stream.³⁶ Brenner’s study does demonstrate the frequency of the motif in Deuteronomistic literature and in the Asaphite psalms, but it does not prove that the Song of Moses and the Israelites finds its provenance in these circles. It seems improbable to argue that the author of the Song of Moses and the Israelites would have drawn separate elements from Deut 2:25 and Josh 2:9 in order to construct this poignant description of the terror evoked by Yhwh the divine warrior. The most probable conclusion is that tradents in the Deuteronomistic stream drew upon an earlier *traditum* such as Exod 15.

There are two differences in perspective and scope in these texts that also hint at the direction of dependence. First, a contrast in perspective is present regarding the object of the peoples' fear. In Exod 15, the object of the nations' terror is Yhwh. This is indicated by the phrase בגדל זרועך “because of your great strength” in verse 16a. This serves the Song of Moses and the Israelites' intention to assert that victory belonged to Yhwh alone. In Josh 2, however, the peoples are afraid of the Israelites. In verse 9, this is shown by the use of the suffix כם with the Israelites as the antecedent. Deuteronomy 2:25 offers a similar view using the suffix ך for Israel. Evidence that this fear goes back to Yhwh and his actions is implicit in both Deuteronomy and Joshua, but the explicit referent is Israel.

Second, the scope of the fear motif is different in these texts. In Exod 15:14–16a, the fear has a general reach that includes the land of Canaan and the nations surrounding it (i.e., Philistia, Moab, and Edom). In Josh 2, the fear is limited to those in Canaan with a phrase that echoes Exod 15:15b, כל-יִשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ “all the inhabitants of the land” (Josh 2:9). Deuteronomy 2:25 gives the fear motif a universal application, כל-הָעַמִּים תַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם “the peoples under all the heavens.”³⁷ This observation supports viewing Exod 15 as the source for these other texts. Joshua 2 and Deut 2 draw upon different elements from 15:14–16 and demonstrate redactional interests as each modifies the *traditum* to fit its own context.

Second, descriptive elements of the actual crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3:13, 16a) mirror the language used in Exod 15:8 (words in common are italicized):

Josh 3:13

והיה כנזח כפות רגלי ארון יהוה ארון כל-הָאָרֶץ במי הירדן מי הירדן יכרתון הַמַּיִם הירדים מלמעלה ויעמדו נד אחד:

“And as soon as the soles of the feet of the priests who carry the ark of the Yhwh, lord of all the earth, rest in the waters of the Jordan, *the waters* coming from upstream will stand in a *heap*.”

16a ויעמדו הַמַּיִם חירדים מלמעלה קמו נד אחד

“And *the waters* coming from upstream stood still and rose up like a *heap*.”

Exod 15:8

8 וברוח אפיך נערמו מים נצבו כמִרְגַד נזלים קפאו תהמה בלב־ים

“And with the breath of your nostrils, *the waters* piled up; flood waters stood like a *heap*; deep waters congealed in the heart of the sea.”

The use of נד is pivotal. It occurs only four times with certainty in the OT (Exod 15:8; Josh 3:13, 16; Ps 78:13).³⁸ All of these occurrences are re-

lated; the dependence of Ps 78 on Exod 15 has already been demonstrated. It is also plausible to argue that the roots עמר and קום in Josh 3 are synonymous with נצב in Exod 15. De Vaux, however, disagrees and argues that Exod 15:8 and Ps 78:13 have been influenced by Josh 3:13, 13. He objects that נד only makes sense in the Joshua context because it represents a damming of a channel of water whereas in Exod 15 and Ps 78 a dried body of water or split sea is implied.³⁹

De Vaux's argument is not decisive if the overall context of Exod 15:8 is considered. It describes the hardening of the waters of the Re(e)d Sea. The three cola of 15:8 use different images to portray a wall of water. Logically, it takes at least two walls to divide a sea unless the wall merely extends the dry ground from shore. The prose historian uses חמה to speak of two walls of water only in P (Exod 14:16, 29). Regardless, the Song of Moses and the Israelites is poetic; Joshua is prose. Thus, the evidence must not be pressed too much. The imagery evoked by נד is no less appropriate in Exod 15 than it is in Josh 3. To conclude, the use of נד demonstrates a clear intertextual relationship. It must be granted, however, that the direction of dependence is not clear from this bit of evidence.

The issue of dependence regarding Josh 3–5 turns on the relationship between the crossing of the Jordan and the crossing of the sea.⁴⁰ Brenner argues that Josh 3:13, 16 are primary.⁴¹ The Deuteronomistic redactor has linked the Jordan River and Sea traditions in Josh 4:23. This allowed the import of the river crossing imagery to the Sea accounts. Such an approach assumes that no early tradition (including J and E) existed that contained standing waters and a sea crossing. The overall arrangement and context of Josh 3–5, however, give explicit clues that it is related to a prior *traditum*.⁴² The most significant text is Josh 4:22–24. It explicitly links the crossing of the Jordan with that of the Sea.⁴³ This is indicated by the phrase כאשר עשה יהוה “just as Yhwh your God did to the Re(e)d Sea.” The language has points of contact with the narrative in Exod 14 and the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Joshua 4:22 employs יבשה “dry ground.”⁴⁴ This is drawn from the P-version of the sea narrative (Exod 14:16, 22, 29; and 15:19). The phrase עד-עבר (Josh 4:23 [2x], cf. 5:1) describes the crossing of the Jordan. This is reminiscent of the refrain in Exod 15:16b.

Indeed, Josh 3–5 appears to be related to the exodus from Egypt in terms of retrojective typology. The events encompassing the exodus from Egypt serve as a prototype for the narrative shaping of the Jordan river crossing.⁴⁵ כאשר הייתי עם-משה אהיה עמך “just as I was with Moses, I will be with you.” This invites a comparison between Joshua and Moses (cf. Exod 3:12). The stopping of the waters of the Jordan (Josh 3:13, 16) are described with

language similar to Exod 15:8 (נד). In Josh 3:17, Israel crosses the Jordan on dry ground (הרבה cf. Exod 14:21 [JE]). After the crossing in Josh 4:14, the people feared Joshua “just as” (כאשר) they had Moses. This appears to be an allusion to Exod 14:31 (JE).⁴⁶

The above links between the exodus and Jordan events are strengthened by observing wider connections between Josh 3–5 and the book of Exodus.⁴⁷ First, both events occur during Passover season (Josh 5:10–11; Exod 12:1–20 [P]). Second, God provides manna for food after the crossing of the Re(e)d Sea (Exod 16 [P]); the manna stops after Israel crosses the Jordan and enters the land (Josh 5:12). Third, both Moses and Joshua experience a theophany at the beginning of their appointed task. Right on the eve of the siege of Jericho, Joshua is confronted by a divine messenger. Joshua is told, “Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place upon which you stand is holy” (5:15). This is a virtual quotation of Exod 3:5 (JE). Fourth, circumcision is an important ritual in preparation for Passover (Josh 5:2–8; Exod 12:43–50 [P]). Fifth, at the foot of Sinai, Moses sets up twelve מצבורה (Exod 24:4); this is paralleled by the twelve אבנים that Joshua established at Gilgal (Josh 4:9, 20). Sixth, the nations were bewildered at the approach of Israel on account of a “water miracle” (Josh 5:1//Exod 15:14–16).⁴⁸ Seventh, a worship center is established at Gilgal whereas the climax of the Song of Moses and the Israelites is the arrival of Yhwh’s people at Sinai (Josh 4:20; Exod 15:17).⁴⁹ Eighth, both events share the theme of divine guidance and presence.⁵⁰ The pillar of cloud and fire guides Israel and reminds of Yhwh’s presence during the exodus. In Joshua, the ark serves this function. Last, both contexts anticipate children’s questions and provide answers to be shared from generation to generation (Josh 4:4–7, 21–24; Exod 12:26–27).

The threefold use of כאשר “just as” in Josh 3:7, 4:14, and 23 is significant for discerning the line of dependence. Regardless of the source criticism of these verses,⁵¹ the formulas employed imply a conscious intent by the redactors of Josh 3–5 to model the presentation of Joshua and the Jordan crossing after Moses and the sea event.⁵²

To assert the reverse requires scholars to argue that the Jordan river crossing was originally primary and that it influenced the Pentateuch’s presentation of the Sea crossing.⁵³

Such an attempt exists in the recent work of Batto.⁵⁴ He argues that the motif of the crossing of dry land had no role originally in the exodus tradition. Rather it developed as part of the conquest tradition ritualized at Gilgal.⁵⁵ The theme of the crossing on dry land was transferred via the cult to the exodus story “until eventually the motif of crossing dry shod came to be associated more closely with the exodus and Re(e)d Sea than with the con-

quest and the Jordan.”⁵⁶ Batto understands cult to include not only ritual but also the entire range of belief and practices (texts, priestly catechism, songs, stories, etc.). Its two primary functions are the preservation of tradition and its contemporization. It is by such a model that Batto describes the process by which elements of the Jordan river crossing influenced the later presentation of the crossing of the Sea. The split sea and Israel’s crossing of it on dry land is fully developed by the post-exilic period. The presentation in Nehemiah includes its three essential elements (Neh 9:9–11): first, the body of water in question is identified as the Re(e)d Sea, second, the sea is split (עָקַב), and third, Israel crosses on dry ground. These components are similar to the interests of P, but not J or E. According to Batto, neither JE nor Exod 15 mention a crossing. The key to the movement from the presentation in JE to that of P is the transformation of the tradition at Gilgal. Gilgal was an important shrine prior to the arrival of Israel. Batto avers that its ancient ritual included the Baal myth with its linkage of Sea and Judge River. The idea of the split sea has been influenced by the ancient Near Eastern Combat myth in which the creator god overcomes watery chaos, splits it, and forms the heavens and the earth. Over time the Israelite celebration of the Jordan crossing and the entry into the land was shaped by these mythological ideas, and they were applied to the exodus tradition as the Gilgal cult shifted from a conquest celebration to a Passover festival. Batto argues that the link between the Sea and Jordan had already occurred by roughly 600 B.C.E. The parallel is explicit in Josh 2:10 and 4:23; these texts predate the Deuteronomist. The linkage may perhaps be seen as early as the late ninth to mid-eighth centuries B.C.E. 2 Kings 2:1–18 describes the crossing of the Jordan near Gilgal by Elijah and Elisha. The overall arrangement of the Elijah-Elisha narrative suggests a parallel between Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha. The splitting of the Jordan by Elijah suggests that a similar feat had been accomplished by Moses.

Batto’s presentation is plausible, but it depends on two problematic elements. First, he insists that neither JE nor the Song of Moses and the Israelites mention a sea crossing.⁵⁷ Previous sections of this study have already cast doubt on this interpretation. Propp provides six additional arguments against this construal that support the idea that JE knew of a sea crossing either through Exod 15:16 or through another text now lost.⁵⁸ First, Josh 4:22–23, which links sea and river, would have to be understood as a late addition. Second, the comparison between Joshua and Moses support the idea that both led Israel across a body of water. Third, Elijah and Elisha, whose careers paralleled Moses and Joshua, crossed the Jordan on חַרְבֵּה (2 Kgs 2:8, 14; Exod 14:21–J). Fourth, P’s imagery of two walls is different from the

single “heap” (גַּד) in Josh 3:13, 16 (cf. Exod 15:8). Fifth, Pss 66:6 and 114:3, 5 link the Re(e)d Sea and Jordan events and imply a crossing. Finally, there are no poetic texts that only describe the destruction of Egypt, but many that picture Israel’s crossing.

Second, Batto argues that the two catechisms present in Josh 4 demonstrate that originally there was no link between the Sea and the Jordan. Each is concerned with explaining the twelve stones at Gilgal. Josh 4:4–7 does this without making any mention of the Sea whereas 4:23, which Batto reckons to be later, links the Jordan and Sea crossings.⁵⁹

Batto’s argument is circular. He reckons 4:23 to be late precisely because it connects sea and river. He does not consider the possibility that 4:23 may have been earlier or that they derive from the same time. Van Seters argues that they, in fact, are from the same hand.⁶⁰ He observes that the opening formula for each is similar, but the description of the event is different. Joshua 4:4–7 emphasizes that the waters of the Jordan were “cut off” (כַּרְהָה) whereas 4:21–24 is concerned with the parallel between the Jordan and Re(e)d Sea crossings. It is clear that in the final form of the text these two stories frame the actual description of Israel’s crossing (4:10–19). More importantly, vocabulary choices show dependence upon Exod 14. Joshua 4:22 uses בִּשְׂשָׁה “dry land” (cf. Exod 14:22) as well as the verb form of the root (4:23 [2x]; cf 2:10, 5:1) to describe Yhwh’s drying up of both the sea and river. Joshua 3:17 and 4:18 use חֲרֵבָה for “dry ground” (cf. Exod 14:21). These synonyms are usually associated with P and J respectively. However, בִּשְׂשָׁה cannot be definitively linked with P because it is used in the JE text Exod 4:9. When combined with the use of נָד in 3:13 and 16, it becomes clear that the description of the crossing of the Jordan is shaped in terms of the description of the wall of water and crossing on dry ground by elements of J, P, and the Song of Moses and the Israelites.

Given the close connections between the Jordan and Sea events and the above argument for the priority of the Sea account, it seems more plausible to assert that the Jordan river may have served as the site for ritual reenactment of the Sea event⁶¹ or both river and sea crossings than to attempt to posit an original Jordan crossing ritual and then construct a hypothetical chain of events that ends up moving in a circular direction, i.e., the Jordan river crossing tradition influences the depiction of the Re(e)d Sea miracle and then the portrayal of the Re(e)d Sea miracle ends up influencing the final form of the Jordan event.

The Date of DtrH

Since the publication of Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, in which Noth argued cogently for the view that Joshua-Kings was the work of a single deuteronomistic editor working in the mid-sixth century, scholarship has worked to refine and revise Noth's initial thesis. This has moved essentially in two directions. First, Cross argued for an initial edition of DtrH during the reign of Josiah.⁶² It served as propaganda for Josiah's regime. This edition was later updated during the exile into its current form. Second, moving in the opposite direction, a number of continental scholars have posited multiple exilic and post-exilic redactions of DtrH.⁶³

This study has focused on the final form of Joshua. It is clear from current scholarship that the editor(s) drew upon various source materials. Unfortunately, it is equally clear that no consensus exists on the precise delineation of the sources. Therefore, this discussion intends to err on the side of conservatism and regard DtrH as a product of the Exile. This confirms the earlier findings of the previous chapters, but does not alter the *terminus ad quem*.

This chapter has demonstrated the use of the Song of Moses and the Israelites by the authors or editors of Exod 14 and DtrH (specifically Josh 2–5). This is significant because it implies the significance of the Song of Sea for the tradents responsible for the production of the literature of ancient Israel. Given the problems establishing conclusive dates for both the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomist History, no firm conclusion about the date of the Song is possible. The plausibility if not probability of a relatively early date for Exod 15:1b–18 is certainly advanced by the establishment of its use as an authoritative *traditum* for the Primary History of Israel.

Conclusion: Literary Influence and Date

This chapter and the previous two have demonstrated that Exod 15 served as a source text (*traditum*), which has been reworked by the tradents responsible for Isa 11–12, Ps 118, several Asaphite psalms (74, 77, 78), and the narrative traditions in Exod 14 and Josh 2–5. This indicates that the Song of Moses and the Israelites was in circulation no later than the time of the composition of the earliest of these texts. The principal problem has been the difficulty in arriving at a conclusive date for most of these texts. At minimum, this study plants the Song of Moses and the Israelites firmly in the pre-Exilic period. By establishing the date of the composition of Psalm 78 during Hezekiah's reign, a *terminus ad quem* of the late eighth century B.C.E. has been set for the Song.

In assessing the significance of these chapters for dating, three approaches need to be contrasted with the method espoused here. First, Brenner's work dates the composition of the Song of Moses and the Israelites to the time of Nehemiah immediately following the reconstruction of Jerusalem's wall.⁶⁴ Brenner's approach involves a method similar to the one used here except for a key methodological assumption. Brenner consistently concludes that, *when a text closely parallels another, both texts derive from the same time*. For example, Brenner links Exod 15, Isa 12, Ps 118, and the Asaphite psalms to the same fifth century B.C.E. setting and argues that they were composed by post-exilic Levitical singers, specifically the Asaphite clan. Brenner's approach, however, fails to answer an essential question. What is the direction of the dependence noted between texts? Brenner does a remarkable analysis of the Song's links with other literature. However, his solution is to posit a common provenance for all of this material.⁶⁵

A more plausible approach is the one espoused by Fishbane and developed in this work. It argues that Exodus 15 with its magnificent poetic description of Israel's foundational event was genuinely recognized as a *traditum* that was drawn upon by later tridents, who wanted to celebrate new experiences of God's salvation in light of the old.⁶⁶ This understanding of the relationship between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and the literature dependent upon it suggests that the proposal of Albright, Cross, and Freedman that the Song be regarded as Israel's "national anthem"⁶⁷ was not only insightful but a cogent description of its influence and importance in Israel. These chapters on intertextuality do not prove conclusively that the Song must be dated to the premonarchic period as Albright, Cross, and Freedman argued, but it does show that given its influence on later literature such a date is plausible.

Second, Chapters seven-nine call into question linguistic investigations that have focused upon Exod 15.⁶⁸ These studies attempt to date the Song of Moses and the Israelites and other poetic compositions of unknown provenance by analyzing the distribution of vocabulary. A clustering of common vocabulary suggests that texts derive from the same general time period. In his earlier article, Tournay linked Exod 15 with the Passover celebrated during Josiah's reign in 622 B.C.E. on the basis of its lexical links with Deuteronomistic literature from the seventh century B.C.E. Though not as specific as Tournay, Butler likewise posited a late pre-Exilic date for the Song's composition. Gosse places Exod 15 in the pre-Exilic period as well, but without providing an approximate date.⁶⁹ Foresti's work is the most detailed. He argues that the date of composition of Exod 15 was during the Exilic period. He finds that the vocabulary of the Song was dependent on DtrH and influen-

tial on Ps 78.⁷⁰ This places the origin of Exod 15:1b–18 to the period 580–560 B.C.E. Tournay's more recent article associates the Song of Moses and the Israelites with the renewal of worship in Jerusalem as recorded in Ezra 3:4 and 6:19–22. This fixes the date of composition no later than 515 B.C.E. Tournay moves to this later date under the influence of Brenner's evidence that associates the Song with the Asaphite literature, but he rejects Brenner's insistence upon a post-Exilic date for the work of the Asaphites.

All of these studies may be criticized in two ways. First, the results are mitigated by the lack of consideration given to the issue of literary dependence. Even when an author speaks of the influence of one piece of literature upon another, the direction of the dependence is asserted rather than argued systematically. The force of the argument made in this study is that it calls into question the fundamental assumption that literature with vocabulary and phrases in common must derive from the same time period. Second, the whole enterprise of dating literature on the basis of common lexical terms is flawed due to the small pool of extant literature available for different time periods.⁷¹

Last, the Song of Moses and the Israelites has been investigated as part of traditio-historical analyses of the Re(e)d Sea motif.⁷² This line of study is usually carried out by categorizing texts on the basis of the presence or absence of certain key features. In the case of a study of the Re(e)d Sea tradition, the presence or absence in a given pericope of the imagery of a split sea plays a determinative role in assessing its place in the tradition. Such studies provide much insight, but are hampered by the necessity of studying individual texts in isolation or in contrast with others. The methodological assumptions of inner-biblical exegesis provide a more synthetic view of the growth of a tradition over time because the direction of dependence and the interplay between extant texts can be demonstrated concretely and studied apart from any model that attempts to trace the growth from the simple to the complex.

When the findings of this chapter are combined with the previous four, a date for the Song of Moses and the Israelites in the mid-twelfth century B.C.E. becomes not merely plausible, but demonstrably probable.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

The Song of the Sea (15:1–21) celebrates Yhwh’s victory over the Egyptians and the subsequent guidance of Yhwh’s people to the mountain sanctuary at Sinai/Horeb. It stands at the center of the structure and theology of Exodus. It serves as the climax of Exod 1–14 and as an introduction to the themes and movement of Exod 15:22–40:38. The pericope’s principal focus is on the decisive moment in Israel’s history in which Yhwh entered the plains of human existence and destroyed the army of Egypt. This act marks the “creation” and “redemption” of Yhwh’s people. Yhwh alone is exalted in the Song. Israel is only known by implication as the inheritor of the identity defined by a peculiar relationship to Yhwh. Even Moses is relegated to the narrative framework, which gives him the role of singer of the victory song. Such singing was traditionally a function reserved for women who would greet the victorious warriors upon their return from battle. It is quite fitting that Miriam and the other women retain this role and actually serve as worship leaders who exhort Moses and his male counterparts to “Sing to Yhwh” (Exod 15:21b).

