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The Drowning of Pharaoh's Army
(Exodus, lines 447–564)

The story told in *Exodus*, the second poem of the Junius manuscript (see p. 130), is at the heart of Jewish history, for it tells of the very survival of the race. The biblical version of the events covered in the poem is given very concisely in Ex 13.20–14.31. After a long captivity in Egypt, the Israelites have finally been allowed by Pharaoh to leave and are led away by Moses. But Pharaoh changes his mind and gives chase until he corners the fugitives at the Red Sea, whereupon Moses, at God's command, causes the waters to part so that the Israelites can pass safely across. When Pharaoh and his troops try to follow, the water returns and they are all drowned.

The extract given here comes from the dramatic climax of the poem. The terrified Egyptians have tried to follow the Israelites, only to find the sea overwhelming them. With impressive verbal virtuosity, the poet presents their destruction in a repetitive pattern of visual images of almost cinematographic intensity – using fourfold variation, for instance, to tell how the walls of water have come crashing down on the doomed army. There is an apocalyptic tone to all this, a clear allusion to the terrors of Judgement Day for the unrighteous. God's adversary, the poet declares, has found that God was greater than he was; the pride of the Egyptians has been smashed and such is the completeness of their annihilation that there is not even a messenger left to take the news of defeat back home. After the action, Moses spells out to the Israelites the nature of God's covenant with them (lines 108–18), but first there is a homiletic digression apparently by the poet himself, who is clearly well versed in biblical exegesis (lines 77–102). He exhorts his audience to be open to the lessons of scripture, to recognise the ephemeral nature of life on earth, and to prepare for Judgement Day. Deliverance from this exile on earth will be the reward of the righteous.

Syntactically, *Exodus* presents the modern reader with special challenges. It is not always clear, for instance, whether certain half-lines complement the previous half-line (or even the one before that) or anticipate the next, and the interpretations and punctuation given below are necessarily subjective. But there is no reason to doubt that much of the ambiguity of the poem was intended. As for vocabulary, the poet draws freely on his OE wordhoard to produce a bewildering number of more or less synonymous words for the sea, ocean, water and currents. Although the language of *Exodus* is predominantly WS in form, the sporadic appearance

of forms generally considered to be non-WS (such as *genēop* not *genēap*, 30, and uncontracted *demeð*, 97, and *laedeð*, 98 and 109) has been sufficient to raise speculation about an earlier Anglian recension of the poem, and a possible origin in Northumbria, but the evidence is not conclusive. There is little doubt that the version of the poem that has come down to us is far removed from the poet's 'original'. It contains many apparent errors, the most obvious of which have been corrected in the extract below, but no attempt has been made to 'improve' the text simply on the grounds that difficulties of translation might be (though they cannot be proved to be) due to further corruptions or because the metrical scheme appears to be defective. The lines of the extract here are numbered from 1, but their numbering in the poem as a whole is also indicated.

Further reading

- P. J. Lucas, ed., *Exodus* (London, 1977; rev. edn. Exeter, 1994)
 E. B. Irving, ed., *The Old English Exodus*, Yale Studies in English 122 (repr. with suppl. bibliography, Yale, 1970)
 E. B. Irving, 'New Notes on the Old English *Exodus*', *Anglia* 90 (1972), 289–324
 'Exodus Retraced', in *Old English Studies in Honor of John C. Pope*, ed. R. B. Burlin and E. B. Irving (Toronto, 1974), pp. 203–23
 R. Frank, 'What Kind of Poetry Is *Exodus*?', in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. D. G. Calder and T. C. Christy (Wolfeboro, NH, and Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 191–205
 R. Marsden, 'The Death of the Messenger: the *spelboda* in the Old English *Exodus*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 77 (1995), 141–64
 P. G. Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, CSASE 16 (Cambridge, 1996), ch. 3

Folc was aīfæred°, flōdegsa becwōm° terrified
 gāstas° gēomre°, geofon° dēaðe hwēop°. spirits ap miserable ocean ns
 Wæron° beorhhlīðu° blōde bestēmed°, bedewed (with +d)
 [450] holm° heolfre spāw°. Hrēam° was on yðum°, sea ns Shouting (the) waves

