



UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Unicentre

CH-1015 Lausanne

<http://serval.unil.ch>

Year : 2018

The Holiness Legislation and Cult Centralization in the Persian Period

Rhyder Julia

Rhyder Julia, 2018, The Holiness Legislation and Cult Centralization in the Persian Period

Originally published at : Thesis, University of Lausanne

Posted at the University of Lausanne Open Archive <http://serval.unil.ch>

Document URN : urn:nbn:ch:serval-BIB_1B1C453705EC3

Droits d'auteur

L'Université de Lausanne attire expressément l'attention des utilisateurs sur le fait que tous les documents publiés dans l'Archive SERVAL sont protégés par le droit d'auteur, conformément à la loi fédérale sur le droit d'auteur et les droits voisins (LDA). A ce titre, il est indispensable d'obtenir le consentement préalable de l'auteur et/ou de l'éditeur avant toute utilisation d'une oeuvre ou d'une partie d'une oeuvre ne relevant pas d'une utilisation à des fins personnelles au sens de la LDA (art. 19, al. 1 lettre a). A défaut, tout contrevenant s'expose aux sanctions prévues par cette loi. Nous déclinons toute responsabilité en la matière.

Copyright

The University of Lausanne expressly draws the attention of users to the fact that all documents published in the SERVAL Archive are protected by copyright in accordance with federal law on copyright and similar rights (LDA). Accordingly it is indispensable to obtain prior consent from the author and/or publisher before any use of a work or part of a work for purposes other than personal use within the meaning of LDA (art. 19, para. 1 letter a). Failure to do so will expose offenders to the sanctions laid down by this law. We accept no liability in this respect.



UNIL | Université de Lausanne

FACULTÉ DE THÉOLOGIE ET DE SCIENCES DES RELIGIONS

INSTITUT ROMAND DES SCIENCES BIBLIQUES

The Holiness Legislation and Cult Centralization in the Persian Period

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions
de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de

Docteur ès théologie

par

Madame Julia Rhyder

Directeur de thèse
Monsieur Christophe Nihan

Président de séance :
Monsieur Thomas Römer

Membres du jury :
Monsieur Christian Frevel
Madame Sarianna Metso
Monsieur James Watts

Lausanne
2018



UNIL | Université de Lausanne
Décanat théologie et sciences des religions
bâtiment Anthropole
CH-1015 Dorigny Lausanne

IMPRIMATUR

Le jury, composé de :

<u>Président de séance :</u>	Monsieur Thomas Römer	Professeur, FTSR, Université de Lausanne
<u>Directeur de thèse :</u>	Monsieur Christophe Nihan	Professeur, FTSR, Université de Lausanne
<u>Membres du jury :</u>	Madame Sarianna Metso Monsieur Christian Frevel Monsieur James Watts	Professeure, Université de Toronto Professeur, Université de la Ruhr, Bochum Professeur, Université de Syracuse

autorise l'impression de la thèse de :

MADAME JULIA RHYDER

Intitulée :

The Holiness Legislation and Cult Centralization in the Persian Period

sans se prononcer sur les opinions de la candidate.

La Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions, conformément à ses usages, ne décerne aucune mention.

Lausanne, le 22 juin 2018

David Hamidovic
Doyen de la Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions

Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions

Contents

List of Tables and Figures	v
Preface.....	vii
Introduction	1
Methodology	5
Key Concepts	7
a) Centralization	8
b) Center and Periphery	10
c) Discourse.....	12
d) Social Memory.....	14
Outline of the Study	17
Chapter 1	
Centralization, the Holiness Legislation and the Priestly Traditions: Past and Current	
Approaches	21
1.1 The Holiness Legislation	22
1.1.1 H as a Post-Priestly Composition.....	23
1.1.2 Establishing the Pre-H Form of P	31
Priestly Materials beyond the Sinai Episode?	35
1.1.3 The Date of H.....	39
1.2 Centralization, P and H in the History of Research	43
1.2.1 Rethinking the History of Cult Centralization	44
1.2.2 Centralization and the Priestly History of Origins	52
Classical Approaches to P and Centralization	52
Challenges to the Classical Approach.....	55
1.2.3 H and Centralization in the History of Research	62
The Laws of Slaughter and Sacrifice in Lev 17	62
Other Legislative Issues in the Study of H and Centralization	64
1.3 Conclusion	67
Chapter Two	
Centralizing Discourse in P: Sanctuary, Ritual and Priesthood	71
2.1 Does P “Presuppose” Centralization in D?	72
2.2 The Centralized Wilderness Sanctuary	77
2.2.1 Centralization and the P Construction Account	77
The Portability of the Sanctuary	84

Judean Bias in the Construction of the Sanctuary.....	87
a) Allusions in Exod 25–31, 35–40 to 1 Kgs 6–8	88
b) The Sanctuary Artisans.....	90
Excursus: The Reception of the Sanctuary Artisan Passages	96
c) Further Evidence of Judean Bias in Num 1–10	98
Summary	99
2.2.2 The Post-Monarchic Sanctuary.....	100
2.3 Standardized Ritual Practice	105
2.3.1 Ritual Standardization in Lev 1–16.....	106
Standardization and Centralization in P.....	116
2.3.2 Communal Sponsorship of the Central Sanctuary	117
2.4 Centralized Priestly Competence	122
2.4.1 The Priestly Garments and the Centralized Priesthood.....	123
Monopolizing the Sanctuary	123
Manifesting the God to the Community	126
Representing a Unified Israel.....	128
Establishing an “Aaronide” Priesthood.....	130
2.4.2 Aaron’s Legacy and the Centralized Priesthood in Ancient Israel	131
2.5 Conclusion	143

Chapter Three

Leviticus 17 and the Centralization of Sacrifice and Slaughter	145
3.1 Scholarly Debates Concerning Lev 17.....	146
3.2 The Structure of Lev 17 and the Importance of Blood Disposal	153
3.3 The Centralizing Discourse of Lev 17	160
3.3.1 Leviticus 17:3–7 and the Prohibition of Local Slaughter	161
Issues of Translation and Transmission in vv. 3–4.....	162
Wild Goats and the Permanent Ban on Local Slaughter in vv. 5–7.....	173
3.3.2 Leviticus 17:8–9 and the Centralization of Blood Sacrifice	180
3.3.3 The Blood Prohibition and the Sanctuary’s Monopoly on Blood Disposal.....	184
3.4 Situating Lev 17 among the Pentateuchal Traditions	189
3.4.1 Leviticus 17 and Deut 12	190
Reviewing the Relationship	195
3.4.2 Leviticus 17 and the P Account	202
3.5 Discourse and Practice	209
3.5.1 Ritual Text and Ritual Practice	210
3.5.2 Leviticus 17 and Its Possible Context	213

3.6 Conclusion	216
Chapter Four	
Temporal Symmetry: Centralized Time in H's Festal Calendar and Laws for Regular Offerings	219
4.1 Research on H's Festal Calendar and Cult Centralization.....	221
4.2 Centralized Time in the Festal Calendar of Lev 23	227
4.2.1 Yhwh's Fixed Times	230
Structure and Theme	232
Questions of Coherence in the Festal Calendar	238
4.2.2 Leviticus 23 and the Standardization of the Israelite Festal Year.....	242
Standardization and Centralization in H's Festal Calendar	247
4.2.3 Supplementing P	249
4.3 A Shared Calendar in "All Your Settlements".....	254
4.3.1 References to the Settlements in Lev 23	255
4.3.2 The Settlements outside Lev 23	259
4.4 Shared Time and Ritual Service of the Central Sanctuary.....	264
4.4.1 Sanctuary Time and Ritual Centralization in Lev 24:1–9.....	265
4.4.2 New Insights from 4QReworked Pentateuch C 23	273
4.5 H's Calendar and Strategies of Centralization in the Persian Period.....	279
4.5.1 Fixed Dates and Geographical Distance: The Evidence from Elephantine	281
4.6 Conclusion	286
Chapter Five	
Holiness as Hegemony: Sabbath, Land and Communal Sanctification.....	289
5.1 H's Distinctive Concept of Holiness.....	291
5.1.1 Comparing Holiness in P and H.....	292
5.1.2 Holiness and Ethics in Lev 17–26.....	297
5.1.3 Holiness and Centralization	302
5.2 Holiness and "Conventionalism"	306
5.2.1 Hierarchies of Holiness	306
5.2.2 Generating Consent: The Parenetic Framework of Lev 18–22.....	310
Othering and Standardization.....	312
Collective Loyalty	317
Protecting Yhwh's Shrine	320
5.3 Holiness and Sabbath	324
5.3.1 Sabbath Observance and Temporal Symmetry.....	324
5.3.2 Reinterpreting the Sabbath.....	329