The poetry of Exod 15 (vv. 1b–18, 21b) was composed approximately 1150 B.C.E. in the early years of Israel’s existence. The strength of this hypothesis lies in the accumulation of data from three converging lines of argumentation. The linguistic and comparative materials support clearly this mid-twelfth century B.C.E. date. The historical picture implicit in the poetry fits well during this time period. Finally and perhaps most significantly in terms of the wider scholarly discussion, chapters seven-nine show that the Song served as a *traditum* for many important later texts. This line of investigation established the *terminus ad quem* for the Song in the late eighth century B.C.E. This *terminus ad quem* could be pushed back even earlier if any of the sources behind the narratives in Exod 14 and Josh 2–5 could be convincingly dated earlier than the eighth century B.C.E. Additionally, these chapters answer arguments that attempt to date Exod 15 relatively late due to its affinities with other literature. In each case, the similarities were found to be the result of later tradents employing the Song as a source text. Why would tradents from different periods in the history of ancient Israel draw upon the same text? Because the Song of the Sea is an anthem that was rec-

ognized for precisely that which it is, a foundational piece of literature in the history of the Hebrew people from Israel's earliest times.

If the above conclusions are accepted, this study has implications for the on-going discussion of the formation of the Pentateuch as well as for the question of the early history of Israel. The key contribution for both of these is that Exodus 15:1b–18 stands as an extant source text from the Early Iron Age. Discussion of the hypothetical sources behind the Pentateuch must take into account the witness of the Song of Moses and the Israelites. In terms of the study of early Israel, the Song of Moses and the Israelites provides an explicit link between the Israel of the Early Iron Age and the Israel of later times. Beyond these controversial issues, this study adds to the general knowledge of the intertextual conversations present in the Hebrew Bible as well as offers a fresh reading of the Song of the Sea within the context of Exodus and the wider Pentateuchal drama.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Descriptive names for Exod 15:1–21 vary among scholars. Titles such as “The Song of the Sea,” “The Song of Miriam,” and “The Song of Moses” have been used to describe the unit as a whole or its component parts. This can lead to some confusion for the reader. This study uses the title “The Song of the Sea” specifically to refer to Exod 15:1–21 as a whole. Exod 15:1b–18 will be referred to as “The Song of Moses and the Israelites.” The title “Song of Miriam” is reserved for the couplet preserved in 15:21b.
2. The four letter divine name is rendered Yhwh throughout this study.
3. The history of the research will not be rehearsed exhaustively here because it has been covered well from different perspectives in three studies: Trent C. Butler, “‘The Song of the Sea’: Exodus 15:1–18: A Study in the Exegesis of Hebrew Poetry” (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1971); Maribeth Howell, “A Song of Salvation: Exodus 15, 1b–18” (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universteit Leuven, 1986); and Martin Brenner, *The Song of the Sea: Ex. 15:1–21*, BZAW 198 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991).
4. E.g., a thirteenth century B.C.E. date of composition is defended by William F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1954) and more recently in his monograph *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968). The most thorough argumentation for a late date is found in the work of Martin Brenner. He argues for a date of composition near the time of the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem (c. 444 B.C.E.). See Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 173–75.
5. Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” *JNES* 14 (1955): 237.
6. Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper’s, 1948), 281.
7. The reverse is true as well. This study attempts to bracket this reality as much as possible, but at certain points in the exegetical analysis in chapters two through four, arguments that will be proffered in Part II influence the exegesis. Such occasions are acknowledged in the notes.
8. *CMHE*, 112–44. See also Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 237–50. In *CMHE*, 121 n. 29, he accepts the work of David A. Robertson in a Yale dissertation “Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry” as further confirmation.
9. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea: Ex. 15:1–21*, BZAW 198 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991).
10. This method establishes a relative chronology for the Song. Logically, the Song must have been composed at a time prior to the earliest text shown to be dependent upon it. This time span may be mere minutes or hundreds of years.

Chapter 2

1. Verses 1a and 19–21a are prose. Verses 1b–18 and 21b are poetic. For the poetic sections, metrical analysis and syllable counts are provided in two parallel columns to the left of the Hebrew text. For general discussion of the debate and issues involved in prosodic analysis see Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985); Frank Moore Cross, “Toward a History of Hebrew Prosody” in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 135–147; David Noel Freedman, *Pottery, Poetry,*

- and *Prophecy: Collected Essays on Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980); Stephen A. Geller, *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry*, HSM 20 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979); James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Douglas K. Stuart, *Studies In Early Hebrew Meter*, HSM 13 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); and W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, JSOTSup 26, 2nd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).
2. Specific elements of the prosody are studied throughout this study. A discussion of the structure of the passage as well as its meter is found in chapter 3. A thorough study of staircase parallelism occurs in chapter five. For a general review of the poetics of Exod 15, see M. Howell, "A Song of Salvation: Exodus 15, 1b–18" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universteit Leuven, 1986); George W. Coats, "The Song of the Sea" *CBQ* 31 (1969): 5–6; James Muilenberg, "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh" in *Studia Biblica et Semitica: Theodora Christiana Vriezen* (Wageningen: Veenman and Zonen, 1966), 233–51; J. P. Fokkelman, *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible at the Interface of Hermeneutics and Structural Analysis*, vol. 1 (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1998), 24–53, and John D.W. Watts, "The Song of the Sea — Ex. xv" *VT* 7 (1957): 371–80.
 3. For a discussion of syllable counting, see David N. Freedman, "The Song of the Sea," 179–86.
 4. Unless indicated, all English translations of the Hebrew in this study are the author's. Additionally, this section will not deal with the archaic morphology and syntax present in Exod 15:1–21 or with Ugaritic parallels unless they are essential for translating the Hebrew. Such elements, as they are related to the Song's date of composition, will be discussed at length in chapter 5.
 5. Cross and Freedman suggest that the excellent state of the text shows "that the song was very popular throughout Israelite history." See "The Song of Miriam," 237.
 6. The Vulgate, Syriac, and some Targums also pluralize the imperative.
 7. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 243 n. 2; and Sigmund Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in the Old Testament" *VT* 12 (1962): 278–99.
 8. Carola Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill; Amsterdam: van Oorschot, 1986), 128.
 9. James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 29–30; D. Winton Thomas, "A Note on Exodus xv. 2" *ExpTim* 48 (1936–37): 478.
 10. See Michael L. Barré, "'My Strength and My Song' in Exodus 15:2," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 623–37; Peter C. Craigie, "Psalm xxix in the Hebrew Poetic Tradition" *VT* 22 (1972): 146; C.S.S. Ellison, "Song of Moses (Exodus xv)" *ExpTim* 48 (1936–37): 333; T.H. Gaster, "Notes on 'The Song of the Sea' (Exodus xv)" *ExpTim* 48 (1936–37): 45; Judah Goldin, *The Song at the Sea: being a Commentary on a Commentary in Two Parts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 108; Edwin M. Good, "Exodus xv 2" *VT* 20 (1970): 358–59; Samuel E. Loewenstamm, "The Lord is my Strength and My Glory" *VT* 19 (1969): 464–70; and Simon Parker, "Exodus xv 2 Again" *VT* 21 (1971): 373–79.
 11. Ellison, Goldin, Good, and Loewenstamm translate it as "song;" Barré, Craigie, Gaster, and Parker prefer "protection."
 12. Ellison ("Song of Moses," 333) in protesting Gaster's earlier suggestion of "protection" suggests that such a translation lacks appreciation for the poetry and transforms the "magnificent poetry" of "strength and song" to "little more than ordinary prose" with "stronghold and protection." Ellison, however, offers no further comment on the meaning of the

- poetry. Propp opts ultimately for “protection,” but cautions interpreters not to miss the double entendre implicit in this root. See Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 512–13.
13. For discussion, see W.O.E. Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems: Metrically Translated with Introductions and Notes* (New York: MacMillan, 1936), 21; Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 243; Good, “Exodus xv 2,” 358; Loewenstamm, “The Lord is My Strength and My Glory,” 464–70; and Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 121.
 14. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 243. Cross (*CMHE*, 127) later includes 15:2b. Chapter seven will demonstrate that the similarities between Exod 15 and both Isa 12:2 and Ps 118:14 are best explained in terms of a line of dependence from the Song of Moses and the Israelites to these other texts.
 15. Chapter three will offer a thorough discussion of the unity of Exod 15:1b–18.
 16. For a review of geographical, historical, and linguistic issues, see John R. Huddleston, “Red Sea” in *ABD*, V: 633–42; and James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 199–222. See also Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 463 and 557–59.
 17. The implications of the consistent use of the prefixed form for the dating of the Song’s composition will be discussed in chapter 5. David Noel Freedman provides an excellent introduction to this phenomenon in “Moses and Miriam: The Song of the Sea (Exodus 15:1–18, 21)” in *Realia Dei: Essays in Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation in Honor of Edward F. Campbell, Jr. at His Retirement*, ed. Prescott H. Williams, Jr., and Theodore Hiebert (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 73–79. The debate over the temporal orientation of the Song of Moses and the Israelites (especially vv. 13–17) is not a modern phenomenon. The alternation of prefixed and suffixed forms has long challenged translators. Graham Davies offers an interesting discussion of ten sixteenth century C.E. translations of Exod 15:13–18. See “Some Points of Interest in Sixteenth-Century Translations of Exodus 15” in *Hebrew Study: From Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 252–55.
 18. Chaim Cohen, “Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I: An Unrecognized Case of Three-Line Staircase Parallelism in the Song of the Sea” *JANES* 7 (1975): 13–17.
 19. Mitchell Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” in *Ras Shamra Parallels I*, ed. L. Fisher (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972), 98.
 20. W.L. Moran, “The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G.E. Wright (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 67.
 21. Donald Watson Goodwin, *Text Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica (Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1969), 127–29; Chaim Cohen, “Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I,” 13–17.
 22. One might translate—“when thy right hand, O Lord, shows itself powerful in might, thy right hand, O Lord, shatters the enemy.” See Goodwin, *Text Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, 128. Such a translation, however, shows a lack of understanding of the staircase parallelism within the verse. Probability lies on the side of translating 15:6 as two independent clauses as above.
 23. For translation, see Cohen, “Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I,” 16 n. 20.
 24. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 247.
 25. Cohen, “Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I,” 16–17.
 26. See especially *CMHE*, 128–29; Al Wolters, “Not Rescue but Destruction: Rereading Exodus 15:8” *CBQ* 52 (1990): 223–240; Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus*, OTL (Louisville: West-

- minster Press, 1974), 243; Lester L. Grabbe, “Comparative Philology and Exodus 15, 8: Did the Egyptians Die in a Storm?” *SJOT* 7 (1993): 263–69; and Kloos, *Yhwh's Conflict with the Sea*, 136.
27. In fact, Exod 15:8 is the *only* possible example of I; verbal forms based on II occur in 1 Sam 23:22; Prov 15:5, 19:25; and Ps 83:4.
 28. Judah Goldin, *The Song at the Sea: being a Commentary on a Commentary in Two Parts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 165. The Shirta, however, lists “waters piled up” as an alternative translation. This of course corresponds to root I.
 29. Nahum Sarna, *Exodus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 78.
 30. The old Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian all read εὐσφραγισθῆναι “heap or pile up.” The Targums *Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Neofiti* read ית'בדו and י'בדו. LXX is little help because it translates both נִעְרַמּוּ and קָפְאוּ with διέσθη “were divided, separated” (cf. Vulgate’s *congregatae sunt* “were gathered/collected”). This move harmonizes the two obscure words in Exod 15:8 with one another under the influence of the prose accounts in Exodus 14.
 31. נָד also is found in Ps 33:7 and Isa 17:11, but these occurrences are usually regarded as corrupt. However, a case can be made that the MT is correct in Ps 33:7. The text reads: תְּהוֹמוֹת כֶּסֶף כִּנֹּד מִי הַיָּם נִנְּן בְּאֲצֵרוֹת. This verse shows clear linguistic and thematic affinities with Exod 15:8. נָד, הַהֲמָה, מַיִם, and יָם are all used in Exod 15:8 and Yhwh’s control of the waters is a dominant theme. The dependence of Ps 33 on Exod 15:8 is further demonstrated in v. 8: יִגְדְּרוּ כָל-יְשִׁבֵי חֶבְלֵי יִרְאֹוּ מִיְהוָה כָּל-הָאָרֶץ מִמֶּנּוּ. The fear evoked in humans confronted with Yhwh’s control of the waters is reminiscent of that found in Exod 15:14–15. See the comments in Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 273. These considerations support the MT. The parallelism between בְּאֲצֵרוֹת and כִּנֹּד also contribute to understanding the meaning of נָד. The lines are in synonomous parallelism so נָד most likely refers to some means of storage. LXX translates נָד with ἄσκος “wineskin/skin-bottle.” This is probably the result of associating נָד with נֹאֵד. Such a translation makes good literal sense and most modern translations follow this (e.g., NIV and NRSV), but one wonders if this is what the poet intended. The “deeps” are not usually gathered in storehouses so perhaps it is more likely that the poet meant a storage method not typically used for liquids with “the waters of the sea.” כֶּסֶף is not used elsewhere in a watery context. It typically is used in the sense of amassing a large amount of material (Eccl 2:8, 3:5) or people (Ezek 22:21). This suggests that נָד may mean “pile” or “storage heap.” This in fact is the connotation usually given to נָד in Exod 15:8.
 32. LXX reads τεταχῶς; Onkelos offers שׁוּר. Cf. several significant Medieval Jewish exegetes: Rashi and Ibn Ezra interpret נָד as “wall;” Rashbam is slightly different arguing for “heap.”
 33. *CMHE*, 128 n. 58. Cassuto also derives the meaning of נָד from nadd. He comments on the meaning, “the waters, which are naturally fluid, stood firm as though they were a heap, a mound of earth.” In Cassuto, *Exodus*, 175.
 34. Grabbe, “Comparative Philology and Exodus 15,8,” 265–66.
 35. Wolters posits Ps 33:7 as such an example (*Rereading Exodus 15:8*, 235), but see our arguments against such an understanding of Ps 33:7 in n. 31. Wolters also appeals to the fact that in other Medieval Hebrew manuscripts there are often variants in which נֹאֵד is spelled נָד.
 36. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 246. This move also helps support their argument that Exod 15 does not mention the division of the Re(e)d Sea.

37. Mark Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, with a contribution by Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, JSOTSup 239 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997), 209.
38. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 246.
39. Cohen, "Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I," 14 n. 10.
40. *Ibid.*, 16 n. 22.
41. Contra G. Quell's suggestion in the apparatus in *BHS*, 111.
42. Miller argues for a similar usage of שָׁרָה as a collective in Deut 33:2b in Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Two Critical Notes on Psalm 68 and Deuteronomy 33" *HTR* 57 (1964): 241; also supported by James Muilenberg, "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh," 244, and Douglas K. Stuart, *Studies in Early Hebrew Meter*, HSM 13 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 91. Additionally, Ps 77:14 shows a similar example of שָׁרָה used in a collective sense. See Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II:51–100: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 230. Ps 77:14–15 appears to be influenced by Exod 15:11 (see Chapter eight).
43. Paul Haupt, "Moses' Song of Triumph" *AJSL* 20 (1904): 161; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 23; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), 176; J. Philip Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, NCB (Greenwood: Attic Press, 1971), 165; and William L. Holladay, "'Ereš—'Underworld': Two More Suggestions" *VT* 19 (1969): 124.
44. M. Dahood, "Nada 'to hurl' in Ex. 15,16" *Biblica* 43 (1962): 248f.
45. Scholars debate whether or not hñq should be reckoned as multiple roots. Murtonen collects the pertinent data from comparative Semitic lexicography in A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting: A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 13 (Leiden, New York, København, and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1989), 380.
46. Loren R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament" *VT* 15 (1965): 323.
47. CAT 1.10 III: 5–6 places *qny* and *knn* in parallel:
- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------|
| lm.kqny.ʿ[] | "Why, like our creator(s),...[] |
| kdr{d}.dyknn[] | "Like this circle that produced us [?] |
- Translation by Simon B. Parker in Simon B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, SBL Writings from the Ancient World Series 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 184.
48. Mark S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Volume I Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*, Vetus Testamentum Supplements 55 (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), 358.
49. Freedman, "Moses and Miriam: The Song of the Sea," 82–83.
50. Eunice Blanchard Poethig, "The Victory Song Tradition of the Women of Israel" (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1985), 31–52. See also Carol Meyers, "Miriam the Musician" in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*, ed. A. Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 207–30.
51. Verse 1b has a first singular, Qal cohortative, and verse 21b has a plural, Qal imperative.
52. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 186–87. For a fuller discussion, see *CMHE*, 309–21.
53. See Chapter Four "The Narrative Role of the Song of the Sea in the Book of Exodus."
54. The interpretation of v. 19 as well as the relationship between vv. 1–18 and 19–21 will be provided in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

1. For a succinct summarization of the discussion through 1971, see Trent C. Butler, “‘The Song of the Sea’: Exodus 15:1–18: A Study in the Exegesis of Hebrew Poetry” (Ph.D. Diss., Vanderbilt University, 1971), 56. More recently, see Thomas B. Dozeman, “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History” in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, eds. Stephen L. Cook and S. C. Winter, ASOR (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 94–113.
2. For arguments specifically against the authenticity of v. 2, see Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 243; against the original inclusion of vv. 13–17, see Durham, *Exodus*, 202–5; and Dozeman, *God at War*, 153–155 and “Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 94–113.
3. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 243.
4. Freedman, “Strophe and Meter,” 194; Freedman, “The Song of the Sea,” 182. The first person, singular, cohortative אֲשִׁירָה was not problematic in Freedman’s view.
5. David Noel Freedman, “Divine Names and Titles in Early Hebrew Poetry” in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 80–81. Freedman attempts to establish a relative chronology for early Hebrew poetry based on the use of divine appellations and epithets found in them. His thesis is that the earliest Hebrew prosody used only hwhy. He dated Exod 15:1b, 3–18 to the twelfth century B.C.E., but only after eliminating v. 2. In his view, v. 2 is the product of a tenth century B.C.E. expansion.
6. See chapter 7 for a full discussion and evidence of the direction of dependence.
7. *CMHE*, 127.
8. Cross and Freedman (“The Song of Miriam,” 243) attempted to ameliorate this problem by suggesting that יְהוָה be redivided and read as יְהִי why. יְהוָה represents the divine name in early Hebrew orthography.
9. Chapter five presents a review of the archaic nature of vv. 1b–18 as a whole.
10. Dozeman, “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 95–101.
11. J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen: Israels Begegnung mit dem kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe-König-Psalmen*, FRLANT 141 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 99; cited in Dozeman, “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 96.
12. This paragraph assumes the metrical analysis in chapter two.
13. Fokkelman describes the “heartbeat” of the poem as “the metrical cell of 2+2 stresses.” He treats the Song of the Sea as a unit. J. P. Fokkelman, *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: at the Interface of Hermeneutics and Structural Analysis: Volume I: Ex. 15, Deut. 32, and Job 3*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1998), 30–32.
14. A chart recording the history of form critical research on Ex. 15:1b–18 is found in Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 54. More recently, after surveying the literature, Durham (*Exodus*, 203) concludes that Exod 15:1b–18 fits no single form. Childs aptly concludes his own analysis, “In sum, the Song does not reflect any one genre in its form which would give the key to its function within the early life of the nation” (*The Book of Exodus*, 244).
15. E.g., Coats, “The Song of the Sea,” *CBQ* 31 (1969): 7–8; Bernhard Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered” in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. Elaine D. Follis, *JSOTSup* 46 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 289.
16. *CMHE*, 121; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 206. The designation as a victory song typically involves a reference to and comparison with another early Hebrew poem,

- “The Song of Deborah,” in Judges 5. Alan Hauser’s study demonstrates that though there are similarities between the two, there are also significant differences between the form and content of Exod 15 and Judg 5. This leads Hauser to conclude that it is not likely that both draw from a common “victory song” form. See Hauser, “Two Songs of Victory: A Comparison of Ex. 15 and Judges 5” in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. Elaine D. Follis, JSOTSup 40 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 265–84.
17. Smith also is tentative about the results of form criticism. He designates Exod 15:1b–18 as victory song, but he notes that vv. 13–18 have “little bearing on the victory.” He then states that the function of Exod 15 with the book as a whole must be understood in terms of the priestly literary arrangement and redaction of the material (*The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 206).
 18. Dozeman, “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 98–99.
 19. See Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 222. In fact, elements of the divine guidance theme and the fear of the nations motif present in verses 13–17 will be shown chapter nine to influence later deuteronomistic texts rather than vice versa.
 20. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 30–34. Also see Chapter 5 “Linguistic and Comparative Evidence for the Dating of Exodus 15:1b–18.”
 21. David Noel Freedman, “Moses and Miriam: The Song of the Sea (Exodus 15:1–18, 21)” in *Realia Dei: Essays in Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation in Honor of Edward F. Campbell, Jr. at His Retirement*, ed. Prescott H. Williams and Theodore Hiebert (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 73–78.
 22. Annekatrin Warnke, “Die Verbformen mit dem Suffix “גַּרְ” als Kernelemente der Textstruktur von Ex 15,1b–18” *Bib* 83 (2002): 399–408. Warnke argues that the use of the third masculine plural suffix is the principal marker of structure in the Song of Moses and the Israelites.
 23. Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea*, 134.
 24. David Noel Freedman, “Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15” in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 189.
 25. J. P. van der Westhuizen, “Literary Device in Exodus 15:1–18 and Deut 32:1–43 as a Criterion for Determining Their Literary Standards” *OTSSA* 17/18 (1974–75): 65.
 26. A second occurrence of גַּרְ is found in 15:9. The usage is clearly ironic as Yhwh’s enemy boasts that his hand will destroy God’s people. In fact, the power of Egypt is shown to be impotent before Yhwh the warrior.
 27. The outline offered here is eclectic and tries to forge a balance between content and poetic considerations. The most complete survey of the various proposals for understanding the arrangement of the Song is found in Maribeth Howell’s dissertation, M. Howell, “A Song of Salvation: Exodus 15, 1b–18” (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universteit Leuven, 1986). See also George W. Coats, “The Song of the Sea” *CBQ* 31 (1969): 5–6; James Muilenberg, “A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh,” 233–51; David N. Freedman, “The Song of the Sea”, 179–86; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 211–14; J. P. Fokkelman, *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible at the Interface of Hermeneutics and Structural Analysis*, vol. 1 (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1998), 24–53, and John D.W. Watts, “The Song of the Sea-Ex. xv” *VT* 7 (1957): 371–80.
 28. For this style of analysis, I am indebted to my former teacher David R. Bauer in *The Structure of Matthew’s Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*, JSNTSup 31 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), 13–20. Cf. Robert Traina, *Methodical Bible Study* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982).