- 1 **flōdegsa becwōm** The vb. is here used transitively, with obj. *gāstas gēomre*: 'flood-terror [*i.e.* (presumably) terror of the water] overcame . . .'. In 10, *becwōm* has its more usual sense of 'came'. The element *cwōm* is an earlier, uncontracted form of *cōm*.
- 2 **dēaðe hwēop** 'threatened (them) with death' (dat. of instrument).
- 3 **beorhhlīðu** The 'hill-slopes' or 'hillsides' are the walls of water drawn up on each side of the dry passage as ramps or fortifications, allowing the Israelites to escape. See 18, 38 and 41 for variations.
- 4 **heolfre spāw** 'spewed (or spat) with gore (or blood)'. Water turning to blood is a sign of Judgement Day, as predicted in Ex 7.17 and described in Rev 8.8 and 16.3.

- 5 wæter wæpna ful°, ƿwælmist ƿāstāh°. Wæron Ēgypte° eft° oncyrde°, the Egyptians again turned back flugon° forhtigende°, færo° ongēton°. fled 'fearing' calamity as recognised Woldon hereblæde° hāmas° findan, battle-shy (men) homes *ap* ƿgylp wearð gnornra; him ongēn genāp° him ongēn genāp° 10 ƿatol° yða gewearc°. Ne ðær ænig becwōm herges tō hāme ac behindan belēac terrible churning *as* wyrd mid wæge°. Þær ær wēgas° lāgon° paths had lain mere° mōdgode°, mægen° was ādrenced°, sea raged army submerged strēamas° stōdon°, storm° ūp gewāl° currents turbulence went 15 hēah tō heofonum, herewōpa mæst°. Foes wailed sky above darkened Lāde° cyrmdon° lyft° ūp° geswearc°. ƿægum stæfnum°, flōd° blōð gewōd°. water *as* pervaded Rampbyrig° wæron rofene°, ƿrodor swipode ramparts broken meredēaða mæst°. Mōdige° swulton° Bold perished

5 **wælmist** 'slaughter-mist'; perhaps 'a pall of death'.

9 **gylp wearð gnornra** Understatement: '(their) arrogance [*or* boasting] became more troubled'. **him ongēn genāp** 'darkened against them', with subj. *gewearc* in 10. The churning sea threatens the Egyptians with its dark waves (see *brim yppinge* in 53), at the same time blocking out the light.

10 **atol yða gewearc** The same half-line appears in *The Seafarer* (26/6).

10–12 **Ne ðær ænig... herges** 'none of the army there'. **ac behindan...** **wæge** The 'fate' (*wyrd*) alluded to here is clearly God's will, or Providence (cf. Text 6): 'but Providence shut (them) in from behind with water'.

14 **stōdon** The vb. *standan* has a wide semantic range in OE, encompassing both stasis and decisive movement; here perhaps, 'built up'.

15 **herewōpa mæst** lit. 'the greatest of army-wailings' (a theme continued in 16a). Either this is parallel with *storm* (i.e. the turbulence and the wailing rose up together) or the wailing *is* the turbulence.

17 **ƿægum stæfnum** dat. of manner: 'with doomed voices'. The phrase seems to complement *lāde cyrmdon* (16), but in this passage of dislocated imagery the voices themselves may be darkening the sky.

18–19 **rodor swipode meredēaða mæst** The poet continues the apocalyptic conflation of celestial and terrestrial, concrete and abstract: hard to trans., but lit. 'the greatest quantity of sea-deaths scourged the sky'. *Meredēað* could also be interpreted as 'sea of death' or 'deadly sea', and these certainly might fit the context better when the compound is repeated in 67.

- 20 cýningas on° corōre°, ƿcýre swiðrode in (their) pomp sēs at endē°. Wīgborð° scinon° Shields shone hēah ofer hælodum°, holmweall° āstāh warriors sea-wall merestrēam° mōdig. Mægen wæs on cwealme° sea-current death 1470 fæste gefeterod° forðganges° nēp° bound of escape powerless 25 searwum° æsæled°. ƿSand bāsnodon war-gear encumbered (by +*ð*) wītodre fyrde° hwonne waðema° strēam, of waves sincaldā° sǣ sealtrum yðum ever-cold æflāstum gewuna° ēce staðulas° accustomed to +*d* foundations nacud nýðboda° nēosan° cōme, herald of disaster to seek 30 fāh° fēðegāst°, sē ðe fēondum genēop°. hostile roving spirit engulfed +*d* Wæs sēo hǣwene° lyft heolfrige geblanden°. blue mingled Brim° berstende° blōðeges an hwēop Sea *ns* bursting sǣmanna sið° oðþæt sōð° metod° true creator

