

WOMEN IN PUBLIC WORSHIP IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

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The Old Testament offers a few glimpses of women's participation, inclusion, and witness of truth at the portable Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Nothing in scripture communicates anything unusual or surprising about women making petitions or declarations at the sanctuary. Nor were there separate designated areas or limits on access for women, as was the case in the later Temple of Herod. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss three examples of such encounters to suggest that women's presence was commonplace among the early Israelites and therefore rarely noted in the narrative. These examples also highlight significant ways that women influenced and shaped ancient Israelite worship.

The second part of this chapter provides an analysis of women's public musical performances. In particular, women's dance contributed to the community's religious expression and experience. Performed as a group, women's singing and dancing coincided with their ability to draw on and proclaim revelatory truths that promoted or connected with public worship among the early Israelites.

The Daughters of Zelophehad

Zelophehad was a faithful Israelite man who followed Moses, thus meriting a land inheritance in Israel for his male descendants under the law (Numbers 26:52–56). However, as it turned out, Zelophehad died leaving five young daughters and no male heir. Zelophehad's daughters—Mahlah, Tirzah, Hoglah, Noah, and Milcah—approached Moses and the other community leaders before the Tabernacle in the wilderness to petition for an exception or addendum to the law (Numbers 27:1–2). Because none of the girls had married (see Numbers 36: 6–12), they were

most likely very young. The girls made their appeal to inherit property in the name of their father before Moses, the high priest, and the tribal chieftains at the entrance to the Tabernacle, the center of Israelite worship.

The context suggests that the door of the Tabernacle served as a governing headquarters for Moses and was the place where individuals brought grievances to their leaders. Because the Tabernacle represented the dwelling place of Jehovah, presenting a petition at its entrance was tantamount to taking one's concern to the Lord himself. In the case of the daughters of Zelophehad, Moses received revelation from God as he sat in council at the door. The door of the Tabernacle was a place where revelation from God by those holding divine authority could be expected.

The girls' words to their leaders are given as follows:

Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the company of Korah; but died in his own sin, and had no sons.

Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son? Give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father (Numbers 27:3-4).

The narrative portrays the girls as bold and unflinching in their united petition. They did not fear negative consequences because they approached Moses directly without a male intermediary. And Moses took the girls' petition seriously, bringing "their cause before the LORD" (Numbers 27:5). In reply, God answered Moses in a way that addressed the girls' concerns: "The daughters of Zelophehad speak right: thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them" (Numbers 27:6-7).

This important story witnesses that women had a voice in ancient Israel, could address the community leader, access the holy Sanctuary, and influence their society. Furthermore, because of this specific addendum to the law of Moses, inspired by the request of the five daughters of Zelophehad, women in Judeo-Christian nations are legally entitled to inherit property today.

Hannah

Another example of women's influence and participation in Israelite worship is found in the story of Hannah. This faithful woman made a vow with God that if he would grant her a son, she would give him to the Lord to do his service "all the days of his life" (1 Samuel 1:11). The story as well as the later accounts of how her son Samuel became an important judge and prophet in Israel are well known. Less known are specific insights to the story that can be gleaned from additional phrases in the Septuagint (LXX) and Dead Sea Scroll versions of 1 Samuel that are not present in the Masoretic Text (MT) from which the King James Bible was produced.

Hannah accompanied her husband Elkanah to the "house of the LORD" located then in Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim (1 Samuel 1:1, 7). As with the story of the daughters of Zelophehad and Moses, Hannah went to the place of the tabernacle where Eli the priest sat near its entrance. However, unlike the daughters of Zelophehad who made their request to Moses, Hannah petitioned God directly rather than making her request through the priest or her husband.

In the LXX, Elkanah's first response to Hannah's weeping for want of children is to call out to her. Hannah responded, "Here I am" (LXX 1 Samuel 1:8). The phrase "Here I am" appears eighteen times in the MT, but in no other place is the speaker a woman. Donald W. Parry observed that in ten of those eighteen times, the speaker is "in a temple setting or [is] part of a revelatory experience that involves God or his angels." As in these similar instances involving Old Testament prophets, Hannah's response of "Here I am" as she "stood before the LORD" took place in a temple setting. Her intent was to communicate a vow to God that would bless all Israel (LXX 1 Samuel 1:9).