29. On the relationship between the Song of the Miriam and the Song of Moses and the Israelites, see below.
30. The principal argumentation for interpreting the sanctuary language in vv. 13 and 17 as references to Sinai is found in chapter 6. It will be demonstrated that literary, historical, canonical, and linguistic data converge around Sinai as the most probable referent.
31. I thank my student George Masciarelli at Asbury Theological Seminary (Pentateuch, Fall 2001) for this observation. The commentary on it is solely my own.
32. Muilenberg, "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh," 235.
33. Verse 12 is often linked with vv. 1–11 because of its reference to the destruction of Egypt. The following observations make the case for dividing the poem into two halves after v.11. First, the tricola in v. 11 focuses on the incomparability of Yhwh. This is an apt climax and conclusion to the description of the divine warrior (vv. 3–10). Second, there are close connections between vv. 12 and 13. Assonance is present between three of the five verbs (נָהִיָה, נָהִיָה, נָהִיָה). Also, all of the verbs are second person singular. Third, verse 12 functions as a transition to the second half of the poem. Verse 11 is a rhetorical question that proclaims Yhwh's incomparability. Verse 12 revisits for the final time the victory over the Egyptians and serves to introduce the themes of Yhwh's guidance of Yhwh's people to the sanctuary and the fear of the nations that has resulted from the destruction of Egypt (vv. 13–17).
34. The intention is not to suggest any special significance for the root כָּסַח, but rather to emphasize the multiple images and expressions that the poet musters forth.
35. George Bush, *Notes, Critical, and Practical on the Book of Exodus*, vol. I (New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman; 1867), 184.
36. John D. W. Watts ("The Song of the Sea—Ex. XV" *VT* 7 [1959]: 374) regards the placement of v. 2 as an indicator of a personal confession of faith. Oswalt ("Exodus," 211) comments, "God, who has been abstract and impersonal, has acted personally for them. The Maker of the universe is indeed their personal God."
37. Brueggemann, "The Book of Exodus," 799.
38. Bush, *Notes, Critical, and Practical on the Book of Exodus*, 185.
39. Stan Rummel, "Narrative Structures in the Ugaritic Texts," 241.
40. In the Hebrew Bible, this designation occurs only here and in 1 Sam 17:33 of the Philistine giant, Goliath.
41. Peter C. Craigie, "Psalm xxix in the Hebrew Poetic Tradition" *VT* 22 (1972): 146–47.
42. J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Exodus," 941. Rylaarsdam argues that this is the central revelation in the Book of Exodus.
43. Howell, "Exodus 15,1b–18," 28–29. She follows Watson (*Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 311), who defines irony, "In dramatic or situational irony, the audience is aware of a situation of which the actor(s) is (are) ignorant."
44. Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," 44.
45. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 165–66.
46. Muilenberg, "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh," 241–42.
47. Lohfink, "The Song of Victory at the Red Sea," 76.
48. George A. F. Knight, *Theology as Narration: A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 109. He captures the intent of the metaphorical language well by writing, "Yahweh is furiously angry at the powers of evil." Also, see Cohen, "Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I," 16–17 for discussion of the rhetorical device used to link these lines: the breaking up of a composite word pair—אֵלֶּיךָ/חָרָרְךָ.

49. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 167. Fretheim argues that Egypt is presented in Exodus 1–14 as the epitome of anticreational force. It is fitting that this evil power is thwarted and destroyed by Yhwh’s use of chaos against it.
50. Chapter 9 presents a detailed analysis of the relationship between Exod 14 and 15.
51. Cross and Freeman, “The Song of Miriam,” 238–39. They do note, however, that a “literalistic interpretation might construe it” as one. Childs concurs (*Exodus*, 245).
52. *CMHE*, 132 nn. 71–72.
53. Coats, “The Song of the Sea,” 14.
54. For the second idea, see Walter J. Houston, “Misunderstanding or midrash? The prose appropriation of poetic material in the Hebrew Bible (Part I),” *ZAW* 109 (1997): 352.
55. Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 137.
56. Halpern also follows this basic reconstruction. See Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 37.
57. Norbert Lohfink, “The Song of Victory at the Red Sea” in *The Christian Meaning of the Old Testament*, translated by R.A. Wilson (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1968), 83; James Plastaras, *The God of Exodus: The Theology of the Exodus Narrative* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1966), 199; and U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, translated by Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967), 177.
58. Lohfink, “The Song of Victory at the Red Sea,” 83. He writes:
 Once again, a procession passes through the danger zone. But by contrast to the passage of the Egyptians through the sea, success comes at the end. The threatening masses of the nations correspond here to the masses of water on each side of the passage of the Egyptians. Just as Yahweh congeals the masses of the waters, so he now turns the nations to stone, so that Israel can pass between them, and they do not flow back together to threaten Israel. Thus there is a positive image opposed to the passage of the Egyptians through the sea—but its starting point is formed by different saving acts of Yahweh.
 Cassuto’s comment is also illuminating, “The description of the people who are turned to stone until the people of Israel pass through them parallels the description of the waters that piled and stood like a heap in order that Israel might pass through them” (*A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 177).
59. Craigie (“The Conquest and Early Hebrew Poetry” *TB* 20 [1969]: 83–4) argues that the portrayal of the victory at the sea in Exod 15:1–12 is compatible with prose accounts in Exodus 14. Propp’s comment (*Exodus 1–18*, 553) is also illuminating:
 When we come to interpret the Song, then, we must look to the prose sources. While we cannot blindly trust their versions, we must respect their proximity to the Song in date and cultural context. We incur greater risks reading the Song in isolation than in intelligent consultation of JE and P, as well as extrapentateuchal materials. This procedure might be disparaged as harmonistic, but it is mere prudence. At worst, we shall have correctly interpreted the Song in its current literary context, as the editor(s) intended. At best, we shall have understood the poem as did its ancient audience and author.
60. Brueggemann, “The Book of Exodus,” 800.
61. Lohfink, “The Song of Victory at the Red Sea,” 78.
62. M. Howell, “Exodus 15,1b–18,” 38. Howell’s structure included only B...B’ on the current diagram. I think that the addition of A...A’ Guidance to the Sanctuary is a logical expansion of her work and incorporates the rest of vv. 12–17 into this framework.
63. I.e., Sinai.

64. Freedman, "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry", 137. Of course the reference is to Jerusalem/Zion in Jeremiah, but this need not be the case in Exod 15.
65. Alan Hauser, "Two Songs of Victory: A Comparison of Exodus 15 and Judges 5" in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, JSOTSup 40 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 278.
66. William L. Holladay, "'Ereš—'Underworld': Two More Suggestions" *VT* 19 (1969): 124. Interestingly, Num 16:30–34 records the same fate for the perpetrators of Korah's rebellion. See W. O. E. Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems: Metrically Translated with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 22; and J. Philip Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, 165. In these four verses, the terms אָרֶץ (3x), בִּלְעַ (3x), כִּסֶּה occur. שְׂאוּלֵּ is mentioned explicitly as the destination (v. 33).
67. Lohfink, "The Song of Victory at the Red Sea," 80. He writes, "the leading of the people into the realm of the holy was the true purpose of the saving act of Yahweh."
68. For a detailed list of parallels, see Nahum Waldman, "A Comparative Note on Exodus 15:14–16" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 66 (1976): 189–92.
69. Freedman, "Strophe and Meter," 217.
70. Strauss, "Das Meerlied des Mose: Ein 'Siegeslied' Israel?" *ZAW* 97 (1985): 107.
71. Freedman, "Moses and Miriam: The Song of the Sea," 82–83.
72. Rita J. Burns, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers with Excursuses on Feasts/Ritual and Typology*, Old Testament Message (Wilmington: M. Glazier, 1983), 114–15. Burns explains: Miriam's dance and song not only espoused joy at victory. They were also ritual actions, and like all ritual, were intended to capture the event being celebrated, expressing its meaning and keeping it alive. The dramatic movement of dance, accompanied by the words of the song and the sound of the tambourine, somehow expressed the struggle and victory, the fear and exultation, the death and life which Yhwh's battle at the sea entailed.
73. Burns, *Has the Lord Spoken Only Through Moses?*, 18–25.
74. Watts, *Psalm and Story*, 54.
75. The only difference between the two verses is the form of the verb שִׁיר. V. 1b uses the first singular Qal cohortative (אֲשִׁירָה), and v. 21b reads a masculine plural Qal imperative (שִׁירוּ).
76. This position has a long tradition in Jewish and Christian interpretation. E.g., Drazin quotes from Mekhilta de R. Ishmael: "Scripture tells that just as Moses recited the song for the men, so Miriam recited the song for the women" in Drazin, ed., *Targum Onkelos to Exodus*, 161. Among more recent exegetes, see U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 182; Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: JPS, 1991), 75; James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSup, 139 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 43; and Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus*, IBC (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991), 161.
77. Phyllis Trible, "Bringing Miriam Out of the Shadows" *BR* 5:1 (1989): 19. Strauss also argues that the insertion of vv. 1–19 has pushed the theological relevance of vv. 20–21 into the background. See Hans Strauss, "Das Meerlied des Mose: Ein 'Siegeslied' Israel?" *ZAW* 97 (1985): 103.
78. Athalya Brenner, *The Israelite Woman: Social Role and Literary Type in Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985 and 1989), 56. It is interesting that early Christian interpreters in no way denigrated the role of Miriam. Rather, they found profound theological richness in the account of her song. For example consider the words of Ambrose, "And Miriam taking the timbrel led the dances with maidenly modesty. But consider who she

- was then prefiguring. Was she not a type of the church, who as a virgin with unstained spirit joins together the religious gatherings of the people to sing divine songs?" (Concerning Virgins 1.3.12) or those of Peter Chrysologus, "This name is related to prophecy and salutary to those reborn. It is the badge of virginity, the glory of purity, the indication of chastity, the sacrificial gift of God, the height of hospitality, the sum total of sanctity. Rightly therefore is this motherly name that of the mother of Christ" (Sermon 146). Both are quoted in Joseph T. Lienhard, ed., *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament III, in collaboration with Ronnie J. Rombs (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 82–83. Not all feminist scholars agree with Tribble and Brenner. For example, Alice Bach, "With a Song in Her Heart: Listening to Scholars Listening for Miriam" in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*, ed. A. Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 244.
79. For example, Driver assigns vv. 1–18 to J, v. 19 to Rp, and vv. 20–21 to E in S.R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1911), 132–41. On the other hand, Beer argues that v. 21b derives from J1 in Georg Beer, *Exodus*, HZAT, 3, mit einem Beitrag von Kurt Galling (Tübingen: Mohr, 1937), 79.
80. For example, in his remarks on vv. 20–21, Noth writes, "Of course we cannot establish any recognizable connection between it and any of the known sources. Because it is in all probability of relatively great age it is most often assigned to the source J, but there is no conclusive argument in favor of this." See Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, OTL, trans. J.S. Bowden (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 121. Elsewhere, Noth argues that vv. 1–19 are too isolated to be definitely assigned to any source. See Noth, *A History of the Pentateuchal Traditions*, 30 n. 107.
81. M. Brenner, however, attempts to argue that v. 19 represents a later post-exilic Deuteronomistic redaction. See Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 46–53.
82. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 237. This position was also held by their teacher William F. Albright. Albright appeals to Ps 68 for support. He avers that Ps 68 represents a list of song titles for liturgical purposes. Also he notes that lists of poetic compositions have been found in some cuneiform tablets. In Albright, "From the Patriarchs to Moses," 59–60. Cohen also understands 15:21b as an incipit on the basis of the "extensive use of the incipit in Akkadian texts" in Cohen, "Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I", 13 n. 4. According to Cohen, it was standard practice in Akkadian texts to refer to an entire composition by its first line or incipit.
83. Watts, *Psalms and Story*, 43. Coats ("The Song of the Sea," 3) questions this position as well. Since doublets occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch, why not simply repeat the entire poem? Even if verse 21b is a title, how can scholars be sure that it is not a different form of verses 1b–18?
84. John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 203–205; S.E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, Oxford Bible Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 145; Noth, *Exodus*, 123; and Josef Scharbert, *Exodus*, Die Neue Echter Bibel (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1989), 62–63. The opposite view is held by Martin Brenner in *The Song of the Sea*, 20. He writes, "The 'Song of Miriam' is the first line of the Song, formulated now as an invitation to praise so that it is suitable for use as a refrain. It has never existed independently from the Song."
85. Durham, *Exodus*, 205.
86. Anderson argues for this on the basis of a comparison with Ps 117. He then avers that brevity does not equal antiquity nor does it suggest that a short poem is fragment, torso, or

- title of a longer work. In Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered,” 289.
87. Ps 68 is often regarded as being constituted by several short and originally independent songs of warfare.
 88. Ps 68:26 (v. 25 ET) records women playing hand-drums while participating in a liturgical act, Judith 15:12–16:17 also records a victory song and dance led by women.
 89. Poethig describes a [t as a shallow hand-held drum made of a wooden hoop covered with a membrane. It is not a tambourine because there are no metal disks attached to it. It is found as early as the Sumerian period. In West Semitic, it is known from fourteenth century Ugaritic sources. See Eunice Blanchard Poethig, “The Victory Song Tradition of the Women of Israel” (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1985), 31–52.
 90. Poethig argues that these were probably not formalized dances because מַחֲלָל is not associated with the usual term for dancing in the Old Testament, רָקַד. The dance may be processional or may include circling around the subjects of the praise. In Poethig, “The Victory Song Tradition of the Women of Israel,” 52–66.
 91. See Carol Meyers, “Miriam the Musician” in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*, ed. A. Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 207–230.
 92. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 237. They want to call vv. 1b–18 the “Song of Miriam” as well because they consider vv. 1b–18 and 21 to be doublets.
 93. For a thorough study of the Miriam tradition within the OT, see Rita J. Burns, *Has the Lord Spoken Only Through Moses?: A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam*, JBLDS 84 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).
 94. Some interpreters identify the unnamed sister of Moses (Exod 2:4, 7–8) who watches from afar as Moses is drawn out of the Nile by Pharaoh’s daughter and then offers to get a Hebrew wet-nurse for Moses as Miriam. This interpretation has a long standing tradition in both Jewish and Christian exegesis, e.g., Megilla. 14a and Mekhilta T.S. 15, 230–231 quoted in Menahem M. Kasher, ed., *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation: a millennial anthology*, vol. 8, trans. Harry Freedman (New York: American Biblical Encyclopedia Society, 1970), 198–199; John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1843), 43; and more recently Tribble, “Bringing Miriam Out of the Shadows,” 16–18; Everett Fox, *Now These Are the Names: A New English Rendition of the Book of Exodus* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 86; and Sarna, *Exodus*, 83.
 95. For a discussion of the function of these titles, see Burns, *Has the Lord Spoken Only Through Moses*, 46–48, 84.
 96. Brenner, *The Israelite Woman*, 52–53.
 97. Obviously, scholars and lay readers alike desire to know more about the character Miriam, but this is true for most of the actors in the Bible. How much is actually known about such ostensibly important early figures like Aaron, Jethro, Joshua, or even Moses for that matter? Solid evidence of an intentional suppression of Miriam because she is female is lacking. Ultimately, in Biblical narrative, Yhwh is the chief character. The Pentateuch elevates only one human—Moses, the servant of Yhwh.
 98. Watts, *Psalm and Story*, 43.
 99. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 182.
 100. Georg Fischer, “Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext” *Biblica* 77 (1996): 33 n. 7. Fischer writes, “Innerhalb der biblischen Erzählungen ist mir kein anderer Text bekannt, der so wie hier v. 20f. nach v. 1 das Preisen Jahwes wiederholt. Entfernt Ver-

gleichbares gibt es bei den Refrains innerhalb der Psalmen, z.b. Ps 57,6.12; 42,6.12 mit 43,5, doch werden dort keine anderen Sprecher genannt." The other obvious example of a repeating refrain is Ps 136. Fischer does in the end view vv. 20–21 as antiphonal response to vv. 1–18.

101. J. Gerald Janzen, "Song of Moses, Song of Miriam: Who Is Seconding Whom?" *CBQ* 54 (1992): 211–220. This section will strengthen his suggestion with further argumentation and a closer analysis of the issues involved as well as provide additional rationale for such an editorial move on the part of the tradents responsible for the final form of Exod 15:1–21.
102. This interpretation is also found in some medieval Jewish commentators such as Rabbi Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, in *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, 8:197.
103. It is true that verse 19 may be divided into a tricola with each line ending with ׀, but there is no consistent meter. Brenner suggests that v. 19 has a "rhythmic quality" with each line consisting of 5 or 6 beats, but he stops short of calling in poetic by including his discussion of v. 19 in a section dealing with "Prose Framework" in Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 46–47. Also, the use of prose elements such as waw-consecutives, definite articles, and the direct object marker weigh decisively against interpreting verse 19 as poetry. See the discussion of the distinction between poetry and prose, in Wilfred G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, 2nd ed., JSOTSup, 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 44–60. Watts adds that, from a narrative perspective, verse 19 "sounds more like the narrator than like Moses, Miriam and the Israelites." In Watts, *Psalm and Story*, 45.
104. Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, vol. 1, 262. The Jewish exegete Arabanel, Rabbi Isaac ben Judah (c. 1500) limits the substantiation specifically to the declaration of Yhwh as eternal king in v. 18. In Kasher, ed., *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 8, 197. A causal relationship is present here, but vv. 19–21 as a unit functions to substantiate vv. 1–18.
105. The only "new" element in v. 19 is the mention of Israel crossing through the sea on dry land, but it is unlikely that the reader would have needed to be reminded of this given the fact that the narrative setting for Exod 15:1–21 purports to be the eastern shore of the Re(e)d Sea.
106. E.g., Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus: A Study of the Structure of the Later Pentateuchal Books, Reproducing the Sources of the Narrative, and Further Illustrating the Presence of Bibles within the Bible* (Hartford: Student Publishing Co., 1894), 72–80, esp. 74; Georg Beer, *Exodus*, 83; Alfred Nevin, *Notes, Exegetical, Practical, and Devotional on the Book of Exodus, for the Pulpit, Family and Sabbath-School* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Ramson, and Haffelfinger; 1874), 185; and more recently, Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, 161–62, 169.
107. Noth epitomizes this approach by describing v. 19 as a prose addition to vv. 1–18 without making any further comment to clarify its function or interpretation. See Noth, *Exodus*, 126. Cf. Beer, *Exodus*, 83.
108. Sarna, *Exodus*, 82. Sarna also provides a helpful list of the positions of Jewish exegetes on this question (Ibid., 248 n. 73). Ibn Ezra and Bahya link v. 19 with vv. 1–18 whereas Rashi, Rashbam and Ramban connect it with vv. 20–21. Also see Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," 33–34.
109. Cynthia L. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*, HSM 55 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 216. In her discussion, Miller includes Exod 15:1–18 among those poems that are not doubly framed.