20–1 **cýre swiðrode sēs æt ende** *cýre* means 'choice' or 'free-will'; if, as assumed here, *swiðrode* is from *swiðrian* (or *swæðrian*), 'diminish' or 'abate', then *cýre* must be attributed to the 'kings', producing an effectively ironic litotes: '(their) free-will diminished at the edge (*ende*) of the sea'. If, however, the vb. is part of *swiðrian* (and thus *swiðrode*), 'become strong' or 'prevail', then *sēs* must be construed with *cýre* and the words may be interpreted (appropriately enough): 'finally the will of the sea prevailed'. Emending *cýre* to *cynn* ('noise' or 'tumult'), as suggested by some editors, is unnecessary.

25–6 **Sand bāsnodon wītodre fyrde** The problem is *wītodre*, which occurs uniquely here. Most editors have assumed, from the context and by analogy with similar OE words, that it has the sense of 'fated': 'Sand awaited the fated army' (i.e. the sand of the bottom of the sea). Conceivably, *wītodre* is an error for *wītrode*, 'battle-route' (a word used in 46). The meaning would then be, 'sands had awaited the battle-route of the army' – earlier in the poem, sand has represented the safety of the shore; *hwonne* (see next note) would now have to be trans. 'until'. *Bāsnodon* is itself an emendation, of *barenodon*.

26–30 **hwonne... geneop** A complex passage. On the assumption that *æflāst* denotes the ever-cold sea, with its salt waves accustomed to deviant paths – naked herald of waves, hostile vagrant spirit [*fēðegāst*]: but this might be a form of *fēðegest*, 'visitor on foot'] – came [*cōme*, sbj. vb. after the conj. *hwonne*, expressing anticipation] to seek out its eternal foundations (i.e. the sands of the sea-bed): that (sea) which engulfed (*or* overwhelmed) the enemies'. The sea is personified as a terrifying, anarchic force, and its return to its natural place emphasises the inevitability of the Egyptians' destruction.

32–3 **blōðeges an hwēop sǣmanna sið** The poet inserts a retrospective comment: 'had threatened the seamen's journey with the terror of blood'. The 'seamen' are the Israelites (whose progress is described in terms of seafaring elsewhere in the poem). They too had been faced by death at the Red Sea, until God intervened.

- [480] þurh Moyses hand 'mōd gerýmde'.
 35 Wīde wæððe wælfæðnum° swēop°,
 flōd fāmgode fæge° crungon°,
 lagu° land gefēol° lyft wæs onhrēred°,
 wicon° wealffesten° wēgas° burston,
 40 multon° metorras° þā se mihtiga° slōh
 mid hālige hand, heofonritces weard°,
 wērþeamas°. Wlance° ðeode°
 ne mihton forhabban° 'helpendra pað'
 merestreaumes mōd° ac 'hē' manegum gescēod°
 [490] 'gyllynde gryre'. Gārsceg° wēdde°
 45 'ūp ātēah, on slēap'. Egesan° stōdon°,
 wēollon° wælbenna° 'wītrood gefēol
 hēah of heofonum' handweorc° Godes
 fāmgibōsma°. Flōdweard° geslōh° foamy-bosomed
 'Flood guardian' struck
 'unhleoƿan wæg alde mēce'
 50 þæt 'ðy deaðdrepe' drihte° swāfon°,
 synfullra° swēot°. Sāwulum lunnon°,
 fræste° befarene°, 'flōdblac here'

34 **mōd gerýmde** The event referred to is the parting of the sea consequent on Moses's raising of his staff, but the phr. is ambiguous. If the *mōd* referred to is God's, the phrase means '(God) revealed his will (or power)'; if it is the ocean's, the meaning must be '(God) made space for (i.e. dissipated) its power'. The fact that *mōd* is attributed to the sea in 43, as a force which the heathen Egyptians cannot resist, makes the second alternative the more attractive.

42 **helpendra** These may be the *wērbearmas*, which have been 'helpers' or 'supports' to the Israelites, or alternatively the rushing waters, which are of course helping to save the Israelites.

43 **hē** The antec. noun is probably *mōd*, but *weard* (40) or *pað* (42) are other possibilities.