Excursus: Sabbath and Sanctuary in Exod 31:12–17 and Exod 35:1–3	338
5.4 Holiness and Land.....	341
5.4.1 Leviticus 25 and Yhwh’s Temple Estate	341
5.4.2 Economic Centrality in Persian Period Yehûd.....	348
5.5 Conclusion	353
Conclusion.....	357
Summary	357
Key Findings and Implications	364
a) Centralization and the Pentateuchal Traditions	364
b) Strategies of Centralization in the Persian Period	366
c) Conceptualizing Centralization.....	370
Reference List.....	373

List of Tables and Figures

Table 2.1 Divine Promises in Gen 17:7, Exod 6:7 and Exod 29:45–46	79
Table 2.2 Comparing Exod 28:12 and 28:29	128
Table 3.1 Correspondences between Lev 17:11 and 17:14	159
Table 3.2 Comparing the Witnesses to Lev 17:3–4	164
Table 3.3 The Blood Prohibitions of Lev 17:11, 14, Gen 9:4 and Deut 12:23	193
Table 3.4 Items to Be Brought to the מקום according to Deut 12:6, 11b, 17, 26	201
Table 4.1 The Expression מועדי יהוה in Lev 23:2aβ–b, 4, 37	233
Table 4.2 Comparing Lev 2:14–16 and Lev 23:10aβ–b, 13–14a	252
Table 4.3 References to the Settlements in Lev 23	256
Table 4.4 Occurrences of the Expression מושבתכם בכל outside Lev 23	260
Table 4.5 Similar Language in Exod 12:16 and Lev 23:7–8	261
Table 5.1 Comparing the Sabbath Laws of Exod 20:8–11 and Deut 5:12–15	334
Figure 2.1 The Genealogy of Phinehas in Exod 6:14–27	140
Figure 3.1 The Structure of Lev 17	159
Figure 4.1 The Structure of Lev 23	235
Figure 5.1 The אני יהוה + מקדש Formula in Lev 21–22	323

Preface

The present study comprises an entirely original work, submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctorate in Theology at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Lausanne. It was completed with the financial assistance of the Swiss National Science Foundation, as part of project no. 153029 led by Prof. Christophe Nihan of the University of Lausanne. The Société Académique Vaudoise also granted me a scholarship, which financed an additional three months for the final stage in the preparation of this manuscript. I am grateful to both institutions for their invaluable support, without which this thesis could not have been written.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis director, Prof. Christophe Nihan, for his role in every stage of the preparation of this manuscript: from securing the necessary funding for the life of the project; to providing ongoing supervision and training during my research; and to commenting on various drafts of the thesis. I am also grateful to Prof. Nihan for providing me with an exceptional training environment at Lausanne, which enabled me to gain knowledge and competencies in a variety of new areas. Finally, I wish to express my particular thanks for Prof. Nihan's assistance during my relocation from Australia to Switzerland with my husband, Timothy Rhyder, and for all that he did to make us feel welcome in Lausanne.