110. Scharbert, *Exodus*, 66. He understands vv. 20–21 as the refrain to the longer song. Blenkinsopp adopts a similar reading. In his view, vv. 1–18 represents the climactic conclusion to the “Egyptian phase.” Verse 19 repeats the original P conclusion from 14:26–29 and thus provides both a bracket around and a summary of the Song of the Sea. Vv. 20–21 then represent a Deuteronomic addition to the pre-Priestly story of the Re(e)d Sea event that follows directly on the heels of 14:31 (or 14:25) and should be read as a short refrain included in the story in the same vein as the chorus led by women in 1 Sam. 18:7. In Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 158.
111. Scholars who link v. 19 with vv. 20–21 include Rashi, Rashbam, and Ramban among medieval exegetes as well as modern interpreters such as Rita J. Burns, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers with Excursuses on Feasts/Ritual and Typology*, Old Testament Message (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1983), 114; Childs, *Exodus*, 248; Durham, *Exodus*, 209; Fretheim, *Exodus*, 161; Janzen, “Song of Moses, Song of Miriam,” 211–220; C.F. Keil, “The Second Book of Moses (Exodus)” in C.F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes*, vol. 1, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1981 [reprint]), 56; Watts, *Psalms and Story*, 44.
112. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 161.
113. This is not to imply that no antiphonal singing may have been present in the original performance of Exod 15. It is possible that Miriam’s Song was repeated by the women in response to Miriam’s lead or that the Song of the Sea was sung responsively. The argument is that there is no textual warrant for viewing v. 21b as an antiphonal refrain to vv. 1b–18. Exodus 15 especially vv. 1b–18 was a popular liturgical text in rabbinic sources and was performed in later times using antiphony in several ways. For a review of its liturgical use in early Judaism, see Sarna, *Exodus*, 76. Also, see the excellent discussions in I. W. Slotki, “Antiphony in Ancient Hebrew Literature” *JQR* 26 (1935–36): 199–216; and James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 116–119 esp. 116 n. 44.
114. In many cases, understanding vv. 20–21 as antiphonal response appears to be assumed rather than proven through evidence. For example, Fretheim (*Exodus*, 161) comments without further discussion, “In terms of the present redaction, however, the Song of Miriam functions as an antiphon, serving to reinforce the thanksgiving voiced by the people as a whole.”
115. ׀ could also be a temporal marker here, but its function would be relatively the same as if it were causal, i.e., it sets the action of vv. 19–21 prior to vv. 1–18. Strauss supports reading the ׀ as a causal marker giving the reason for the action in vv. 1–18 and at the same time agrees that v. 19 provides the narrative introduction to vv. 20–21 (Hans Stauss, “Das Meerlied des Mose: ein ‘Siegeslied’ Israel?” *ZAW* 97 (1985): 105).
116. Janzen, “Song of Moses, Song of Miriam,” 214. He defines analepsis as “the temporary withholding of vital information in favor of its belated introduction later for one effect or another.” Fischer voices three objections to this suggestion. First, v. 19 does not provide any new information to the reader. Second, Janzen has incorrectly extended the purpose of v. 19 to vv. 20–21. In Fischer’s view, vv. 20–21 are a separate unit as shown by the Masoretic paragraph division (¶). Last, there is no evidence that the redactor of Exod 15 thinks that Miriam sang first. However, as demonstrated above, v. 19 is part of vv. 19–21. See Fischer, “Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext,” 34 n. 10.
117. Anderson reaches a similar conclusion on source critical grounds. In his reconstruction, 15:20–21 fell immediately after 14:31. Miriam’s hymn was the original response to the

- Re(e)d Sea event. Exod 15:1–19 was a later addition to JE. This allows him to write, “The Song of Miriam, which now stands under the shadow of the superb Song of the Sea, deserves to be considered in its own right. This is an independent song which was an immediate poetic response to the event of Yahweh’s liberation that it celebrates.” In Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered,” 190–91.
118. In BDB, עָנָה (I) means “to answer” and עָנָה (IV) means “to sing.” Root IV is present in this context.
119. E.g., Scharbert, *Exodus*, 63; and Driver, *The Book of Exodus*, 140–41.
120. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Hebrew Narrative*, 319.
121. E.g., Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 116 n. 43. Watts (*Psalms and Story*, 43) writes, “עָנָה לְ is probably a technical term for responsive singing...” Poethig offers the most thorough discussion of the term in Poethig, “The Victory Song Tradition of the Women of Israel,” 86–91.
122. ἐξάρχω occurs 14x in the LXX tradition. All occurrences are in the active voice except for 1 Macc 9:66. It means “to begin, to lead (in songs, hymns), to begin to sing” according to J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, eds.; *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Part I, with the collaboration of G. Chamberlain (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992), 158. John W. Wevers in his comments on the Greek text of Exod 15:21 writes, “ἐξάρχω with the genitive means ‘to begin, take the lead in,’ and here probably means ‘she was taking the lead in their singing.’” In Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SBLSCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 236. Perhaps the clearest use of ἐξάρχω in regard to antiphonal singing is found in Judith 15:14. It is in 15:14 that the people sing in response to Judith’s lead (καὶ ἐξήρχεν Ιουδιθ τὴν ἐξομολογησιν ταυτην ἐν παντι Ἰσραηλ καὶ ὑπερέφωνει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τὴν ἀίνεσιν ταυτην.).
123. Judg 5:29 may be a context in which antiphonal singing is implied by עָנָה. MT is problematic here, but on the basis of a plausible reconstruction, Weisman translates, “Eulogies of Wisdom her singers chant (עָנָה) to her // She (in turn) recites her responses.” See Ze’eb Weisman, “שְׂרוּתָהּ (JUD. V 29)” *VT* 26 (1976): 116–20.
124. Or perhaps to וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 1. Anderson reports, “In private correspondence Baruch A. Levine advances another proposal: the referent of *lahem* in 15:21 is the Israelite of 15:1 who, with Moses as soloist, responded to Miriam’s song.” In Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered,” 295 n. 16. However, it is possible that the antecedent of one or both is the women of v. 20. GKC 135o lists examples of masculine pronouns that refer to feminine substantives (15:21 is not included). The following study of נָשִׁים supports the position advocated here. In a study of the seven other occurrences of נָשִׁים in which it serves as the antecedent of a third plural suffix (Exod 35:2; Num 36:3; Ezra 10:2, 44; Esth 1:20; Lam 4:10; and Zech 5:9), a feminine suffix is used 4x and the masculine 3x. Jer 9:19 is the only passage in which נָשִׁים is the object of an imperative. There, the feminine plural Qal imperative hnumv is found! Elsewhere, נָשִׁים is modified 32x by either participles or adjectives and these always agree in gender. נָשִׁים is the subject of 9 verbs where gender can be discerned and the verbs are feminine with the sole exception of Est 1:20. The historical, literary, and grammatical arguments favor a masculine antecedent.
125. Noth, *Exodus*, 122. Noth does not comment upon the literary relationships in Exod 15. He regards vv. 20–21 as an independent unit of tradition. In the final form of Exod 15, however, his comment lends credence to the argument presented here.
126. See Num 21:17; 1 Sam 21:12, 29:5; Isa 27:2; Ps 147:7, and Ezra 3:11.
127. See Janzen, “Song of Moses, Song of Miriam,” 211–220.

128. I.e., ליהרהר and להם respectively.
129. Such an interpretation is also supported by form criticism. Rendtorff calls verse 21b an “imperative hymn” and uses it as the model for this type. The imperative hymn serves to exhort those participating in the cult to praise Yhwh because of his mighty deeds on their behalf. Rolf Rendtorff, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986): 100. See also Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered,” 289.
130. James W. Watts, “Song and the Ancient Reader” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 22 (1995): 141. He writes:
- This recognition of the conventions governing the insertion of psalms into narrative contexts affects the interpretation of these passages by calling attention to the ways different authors fulfill or disappoint the expectation created by the use of this familiar device. The convention of narrative genre may serve not only to signal readers regarding the nature of the story, but also to mislead them into false expectations.
131. Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 29. The surprising element is that the Israelite men fill the role typically reserved for women, that of “cheerleader” for the returning warriors. In this case, the victory belongs solely to Yhwh so in a sense the men are feminized in order to stress their dependence upon Yhwh and their endorsement of God’s victory.
132. Janzen, “Song of Moses, Song of Miriam,” 219; Fretheim, *Exodus*, 161; and Fokkelen van Dijk-Hemmes, “Some Recent Views on the Presentation of the Song of Miriam” in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*, ed. A Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 203.
133. Watts (*Psalm and Story*, 44) argued that this was the function of v. 19. I concur, but expand this function to all of vv. 19–21.
134. Dozeman, *God at War*, 161.
135. Walter Brueggemann, “Exodus” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes*, vol. 1 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 803.
136. Gail O’Day, “Singing Woman’s Song: A Hermeneutic of Liberation” *CurTM* 12 (1985): 204.
137. Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus*, HCOT, vol. 1, translated by Sierd Woudstra (Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1993), 241.
138. A good starting point for the discussion is Cross’ seminal essay in *CMHE*, 112–44. A full review of shared word pairs, common syntax, and parallel phraseology between Exod 15:1b–18 and Ugaritic literature in general is offered below in chapter five.
139. Questions remain about the precise order of the tablets and over whether or not they represent a continuous narrative or separate narratives. For discussion, see Richard J. Clifford, “Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible” *Orientalia* 53 (1984): 188–93 and Mark S. Smith, “The Baal Cycle” in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, ed. Simon B. Parker, SBL Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 82–83. See especially the detailed argument for the unity of the Baal Cycle in Mark S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Volume I Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 55 (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994), 2–19.
140. P. C. Craigie, “The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel” *TB* 22 (1971): 24. Batto provides another longer summary of the Baal-Anat myth in Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the*

Biblical Tradition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 129–34. Cf. *CMHE*, 112–20. The order presented here assumes that CAT 1.2–6 is *one* continuous story. Regardless of this debate, the Song of Moses and the Israelites includes the main features of the Baal stories: Conflict, order, kingship, and temple building.

141. Though scholars dispute the details and the implications, there is a general consensus on the points of contact between the Song of the Sea and the Ugaritic mythological materials. See e.g., Anderson, “The Song of Miriam Poetically and Theologically Considered,” 287; Richard Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, HSM 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 138–139; Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 98–99; Dozeman, *God at War*, 156–57; and Dozeman, “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 94–113.
142. Craigie, “The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel,” 24–25.
143. CAT 1.2 IV:32–37. Mann describes Yhwh’s exaltation above the gods as no where more clear than in v. 11. See Thomas W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Tradition: The Typology of Exaltation*, Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 125.
144. Dozeman, *God at War*, 156–7 and “The Song of the Sea and Salvation History,” 101–4.
145. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Ancient Israel*, 115; and *CMHE*, 131–32. This is not to suggest that the Song of Moses and the Israelites is *historical* whereas the Baal cycle is *mythic*. Cross proposes an intermediate level which he calls *epic*. See his nuanced discussion in *From Epic to Canon*, 22–29. Related to this, Kloos provides a good review of the debate over the processes of *historicizing* and *mythicizing* (*Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 158–90). Kloos’ study falls into the *mythicizing* camp. Cross writes:

The Canaanite mythic pattern is not the core of Israel’s epic of Exodus and Conquest. On the other hand, it is equally unsatisfactory to posit a radical break between Israel’s mythological and cultic past and the historical cultus of the league. The power of the mythic pattern was enormous. The Song of the Sea reveals this power as mythological themes shape its mode of presenting epic memories. It is proper to speak of this counterforce as the tendency to mythologize historical episodes to reveal their transcendent meaning. The history of the Exodus-Conquest theme illustrates this dialectic well. (*CMHE*, 143–44)
146. This very fact raises ethical implications regarding God and war. For further discussion, see P. C. Craigie, “Yahweh is a Man of Wars” *SJT* 22 (1969): 183–8 and W. Janzen, *Exodus*, Believers Church Bible Commentary (Waterloo, Ontario and Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 2000), 184.
147. Whether this rhetorical question needs to be read as henotheistic or as monotheistic turns on the date of the Song.
148. Craigie, “Earliest Israelite Religion,” 94.
149. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions*, 129.
150. Loren R. Fisher, “Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament” *VT* 15 (1965): 313–16; Craigie, “Earliest Israelite Religion,” 74–79; Craigie, “The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel,” 25; and Rummel, “Narrative Structures in the Ugaritic Texts,” 240–41.
151. The question of understanding the Baal cycle as a cosmogony continues to be debated. See Clifford, “Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible,” 183–201; Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, CBQMS 26 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), 117–33; and Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 73–83; and Fisher, “Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament,” 313–24.

Fisher argues that the presence of the themes of conflict, kingship, the ordering of chaos, and temple building converge around wider issue of creation (p. 316).

152. Craigie, "Earliest Israelite Religion," 77. Craigie's remarks are pertinent:
The myth expresses the Canaanite understanding of order and occasional disorder in the world. The cosmogonic section is important and could perhaps be taken as a section in its own right. But in the larger complex, it provides the necessary background to the complete understanding of the maintenance of order in the world.
153. Clifford notes that the Baal-Mot conflict is present in the biblical materials as well. This is marked by an implicit comparison between the biblical wilderness as a "death-dealing environment" and the underworld in the Ugaritic materials. Clifford lists texts such as Isa 43:16–21; Deut 32:7–14; Pss 78:42–55, 114, 135, and 136 as examples. All of these show a movement from danger to safety in Yhwh's territory. Clifford also includes Exodus 15 as representative of the Baal-Mot conflict. See Clifford, "Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible," 199–200 and *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, 133. The argument presented in our study is that elements of Baal's conflicts with both Yamm and Mot find analogous features in the Song of Moses and the Israelites.
154. Thomas Mann, "Stars, Sprouts, and Streams" in *God Who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner*, eds. William P. Brown and S. Dean McBride, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 145.
155. Craigie, "Earliest Israelite Religion," 79.
156. Dozeman, *God at War*, 161; Freedman, "Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15," 217.
157. Freedman, "'Who is Like Thee Among the Gods?': The Religion of Early Israel" in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, eds. P. D. Miller, Jr., P. D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 327.
158. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 164.
159. Loren R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament" *VT* 15 (1965): 313–24.
160. Durham, *Exodus*, 210.
161. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 562.
162. Childs, *Exodus*, 249.

Chapter 4

1. Mark S. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, with contributions by Elizabeth M. Bloch-Smith, JSOTSup 239 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 183. Smith provides a wider literature review of key proposals in 180–83.
2. *Ibid.*, 190.
3. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 38. The recent work of Donald Gowan and Peter Enns may also be added to those in support of this new paradigm. See Donald Gowan, *Theology in Exodus: Biblical Theology in the Form of a Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 170; and Peter Enns, *Exodus*, The NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2000), 33–36 and 296.
4. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 38 n. 17.
5. The book contains repeated geographical "mile-markers" which serve to connect material. See especially the programmatic remarks in *CMHE*, 293–325.

6. James W. Watts, "Song and the Ancient Reader" *PRSt* 22 (1995): 139–40. Obviously, the Song of the Sea is not located at the end of Exodus. Nevertheless, the analogy is illuminating and captures the essence of the Song's function in its literary context.
7. Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative*, 16 and 26–27.
8. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 248–49. Childs argues that the joining of the description of God's action to the content of the faith claims derived from the event is a common feature of the Old Testament literature.
9. Bruce C. Birch, Walter Brueggemann, Terence E. Fretheim, and David L. Petersen, *A Theological Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 120–21. Michaeli's description of the Song of the Sea as the "liturgical conclusion" of 1–14 is fitting. See Frank Michaeli, *Le Livre de L'Exode, Commentaire de L'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1974), 130. Fretheim (*Exodus*, 133–36) makes the helpful observation that the entire narrative account from Passover to the miracle at the sea is enveloped by liturgical passages.
10. Watts, "Song and the Ancient Reader," 140. He argues:

The effect of psalms in narrative contexts on ancient Hebrew readers must have been quite similar [to the insertion of a show-stopping musical piece into a Broadway-style play], especially since reading in the ancient world usually involved performance. Reading almost always meant reading aloud, and often was directed to an audience who 'heard' the text. This would have been all the more true of literature that was read liturgically. Thus an ancient reading of a religious text was as similar to a modern theatrical performance as to the way we read novels in private, and the use of songs within a narrative probably affected an ancient audience in a manner analogous to the way songs within a drama affect a contemporary one. The psalms' involvement of readers has rightly been considered an example of literary actualization, but as songs the psalms in narrative contexts would have had an especially strong impact on ancient Jewish readers and hearers. The words would have brought to mind musical and cultic associations, and aroused a deep emotional response.

Fox records a similar observation, writing, "A poem is necessary at this point in the story, to provide emotional exultation and a needed break before the next phase of Israel's journey in the book... Only poetry is capable of expressing the full range of the people's emotions about what has happened." See Fox, *Now These are the Names*, 81.
11. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 164.
12. Brueggemann, "Exodus," 803.
13. S. Dean McBride, Jr., "Transcendent Authority: The Role of Moses in Old Testament Traditions" *Int* 44 (1990): 232.
14. Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," 33.
15. McBride, "Transcendent Authority," 236 and 38.
16. See Lyle Eslinger, "Freedom or Knowledge? Perspective and Purpose in the Exodus Narrative (Exodus 1–15)" *JSOT* 52 (1991): 43–60.
17. The most profound revelation of Yhwh's character occurs in Exod 34:6–7.
18. Fischer, "Exodus 1–15: Eine Erzählung" in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction—Reception—Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 171.
19. Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," 40.
20. *Ibid.*, 39.

21. The plagues may be viewed in one sense as ecological disasters. See Fretheim, *Exodus*, 105–12.
22. Fox, *Now These are the Names*, 86; and Tribble, “Bring Miriam Out of the Shadows,” 16–18.
23. Exod 1:8, 15, 17, 18; 2:23; 3:18, 19; 5:4; 6:11, 13, 27, 29; 14:5, 8.
24. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 23–31.
25. For this translation, see S. Dean McBride, Jr., “Divine Protocol: Genesis 1:1–2:3 as Prologue to the Pentateuch” in *God Who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner*, eds. William P. Brown and S. Dean McBride, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 18.
26. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 168–69.
27. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 357.
28. See Fretheim, *Exodus*, 164–65. Fretheim’s words are, “*Praise enhances the attractiveness of God*” (italics original).
29. Greenstein offers an engaging reading of the role of Jethro in Exod 18. See Edward L. Greenstein, “Jethro’s Wit: An Interpretation of Wordplay in Exodus 18” in *On The Way to Ninevah: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, ASOR 4, eds. Stephen L. Cook and S. C. Winter (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 165–66.
30. Janzen, “The Song of Moses, Song of Miriam,” 219.
31. W. Janzen makes this essential connection. See *Exodus*, 186. The key word in common between 15:17 and 19:4 is a Hiphil form of אָרַב.
32. Avivah Gottlieb Zornberg, *The Particulars of Rapture: Reflections on Exodus* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 217. Zornberg’s work presents a fascinating dialogue with Jewish midrashic tradition. She writes:

The reality that the Song comes to express is fraught with tension: massacre, overwhelming physical suffering, on the one hand, and the joy of God’s salvation on the other. Complicating this reality further, is the intimation of doom hanging over the Israelites’ heads, too: they know that they are in no way exempt from the human torment suffered by the Egyptians.
33. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 218.
34. Durham, *Exodus*, 210. He describes the Song as a theological summary of the book of Exodus.

Chapter 5

1. Cross and Freedman also posited orthographic data as evidence of an early date (pre-tenth century B.C.E.) for the Song of Moses and the Israelites (“The Song of Miriam,” 240), but this line of argumentation has largely been abandoned. Cross now calls the technique of orthographic analysis “precarious” (*CMHE*, 121). Also, see the evaluation by Craigie in “Earliest Israelite Religion,” 33–39. Additionally, Albright (*Yahweh and the God’s of Canaan*, 12) noted a general similarity between the Song of Moses and the Israelites and three other thirteenth century B.C.E. Near Eastern songs of triumph (Albright dated Exod 15:1b–18 to the thirteenth century): The Kadash Battle Inscriptions of Ramses II, the Merneptah Stela, and the Epic of Tikulti-Ninurta. Upon examination, this line of argumentation is tenuous. The thirteenth century was not the only time in which “victory songs” were composed and in any case the points of comparison between these texts are quite general. Weitzman revives this line of argument by averring that Exod 15:1b–18 (particu-

larly the combination of prose account and prosodic verse in Exodus 14–15) compares favorably with the Victory Stela of King Piye (eighth century B.C.E.). See Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative*, 19–21. The same criticisms leveled against Albright's typology remain valid for Weitzman's work.

2. David N. Freedman, "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry" *ZAW* 72 (1960): 101–2. The remarks of Freedman are illuminating:

It may be desirable to point out that only a small fraction of the original number of archaic forms in Hebrew poetry are now preserved in the Masoretic text. In the course of transmission most of them were edited out of the text. The process of grammatical, orthographic, and general linguistic revision is well known in all literature; that archaisms survive at all in MT is partly the result of accidental circumstances, but also a tribute to the conservatism of the scribal tradition in Israel.