44 **gyllynde gryre** instr.: 'with shrieking terror'.

45 **ūp ātēah, on slēap** A memorable half-line, in which the drama of the sea's rearing itself up and then inexorably sliding down is enacted through the parallel verbal phrases, with stressed and alliterating advs. and assonating vbs.: 'drew (itself) up, slid down onto (them)'.
 46–7 **wītrood gefēol** The vb. is trans. with acc. obj. *wītrood*: 'attacked' or 'fell on the battle-route'; the subj. is God's 'handiwork', the *fāmgibōsma* ('the foamy-bosomed one', i.e. the sea). **hēah of heofonum** 'high from the heavens', i.e. 'from high in the heavens'.

49 **unhleoƿan wæg** 'the unprotective wave (or water)'; effective use of litotes: it is of course not simply 'unprotective' but unequivocally destructive. **alde mēce** instr.: 'with ancient sword'.

50 **ðy deaðdrepe** instr.: 'by that death-blow'.

52 **flōdblac here** 'flood-pale army'. The subj. of *lunnon* (51). Either the Egyptians are white with the terror of drowning in the flood or that is their colour when drowned.

- siððan° hie° onbugon brūn yppinge°, when
 1500] mōdewæga° mæst. Mægen eall gedrēas° violent waves *gp* perished
 55 'ðā þe gedrecte', dugod° Ēgypta, host
 Faraon mid his folcum. Hē onfond° hraðe° discovered quickly
 siððan 'grund' gestāh° Godes andsaca° reached adversary
 þæt was mihtigra° mereflōdes° weard; mightier ocean-tide's
 'wolde heortfæðnum hitde gescēadan'
 60 yre ond egesfull°. Ēgyptum weard° awesome
 'þæs degweorces' dēop° lēan° gescēod° awful reward assigned (to +d)
 forðām° þæs heriges° hām eft ne cōm because army
 'calles ungrundes' ænig tō° lāfe° as survivor
 [510] þætte° stō° heora secgan mōste°, so that fate might
 65 bodigean° æfter° burgum bealospella° mæst, proclaim through of ill tidings
 'hordwearda hryre hæleða cwēnum'
 ac þā mægenbrēatas° meredēað geswealh°, mighty hosts *gp* swallowed
 'spelbodaen ēac'. Sē ðe spēð° āhte° power possessed
 āgēat° gylp° wera°; 'hīe wið God wunnon°'. destroyed boast of men vied
 70 Panon° Israhēlum 'ēce rēðas' Therupon
 on merehwearfe° Moyses sægde, sea-shore

53 **onbugon brūn yppinge** The phr. after the vb. seems to be dat.: 'submitted [lit. "bowed"] to the dark mass (of water)', with the termination of the adj. (-re) elided before the following vowel; in the next half-line, however, *mæst* is nom. *Onbugon* is an emendation of the manuscript's puzzling *on bogum*.

55 **ðā þe gedrecte** The pron. *ðā* is pl. but the form of the vb. is sg.: 'those who had caused affliction' (i.e. to the Israelites). Church writers interpreted the name of the Egyptians as 'those who cause affliction'.

57 **grund** 'bottom'. Not in the manuscript; a conjectured restoration.

59 **wolde... gescēadan** The subj. is potentially ambiguous – either 'God's adversary' (Pharaoh) or 'the guardian of the ocean tide' (God himself); but the epithet which follows, *yre ond egesfull* ('angry and awesome'), is clearly more appropriate for God (and is so used in the OE poem *Christ III*, 1528). Thus: 'he intended to decide the battle with deadly embraces', i.e. the embraces of the sea.

61 **þæs dægweorces** gen. of respect: 'for that day's work'.

63 **ealles ungrundes** The adj. phr. qualifies *þæs heriges* in 62: 'of all (that) vast (army)'.
 66 **hordwearda... cwēnum** '(and proclaim) to the wives of warriors the fall of (their) hoard-guardians', i.e. of their lords or princes.

68 **spelbodaen ēac** 'the messenger(s) [or "tale-teller(s)"] too'. The manuscript has only *spelbodaen* (which could be acc. sg. or pl.; §B5a) and clearly something is missing; *ēac* fits the context. Some editors put *ēac* plus def. art. (sg. *þone* or pl. *þā*) before *spelbodaen*.