Several sections of this thesis were initially presented as papers at various academic meetings. The discussion of ritual standardization in Chapter Two was presented in a different form at the graduate student meeting of the Faculties of Theology of Berlin, Göttingen and Lausanne held in Lausanne in May 2016, and at an international conference organized by the Faculty of Theology in Lausanne that same month. The discussion of the high priest's vestments in Chapter Two builds on research undertaken for a co-authored paper (with Prof. Nihan) presented at the European Association of Biblical Studies Annual Meeting held in Leuven in July 2016. Certain elements of Chapter Three were presented at two seminars organized by the Faculties of Theology of Lausanne, Manchester and Sheffield held in Manchester in April 2014 and in Lausanne in April 2017 respectively, at an international conference hosted by the Faculty of Arts at the University of Geneva in May 2014, at the graduate student meeting of the Faculties of Theology of Berlin, Göttingen and Lausanne held in Lausanne in June 2014, and at the graduate student meeting of the Faculty of Theology of Zürich in April 2017. My research on the 4QReworkedPentateuch C manuscript, which is presented in Chapter Four, was also presented in various versions at the graduate student meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies held in Leuven in March 2015, and at the graduate student meeting of the Faculties of Theology of Berlin, Göttingen and Lausanne held in Berlin in June 2015. I received many valuable comments at these various conferences and workshops, which were of great benefit to the present study.

This thesis could not have been completed without the support of colleagues, friends and family members. I am grateful to the various members of the biblical studies institute at the University of Lausanne for their practical support throughout my doctoral studies. I am particularly indebted to my colleagues Anna Angelini, Aurélie Bischofberger, Hervé Gonzalez, Priscille Marshall and Katharina Pyschny for their friendship and encouragement during my stay at Lausanne. I wish also to thank Anna Angelini, Mark Brett, Jordan Davis, Hervé Gonzalez, Benedikt Hensel and Katharina Pyschny for their valuable feedback on drafts of select chapters of this thesis, and Joan Beaumont, Paul Michael Kurtz, Rotem Meir, Katharina Pyschny, Timothy Rhyder and Garry Tongs for assisting me with the formatting and proof reading of this manuscript. I would like to make special mention of the practical assistance that Rotem kindly offered me in the final weeks of preparing this manuscript, and his help in navigating the Modern Hebrew of certain secondary sources which were of importance to this study. Any remaining mistakes in the manuscript are my sole responsibility.

This doctoral project involved the particular challenge of relocating from Australia to Switzerland. I am grateful to my family and friends in Australia for their support and encouragement during this process. I wish to particularly mention my parents, Joan Beaumont and Oliver Beaumont, my stepmother Pamela Bowen and my sisters Diana Beaumont and Caroline Burrows for their continued love and support. My mother Joan deserves a particular word of thanks for the model of academic excellence which she has always demonstrated in her work as a historian, and for her encouragement as I pursued my own academic interests. Finally, I am, above all, thankful to my husband Tim, whose support during this process has known no limits. I dedicate this thesis to him with gratitude and affection.

Lausanne, February 2018

Julia Rhyder

Introduction

Scholars of the Hebrew Bible have long agreed that cult centralization is a key issue in the study of the literary traditions of the Pentateuch and their place in the history of ancient Israel. The discussion of this topic has generated a wealth of literature, from the time of Wilhelm M. L. De Wette's thesis of 1805, and the seminal treatise of Julius Wellhausen of 1878, until today. Thus far, however, there has been no detailed analysis of the possible place of the Holiness legislation of Lev 17–26 ("H") in the development of cult centralization. The Holiness legislation is a compositional stratum within the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch, which was identified as a textual unit by Karl Graf in 1866 (although he limited H to Lev 18–26; see further the history of research in § 1.1.1 below). The label "Holiness legislation" or „*Heiligkeitsgesetz*“ coined by August Klostermann in 1877, reflects the particular interest in holiness which characterizes the laws of Lev 17–26, and especially their focus on the sanctification of the Israelite community (see esp. Lev 19:2; 20:7, 26). As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One, H has been the subject of a long-standing and rich scholarly discussion—one which has grown considerably in the past two decades as scholars have reconsidered H's place among the pentateuchal traditions, especially its relationship with the Priestly history of origins ("P"). However, this research has so far left largely unexplored the issue of cult centralization in Lev 17–26. While the opening laws of Lev 17 that concern slaughter and sacrifice have received considerable scholarly attention in terms of what they might reveal about H's stance on cult centralization, as yet there has been no dedicated study considering Lev 17–26 as a whole from the perspective of centralization.