A comparison of MT with 4QExod^c (15:12–18 preserved) serves to make the point. Several archaic features found in MT are absent in 4QExod, specifically the third person plural suffix נָר (נָ is used) and אִי־מָה (מָה cf. Sam.). Davila writes, "These minor variants seem to show the distinctive language of the poem being homogenized into normal classical Hebrew." See James R. Davila, "Exodus, Book of" in Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 278–79. For the critical edition of the text, see Eugene Ulrich, et al., *Qumran Cave 4: VII Genesis to Numbers*, DJD 12 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). Young provides an illuminating study of scribal practice in relationship to "Archaic" Hebrew poetry in Ian Young, "The 'Archaic' Poetry of the Pentateuch in the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch and 4QExod^c," *Abr-Nahrain* 35 (1998): 74–83.

3. David A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, SBLDS 3 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972). Robertson's work is based on his earlier 1966 Yale dissertation under Marvin Pope.
4. The Amarna glosses, however, certainly represent a Canaanite dialect and represent the earliest source for the language spoken in Palestine on the eve of the emergence of Israel. See Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, ed. Raphael Kutscher (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 77.
5. Responses to Robertson's study have come from both sides of the debate. On one hand, Day criticizes Robertson's methodology and results. He argues that Ugaritic and Hebrew are distinct languages and there is no proof that the earliest Hebrew poetry can be isolated on the basis of any resemblance to Ugaritic prosody. Second, he avers that the presence of Ugaritic elements is no proof of antiquity. For example, Isa 27:1 and Dan 7 contain impressive Ugaritic parallels and are late. Day concludes:

That caution is needed in applying Robertson's approach is indicated by the early date which he ascribes to Job, since on other grounds this is generally dated to the post-exilic period. This suggests that the attempt to date Hebrew poetry in this way is in danger of imposing a linguistic straitjacket on it which does not accord with reality.

(See John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 100 n. 49.) On the other hand, regarding Robertson's early date for Exod 15, Cross writes, "[It] will eventually bring an end to the discussion of the date of the poem, at least for those with training in the history of Canaanite dialects." (*CMHE*, 121). Craigie concurs with Cross' assessment

- in Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 62 n. 94.
6. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 155.
 7. Robertson also includes a discussion of the final y on ׁׁׁׁׁ in Exod 15:6, but he concludes that this one example is insignificant for dating. This morpheme occurs occasionally in standard poetry so only multiple occurrences in a given text would have significance.
 8. Craigie concurs with Robertson's assessment. Of the linguistic data, only verbal syntax and the third masculine plural suffix occur with enough frequency to count as strong evidence. Craigie classifies these two elements as "Class 1" evidence. He accepts Robertson's other categories, but due to their weaker weight, assigns them to "Class 2." See Craigie, "Earliest Israelite Religion," 25–33.
 9. Archaizing tends to be characterized by improper or inconsistent use of archaic forms. See GKC, 91:L3.
 10. Donald Watson Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship* (Naples, Italy: Istituto Orientale Di Napoli, 1969). Goodwin's study is based on his 1965 Brown University dissertation. It focuses on selected writings of Albright and his students (principally Cross and Freedman). He shows no knowledge of Robertson's work. Counter-arguments to Goodwin were offered in Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman, "Some Observations on Early Hebrew" *Bib* 53 (1972): 413–20.
 11. Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, 48. He writes:

It would not be wise, therefore, to approach the subject of archaic forms with the notion that we can determine that the poetry which contains them is early. We would find ourselves observing, over and over again, that the form in question may be a dialectical peculiarity, rather than an indication of relative antiquity. It will be more profitable to investigate the suggested occurrences of archaic forms, inquiring whether they do in fact occur, and whether they are indeed parallel to the forms observed elsewhere.
 12. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 7–55. For Exod 15:1b–18 alone, see the detailed analysis of Freedman in "Moses and Miriam: The Song of the Sea," 73–78.
 13. Nahum M. Sarna, review of *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, by David A. Robertson, *JBL* 95 (1976): 126. Sarna summarizes Robertson's argument, "...since the Ugaritic pattern of finite verbs is present to some degree in all genres of Hebrew poetry, it must have been characteristic of early poetic Hebrew."
 14. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 32–33; and Butler, "The Song of the Sea," 217–220.
 15. Butler, *ibid.*, 217–220.
 16. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 57–62.
 17. Craigie, "Earliest Israelite Religion," 28–29; Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 58.
 18. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 62–65.
 19. For Ugaritic, see Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1997), 55–57. On use in Phoenician Byblos, see Johannes Friedrich and Wolfgang Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., AOS 46 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1970), 148–49; Zellig S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, AOS 8 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936), 54–55; Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, 96; and Richard S.

Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, SBLDS 32 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 89.

20. In a survey of three standard commentaries on the Psalms, there was only consensus on the dating of Ps 12. It was assigned to the Pre-exilic period. See Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1983); Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1983); Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, OTL, trans. Herbert Hartwell (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988); and Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989).
21. Zellig Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History*, AOS 16 (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1939), 70.
22. The relative *z* occurs in four Byblian texts from the tenth century: Inscriptions 1, 4, 6, and 7. In each case, it is found in the first line as part of an introductory formula. As in the case of Exod 15:13 and 16, *z* follows its antecedent and precedes the verb (in Phoenician it is proclitic to the verb). Furthermore, by the fifth century B.C.E., *z* gives way to $\Psi\aleph$ in Byblian. The old relative \underline{d} thus declines in frequency across the Canaanite dialects. See Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 69–70, and *Grammar of Phoenician*, 54–55.
23. Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, 96.
24. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 215–17.
25. The use of \aleph in Isa 43:21 ($\aleph\text{-}\aleph$) is identical to the occurrences in Exod 15:13, 16. Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBLDS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 32, calls this a “direct allusion.” This refutes Goodwin’s contention that the use of \aleph in Exod 15 is archaistic. Goodwin’s position was based on an earlier argument of Friedrich, who averred that the occurrences of \aleph in the Hebrew Bible were archaistic because they seemed to echo one another (Exod 15:13, 16 and Isa 43:21 being a principal example).
26. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 65.
27. GKC 58k.
28. Burden argues that the occurrence of *-nh* in Jer 5:22 and 22:24 demonstrates that the form cannot be interpreted as archaic. See Jasper J. Burden, “A Stylistic Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21: Theory and Practice” *OTSSA* 29 (1987): 61. The usage in Jeremiah occurs in the context of the *Yamm* myth so it may actually draw from an earlier epic. See Nahum M. Sarna, review of *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, by David A. Robertson, *JBL* 95 (1976): 128.
29. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 65–69.
30. *Ibid.*, 65. Robertson writes:

Nevertheless, *-mw* occurs often enough as a vestigial form in biblical poetry to suggest that it did not fall into disuse in the remote past but much more recently.

Hence, the position that it was current in early poetic Hebrew is a tenable one.
31. Besides Exod 15, it is attached as a verbal suffix in Exod 23:21; Pss 2:5, 5:11, 21:10.13, 22:5, 45:17, 59:12.12, 73:6, 80:6, 83:12, and 140:10. It is attached to nouns in Deut 32:27.32.37.38, 33:29; Pss 2:3.3, 11:7, 17:10.10, 21:11, 35:16, 49:12, 58:7.7, 59:13.14, 73:5.7, 83:12.12, 89:18, 140:4.10; Job 27:23. It occurs on prepositions in Gen 9:26.27, Deut 32:23.32.35, 33:2.2; Isa 16:4, 23:1, 26:14.16, 30:5, 35:8, 43:8, 44:7, 48:21, 53:8; Hab 2:7; Lam 1:19.22, 4:10.15; Pss 2:4.5, 5:12, 28:8, 44:4.11, 49:14, 55:16.20, 56:8, 58:5.8, 59:9, 64:6.6.9, 66:7, 73:6.10.18, 78:24.66, 80:7, 88:9, 99:7, 119:165; Job 3:14,

- 6:16.19, 14:21, 15:28, 20:23, 21:17, 22:2.17.19, 24:16.17, 27:23, 29:22, 30:2.5.13, 39:4; Prov 23:20.
32. All of these exhibit occurrences of לָמַר: Isa 16:4, 23:1, 26:14.16, 30:5, 35:8, 43:8, 44:7, 48:21, 53:8; Hab 2:7, Lam 1:19.22, 4:10.15. אֶל־יָמֵר and עַל־יָמֵר occur only in texts of unknown date that also exhibit other occurrences of לָמַר.
33. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 245 n. 10.
34. There are two possibilities: 1) לָמַר < *huma; and 2) לָמַר < *-huma, < - < *-humu. Syncope of ה occurs in each. If #2 is correct, both forms may well be early.
35. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 33. GKC 91 L puts forward a similar argument by observing that in Exod 15, it occurs only as a verbal suffix whereas in Deut 32 it is found only on nouns (however, see Deut 32:32, there the form לָמַר is found).
36. Burden echoes this critique and notes that in Deut 32 the suffix only occurs on nouns. See Jasper J. Burden, “A Stylistic Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21: Theory and Practice” *OTSSA/OTSWA* 29 (1987): 62–63. Cf. GKC 58 a and g.
37. Of course, עַל־יָהּ occurs in v. 16, but see the discussion above.
38. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 226–27.
39. Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship*, 75–77; and Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 34–35.
40. Pss 2, 21, 99 may be dated to the time of the Hebrew monarchy on other grounds. See discussions in Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1983); Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1983); Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, OTL, trans. Herbert Hartwell (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1988); and Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1989).
41. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 109–10.
42. The remaining instances in poems of an unknown date are Hab 3:14, Pss 29:6.6, 61:7, 63:6, 78:13 (this verse appears to be influenced by Exod 15:8), 78:69, 73:15, 79:5, 88:6, 89:47, 90:9, 92:8, 140:4, 141:7, Prov 23:7, Cant 6:10, and 7:2.
43. Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, “‘Prose Particle Counts of the Hebrew Bible’ in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, eds., Carol L. Meyers and M. O’Connor (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 165–83; and David Noel Freedman, “Prose Particles in the Poetry of the Primary History” *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, eds., Ann Kort and Scott Morschauer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 49–62. There remains a certain amount of ambiguity in these studies because the accusative marker is identical with the preposition “with,” the article is not counted when its only indication is the dagesh forte, and h sometimes functions as an indicator of the vocative. The study by Andersen and Forbes includes statistical charts that cover every chapter in the Hebrew Bible.
44. Andersen and Forbes, “‘Prose Particle’ Counts of the Hebrew Bible,” 167. They summarize:
- The few psalms with high scores attract the suspicion of being late. The scores for all post-exilic prophecies (Haggai, Zephaniah, Malachi, and Daniel) appear significantly higher than the rest... Certainly a prose passage with a low score can be rightly suspected of being ancient. But just as a poem with a low score is not necessarily ancient, so a prose passage with a high score is not necessarily late.
45. Against this objection stand the statistical studies of Andersen and Forbes (see above) which demonstrate that post-exilic prophecy contained high counts of these particles. This

ought to provide a sufficient foundation by which to base tentative judgments (as done above) on the dating of poetry with these prose particles. The argument here is simply that a low particle count tends to affirm the antiquity of a text that contains other archaic elements. However, a low particle count alone is not sufficient.

46. Cross and Freedman, "Some Observation on Early Hebrew," 418–19.
47. Staircase parallelism is also known in the literature as repetitive parallelism, climactic parallelism, the expanded colon, ascending rhythm. This study follows the terminology of W.G.E. Watson in *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 150–56.
48. For multiple examples and detailed discussion of the device, see Samuel E. Loewenstamm, "The Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse" *JSS* 14 (1969): 176–96; Y. Avishur, "Addenda to the Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse" *UF* 4 (1972): 1–10; and Edward L. Greenstein, "Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and Their Psycholinguistic Background" *JANES* 6 (1974): 87–105 esp. 96–105. All Ugaritic texts and translations are taken from *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, ed., Simon B. Parker, trans. Mark S. Smith, Simon B. Parker, Edward L. Greenstein, Theodore J. Lewis, and David Marcus, *Writings from the Ancient World Society of Biblical Literature* 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).
49. Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1997), 6.
50. Greenstein limits his definition to the three-line variety. See Loewenstamm, "The Expanded Colon, Reconsidered" *UF* 7 (1975): 261–64; and Greenstein, "One More Step on the Staircase" *UF* 9 (1977): 77–86. Greenstein argument is that no two line examples occur in the Ugaritic literature. Additionally, he contends that Loewenstamm's definition is too broad. For example, Loewenstamm ("The Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse", 184) considers the following tricola to be an example of staircase parallelism: tbrk . ilm . tity // tity . ilm . lahlhm // dr . il . lmsknthm (CAT 1.15 III 17–19). This may simply be a case of repetition used as a poetic device. Also, there are in fact two-line examples in the Ugaritic literature (see e.g. CAT 1.15 III 20–21 and CAT 1.17 VI 42–43), and they are present in the Biblical literature (e.g., Exo. 15:16). Greenstein and Loewenstamm overstate their cases. Greenstein's strength lies in his description of the syntactic effect of staircase parallelism; Loewenstamm's in his discussion of its diversity. Sivan's definition (cited above) aptly describes the essence of the poetic device and is inclusive of two and three line varieties.
51. This example may be diagramed ABC:ABD:AEF. Cross suggests that the ideal form is ABC:ABD:EFG. See Cross, "Toward a History of Hebrew Prosody" in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins, 1999), 142. Many examples of this occur in both Ugaritic and Hebrew literature. See e.g., CAT 1.14 I 21–23, 1.16 VI 54–57, and Ps 77:17.
52. Watson (*Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 150) states that there are forty to fifty examples that have been identified in Hebrew. For early discussions of the use of this poetic device in the Hebrew bible, see C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges: with Introduction and Notes* (London: Rivingtons, 1918), 169–171; and William F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk" in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1950), 1–18.
53. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 8. He notes that there are a few dubious examples.

54. Albright (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 13) suggests that v. 3 contains a partial staircase that he diagrams ab:ac (יהרה איש מלהמה יהרה שמו), but this may simply be a case of repetition of a term.
55. Of course, this is not an exact parallel because the vocative is not part of the recurring element, but it does demonstrate that Exod 15:6–7 is not merely an imitation of an ideal form. Rather it shows the flexibility of the staircase form and the creativity of the poet, and at the same time exhibits its roots in earlier Canaanite prosody.
56. Greenstein (“Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and Their Psycholinguistic Background,” 103–104) labels this type of staircase parallelism as “weak.” He writes:
 Psycholinguistically it has no special effect of suspense, climax, or surprise because the first line possesses a self-contained statement, and the second line reproduces the first words of the first line without a change in syntax or meaning. If the literary form of climactic parallelism achieved popularity on account of its psycholinguistic effects, we must assume that the weak, additive type of climactic parallelism resulted from poetic imitation of the popular form without recognizing what made that form successful.
- This weak form has no implications for dating as it occurs in the Ugaritic literature (e.g., CAT 1.14 I 21–23).
57. However, see CAT 1.6 V 11–19. Seven consecutive cola begin with ‘lk and the last six start with ‘lk.pht. It may be debated whether this unit is an example of staircase parallelism, but a vocative is found in the first cola: ‘lk.b[‘]lm/pht.qlt (“Due to you, O Baal, I faced shame.”).
58. Albright, “The Psalm of Habakkuk,” 4–8; William Foxwell Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1954), 232; and Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 237. Kloos (*Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 133–34) in commenting on the date of Exod 15 points to the poet’s adaptation of the Ugaritic staircase parallelism as a means to corroborate an early date for the poem.
59. So Albright. All of these verses contain repetition, but not all would agree that each cited example is in fact an occurrence of staircase parallelism. Albright (“The Psalm of Habakkuk,” 6) writes:
 The extraordinary exuberance in both quantity and variety of the repetitive parallelism of the Song of Deborah presumably goes back to a kind of Canaanite rococo exaggeration of the florid style of the Ugaritic epics, a ‘rococo’ which we may suppose to have been popular about the first half of the twelfth century B.C. The literary beauty of the Song of Deborah itself may be credited partly to nascent Israelite literary genius, but mostly to the talent of its unknown author, whose work thus escaped the oblivion which was the fate of nearly all early Israelite verse.
60. James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 36–38. Albright (“The Psalm of Habakkuk,” 7) recognizes the post-exilic nature of Canticles, but in the cases of 4:8 and 9, he writes, “It cannot be accidental that both passages contain allusions of unmistakably Canaanite mythological origin, though their pagan motivation has vanished completely in the extant context; they are thus far earlier than the final redaction of Canticles.”
61. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 38–39.
62. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 32 and 35–36. Additionally Brenner notes that Exod 15:6–7a, 11, and 16b are all acclamations that follow the description of Yhwh’s helpless ene-

- mies. These are good rhetorical observations, but they do not have any implications for dating other than providing evidence for the unity of the Song of Moses and the Israelites.
63. One can certainly generically fit Exod 15:6–7a, 11, and 16b into Brenner’s a/b/vocative:a/b/c, but in each case, a, b, c, and vocative are used in distinctly different ways.
 64. Antoon Schoors, “Literary Phrases” in *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Loren R. Fisher, vol. 1 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972), 3–70; Mitchell Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs” in *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Loren R. Fisher, vol. 1 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972), 71–382; Craigie, “The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel,” 21–23; and Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 132–33.
 65. Craigie, “The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel,” 22–23. See also Patrick D. Miller, “Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew” *UF* 2 (1970): 177–86.
 66. Cf. 1.3 IV 19–20.
 67. Schoors, “Literary Phrases,” 42–3.
 68. Kloos (*Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 134) commenting on the presence of staircase parallelism and word pairs writes, “Obviously, the Song of the Sea is heir to the Canaanite literary tradition; this corroborates Robertson’s conclusion, as it suggests a date of composition which is early rather than late in Israelite history.”
 69. Avi Hurvitz, “Originals and Imitations in Biblical Poetry: A Comparative Examination of 1 Sam 2:1–10 and Ps 113:5–9” in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, eds. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 115.
 70. For further details, see Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 51.
 71. The following authors point specifically to the consistent use of archaic elements without the evidence of archaizing as decisive for establishing a relatively early date for Exod 15: Childs, *Exodus*, 246; Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 238; Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 32; and Mark S. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 223. Likewise, Kloos (*Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea*, 132) summarizes the argument:

It is clear that Exod xv 1–18 exhibits a significant clustering of early forms. There is no evidence of archaizing, and in this respect the poem is unique, as every other poem in the Old Testament contains a smaller or larger number of standard forms. Therefore, we have good reason to regard the Song of the Sea as the oldest piece of Hebrew poetry that has been handed down to us.
 72. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 236.
 73. A survey of recent historical grammars of the Hebrew language demonstrates that the particles and syntax discussed above do in fact have an archaic provenance. See e.g., Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, ed., Raphael Kutscher (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 77–80; Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Histoire de la langue hébraïque: des origines à l’époque de la Mishna*, 4th ed. (Paris: Publications orientalistes de France, 1986), 62–66; and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, trans. John Elwolde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 56–58.
 74. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 36.
 75. Cf. Houtman, *Exodus*, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament, Trans. Johan Rebel and Sierd Woudstra (Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1993), 244. He dismisses the entire dating argument based on these elements by suggesting that these “are no more than indications of the poetic nature of the text.”
 76. *CMHE*, 121.

77. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 245 n. 10.
78. Craigie, "Earliest Israelite Religion," 169 n. 2. He writes:
Here it is felt, a larger problem is touched on, namely the motivation behind such a thorough archaizing, if indeed it does exist. Thus while the possibility of archaizing must always be allowed, the motivation behind it would have to be given if a case were to be accepted as convincing.
79. Burden is an exception. He posits that the poet amassed an intentional accumulation of archaic particles and forms in order to create an "atmosphere of antiquity" that permits the psalmist to "use old traditions and conventions to legitimate the ideological and theological trends of his time" ("A Stylistic Analysis of Exodus 15:1–21," 66). Burden's case would be strengthened if he could offer other examples of this.
80. Chapters seven through nine will demonstrate and assess the influence of Exod 15 on later texts.
81. Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, FAT 5 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993), 122–30. See also Ian Young, "The 'Archaic' Poetry of the Pentateuch in the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch and 4QExod^c," *Abr-Nahrain* 35 (1998): 74–84; and "The Style of the Gezer Calendar and Some 'Archaic Biblical Hebrew' Passages," *VT* 42 (1992): 362–75.
82. Young, "The 'Archaic' Poetry of the Pentateuch," 74.
83. Young acknowledges the Song's consistency. See *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, 123. Is Exodus 15 simply the only extant example in the Hebrew bible of a flawlessly executed imitation of early Hebrew poetry or is it truly ancient? Given that Young recognizes the archaic features of the Song of Moses and the Israelites as genuinely old forms and agrees that there are no archaizing features, probability lies on the side of the true antiquity of Exod 15:1b–18.