69 **hīe wið God wunnon** The actions of the damned are described thus in other OE poems, in reference to the biblical giants in *Beowulf* (113) and Satan in *Genesis B* (333).

70 **ēce rēðas** 'eternal precepts'. This obj.-phr. (with its vars. *hālige spræce*, 72, and *dēop ærende*, 73, and its distinct echo of *ēce staðulas*, 28) refers to the speech by Moses which starts at 108.

hēahþungen° wer, ʿhālige spræcē, illustrious
 dēop° ærende°. ʿDægweorc ne mād°, profound message *as* is (not) hidden
 swā gýf° werðeode° on gewritum° findað still nations the scriptures
 75 dōma° gehwiltene° ʿþāra ðe him Drihten bebēað° laws each + *gp*
 on þām stōfate° sōðum wordum. journey unlock
 Gif onlīcan° wile ʿlīfes wealhstōð radiant
 beorht° in brēostum, bānhūses weard°,

ʿgnīfæsten gōð gāstes cægon°, ʿmystery will be explained wisdom
 80 rūn° bið° gerecenod°, ræð° forð wise *apn* (tis) embrace (*or* keeping) will go
 ʿHafað° wīslīcū° word on frēome°, ʿwisne *apn* (tis) embrace (*or* keeping) earnestly
 wīle meagollīce° ʿmōdum tæcan° þæt wē gēsne° ne sýn° Godes þeodscipes°, lacking + *g* are *sbj* law
 metodes miltsa°. Hē ūs mā° onlýhð°, mercies *gp* more grants

85 nū ūs bōceras° ʿbeteran seegað scholars
 lengran lyftwýnna°. Þis is lāene° drēam°, temporary happiness
 womnum° āwýrged° wrecum° ālyfed°, with sins cursed to exiles granted
 ʿearma anbid°. Eðellēase° Homeless
 ʿþysne gýstsele gīhðum° healded° (we) occupy

72 **hālige spræce** If the fem. noun and adj. are taken to be the acc. sg. obj. of the vb. *sæge*, the meaning is ‘divine utterance’; but they could equally well be the acc. pl. obj. (‘divine words’), or even a dat. sg. phr. complementing the vb. (‘with divine utterance’).

73–5 **Dægweorc... dōma gehwiltene** The story of the escape through the Red Sea (the ‘day’s work’) is not hidden (*ne mād* is an emendation of the manuscript’s *nemnað*), for it is revealed in the scriptures (*on gewritum*), just as are those laws which God enjoined on the Israelites during their journeyings (the *sīðfat* of 76). On the revelation of the Ten Commandments and other laws (*dōmas*) to Moses, see Ex 20–23.

75 **þāra ðe him Drihten bebēað** The gen. demons. adj. is in concord with *dōma* but need not be trans.: ‘which the Lord enjoined on them’.

77–8 **līfes wealhstōð... bānhūses weard** The ‘interpreter of life’ (*wealhstōð*) is the first subj. of the sentence. It is the intellectual faculty, which concerns itself with the well-being of the body, hence it is also expressed in a second kenning, *bānhūses weard*, ‘guardian of the bone-house (*i.e.* body)’. **brēostum** The pl. is commonly used thus, with sg. meaning, in OE (§D41).

79 **gnīfæsten gōð** obj. of *onlīcan wile* (77): ‘the wide benefitis’. **gāstes cægon** adv. phr. modifying *onlīcan wile*: ‘with the keys of the spirit’ (*cægon* for *cægam*, dat. of instrument).

81 **Hafað** ‘(It) has’. The antec. subj. is *wealhstōð*.

82 **mōdum tæcan** ‘teach (us) in (our) minds’, or ‘teach to our minds (*or* hearts)’.

85–6 **beteran seegað lengran lyftwýnna** The two comp. adjs. are parallel: ‘tell (us) of the better and longer(-lasting) joys of heaven’.

88 **earma anbid** ‘a period of waiting for [lit. “of”] wretched (people)’; the phr. is parallel with *lāna drēam*.

89 **þysne gýstsele** ‘this lodging-house’ (acc. sg.), a metaphor for the earthly life. **gīhðum** dat. of manner: ‘with anxieties’.