After Hannah gave birth to Samuel, she elected not to accompany her husband to Shiloh for the annual sacrifices, preferring to spend all the time with her child until he was weaned (1 Samuel 1:22). In the KJV, Elkanah responds to Hannah's decision by saying, "Do what seemeth thee good; tarry until thou have weaned him; only the LORD establish his word" (1 Samuel 1:23). The meaning of "his word" in this version of the passage is unclear; it may refer either to the Lord's word or to words that Samuel would later preach. But in the version of the story found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the meaning of Elkanah's reference is made clear: "may the Lord establish that which cometh out of thy mouth" (4QSama 1 Samuel 1:23). This account suggests that God would enable Hannah—a woman—to utter divine truth, terminology that is characteristic of a prophetess. The KJV attests to Hannah's prophetic role

in its inclusion of her inspired canticle in 1 Samuel 2:1–10, where she bore witness of the power, mercy, and judgment of God’s “anointed” one, speaking of events that had not yet occurred.

Taken together, scriptural versions of Hannah’s story allow a possible depiction of her as one called and inspired by God at the temple to shape and strengthen God’s people for the challenges that lay ahead.

Huldah

In the Bible, Huldah is explicitly called a “prophetess.” In 2 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 34, her appearance coincides with the reign of Josiah, portrayed in these accounts as a righteous king in Judah who was a successor to two wicked kings who did “evil in the sight of the LORD” (2 Kings 21:16, 20). In the process of restoring proper worship of Jehovah within Solomon’s Temple, King Josiah’s high priest “found a book of the law of the LORD given by Moses” (2 Chronicles 34:14–15; see also 2 Kings 22:8). For both the Chronicler and the author of 2 Kings, the content and validity of the discovered document become the climax for all that King Josiah accomplished in his reforms. An understanding of the scroll’s contents would soon lead Josiah to realize that the Lord required deeper and more extensive conversion to become his covenant people than what Josiah had envisioned originally when he undertook the temple restoration.

Wanting to understand the true significance and authority of the document, Josiah called his top officials to “Go, inquire of the LORD for me.” His intent was both to learn Jehovah’s counsel concerning the scroll and to discover any hope to turn away God’s wrath (2 Chronicles 34:20–21). By their response, the high priest, scribe, and their colleagues understood Josiah’s instruction “Go, inquire of the LORD” to mean that they should approach someone possessing the gift of prophecy. Whether that prophet was a man or a woman was not at issue. We simply read that the king’s men went to Huldah the prophetess to receive their needed answer (2 Chronicles 34:22; 2 Kings 22:14).

Note that the officials did not summon Huldah to come to them; instead, they went to her home. “And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me, Thus said the LORD, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read ...” (2 Kings 22:15–20; 2 Chronicles 34:). Observe also that the king’s officials did not question Huldah’s response or look for a second opinion. “And they brought the king word again” (2 Kings 22:20; see also 2 Chronicles 34:28). They received her witness and immediately conveyed it to Josiah.

Had the practice of seeking the advice of a prophetess been unorthodox at the time, we might expect a long or less routine description of Huldah. Instead, our introduction to her reads simply: “Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvath, the son of Hasrah, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college)” (2 Chronicles 34:22; see also 2 Kings 22:14). Following this introduction are six verses of scripture that cite Huldah’s message to Josiah and the Israelites. Clearly, the story’s focus is not on her appearance, age, or lineage; the story’s highlight is Huldah’s words. Four times in her six-verse response to the scroll, Huldah boldly declared, “Thus saith the LORD” (2 Chronicles 34:23, 24, 26–27).

The power of her words and confidence in her message indicate that Huldah was neither surprised nor uncomfortable with the royal request. With the witness of the Spirit that attends the communication of prophets and prophetesses, Huldah bore fervent testimony of the Lord’s will (2 Chronicles 34:23–28; 2 Kings 22:15–20).

The king’s response to her declaration is particularly noteworthy. Josiah assembled all his people to the temple to invite them to make a covenant to Jehovah in response to the warnings that Huldah declared had come from their God.

And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem.

And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the LORD.

And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart and all their soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant (2 Kings 23:1–3; see also 2 Chronicles 34:29–33).

Nothing in either scriptural narrative suggests that the king, his servants, or his people were concerned over or questioned a woman who read, interpreted, and bore witness of truth recorded on a scroll discovered in the temple. Their trust in her declaration encouraged them to gather at the temple and enter into a covenant with God to obey his commandments and trust that the scroll reflected his word. The story

provides further evidence that women influenced Israelite worship and were seen as trustworthy communicators of God's will.

Public Musical Performance as a Form of Worship

In addition to the three experiences cited above, public expressions of praise, prophecy, and worship through music suggest additional ways women were recognized by the larger community for their religious contributions. Music and worship are frequently combined in Israelite worship scenes that included both men and women.