Chapter 6

1. Israel is not named in the poetry of Exod 15. The recipients are identified only by the appellation, "people of Yhwh."
2. Cross and Freedman, "Song of Miriam", 239–40. Craigie echoes these conclusions in "The Earliest Israelite Religion", 55. Albright (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 46–47) attempts unsuccessfully to eliminate the reference to Philistia via textual emendation. He suggests that the phrase in question originally read "all the children of Shut" (see Num 24:17 which reads in parallel with Moab, כָּל בְּנֵי שֹׁהַ, כָּל). He argues that in Exod 15:14 the כָּל was accidentally omitted, then reinserted before שֹׁהַ, and finally mistaken for פִּלְשְׁתִּים sometime during the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.E. when כ and פ were similar in the cursive script. By removing the reference to Philistia, Albright is able to date Exod 15:1b–18 to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. However, this proposal, though certainly creative, does not merit serious consideration.
3. H. J. Katzenstein, "Philistines, History of" in *ABD*, V:326. For a recent appraisal of the biblical account of the Philistines, see Peter Machinist, "Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History," in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren, University Museum Monograph 108 (Philadelphia: The University Museum University of Pennsylvania, 2000), 53–83.
4. Cross (*CMHE*, 124) and Freedman ("Early Israelite History," 142) in their writings attempt to push back the date of the arrival into the thirteenth century. Recent archaeological studies, however, have not substantiated this claim.

5. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 239–40.
6. Freedman ("Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions," 167) while acknowledging the superiority of arguments from evidence, writes, "...occasionally inferences based on the absence of data can be quite compelling."
7. Freedman, "Early Israelite History," 141–145.
8. Freedman (*Ibid.*, 144) bases this date primarily on the linguistic data that was reviewed in the previous chapter. Freedman is not unaware of the implications of such a date. He writes, "The conclusions to which I have come, while not quite as traditional as those of the compilers of the Pentateuch, who attributed the poem to Moses himself and the refrain to Miriam and her companions, are nevertheless sufficiently drastic to pose questions for orthodox critical scholarship, as well as to offer suggestions for the reconstruction of biblical history."
9. See Gösta W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine*, with a contribution by Gary O. Rollefson, ed. Diana Edelman (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 391–420; Piotr Bienkowski, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan: A Framework" in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*; ed. Piotr Bienkowski; Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 7 (Sheffield: J.R. Collins Publications, 1992), 1–12; Piotr Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom: A Revised Framework" in *The World of the Arameans II: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*; eds. P.M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers and Michael Weigl; JSOTSup 325 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 257–69; John R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, JSOTSup 77 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989); John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 120–121; K.A. Kitchen, "The Egyptians Evidence on Ancient Jordan" in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*; ed. Piotr Bienkowski; Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 7 (Sheffield: J.R. Collins Publications, 1992), 21–34; J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 54–79, esp. 71; J. Maxwell Miller, "Moab and Moabites" in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, ed. Andrew Dearman, Archaeology and Biblical Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 1–40; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 263–75.
10. The first non-biblical textual reference to the Ammonites comes from a Neo-Assyrian document from the eighth century reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. See Jean-Michel De Tarragon, "Ammon (Person)" in *ABD*, I:62.
11. *CMHE*, 124–25. See also Patrick D. Miller, "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew" *UF* 2 (1970): 177–86.
12. This survey does not differentiate between Canaan/ite, Moab/ite, Edom/ite, Ammon/ite, or Philistia/Philistine.
13. Other nations are also found in many of these contexts.
14. Of course, this assumes that Ammon was not simply left-out due to poetic license.
15. Brenner, "The Song of the Sea," 158–167 and 174–75. Brenner's argument is based on a fifth century B.C.E. provenance of the Song of the Sea and the concomitant conclusion that it derives from the Asaphite school who betray a heavily deuteronomistic writing style. Brenner's primary arguments are analyzed in chapters 7–9. Specifically, it will be established in chapter 9 that the "fear of the nations" motif in passages such as Deut 2:25 and Josh 2:9 in fact are based on a conscious borrowing from Exod 15:14–16. Thus, similarities present are not indicative of the date of the Song of the Sea. The present chapter focuses on the historical plausibility of Brenner's analysis.

16. This is to be applauded because the reconstruction of the occasion of composition *along* with a date tends to be a lacuna in most writing about the Song of the Sea.
17. For a detailed list of parallels, see Nahum Waldman, "A Comparative Note on Exodus 15:14–16" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 66 (1976): 189–92.
18. Thomas W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation*, Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 128–29.
19. Brenner, "The Song of the Sea," 164.
20. Cf. David Noel Freedman, "Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions" in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 171. He writes, "The Oracles of Balaam share the same outlook and horizon as the Song of the Sea."
21. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, HSM 5 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1973), 168. Earlier, he suggests that this may in fact be the earliest attestation of the linkage between Yhwh and the "God of the fathers" (Ibid., 114). Hyatt sees an explicit link in Exodus between Alt's view of the Patriarchal religion and the Yahwism of Moses (Exod 3:6, 15:2, 18:4). J. Philip Hyatt, "Yahweh as 'The God of My Father,'" *VT* 5 (1955): 130–136.
22. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 62.
23. Poethig, "The Victory Song Tradition of the Women of Israel," 147.
24. Rashbam, *Rashbam's Commentary on Exodus: An Annotated Translation*, ed. and trans. Martin I. Lockshin, Brown Judaic Studies 310 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 160 n. 52.
25. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 126–50; George Bush, *Notes, Critical, and Practical on the Book of Exodus*, vol. 1 (New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman; 1867): 192; Butler, "The Song of the Sea," 77; Ronald E. Clements, *Exodus*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 92; Ronald E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 53; Carl Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, trans. G. H. Box (New York: Putnam's, 1907), 119; John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, 98–99; Durham, *Exodus*, 208–209; W. Johnstone, *Exodus*, Old Testament Guides (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 48; Sigmund Mowinckel, *Real and Apparent Tricola in Hebrew Psalm Poetry* (Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos H. Aschehoug & Co., 1957), 95; Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, vol 2. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 736–737; Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 281; Tyrggve N. D. Mettinger, *The De-thronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theology*, Coniectanea Biblica OT Series 18, trans. F. Cryer (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1982), 26–27; Josef Scharbert, *Exodus*, Die Neue Echter Bibel (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1989), 63; John H. Sailhammer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical-Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 271–72; Hans Strauss, "Das Meerlied des Mose: Ein 'Siegeslied' Israel?" *ZAW* 97 (1985): 107; R. J. Tournay, "Recherches sur la Chronologie des Psaumes" *RB* 65 (1958): 350, 355; and R. J. Tournay, "Le Chant de Victoire d'Exode 15" *RB* 102–4 (1995): 530.
26. Craigie, "The Earliest Israelite Religion," 118–19; Fretheim, *Exodus*, 162; Lohfink, *The Christian Meaning of the Old Testament*, 83; Noth, *Exodus*, 125–26.
27. John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981), 126; Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "Moses and the Foundations of Israel" *Interpretation* 29 (1975): 143–44; David Noel Freedman, "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry" in *Pottery, Pottery, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 134–45, "Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions," 171, and "'Who is Like Thee Among the Gods?': The Religion of Early Israel" in *Ancient Israelite*

- Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, eds. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 318; Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai & Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*, New Voices in Biblical Studies (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1985), 136, and Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern In Exodus*, 216–18. Smith's argument is that the P redactors responsible for Exodus understood the referent to be Sinai. Originally, it referred to a sanctuary in the land.
28. CMHE, 141; Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 139; Thomas W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation*, Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1977): 127–28; and Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Ancient Israel*, 116–17.
 29. Georg Beer argues that v. 13 describes Canaan as a whole, whereas v. 17 has Zion in view in *Exodus*, HZAT 3, mit einem Beitrag von Kurt Galling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1939), 82; Cassuto links v. 13 with Sinai and v. 17 with the sanctuary that Israel would build in the hill country of Canaan in Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 176–77; Davis argues that v. 13 refers to either Zion or the whole land whereas the three phrases have in mind Canaan in general and Zion/Temple in particular in G. Henton Davies, *Exodus: Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM, 1967), 129–30; Hyatt views vv. 13–17 as a geographic progression so v. 13 is Sinai and in v. 17, the first phrase has Canaan in view the latter two Solomon's temple in *Exodus*, 166–68; Muilenberg splits the referents in v. 17 between the land of Canaan (17a) and the temple in Jerusalem (17b–c) in "A Liturgy on the Triumph of Yahweh," 249; and Howell, "Exodus 15, 1b–18," 34–41.
 30. Brueggemann, "The Book of Exodus," 801–802. He is torn between the land of Canaan as a whole and the temple. Brevard Childs, *Exodus*, 246, 251. Childs is undecided whether Exod 15:17 points to the Solomonic temple or more generically to Yhwh's special seat. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 567–68. Propp believes that the poem is intentionally ambiguous and that it can be interpreted differently depending on the context in which it is read. Within Exodus, Sinai is likely in view; within Gen-Josh, while Sinai remains an option, the land of Canaan becomes the most likely; within the entire Hebrew Bible, it could be Sinai, Canaan, or Zion; and within early Judaism and the New Testament, it most likely refers to the kingdom of heaven.
 31. That is unless one follows the logic of earlier interpreters such as Bush who posited Mosaic authorship, translated the verbs in vv. 13–17 with the future tense and treated the second half of the Song as predictive utterance. See Bush, *Notes, Critical, and Practical on the Book of Exodus*, 192. Cassuto (*A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 177) holds a similar stance with a direct appeal to divinely inspired prophecy, "It cannot be deduced from here that the song (or the verses) was composed after the construction of the Temple, for without doubt the Israelites intended, even before entering the Land, to build therein a sanctuary to the Lord their God."
 32. Kloos (*Yhwh's Combat with the Sea*, 135) does not think it possible to identify the referent without first establishing the date of the Song of the Sea and occasion of its composition on some other ground.
 33. See chapter three.
 34. Craigie, "The Earliest Israelite Religion," 121.
 35. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 162.
 36. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon*, 99–100.
 37. Clements, *God and Temple*, 53.
 38. CMHE, 99–111. Miller (*The Divine Warrior in Ancient Israel*, 116–17) elaborates further on the connection between Exod 15 and the Gilgal cultus. Miller differs from Cross only

in his view on v. 13. Miller is more sanguine to the possibility that Sinai is in view rather than Shittim.

39. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 139 n. 57. Cf. *CMHE*, 142–43.
40. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 136–37.
41. See chapter nine.
42. Baruch Halpern, “Doctrine by Misadventure: Between the Israelite Source and the Biblical Historian” in *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism*, ed. Richard Elliot Friedman, Harvard Semitic Studies 26 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 51–52; Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 32–35; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 565–66; and Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 223–226. Additionally, Wellhausen in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed. (Berlin: G. Reiner, 1878), 91–92 considered Shiloh to be a legitimate possibility. On the message of Ps 78, see Richard J. Clifford, “In Zion and David a New Beginning: An Interpretation of Psalm 78” in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, eds. Baruch Halpern and Jon D. Levenson (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 121–41.
43. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 226. On this transfer from Shiloh to Zion, Smith writes:

The poem of Ex 15 may be the forerunner to the theology of Ps 78, which was applied to Jerusalem by the cult supported by the southern monarchy. The psalm implies that Zion assumed the mantle of tradition which Shiloh held previously. This inherited tradition may have included the theology of Exodus, the wilderness journey, and the establishment of the people on God’s holy place.
44. For a reconstructed history of the Tabernacle, see Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 84–95.
45. For a survey, see Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*, 89–217.
46. Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, 100.
47. E.g., Strauss, “Das Meerlied des Mose: Ein ‘Siegeslied’ Israel?” 108–09 and Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 175–77.
48. For a comparison of the Zion tradition with Ugaritic literature, see Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 131–60. However, Clifford argues that Exod 15:17 was composed at too early of a date to have referred originally to Jerusalem or Zion.
49. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 61–77.
50. *Ibid.*, 74. Butler summarizes, “the interpretation of the term is to be found in the sense of the community of God over which God has dominion and with whom God may deal as one would with an “inherited estate.”
51. *Ibid.*, 73–74.
52. Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, 99.
53. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed., 156. Bright held these poems to be premonarchic, but this is unlikely.
54. On this question in general, see C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament*, Pretoria Oriental Series V (Leiden: Brill, 1966).
55. Thompson, *The Origin Tradition of Ancient Israel*, 147; Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, 166–67.
56. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 215–18. The composition of the Pentateuch remains a debated issue. Though little semblance of a consensus exists for its entire compilation, most acknowledge a “priestly” redaction of some sort at the end of the process. For discussion, see *CMHE*, 293–325, and David L. Peterson, “The Formation of the Pentateuch” in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past Present, and Future: Essays in Honor of*

Gene M. Tucker, eds. James Luther Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent Harold Richards (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 31–45. Cf. R.N. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study*, JSOTSup 53 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987).

57. As already discussed, Jerusalem is the principal alternative to Sinai in the literature in terms of being the most probable referent to the phrases under consideration in Exod 15:13 and 17. The point here is that since Sinai was so crucial to the Priestly redactors, it is probable that they read 15:17 “mountain of your inheritance” as a reference to Sinai.
58. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 217. His argument acknowledges the centrality of Sinai in the priestly redaction of Exod 19–40. In such a context, the mountain in Exod 15:17 would be Sinai regardless of its original referent.
59. Freedman, “Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions,” 169–171.
60. Propp (*Exodus 1–18*, 605, 629) accepts the text’s assertion that the waters of Masah/Meribah were located at God’s mountain. In the aftermath of the Golden Calf fiasco, Moses scatters it in water (the same “spring”?). This reading also proves helpful in making sense of 18:5 where Jethro visits Moses near the “mountain of God.”
61. This list of citations includes several places in which הַר is modified by a demonstrative adjective as well.
62. I.e., modified by a noun or adjective form of קָדַשׁ.
63. In one sense, the Song of the Sea represents the initial act of worship by Israel. But, neither of the target roots (עָבַד or זָבַח) are used.
64. Exod 17:15 states that Moses built an altar. Interestingly, there is no mention of a sacrifice being offered upon it. It is ironic that Israel’s initial breach of its covenant involved illegitimate sacrifice to the golden calf under the shadow of Sinai.
65. עֲבָדָה carries the connotation of religious service to God within the book of Exodus (12:25–26 and 13:5). It is associated with Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, respectively.
66. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 541.
67. David Noel Freedman, “Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry” in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 136–40.
68. It is beyond the scope of this study either to defend the antiquity of these poems or to posit dates for them.
69. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 119. See also Theodore Hiebert, *God of My Victory: The Ancient Hymn in Habakkuk 3*, HSM 38 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 81–128 esp. 81–92; and Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions*, 123–43.
70. Yhwh’s association with this region persisted in Israelite memory. Isa 63:1 reads, “Who is this that comes from Edom?” This text derives from the post-Exilic period.
71. Frank M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 45–46.
72. Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, 166.
73. Campbell, “Moses and the Foundation of Israel”, 143.
74. Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 51–52. He writes:

Models of peasant revolt, or of infiltration into the hill country from urban centers in Canaan, currently popular in explaining Israel’s settlement in the land and which are not without merit in explaining aspects of the archaeological record, should not be permitted to obscure evidence, preserved in epic of Israelite connections with the peoples of the south who moved between Se’ir, Midian, and

Egypt at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. Archaeological lore and anthropological models can only propose general patterns. Literary materials properly analyzed may provide the particulars of which history is properly constructed. There is every reason to contend, on the basis of literary remains, that there was an attack from the south through Transjordan by the 'am Yahweh, and that they formed the nucleus around which the early Israelite league took shape and expanded, and from whom "all Israel" took their identity and institutions. This is the testimony of the archaic hymns and the historical basis of the early epic. Traditions of the fathers linked in kinship bonds all elements of Israel. The 'El of the cults and sanctuaries of the land was identified with 'El of the south, Yahweh the Divine Warrior, Lord of Sinai. Israel's epic drew on older epic cycles in dynamic change, molding an epic that was forged into its main lines shortly after the establishment of the league in Canaan: covenants with the fathers in the land of Canaan, their migration to Egypt, their exodus and creation of the nation at Sinai, and then their return to the land of promise and its conquest.

Bright (*A History of Israel*, 3rd ed., 141 n. 79) comments:

Perhaps Exod 15 derives from "the people of Yahweh"—The name Israel may have been taken from a tribal confederation that already existed in Palestine with which the newcomers made common cause, and to which they communicated their Yahwistic faith. Even so, it is possible (probable) that members of the exodus group already felt kinship to this Israel, and may have called themselves Israelites.

For a study of the phrase עַם יְהוָה "people of Yhwh", see Norbert Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עַם יְהוָה" in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (München: C. Kaiser Verlag, 1971), 275–305.

75. H. Ringgren, "נְיָה" in *TDOT*, vol. IX, 273.

76. Contra Butler, "The Song of the Sea," 61–77 and Clements, *Exodus*, 92.

77. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 136–37.

78. *CMHE*, 125.

79. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Ancient Israel*, 115.

80. *CMHE*, 37–38.

81. R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 54.

82. See chapter 8.

83. *CMHE*, 125. Freedman, "Early Israelite History," 137.

84. Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," 250. Goldin (*The Song at the Sea: being a Commentary on a Commentary in Two Parts*, 36) echoes this assessment.

85. Childs, *Exodus*, 246. For example, while agreeing that the phraseology is pre-Israelite, Houtman (*Exodus*, 292) argues that the terms only came into use after Zion became the preeminent holy place.

86. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon*, 99; Mowinckel (*Real and Apparent Tricola in Hebrew Psalm Poetry*, 96) objects to this line of thought. He writes:

"It is, of course, more than probable that the expression itself has been borrowed from Canaanite religious terminology. But as the Canaanites have used the expression about a definite mount Mount Saphon, so the Israelites, of course, have applied it to a definite mount, that to them was the inheritance and abode of their god, and that was above all Mount Zion."

87. Or occurrences when it is clear that נחלה is governed by Yhwh.
88. מוכן, followed by an infinitive construct form of ישב without a preposition, also occurs in 1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49 and Ps 33:14.
89. E.g., 1) chronology of construction of temple is tied to Exodus from Egypt (1 Kgs 6:1), 2) ark is brought to the new temple (1 kgs 8:1, et al), 3) reception of two tablets at Sinai is mentioned (8:9), 4) there are references to Moses (8:9, 53, 56), 5) cloud/glory fills temple (8:10–11), and 6) 8:16 makes the link explicit “since the day I brought my people Israel out of Egypt... (cf 8:21, 51, 53, 56).
90. However, these two words do occur as a parallel word pair in CAT 1.14 I 11, 23.
91. Freedman, “Early Israelite History,” 138 n. 20. Freedman writes, “The heavenly tabernacle itself, in my judgment, served as the model for the earthly replica; that is what Moses saw when he ascended the mountain to confer with God.” Likewise, Clifford (*The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 139) describes Yhwh’s מקדש in Exod 15:17 as “the earthly representation of the temple—palace of the God.” However, he views 15:17 as an example of the Canaanite traditions of Zaphon being linked with the mountainous areas in Israel.
92. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 73–74.
93. The technical term for tabernacle is משכן or אהל מועד. The above occurrences with the exception of Num 3:38 refer generically to the “sanctuary.” In the context of the Pentateuch, “sanctuary” ostensibly refers to the tabernacle planned and erected in Exod 25–40.
94. See Freedman, “Early Israelite History,” 145. He writes:
 The poem closes with the vivid description of the people planted in the sacred precinct, the peculiar possession of Yahweh, where his sanctuary stands, the dais of his throne, all made by his own hands. The language is rich with mythic terminology, derived from the older religious traditions preserved in Canaanite literary texts. Such expressions, which were used of other gods and their sacred areas and temples, were applied to worship at the different central shrines of Israel and Judah in the centuries to come, finally being fixed on Jerusalem and Mt. Zion, Yahweh’s permanent earthly abode in the biblical tradition.
- The cogency of this explanation is illustrated aptly by those who argue that Exod 15:13–17 refers to a mixture of locales. Among these Muilenberg (“A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh,” 249) even differentiates between v. 17a “mount of thy inheritance” (land of Canaan) and v. 17b “place for thy holy dwelling” (Yhwh’s sanctuary at Shiloh or most likely Jerusalem).
95. Commenting on the ambiguity of the language in v. 17, Craigie writes, “If the Song is indeed early, it is quite likely that at a later date, the reference of the verse was taken to be Jerusalem or Zion” (“The Earliest Israelite Religion,” 57 n. 71). More confidently, Freedman (“Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Pottery,” 137) writes:
 Such terms would not have been used to describe Jerusalem and Mt. Zion, if they had not been hallowed by tradition, a tradition originally associated with Sinai/Horeb and its great mountain. The preservation of the terminology and its adaptation to other sanctuaries in other places is typical of the conservatism of all religious groups, and only serves to emphasize the antiquity and tenacity of these original traditions.