There are a number of possible reasons for this neglect of H in the study of centralization. As will be outlined in greater detail in the history of research that is to follow (see § 1.2), the first is the long dominance of the view that the transition to a centralized cult can be traced across the pentateuchal traditions in a linear fashion. According to this interpretation, while the earlier traditions (classically thought to be "J" and "E") assumed de-centralized worship at local altars, the Deuteronomic legislation ("D") of Deut 12–26, with its call to restrict sacrificial practice to Yhwh's chosen מקום "place" (see esp. Deut 12) was a watershed in the transition to a centralized cult. The Priestly traditions, supposedly coming at the end of this development, were thought to presume the concepts developed in D: that is, they accepted D's mandate of centralization and applied it in their description of the cult established at Sinai.

Second, this linear sequencing of ideas about centralization in the Pentateuch has been understood to mirror a historical evolution of cult centralization in ancient Israel. The writing of D, it was classically argued, coincided with the establishment of the centralized cult in Jerusalem during the reign of Josiah, as described in 2 Kgs 22–23. The Priestly traditions, including H, being

purportedly written at a time when that process of centralization was more or less assured, and the worship of Yhwh restricted to the Jerusalem temple, were assumed to have made no substantive contribution to these developments. Rather, they teased out their consequences for the organization of the ritual cult and its associated priestly hierarchies (see further §§ 1.2.1 and 1.2.2).

A third reason for the neglect of H in the discussions of cult centralization concerns the manner in which this concept itself has traditionally been understood. In the vast majority of scholarship, centralization has been conceived as a process of limiting sacrificial worship to a central cultic place, to the exclusion of alternative sites of worship.¹ This preoccupation with the *place* of worship in the study of centralization has profoundly affected which texts are considered important to the study of centralization: it has largely restricted scholarly attention to the study of Deuteronomy and 2 Kgs 22–23, while also leading scholars to conceptualize the relevance of these texts for the study of centralization in fairly narrow terms. It has also had the effect of marginalizing texts such as Lev 17–26 which, with the exception of passages like Lev 17:3–9, are primarily concerned with matters that have seemingly little relevance to the question of the site of worship: the non-consumption of blood; incest prohibitions; the sanctification of the Israelites in their everyday lives; the requirements for the priesthood to avoid pollution; the rhythms of the sabbath and annual festivals; and the treatment of the land and indentured servants.

This thesis argues that a study of H's contribution to centralization is not only overdue but also essential if we are to understand this important phenomenon in its full complexity. Recent developments in pentateuchal research suggest that the idea of mapping a linear evolution in the Torah sources from local to centralized worship cannot be sustained. Many of the literary-critical arguments on which the linear model of centralization in the Pentateuch was based are now disputed; we can note here the growing recognition that not all the texts which describe the building of local altars pre-date the composition of D, but that competing views about centralization can be traced in relatively late materials.² However, so far very little attention has been paid to the possibility that

¹ De Wette did not employ the term “centralization” in his 1805 doctoral thesis. So far as I am aware, the first publication to employ the term “centralization” with this meaning was the French article by J. Orth entitled “La centralisation du culte de Jéhovah,” published in *Nouvelle revue de théologie* in 1859 (see further § 1.2.2 below). Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the biblical text are my own. For scholarly works written in languages other than English, I have provided my own translations when an English edition is not available. These are accompanied by a citation of the text in its original language in parentheses. When English editions are available, I have cited only the English translation and provided the original year of publication in parentheses. All abbreviations follow the SBL Handbook of Style 2nd Edition.