King David is the individual most often cited as responsible for organizing musical performances as part of formal worship. He skillfully played a stringed instrument and instinctively expressed his joy through dancing. When David brought the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem, he “and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets” (1 Chronicles 13:8). In addition, David danced as “all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps” (1 Chronicles 15:28–29). It is interesting that the Hebrew word used to describe David's dancing is unusual, taken from the root *rqd* which is also used to designate the up and down or bouncing movement of a ship on the sea and the leaping movement of ground wheat in a sieve to separate the grit from the finer flour. David therefore is described as “leaping” when he danced. In the 2 Samuel account of the same event, a less descriptive verb for dancing is used (*krr*), but he is described as “leaping and dancing before the LORD” amid much shouting and the sound of the trumpet (2 Samuel 6:14–16).

King Solomon prepared to build the temple by inviting a group of four thousand Israelites to “[praise] the LORD with the instruments” of his father David (1 Chronicles 23:5). Similarly, King Hezekiah ordered a celebration of the restored temple for the worship of Jehovah with a grand musical performance. Levites performed at the temple with the instruments of King David: “cymbals, psalteries, and with harps.” Priests performed with “trumpets” and “singers sang” while “all the congregation worshipped ... and all this continued until the burnt offering was finished” (2 Chronicles 29:25–28).

Similarly, the congregation of saints was instructed to praise the name of Jehovah in his Sanctuary through dance with instruments. “Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him in the firmament of his power. ... Praise him with the sound of the trumpet:

praise him with the psaltery and harp. Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs. Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding cymbals. Let everything that hath breath praise the LORD. Praise ye the LORD. (Psalm 150:1–6; see also Psalm 149). Temple worship involved all the senses and encouraged full participation of both mind and body.

Music, including singing and dancing, was associated with worship and joyful recognition of God’s promise of salvation. Through musical performance, including singing inspired praises as one danced, ancient Israelites wholeheartedly responded to the commandment to show their love to God with all their heart, might, and mind.

Through an analysis of contexts in which Israelites performed in song and dance with the timbrel, we find that women were the main performers. Their inspired lyrics were recorded and trusted by the congregation. Men also performed in worshipful dance but are reported to have done so far less frequently.

Musical Performance as a Form of Worship before the Temple was Constructed

Before there was the Tabernacle in the wilderness, women’s musical expressions drew inspiration from heaven that produced praises to God in acknowledgement of his mercy and grace in their lives. I cite four specific examples.

Miriam

In a glorious response to their miraculous deliverance from Pharaoh’s army on the other side of the Red Sea, Miriam and other women danced and sang praises. The Hebrew word to represent women’s performance in dance is from the root *hwl*. This same root is occasionally used to describe a sphere or round object or writhing in pain from childbirth. In the form it takes when describing groups of women dancing (*mhl*), it suggests that women danced together in a circle in contrast to David who leaped and skipped in dance, described by *rqd*. Israelite scholar Tal Ilan argued that because of the use of these two distinct and different verbs used for dance in the Bible and later in rabbinic literature when specifically describing men or women dancing, dance in ancient Israel clearly was gendered, with women and men dancing separately and in very different manners.

In the context of Miriam’s musical tribute to Jehovah through dance, timbrels, and song, she is called “the prophetess.” “And Miriam the

prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea” (Exodus 15:20-21). Miriam’s lyrics, composed by a woman of recognized inspiration, are arguably among the most authentic and earliest words articulated by the early Israelites because they were set to music and sung. The women accompanied their dancing with hand-held drums, translated as “timbrels,” also translated in other passages as “tabrets.” Numerous Iron Age clay figurines of women playing drums uniformly depict them holding the instrument perpendicular to their bodies.

Surely not all of Miriam’s lyrics are included in this single verse, and none of its content is particularly prophetic. For this reason, some scholars have wondered if Miriam’s song was inaccurately ascribed to Moses within a psalm recorded earlier in the same chapter. The first verse is almost verbatim to that assigned to Miriam: “I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea” (Exodus 15:1). However, additional verses in the song attributed to Moses include verbiage that warrants the label of inspired prophecy of the mercy and redemptive power of Jehovah the God of Israel.

The LORD is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my father’s God, and I will exalt him.

Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

The people shall hear, and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.

Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O LORD, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, in the Sanctuary, O LORD, which thy hands have established.

The LORD shall reign for ever and ever (Exodus 15:2, 13–14, 17–18).

Even if all these verses are not originally hers, the fuller version of the song's lyrics seem likely to have reflected what Miriam the prophetess and the other women sang.