90 murnað° on mōde; ʿmānhūs witon° are anxious
 fæst under foldan° þær bið fýr ond wýrm, earth
 open ēce scræf° yfela gehwylces°, pit of every
 swā° nū regnþeofas° rīce° dælað°: in as far as arch-thieves dominion share
 [540] yldo° oððe ærðeað°. ʿEftwýrd° cymð, age premature death
 95 mægenþrymma° miæst ofer middangeard, of powerful forces
 ʿdæg dæðum fāh°. Drihten syfa

on þām meðelsteðe° manegum dēmed°, place of assembly will judge + *d*
 of (those) steadfast in truth souls *ap*
 ʿþonne° hē sōðfæstra° sāwla° lædeð blessed into high heaven
 100 ēadige° gāstas on° ūprodor° of mercies blessing(s)
 þær is lēoht ond līf ʿēac þon° lissa° blaēð°. (The) company will praise
 Dugod° on drēame Drihten herigað°, of hosts glorious king
 weroda° wuldorcýning° ʿtō wīðan fēore°. spoke intent (on + *g*)

[550] manna mildost mihtum° swiðed° in (his) powers fortified
 105 ʿhlīðan stefne°, here° stille° bād° army silently awaited
 ʿwītodes willan°, wundor° ongēton°, wondrous thing *as* (they) perceived
 mōdiges° mūðhæl°; hē tō mænegum° spræc: of the spirited (man) multitudes
 ʿMīcel is þeos menigeo°, mægenwīsa° trum°, company leader *ns* strong
 fulllesta° miæst se° oðas fare° lædeð. of supports who journey

110 ʿHafað ūs on Cananēa cyn° gelyfed° the people conceded
 burh and beagas°, bræde° rīce°. treasures *ap* broad
 Wile nū gelæstan° þæt° hē lange gehēt° fulfil what promised
 mid āðsware°, engla Drihten, ʿoath-swearing
 [560] in fýrmdagum° federyncýnne° days of old to (our) forefathers

90 **mānhūs witon** ‘(we) know [*i.e.* are conscious of] the house of wickedness’, *i.e.* hell.
 94 **Eftwýrd** Possibly an adv., ‘in (due) time’, but usually interpreted as a noun. ‘the after event’, *i.e.* Judgement Day.

96 **dæg dæðum fāh** The phr. varies *eftwýrd* in 94. Although *fāh* may mean ‘hostile’ (see 30) or ‘guilty’, it may also have the sense ‘variegated’, ‘stained’ or ‘gleaming’ (the latter used especially of decoration). The words here suggest ‘a day marked by deeds’ – a reference to the review of the past behaviour (gleaming with virtue or stained with sin) which will determine the future of each individual soul. For a similar instance of *fāh* used ambiguously, see 23/13.

98 **þonne** This may be treated as either the conj. ‘when’ or the adv. ‘then’. There is similar syntactical ambiguity with *þær* in 100.

100 **ēac þon** adv. phr. with instr. *þon*: ‘in addition to that’, or ‘and also’.

102 **tō wīðan fēore** ‘for ever more’ (lit. ‘to spacious life’).

105 **hlīðan stefne** dat. of manner: ‘in a loud voice’.

106 **wītodes willan** ‘the will of the appointed one’, *i.e.* Moses, who finally speaks.

107 **mūðhæl** ‘wholesome speech’, or ‘speech of salvation’ (acc. sg.).

110–11 **Hafað ūs... rīce** See Ex 15.15 on the promised land of Canaan.

115 gif gē gehealdað̅ hālige lāre°:
 þæt gē fēonda gehwone° forð° ofergangað̅,
 gesittað̅ sigerfice° ʔbe sām̅ twēonum̅,⁷
 bēorselas° beorna°. Bið° ēower
 blāed° micel!

keep teaching
 each +sp henceforth overrun
 occupy (a) victorious kingdom
 feast-halls sp of warriors (Shall) be
 glory

⁷ **be sām̅ twēonum̅** 'between the seas'. A stock phr. in OE poetry (repeated in *Exodus*, 563, and used also in *Beowulf*, 858), perhaps emphasising the extent of the 'victorious kingdom', but more specifically echoing a description of the promised land in Ex 23.31, where we are told that it will stretch 'from the Red Sea to the Sea of Palestine', or a similar reference in Num 34.6–12. The form *twēonum* occurs only in this phr.; cf. *twēgen* 'two' and *twēon* 'hesitate'.