Chapter 7

1. This influence stretched even to the end of the New Testament canon. Rev 15:3 describes a scene of worship in which the “song of Moses” is sung. Context suggests that this song is in fact the “Song of the Sea.” Philip C. Johnson, “Exodus” in *The Wycliffe Bible Commentary*, eds. Charles F. Pfeiffer and Everett F. Harrison (Nashville: Southwestern, 1962), 65.
2. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 7. This is not to say that the distinction between *traditum* and *traditio* is always obvious. One of the goals of the methodology used in this chapter and the ones that follow is to demonstrate rather than *assume* a line of dependence.
3. Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1989), 14. For a detailed discussion and bibliography, see Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*, *Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6–31.
4. Despite textual difficulties, read עֲוִי וְזִמְרָה יְהוָה לִישׁוּעָה לִי in each text.
5. For a narrower definition, see Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 6–10.
6. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 281–440. For the purposes of this study, the following terms are used interchangeably: intertextuality, aggadic exegesis, and inner-biblical exegesis. Aggadic exegesis includes all biblical interpretation that is non-halakhic in nature, i.e., interpretation not specifically interested in developing and expounding the law. It covers the entire range of ideas, genres and texts of ancient Israel and is fundamentally driven by a desire to use the full richness of the inherited *traditum* for the purpose of promulgating fresh theological truths. See also Brevard S. Childs, “Midrash and the Old Testament” in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*, ed. John Reumann (Valley Forge: Judson, 1972), 52. Childs concludes that biblical parallels are remote to full-blown rabbinic midrash, but is willing to speak of “proto-midrashic forms.” The terms employed in this study are analogous to and drawn from later rabbinic exegesis and midrash, but it is not the intent here to argue that midrash as it was later practiced is found in the OT.
7. The following categories are Fishbane’s, except for “shared literary forms.” *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 283–87.
8. John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 64.
9. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 285.
10. John S. Kselman, “Psalm 77 and the Book of Exodus,” *JANES* 15 (1983): 53. This is discussed in the next chapter.
11. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 358; Michael Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken, 1979), 122–24. Such uses of the *traditum* are often quite creative. Hays (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 20) writes:

Allusive echo functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed. This sort of metaleptic figuration is the antithesis of the metaphysical conceit, in which the poet’s imagination seizes a metaphor and explicitly wrings out of it all manner of unforeseeable signification. Metalepsis, by contrast, places the reader within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences.

12. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 352–53.
13. Additional examples, “new” covenant in Jeremiah, “second” exodus in Isa 11, Jesus’ reinterpretation of the law in the Sermon on the Mount (esp. Matt 5:17–48).
14. Baruch Halpern, “Doctrine by Misadventure: Between the Israelite Source and the Biblical Historian,” in *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism*, ed. Richard Elliott Friedman, Harvard Semitic Studies, 26 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 41–73; Baruch Halpern, “The Resourceful Israelite Historian: The Song of Deborah and Israelite Historiography,” *HTR* 76(1983): 379–401; and Baruch Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, SBLMS, 29 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 36–43. Though Halpern does not use the language of inner-biblical exegesis, his studies mirror those of Fishbane in their interest in the manner in which a source text is utilized by a later author.
15. Halpern, “The Resourceful Israelite Historian,” 394–95.
16. Kselman, “Psalm 77 and the Book of Exodus,” 53 n. 9.
17. *Ibid.*, 51–58.
18. Svend Holm-Nielsen, “The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmic Tradition,” *ST* 14 (1960): 17.
19. Robert C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967), 114–119. The category of oral formulaic language includes stock phrases, common word pairs, and literary forms and patterns. Culley categorizes almost 200 formulas and formulaic systems found in OT poetry (pp. 35–96) including the phrase common to Exod 15:2, Ps 118:14, and Isa 12:2 (p. 68). This proposal will be examined below. See also Holm-Nielsen, “The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmic Tradition,” 23. For a more recent survey of the field of oral poetry as it relates to the OT, see Wilfred G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, JSOTSup 26, 2nd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1986), 66–86.
20. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms*, 115–16.
21. Nahum M. Sarna, “Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann, Studies and Texts 1 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1963), 33–35.
22. Trent C. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 82–87. Butler also treats the following portions of Exod 15:1b–18 as formulaic materials: v. 2a (Ps 118:14, Isa 12:2), v. 2b (Ps 118:28), v. 3a (Ps 24:8), v. 3b (Amos 5:8, 9:6; Jer 33:2), v. 11 (Ps 77:15, Isa 25:1, Ps 78:12, 88:11), v. 18 (Ps 10:16, 93:1, 97:1, and 99:1). This chapter will argue that the elements in common between Ps 118, Isa 12, and Exod 15 are in fact evidence of conscious borrowing. The next chapter makes the same argument for Pss 77 and 78.
23. Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBLDS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996): 80. She writes:

It can also happen that what a reader knows from a single text the author may have known from many texts, or even from a popular phrase. This can happen in two ways. First, the phrase may have a literary source, but may have bounced from user to user so many times that the original source no longer determines its meaning. In that case, a reader who correctly identifies the source but does not recognize the indirect route the phrase has taken may overinterpret it. Or if the phrase, having become a pervasive cliché with its original coinage forgotten, is written down widely, but only one or two instances happen to be preserved, these instances may seem to a distant reader more directly linked than they originally were.
24. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 25–29.

25. Holm-Nielsen, "The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmic Tradition," 16–17.
26. There are numerous examples of cases where prior traditions are identified as such both in the OT and NT: Ezekiel, Book of Jashar, Matthew. This is less frequent in Psalmic literature due to its nature as material used for worship rather than for strictly didactic purposes. Holm-Nielsen (Ibid., 16) writes regarding this observation:
- It is hardly accidental that this should be so; for indeed it is possible that psalm literature was used for didactic purposes, but then it is in a more indirect manner, the right relation to God being pointed out in lament, prayer, hymn, and thanksgiving, in which God is always the August One, to whom man subjects himself in recognition of his own sin and God's justice. The other literature is to a greater extent characterized by direct instruction by calling attention to dreadful and admonishing examples from ancestral history or by supporting the points of view adduced with literal quotations serving as valid proof of the correctness of the statement.
27. Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford, 1997), 14. The focus of Levinson's study is the reinterpretation of the Book of the Covenant by Deuteronomy. He writes:
- Of course, it is anachronistic to speak of a 'canon' in the conventional sense, in ancient Israel. As technically denoting a fixed number of authoritative texts to which religious adherence is owed because of their particular status, 'canon' is clearly a postbiblical concept. Nonetheless in a different sense, there did exist in the ancient Near East both concepts of a stream of learned tradition, presumably as part of the scribal curricular, and of standardization and stabilization of the formal aspects of the text. The highly formalized genre of the cuneiform legal collection was one important component of this larger scribal curriculum. In the case of ancient Israel, the concepts of textual stability, prestige, and authority necessitated subsequent adaptation, interpolation, reinterpretation, and transformation.
28. Halpern, "Doctrine by Misadventure," 69 n. 60. It is on this point that Halpern is critical of Fishbane. Halpern writes:
- What has commonly been called "inner-biblical exegesis" thus is not evidence of a consciousness of canonicity; it need in fact be no more than Israelite allusion. Though this is to quibble over terminology, it might be better to restrict the term "inner-biblical exegesis" to passages where some consciousness of canonicity is involved, and to call Israelite historiography and allusion what it is.
- For the purposes of this chapter, the terms "inner-biblical exegesis," "aggadic exegesis," and "intertextuality" will be retained.
29. Halpern, "The Resourceful Israelite Historian," 396.
30. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29–32.
31. See chapter 8.
32. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 65–66. Another problem is that commentators often cite links between texts, without demonstrating the direction of dependence.
33. Or at least of Isaiah 7–12.
34. For repetition of divine names יהוה יהוה, see n. 4.
35. James Luther Mays, *Psalms, IBC* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994), 378.
36. Note that in Isa 11:11–16 the word-pair נהר/ים is present. The "new" exodus portrayed in Isa thus also incorporates the Jordan crossing theme as well.

37. An excellent discussion of הַנֶּגֶב is found in Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 539–40.
38. In the next chapter, Ps 74 will be shown to be dependent upon Exod 15 at several points. Deut 32:6 may be an allusion to Exod 15 as well. So P.C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 379. A similar use of הַנֶּגֶב occurs in Ps 78:54. There it describes Yhwh's acquisition of his mountain sanctuary. Ps 78's intertextual use of the Song of the Sea will be demonstrated in Chapter 8.
39. The principal difference being that Exod 15 includes a reference to "all the inhabitants of Canaan" whereas Isa 11 adds an additional enemy external to Israel proper, Ammon. This difference lies in the orientation of the poetry. The Song of the Sea envisions Israel on the shores of the Re(e)d Sea; Isa 11 takes the point of view of looking outward from the land of Canaan. This list of nations was discussed in the last chapter.
40. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 352–53.
41. This need not imply that the final form of Exod 14–15 was available to the author of Isa 11–12, but simply the existence of a description of the original exodus event (perhaps J or JE) followed by the text of the Song of Moses and the Israelites.
42. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 161.
43. Given the high amount of correspondence between Isa 11–12 and Exod 15, an appeal to oral formulas as the source for this line is unnecessary. This will hold true for its occurrence in Ps 118 as well. Exod 15 may have drawn this line from an oral source, but Isa 11–12 and Ps 118 betray knowledge of the whole of the Song of the Sea.
44. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 62. The repeated alephs may perhaps be coincidental.
45. The presence of staircase parallelism in v. 6 is universally noted. On considering v. 7a as the concluding colon, see Cohen, "Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I," 13–17.
46. Ps 118:15b–16 may also be understood as a chiasmic tricolon patterned ABA. See Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 182 and 204. Regardless, the point of similarity stands.
47. Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, WBC: 21 (Waco: Word, 1983), 124. He writes, "[The king] testifies in renewed tones of praise, using time-honored language of the song of victory (cf. Exod 15:2) to encapsulate his avowal of praise and report of deliverance."
48. James Muilenberg, "A Liturgy on the Triumph of Yahweh," in *Studia Biblica et Semitica: Theodora Christiana Vriezen* (Wageningen: Veenman, 1966), 233–51.
49. Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, OTL, Translated by R. A. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 155–64.
50. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 286.
51. Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, Translated by Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 489–90.
52. In fact, the reasoning behind it is circular. For example, regarding 10:26–27 over which scholarly opinion is mixed, Wildberger writes, "The author was familiar with the exodus tradition; that also speaks against Isaiah as the source, since he never refers elsewhere to the exodus from Egypt in any of his messages." In *Isaiah 1–12*, 441.
53. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 167.
54. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 502.
55. For attempts to date all of Isaiah to the late eighth/early seventh B.C.E., see Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 23–28; and J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 25–30. Though the issue ultimately turns on the possibility of truly predictive prophecy, Oswalt and Motyer in the above pages and throughout their respective commentaries demonstrate the unity of Isaiah as

well as providing historical, theological, and geographical reasons for considering Isaiah to be a unified composition from pre-exilic times.

56. Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 204–5. Sweeney considers 11:1–12:6 to be part of the larger main unit 10:5–12:6.
57. *Ibid.*, 211.
58. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 396.
59. Charles Augustus Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ICC, vol. 2 (New York: Scribner's, 1907), 402–3. Briggs considers the following to be glosses: vv. 8–9, 13–14, 17–18, 21, 25, and 27–28.
60. *Ibid.*, 404.
61. E.g., v. 5 (Ps 18:20), v. 6 (56:12), v. 7 (54:6, 9), v. 22 (Is. 28:16). There is no argumentation given to demonstrate the direction of dependence.
62. Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Return (Book V, Psalms 107–150): Studies in the Psalter, IV*, JSOTSS 258 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 183. Goulder argues that Ps 118 along with Pss 107–117 forms a collection of psalms that celebrate the return from exile and restoration of temple worship. Regarding the connections with Pss 18 and 56, compare 18:20 (118:5) and 56:10–11 (118:6).
63. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 62–67. Brenner also alleges a strong tie to Nehemiah based on linguistic use (cf. Neh 1:5, 6, 8, 11, 2:20 with Ps 118:22–25; Neh 1:10 with 118:22; Neh 4:8, 14b with 118:6; and Neh 6:16 with 118:23–24a). On inspection, this connection is not apparent and regardless no direction of dependence has been shown. Brenner simply assumes that texts with similar phraseology derive from the same group of hands.
64. Mays, *Psalms*, 378–79. He writes, “The psalm’s language can include the whole history of the LORD’s preservation of Israel in the midst of all the nations, esp. the exile and return.” Mays’ understanding of Ps 118 is based on a canonical reading of the text. For a discussion of this methodology and its application to Ps 118, see also James Luther Mays, *The Lord Reigns: A Theological Handbook to the Psalms* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 136–45.
65. Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150: Introduction, Translation, and Notes with an Appendix “The Grammar of the Psalter,”* Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), 155–56.
66. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 724–25.
67. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 123–124.

Chapter 8

1. For a general introduction to these psalms, see Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*; and Harry P. Nasuti, *Tradition History and the Psalms of Asaph*, SBLDS 88 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).
2. Unlike most of the texts examined in this chapter, an explicit intertextual study of the relationship between Ps 74 and Exod 15 exists—George Wesley Buchanan, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the Reconsideration of Some Dates” *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1989): 31–48 esp. 30–36. Norin (*Er Spaltete Das Meer*, 113) makes a case for dependence of Ps 77 on Exod 15. Other commentators have observed similarities in language, see Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, 151; Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 30; Mays, *Psalms*, 246.

3. Vv. 13, 16b–17 envelop and stand in stark contrast with vv. 14–16a which describe the terror of Israel’s enemies.
4. This relationship will not be explored in detail. Notice, however, the use of the archaic particle in the phrase עַם־וַיִּזְרֹ (Isa 43:21). This phrase is found elsewhere only in Exod 15:13 and 16. Significantly, in Exod 15, the occurrences of this phrase are followed by the verbs קָנָה and גָּאֵל.
5. Norin, *Er Spaltete das Meer*, 113.
6. *Ibid.*, 113.
7. שְׂרִיעָה is used in Exod 15:2; פִּעֵל occurs in 15:17.
8. Apparently, the Asaphites had access to a mythological exodus account (cf. 77:17–20) besides the more historical one found in Exod 15. Ps 74:13–14 personifies the “sea” as the enemy. Exod 15 focuses squarely on Egypt. The sea in the Song is merely the tool employed by Yhwh for his salvific purposes.
9. George Wesley Buchanan, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the Reconsideration of Some Dates” *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1989): 33.
10. The following commentators observe similarities between Exod 15 and Ps 77: Dahood, *Psalms II*, 224; Mays, *Psalms*, 252; Tate, *Psalms 51–100*. Goulder (*The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 103–104, Norin (*Er Spaltete Das Meer*, 119), and Kselman (“Psalm 77 and the Book of Exodus,” 51–58) argue that Ps 77 is dependent on the Song of the Sea.
11. In both Ps 77:14 and Exod 15:11, קָדָשׁ is used in a collective sense of divine beings “holy ones.” See chapter 2.
12. פָּלָא occurs in v. 12 as well.
13. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 104.
14. Kselman, “Psalm 77 and the Book of Exodus,” 53.
15. The occurrences in these texts constitute 3 of the 36 occurrences of תָּהָם, and 3 of 16 uses of נִזְלָה in the OT.
16. Halpern, “Doctrine by Misadventure Between the Israelite Source and the Biblical Historian,” 52 n. 22.
17. The only difference is the pointing of the verb. It is a participle in Exod 15:11 and the third masculine singular perfect in Ps 78.
18. Chaim Cohen, “Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I,” 16–17.
19. This connection has been observed by many interpreters. E.g., Norin, *Er Spaltete das Meer*, 128–33; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 566; Freedman, “Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry,” 141; Richard J. Clifford, “In Zion and David a New Beginning: An Interpretation of Psalm 78” *Tradition in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. Baruch Halpern, Jon D. Levenson (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 133–34. For his part, Clifford argues that vv. 44–55 have been arranged by two main themes from Exod 15:1–18 (divine assault against the Egyptians and procession to the holy mountain). This argument is weakened by the fact that vv. 44–51 focus on plagues unleashed against Egypt whereas the Song of the Sea is concerned only with the victory at the sea. It may also be observed that the general narrative of deliverance from Egypt and movement through the wilderness is the heart of the Pentateuchal narrative.
20. In fact, 78:53b contains the essential content of 15:9–10. אֵיבֹ is used to indicate Yhwh’s opponent in 15:9. 15:10a contains the phrase כַּסְמֹרִים. The suffix מוֹ- refers to “enemies.”
21. יִמְיָן is the sole exception. Its synonym יָד does occur in 15:17 and יִמְיָן itself is found in 15:6, 12. In each case, it is a figure for the active power of God.
22. The Asaphite Ps 74:2 associates קָנָה with the people of God.

23. Clifford, "In Zion and David a New Beginning: An Interpretation of Psalm 78," 127–28; Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 113.
24. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 565–66. Propp lists many of the connections noted above. He writes:

"We should at any rate seriously consider the possibility that Psalm 78 constitutes our earliest commentary on the Song...Note, too, the Psalmist's appeal to tradition (vv. 2–4). It would appear that the Song of the Sea is chief among the 'riddles' from the past, which we have heard, and we know them, and our fathers told us."
25. Clifford, "In Zion and David a New Beginning," 137; Mays, *Psalms*, 259.
26. Clifford, *Ibid.*, 137. He writes:

[Ps 78] is rather a liturgical celebration of God's merciful choice of Zion and David as the continuation today of the ancient shrine celebrating the exodus and conquest tradition. Therefore at the same time there is a warning: to continue to worship in the northern sanctuary is to repent falsely because God has definitively rejected the northern shrines in their destruction in the eighth century. God's mercy is shown in the new beginning at Zion.
27. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 35–36. On p. 36, he comments on the possibility of reversing this argument for the direction of dependence, "Exodus 15 composed in the light of a prior Psalm 78 reads like the legitimization of a demolished sanctuary (Shiloh)." See also the comments of Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 226.
28. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 15–36. Goulder's first five categories were isolated originally by Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms I–III* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888), 140–43.
29. Goulder labels this problem "Delitzsch's Dilemma," i.e., how can the unity of the collection be reconciled with the arguments that the individual psalms were written over a number of centuries (Delitzsch's dates for the Asaphite psalms ranged from Davidic to post-exilic times)? Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 15.
30. *Ibid.*, 17–19.
31. The 19 occurrences of אֱל represent 1/3 of all uses of אֱל in the Psalter.
32. *Ibid.*, 35.
33. *Ibid.*, 19–22.
34. *Ibid.*, 22–24.
35. *Ibid.*, 24–28.
36. Gary A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms*, SBLMS 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 69–81.
37. *Ibid.*, 71.
38. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 28–31.
39. *Ibid.*, 29. Goulder notes the following: הוֹלִלִים/רָשָׁעִים occurs only in 73:3 and 75:5, the plural מְשׂוֹאֵרָה is found only in 73:18 and 74:3, God's smoking with anger (עֲשֵׁן) occurs in 74:1 and 80:5 and nowhere else in the Psalms, the מוֹעֲלֵלֵי of God are mentioned in 77:12 and 78:12 (only elsewhere in Mic 2:7), עֲשָׂה פֶלֶא occurs in 77:15 and 78:12 (only elsewhere in 88:11; Exod 15:11, and Isa 25:1), שִׁים עֲדוּרָה ב is used in 78:5 and 81:6 only, God forgives (כַּפֵּר) sins in 78:38, 79:9 unique to the Psalter, גֵּרֵשׁ גֵּרִים is found in 78:55 and 80:9 only.
40. *Ibid.*, 31–34.
41. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 179–86.
42. See chapter five for a discussion of the issue of archaic forms.