Deborah

Known for her wisdom and respected as a leader, our introduction to Deborah contains no indication that her influence was inappropriate or surprising. She rose to prominence as a prophetess, judge, and “mother in Israel” among the splintered Israelite tribes during the chaotic era that followed Joshua's conquest of Canaan (see Judges 4–5).

Although other individuals showed inspiring courage and faith in God that led to Israel's victory, Deborah was the catalyst that ignited the Israelite surge. She did not wield a sword in battle; “her weapon [was] the word” that she used to awaken, prophecy, and celebrate victory in music. Her conviction that God would deliver his people from twenty years of Canaanite oppression inspired an army to rise up and win freedom for Israel for the next forty years. In joyous acknowledgement for Jehovah's enabling power that brought them deliverance, she performed a song of praise in concert with Barak, the Israelite military captain. Her song includes thirty-one verses of scripture (Judges 5).

Similar to Miriam's song after God's deliverance of the children of Israel at the Red Sea, Deborah's composition is a hymn of thanksgiving in which she praises Jehovah for his gracious acts in their behalf and for the power he gave her to galvanize the Israelites' trust in their deliverance. As the primary voice in the lyrics, Deborah is cited in first person singular:

Praise ye the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves.

Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes; I, even I, will sing unto the LORD; I will sing praise to the LORD God of Israel.

LORD, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchest out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.

The mountains melted from before the LORD, even that Sinai from before the LORD God of Israel.

The inhabitants of the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.

Awake, awake, Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song: arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.

So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might (Judges 5:2–5, 7, 12).

Although the narrative offers no mention of women dancing to the accompaniment of timbrels, such a setting would not have been unexpected. Archaeologist Carol Meyers argued that “Given the rhythmic form of Hebrew poetry and song and the close association in folk tradition of both dancing and singing with a percussion instrument to establish the beat,” Deborah’s song likely was accompanied with dancing and drums. The performance invited the Israelites to remember and love their Deliverer by the way they broadcast his influence as sunlight covers the earth.

Festival of Booths and the Day of Atonement

At the time of the fall harvest, in connection with the Festival of Booths (KJV: Feast of Tabernacles) and the Day of Atonement, women danced in praise for Jehovah’s goodness in granting abundance (Judges 21:19–21). Women’s circle dances and other musical performances were important aspects of their religious expression of this annual celebration. Their musical expression obviously constituted part of their ritualized worship. Although no description of women needing time to compose, collaborate, and rehearse in order to perform as an ensemble, the fact that they achieved a united message suggests the possibility of professional associations made up of women and effective opportunities for leadership and camaraderie.

Jeremiah described how Israelites celebrated the Festival of Booths through dance, percussion instruments, and song in his prophecies of the gathering of Israel after the Babylonian Captivity. Notice the specific mention of women or “damsels,” translated here as “virgins” in the KJV:

O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.

Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the LORD, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and the herd: and their soul shall be as a watered garden; and thy shall not sorrow any more at all.

Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together: for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow. (Jeremiah 31:4, 12–13).

In a similar display of community musical ritual, the Psalmist described processions of worshippers going to the temple: “the singers went before, the players on instruments followed after; among them were the damsels playing with timbrels” (Psalm 68:24–25).

Hannah

Although Hannah is not reported to have danced or sung at the sanctuary at Shiloh when she pleaded with God for a child, she sang her praises to Jehovah in prophetic voice when she returned her young son Samuel to be reared by Eli the high priest in preparation for a lifetime of service to God.

In a clear indication of Hannah’s unwavering faith in the Lord, and in reflection of her role as a prophetess, she sang a song of rejoicing and praise to the Deliverer of the faithful at the time she dedicated her first son to the Lord.

My heart rejoiceth in the LORD, mine horn is exalted in the LORD: my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation.

There is none holy as the LORD: for there is none beside thee: neither is there any rock like our God.

The LORD killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.

The LORD maketh poor, and maketh rich: he bringeth low, and lifteth up.

He will keep the feet of his saints, and the wicked shall be silent in darkness; for by strength shall no man prevail.

The LORD shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed (2 Samuel 2:1–2, 6–7, 9–10).

Because the biblical narrator recorded Hannah’s song, her voice continued to influence Israelite worship in later eras. The Latter-day

Saint Bible Dictionary underscores the importance of prayer in early Israelite worship with the example of Hannah’s worshipful canticle as “a model for prayer.”

Jehovah Saves

Most often, scholars categorize women’s dance and singing in ancient Israel as celebrating Israel’s victory in battle and in praise for the harvest. Considering the larger narrative and content of the lyrics, I would argue that such musical performances were an expression of worship and a ritualized reason for rejoicing and praising God for his deliverance. In essence, women’s collective voices proclaimed that Jehovah saves, not only from their political enemies but also from the forces of fallen earth. Their energetic expression communicates the hope and faith that centers in the mission of *Yahweh*—the Great I Am—and *Yeshua*—our Help or Savior—their only hope for salvation.

In considering the various accounts of early Israelite women as a group performing musically suggests more than simply a public religious ritual of gratitude. Through music and perhaps reflection in composing and rehearsing together, women orchestrated an environment in which they and others received revelation from God. Women pronounced prophetic utterings in a context of praise, dance, and musical instruments. Miriam and Deborah are specifically assigned the title of “prophetess” in scripture in connection with their music, and Hannah performs the function of a prophetess in her psalm and her husband’s acknowledgement of the power of her words. With all their *might* as well as their mind and heart, these early Israelite women illustrate the power of inspired expression through their ritualized performance.

In The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, women are not organized as a hierarchy but collectively as a society, the Relief Society. Given the example of Israelite women anciently, we may do much to encourage worship today that is more effective for all by granting women space to create an environment where revelation is given and honoring their voice when they proclaim truths they receive as they serve and study together.

Notes

1. Carol L. Meyers, "The Roots of Restriction: Women in Early Israel," *Biblical Archaeologist* (September 1978): 91–103.
2. See Numbers 16–17.
3. Zafrira Ben-Barak, "Inheritance by Daughters in the Ancient Near East," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 25 (1980): 22–33; Henry C. Clark, "And Zelophehad Had Daughters," *American Bar Association Journal* (February 1924): 133–34.
4. Donald W. Parry, "Hannah in the Presence of the Lord," *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History*, edited by Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker. Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* [132] (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2010), 53–73.
5. See Genesis 22:1, 11; 31:11; 46:2; Exodus 3:4; 1 Samuel 3:4; Isaiah 6:8.
6. Frank Moore Cross, Donald W. Parry, Richard J. Saley, and Eugene Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4: Discoveries in the Judean Desert: 4QSama, XVII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), [page].
7. Especially at a time when men trusted as God's prophets were also in the land. For example, Jeremiah was arguably active in his prophetic role about this same time in Judah. Tikva Frymer-Kensky suggests that Jeremiah was not consulted because Josiah and his men knew what Jeremiah would say based on his previous statements against the government or because he was not associated with the court, *Reading the Women of the Bible* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002): 325.
8. William E. Phipps, "A Woman Was the First to Declare Scripture Holy," *Bible Review* (April, 1990): 14–16.
9. Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 326.
10. See M. J. Mulder, "rāqad," in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, ed., 15 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1973); 13:644–45; E. B. Johnston, "Dance," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, gen.ed., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979–88); 1:856–858. The Hebrew term *rqd* is also used in Ecclesiastes 3:4 for "a time to mourn and a time to dance."
11. Alfred Sendry, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969): 262–63. Daniel A. Foxvog and Anne d. Kilmer, "Music," in *The*

- International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, gen. ed., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979–88); 3:438–446.
12. Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
 13. Carol E. Robertson, “Power and Gender in the Musical Experiences of Women, in *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, E. Koskoff, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987): 225–44.
 14. Carol L. Meyers, “Of Drums and Damsels: Women’s Performance in Ancient Israel,” *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 54/1, March 1991:16–27.
 15. H. Eising, “chûl,” in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, ed., 15 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1973); 4:260–264.
 16. Tal Ilan, “Dance and Gender in Ancient Jewish Sources,” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66/3, 2003: 135–136.
 17. Alice Bach, “With a Song in Her Heart: Listening to Scholars Listening for Miriam,” in *Women in the Bible*, A. Bach, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999): 419–27; Phyllis Tribble, “Bringing Miriam Out of the Shadows,” *Bible Review* 5 (February, 1989): 14–25, 34.
 18. Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 299–300; see also 45–51.
 19. Meyers, “Of Drums and Damsels,” 22.
 20. E. B. Johnston, “Dance,” in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, gen.ed., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979–88); 1:857.
 21. Meyers, “Of Drums and Damsels,” 24.
 22. Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 307–09.
 23. Carol L. Meyers, “The Hannah Narrative in Feminist Perspective,” in *‘Go to the Lord I Will Show You’: Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young*, Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews, eds. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996): 117–126; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr. *Anchor Bible Series: I Samuel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980): 74.
 24. “Prayer,” (2013):707; (1979):752.