43. Of the twelve divine appellations in Exod 15 referring to Yhwh, יהוה is found 10x, אל 1x, and אלהים 1x. Even this is somewhat misleading because אל and אלהים occur in the same verse (15:2) whereas יהוה recurs throughout.
44. Pss 73 and 82 make no explicit reference to the people of God.
45. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 30–31; *CMHE*, 131–141.
46. Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1990), 246.
47. Mays, *Psalms*, 244.
48. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 62.
49. Buchanan, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the Reconsideration of Some Dates,” 38.
50. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 62.
51. Buchanan, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the Reconsideration of Some Dates,” 38.
52. Kraus, *Psalms 61–150*, 97.
53. Dahood, *Psalms II*, 199; Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 247.
54. E.g., Briggs, Dahood, Kraus, Mays, Tate, and Weiser.
55. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 247.
56. Kraus, *Psalms 61–150*, 97.
57. Weiser, *The Book of Psalms*, 518.
58. Buchanan, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the Reconsideration of Some Dates,” 39–43.
59. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 247.
60. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 273. Dahood, *Psalms II*, 224. Both also appeal to parallels with Exod 15 as evidence of an early date and/or presence of early material.
61. 52% of words in verses 17–20 are found in Ps 18:8–16; 45% in Hab 3:10–12.
62. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 142.
63. *Ibid.*, 138. Standard poetry is indicated in poems that contain two or less early forms mixed with one or more standard forms.
64. E.g., Briggs, *Psalms*, 170.
65. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 113–114.
66. Kselman, “Psalm 77 and the Book of Exodus,” 51–58.
67. *Ibid.*, 58. The chiasm is diagrammed as follows:
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A vv. 9–10: | The psalmist’s questioning of the creedal confession in Exod. 34:6 |
| B v. 11: | End of the lament: the psalmist’s statement that Elyon’s right hand has changed |
| C vv. 12–14: | Beginning of the hymn: the incomparability of God, whose acts and wonders in the past serve as the basis for the psalmist’s hope in the present |
| B’ vv. 15–16: | The answer to B (v. 11): God still redeems his people with his mighty arm |
| A’ vv. 17–21: | The answer to A (vv. 9–10): the hymnic theophany shows God to be the same God who redeemed Israel whom he guided at the sea with his <i>hesed</i> and who revealed himself to Moses as <i>rab hesed</i> . |
68. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 97.
69. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 273; Weiser, *The Psalms*, 530–31. However, neither attempts to argue that the Psalm should be dated this early.
70. So Briggs, Kraus, Mays, Tate.
71. Mays, *Psalms*, 253.

72. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 2, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1972), 556. Anderson aptly summarizes this conclusion. He remarks, "The Psalm could have originated in the early part of the Exilic period but any other similar national calamity could be equally well suited." Weiser (*The Psalms*, 530–31) also attempts no firm date. He writes, "The lament of the psalmist...presupposes conditions in which he thought he had to discern the judgment of God and the end of his grace—but about which we are entirely in the dark."
73. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 123–24.
74. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 112. On the optimistic ending of Ps 78, he writes (*Ibid.*, 128):
- The Speaker is drawing two lessons from history, two *riddles from of old* (v.2). The first of these is Yhwh's *strength and his wondrous works that he hath done* (vv. 3–7), the second that *stubbornness and rebellion* call down God's *wrath* (vv. 8, 10–11). But it is the first of these which dominates the end of the psalm. Its message is: Do not forget God's covenant and rebel, or he will vent his anger on us, God did miracles delivering Israel in the past, finally through David, and he can do the same for us with the Assyrians now.
75. Dahood, *Psalms II*, 238.
76. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 562.
77. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 285.
78. Mays, *Psalms*, 259.
79. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 562; Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 285.
80. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 539. Cf. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 562.
81. Clifford, "In Zion and David a New Beginning," 137–38; Mays, *Psalms*, 259.
82. So also Mays, *Psalms*, 259.
83. Stern offers a detailed confirmation of Clifford's work in Philip Stern, "The Eighth Century Dating of Psalm 78 Re-argued," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 66 (1995): 41–65. Stern also offers a compelling refutation of both early and late dates for the provenance of Ps 78.
84. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, 43–46 esp. 46. Robertson has systematically studied the use of the *yqtl* prefix form for dating. The list above is that of Robertson. For a systematic study and evaluation of Robertson, see chapter 5.
85. *Ibid.*, 54. Elsewhere in his summary statement, Robertson dates Ps 78 to the late tenth/early ninth centuries B.C.E. (p. 155).

Chapter 9

- Marc Vervenne, "The 'P' Tradition in the Pentateuch: Document and/or Redaction?: The 'Sea Narrative' (Ex 13, 17–14,31) as a Test Case" in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies: Papers Read at the XIIIth IOSOT Congress Leuven 1989*, eds. C. Brekelmans and J. Lust, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium XCIV (Leuven: Leuven University, 1990), 76. Vervenne provides an excellent discussion of the issue with full bibliography. A comparison of critical commentaries and Old Testament introductions will make the point for the reader that, although scholars agree that the sea narrative is a composite text, each has a different opinion regarding the identification of the putative sources. For an introductory discussion of the issues involved in separating the sources in

- this chapter, see Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 238–54.
2. Vervenne, "The 'P' Tradition in the Pentateuch," 85. Vervenne summarizes, "there seems to be a strong case for the propositions that the Priestly part of the sea narrative is not a self-contained unit at all but a pure redactional reworking, a 'free composition' based on an existing JE narrative." Vervenne does not extend his argument to the entire Pentateuch, but awaits further study of specific texts. For further discussion of P as a redactional element, see *CMHE*, 293–325; Mark Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 159–70; and John Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 133–34.
 3. Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, trans. with an introduction by Bernhard W. Anderson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 18, 30, 36. I follow Noth's reconstruction for two reasons. First, Noth's work represents the closest that critical scholarship has come to a consensus view point. Noth's work may thus serve as a starting point. This is admittedly an arbitrary choice, but since it will be demonstrated below that the narrative account(s) of Exodus 14 are indeed dependent on Exod 15:1b–18 (with no substantive evidence for the reverse), the argument in this chapter does not in the end stand or fall on the particulars of any source critical hypothesis. Additionally, J and E have been collapsed together in this study for two reasons: 1) the existence of E as a source continues to be called into question and 2) a combined JE provides clarity of view.
 4. Vervenne, "The 'P' Tradition in the Pentateuch," 79–87.
 5. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 482.
 6. Compare Deut 2:25 with Exod 15:14 and Deut 3:24 with Exod 15:11 and 16. See W. L. Moran, "The End of the Unholy War and the Anti-Exodus" *Bib* 44 (1963): 340–42. See below for further discussion of the relationship between Deut 2:25 and Exod 15:14.
 7. Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative*, 17–21.
 8. Weitzman specifically argues that the Song would have been attached to the JE account rather than to P because only JE can be described as a "battle account." P is best read as a "miracle story." Weitzman's observation has merit regardless of whether one agrees with his distinction between "battle account" and "miracle story." Furthermore, Cross (*CMHE*, 293–325) has argued cogently that P ought to be viewed as a redaction of the earlier JE narrative. Given this, it is more likely that the Song of Moses and the Israelites would be attached to the continuous narrative of JE rather than existing in isolation until inclusion by Priestly tradents.
 9. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 482. However, Noth (*A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, 107 n. 30) regards 15:20–21 to be a late addition to J.
 10. Brenner (*The Song of the Sea*, 42–53) attempts to move the discussion forward by arguing that all of the prose elements derive from late-Deuteronomistic sources. This is problematic on a number of grounds. First, it ignores the stylistic differences between vv. 1a and 20–21a on one hand and v. 19 on the other. Second, it fails to take into consideration the evidence that the Song of Moses and the Israelites circulated as part of the JE narrative. Last, given the paucity of evidence, Brenner's complex schema of a late-Deuteronomistic redaction has little support.
 11. The following comparison demonstrates that Exod 15:19 draws from key phrases in 14:23, 26, and 29 in this precise order:

15:19a	כי בא סוס פרעה ברכבו ובפרשיו בים //
14:23b	ויבאו אחריהם כל סוס פרעה רכבו ופרשיו
15:19b	וירשב יהוה עלהם את־מי הים //

- 14:26b וישבו המים על-מצרים על-רכבו ועל-פרשיו
- 15:19c ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה בחוף הים //
- 14:29a ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה בחוף הים
12. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 482–83. See chapter three for a full discussion of the function of v. 19.
13. *CMHE*, 134. Cross included J, P, Josh 2:9–10, Neh 9:11, and Josh 24 in his discussion.
14. *Ibid.* This interpretation was called into question in chapter 3.
15. Exod 15:3 uses the noun מלחמה.
16. See Baruch Halpern, “The Resourceful Israelite Historian: The Song of Deborah and Israelite Historiography” *HTR* 76 (1983): 397 and Thomas L. Thompson, “The Joseph and Moses Narratives” in *Israelite and Judean History*, eds. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (London and Philadelphia: SCM and Trinity, 1977), 166.
17. Thompson, “The Joseph and Moses Narratives,” 166. Cf. Fischer, “Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext,” 38–43. On the basis of a literary reading of the relationship between Exod 14 and 15, Fischer argues that Exod 15 presupposes the whole of Exod 14. This leads Fischer to posit a fifth century B.C.E. date for the Song of Moses and the Israelites.
18. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 37–38; and “The Resourceful Israelite Historian,” 397. Only Halpern’s analysis of J is discussed above. This is done for two reasons: 1) Halpern’s source divisions differ from Noth and 2) Halpern’s approach though complementary to that of this study is not as convincing as that adopted here because it tends to assume that Exod 15 is a source rather than attempting to demonstrate it.
19. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 40. He goes on to write, “In the circumstances, the linguistic and other evidence adduced by Cross, Freedman, Robertson, and others for the antiquity of Exodus 15 carries weight.” This statement goes to the heart of this project.
20. *Ibid.*, 38 n. 66. Gen 49 and Deut 32 may both predate the prose accounts in Exod 14. Freedman (“Divine Names and Titles in Early Hebrew Poetry,” 78–79) dates Gen 49 to the eleventh century and Deut 32 to the Hebrew monarchy. If this is correct (and especially if the Song is demonstrated to be early on other grounds), one could argue that the prose writer is employing a common motif from Israel’s earliest prosody.
21. As seen in chapter 7, Exod 15:2 is frequently cited in contexts celebrating or describing Yhwh’s actions during the Exodus (Isa 12, Ps 118).
22. E.g., Wolters, “Not Rescue but Destruction,” 223–40.
23. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 73–127. Note especially the use of כסה in Exod 15:5, 10 (cf. 14:28).
24. Halpern, “The Resourceful Israelite Historian,” 400; Mowinckel, “Drive and/or Ride in the Old Testament,” 278–99.
25. In JE, the Sea miracle is part of the Wilderness tradition. For discussion, see George W. Coats, “The Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif” *VT* 17 (1967): 253–65 and Brevard S. Childs, “A Traditio-Historical Study of the Reed Sea Tradition” *VT* 20 (1970): 406–418.
26. J–7:17, 8:6 [ET 8:10], 8:18 [ET 8:22], 9:14, 9:29, 10:2, 10:26, and 11:7; P–6:3, 6:7, 7:5, 14:4, and 14:18. Source divisions are Noth’s.
27. For substantive reviews of the past and present research, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1992); Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the*

Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and R. N. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study*, JSOTSup 53 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987). For brief but nonetheless helpful overviews see T. D. Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 3–94; David L. Petersen, “The Formation of the Pentateuch” in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, eds. James Luther Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent Harold Richards (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 31–45; and Gordon J. Wenham, “Pondering the Pentateuch: The Search for a New Paradigm” in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, eds. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 116–44. Whybray (*Introduction to the Pentateuch* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 12–13) provides a cautionary note to any conclusions reached here:

For although it may be true that recent scholars have succeeded in exposing many of the errors of earlier critics, it must be admitted that as far as assured results are concerned we are no nearer to certainty than when critical study of the Pentateuch began. There is at the present moment no consensus whatever about when, why, how, and through whom the Pentateuch reached its present form, and opinions about the dates of composition of its various parts differ by more than five hundred years.

28. Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 22–52. Obviously, certain lines of scholarship, argue for a late date for J (e.g., John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983]; *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992]; and *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994]) or regard J as a series redactions that unite originally independent units and cycles of traditions (Rolf Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch*, trans. John J. Scullion, JSOTSup 89 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990] and E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990]). I remain convinced of a basic documentary model in which Priestly redactors are responsible for the end product.
29. M. Haran, “Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source” *JBL* 100 (1981): 321–33; Avi Hurvitz, “The Language of the Priestly Source and Its Historical Setting—the Case for an Early Date,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies*; Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 3–35; and Richard Elliott Friedman, “Torah (Pentateuch)” in *ABD*, VI: 605–22.
30. *CMHE*, 293–325 esp. 324–25. See also Smith’s (*The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 144–84) excellent treatment of the Priestly redaction in Exodus.
31. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes: Volume II: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I & II Samuel*, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprint, 1982), 36. Other commentators who cite the dependence of Josh 2:9 upon Exod 15 include: Robert G. Boling, *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary*, Introduction by G. Ernest Wright, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982), 146–47; Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 176; Robert B. Coote, “The Book of Joshua: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections” in *The New Interpreters’ Bible: General Articles & Introduction, Commentary & Reflections for Each Book of the Bible including the*

Apocryphal/Deutero-Canonical Books in Twelve Volumes, eds. Leander Keck et al., Vol. II (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 594; L. Daniel Hawk, *Joshua*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 44; Richard S. Hess, *Joshua: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 88; Richard D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 50; and Marten H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1981), 71–72.

32. Only Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Job use both terms within the same book.
33. Josh 5:12; 14:1; 21:2; 22:9, 10, 11, 32; and 24: 3. The gentilic occurs an additional 15 times: 3:10, 5:1, 7:9, 9:1, 11:3, 12:8, 13:3, 4, 16:10 (2x), 17:12, 13, 16, 18, and 24:11.
34. Josh 1:2, 6, 11, 13, and 15.
35. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 158–167. On the other hand, McCarthy studies four terms related to this fear motif in Josh 2 (הַפֶּר, אִיְמָה, גִּזְזִים, and מִוֶּלֶד) and associates them with holy war. In his view, the holy war theology is predeuteronomic. See Dennis J. McCarthy, “Some Holy War Vocabulary in Joshua 2” *CBQ* 33 (1971): 228–30.
36. Moran, “The End of the Unholy War and the Anti-Exodus,” 340. He argues that Deut 2–3 is influenced by the Song of Moses and the Israelites. Other commentators who cite the dependence of Deut 2:25 on Exod 15:14–16 include: Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 114; A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1979), 140; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 533; and Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 30.
37. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 533. Propp suggests that Deut 2:25 is a virtual paraphrase of Exod 15:14.
38. נָד also is found in Ps 33:7 and Isa 17:11, but these occurrences are usually regarded as corrupt. Of the two, Pss 33:7 has the most evidence to support MT’s reading.
39. Roland De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel: To the Exodus and Covenant of Sinai*, trans. David Smith, vol. 1 (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1978), 387.
40. *CMHE*, 103–05 and 138–141. More recently, see Jan Wagenaar, “Crossing the Sea of Reeds (Exod 13–14) and the Jordan (Josh 3–4)” in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction—Reception—Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126 (Leuven: Leuven University, 1996), 461–70.
41. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 93. Cf. De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, vol. 1, 385–388.
42. Brenner acknowledges this without conceding the point, writing:

The whole set of texts wishes to establish that everything that is to happen under Joshua is either a redoing of something that has happened to Moses, or is the continuation and result of something begun under Moses, either in the trans-Jordan or in the exodus. The crossing of the Jordan is a redoing of the Reed Sea crossing and continues to instill fear that the Reed Sea crossing did, Jos 2:9f; 4:22–5:1. The conquest of Jericho continues the conquest begun by Moses in the trans-Jordan and is a result of the terror begun by him, Jos 2:9–11.

See Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 159–60.
43. Cf. Ps 114.
44. The verbal form occurs in Josh 2:10, 4:23 (2x), and 5:1. It twice refers to the drying of the Re(e)d sea and twice to the drying of the Jordan river.
45. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 358–59. Fishbane’s reading of Josh 3–5 and Exodus is based on the final form of the text.

46. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 94. I cannot find a text that specifically attributes fear of Moses to Israel except in Exod 34:30. There the fear is caused by the glow of Moses' face. Exod 14:31, however, marks the turning point of Moses' characterization in the Pentateuch. See McBride, "Transcendent Authority," 232–33.
47. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 359–60. See also *CMHE*, 103–5; Baruch Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel*, HSM 25 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981), 89; and Wagenaar, "Crossing the Sea of Reeds (Exod 13–14) and the Jordan (Josh 3–4)," 461–70.
48. No specific "fear" terminology is shared except for the report that the nations "heard" (שמע), but the phrase ער־עבר is present (cf. Exod 15:16b).
49. For a plausible attempt to reconstruct the ritual practiced at Gilgal, see *CMHE*, 103–5.
50. T. W. Mann, "The Pillar of Cloud in the Reed Sea Narrative" *JBL* 90 (1971): 24–27.
51. Josh 3:7 and 4:14 are typically assigned to Dtr. See Butler, *The Book of Joshua*, xxi; and Wagenaar, "Crossing the Reed Sea (Exod 13–14) and the Jordan (Josh 3–4)," 466. Butler does not comment on the source of 4:23; Wagenaar assigns it to a secondary P redactor; and Batto (*Slaying the Dragon*, 141) argues that it is pre-Dtr.
52. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 360.
53. See G. W. Coats, "The Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif" *VT* 17 (1967): 253–65; B. S. Childs, "A Traditio-Historical Study of the Reed Sea Tradition" *VT* 20 (1970): 406–18; and De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, vol. 1, 385–388. This position assumes that there was no split sea or crossing in Exod 15 or J. Thus, P's version with two walls of water and Israel passing through the sea stands under the influence of Josh 3. The interpretation of Exod 15 above questions this by showing that a wall of water is present and that Israel crosses the Re(e)d Sea.
54. Bernard F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 128–52.
55. *CMHE*, 99–105. Cross discusses "Ritual Conquest" and offers a reconstruction of the liturgy celebrated at Gilgal. Nelson is critical of attempts to reconstruct a liturgy for Gilgal. He acknowledges that aspects of the narrative, especially the stones, derive from the sanctuary at Gilgal whose importance in the religious life of Israel is indicated in 1 Sam 11:14–15; Hos 4:15, 9:15, 12:12; and Amos 4:4, 5:5. He writes:
- However, to gather elements from all the stages of the redactional growth of this text and then repackage them into a reflection of an otherwise unknown liturgical activity is methodologically unsound. This text as it stands exerts no discernable effort to legitimate Gilgal as a cultic place or to encourage or explain the celebration of any ritual action there.
- See Nelson, *Joshua*, 67.
56. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 128.
57. Batto is open to the possibility that the Song of Moses and the Israelites originated within the Gilgal cult. Cf. *CMHE*, 140–44.
58. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 552–53.
59. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 141. He writes, "A priori, this would suggest that a parallel between the Jordan crossing and the Sea deliverance was unknown in the early period, undoubtedly because the motif of crossing dry shod formed not part of the earliest exodus tradition at Gilgal, exactly as witnessed by the older (J-E) epic tradition and the Song of the Sea."
60. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 142–43. For Van Seters, it is the exilic "Yahwist."
61. Fretheim, *Exodus*, 158.

62. *CMHE*, 274–89. Of course, others continue to argue for the existence of even earlier editions.
63. The impetus for this move came from R. Smend in “Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomischen Redaktionsgeschichte” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. W. Wolff (München: C. Kaiser, 1971), 494–509.
64. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea*, 175–77.
65. The problem with such a leveling is compounded by the unique nature of Exod 15’s use of archaic grammar and style. This is not present in the same degree in the any other literature found to share affinities with it. Even if the Exod 15 is archaic, why wouldn’t texts contemporary with it employ not only its vocabulary and phrasing, but also its archaic grammar?
66. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 413. He writes:
 Aggadic exegesis serves to link the past with the present and future, only now the *traditio* is regarded as the reactualization of the *traditum*, and not only its replacement; and the *traditio* does not serve as the backdrop and foil for a discontinuous *traditum*, but is rather the screen upon which national hope and renewal is contextualized, even imagined.
67. Cross and Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” 237. William Foxwell Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968): 12. The descriptive phrase “national anthem” is not intended to function as a form critical category, but simply serves as a helpful analogy to illustrate the Song’s importance and influence.
68. Butler, “The Song of the Sea,” 239–47; Fabrizio Foresti, “Composizione e redazione Deuteronomistica in Ex 15,1–18,” *Lateranum* 48 (1982): 41–69; Bernard Gosse, “Le Texte d’Exode 15,1–21 dans la rédaction Biblique,” *Biblische Zeitschrift* 37 (1993): 264–71; Raymond Jacques Tournay, “Le Chant de Victoire d’Exode 15,” *RB* 102–104 (1995): 522–31 and “Recherches sur la Chronologie des Psaumes,” *RB* 65 (1958): 321–57.
69. However, Gosse does assert without providing discussion that Exod 15 has influenced later literature, e.g., Isa 42, Ps 74, etc.
70. Foresti dates Ps 78 to the late Exilic period.
71. Craigie, “Earliest Israelite Religion,” 40.
72. Brevard S. Childs, “A Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif,” *VT* 20 (1970): 406–18; George W. Coats, “The Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif,” *VT* 17 (1967): 253–65; *CMHE*, 131–44; Aarre Lauha, “Das Schilfmeeremotiv im Alten Testament” in *Congress Volume: Bonn 1962*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 32–46; and Josef Scharbert, “Das ‘Schilfmeerwunder’ in den Texten des Alten Testaments” in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l’honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, eds. A Caquot and M. Delcor (Neukirchener Verlag Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon and Berker Kevelaer, 1981), 395–417.

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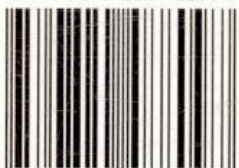
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