² Since Erhard Blum's *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (1984) numerous studies have shown that the composition of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, which include stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob building multiple altars to Yhwh, was not confined to an early, pre-D stage in the formation of the Pentateuch; but rather it extended into the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. Notable in this regard is the work of

different pentateuchal traditions might articulate a plurality of discourses *in favor* of centralization; and that these may not necessarily share D's focus on affirming Yhwh's choice of a single place in the land.

The Priestly traditions cannot be excluded from such a discussion; in fact, they are integral to it. The growing recognition of the importance of the Priestly traditions in the formation of the Pentateuch makes addressing the absence of a detailed treatment of centralization in these traditions a *desideratum* of biblical scholarship.³ There is increasing acknowledgment that these materials do not stand at the end of the process by which the Torah sources were composed, but rather that they had a profound impact on the formation and development of many of the pentateuchal materials. It is therefore warranted to ask in what ways these traditions might have shaped the literary development of ideas surrounding centralization in the Pentateuch. The Holiness legislation is an excellent entry point for such research. As will be discussed in greater detail below (§ 1.1.1), the study of H has been invigorated by the recognition that Lev 17–26 was not transmitted as a discrete legal code, but was rather composed as a legal supplement to the Priestly narrative (although scholars disagree as to the shape of “P” at the time H was written). In addition, there is a growing recognition that H exemplifies scribal techniques of coordinating diverse traditions, drawing not only on P but also on D, the Covenant Code (CC) and the prophetic materials when crafting its legal rulings. H therefore has a heightened potential to illuminate the ways in which earlier literary traditions might have been considered determinative in shaping how cult centralization was conceived; or whether, alternatively, the authors of H considered that there remained room for new approaches and adaptations in conceptualizing centralization for the Israelite cult and community.

Similar remarks also apply to the historical processes of centralization in ancient Israel. Scholars now accept that the question of the centrality of the Jerusalem temple was far from settled by the end of the Neo-Assyrian (approx. eighth to late-seventh century BCE) or Neo-Babylonian (approx. late-seventh to late sixth century BCE) periods. The Persian era (approx. late sixth to late fourth century BCE) was a time of considerable complexity for the socio-cultic authorities associated

Christoph Levin on the “Yahwistic history,” in which he argued that J “knows and consciously rejects the institution of a single, central cult place for the Yahweh cult, which Deuteronomy requires” („*die vom Deuteronomium geforderte Einrichtung eines einzigen, zentralen Kultorts für den Jahwekult kennt und bewusst ablehnt*“; cf. Römer 2004, 179; Oswald 2009, 166–67). Debates also surround the direction of dependence between Exod 20:24–26—the Covenant Code (CC) altar law which permits the building of local shrines—and D's centralizing mandate in Deut 12, with scholars such as Wolfgang Oswald arguing (1998, 141–43) that the CC law post-dates at least a first version of Deut 12 and seeks to challenge its centralizing outlook (cf. Van Seters 1983; 2002, 60–67; Römer 2004, 179).

³ For works which might be seen to be illustrative of the increased scholarly interest in the Priestly traditions, and of the present debates which surround their development, see the various essays in Römer 2008a; Shectman and Baden 2009; Frevel 2013; Giuntoli and Schmid 2015.

with that temple, both in terms of negotiating their status vis-à-vis other central shrines, as well as ensuring their viability in the face of economic pressures and the loss of a royal sponsor (see further § 1.2.1). This period therefore remains of crucial importance to understanding the historical developments in the negotiation and construction of discourses about, and practices of, cult centralization. Furthermore, there is a growing acknowledgment that the dominant focus on Judah in the study of centralization requires reconsideration. The dating of the building of the temple at Mount Gerizim to the Persian period has opened new debates surrounding potential conflicts and compromises among Yahwistic cultic centers in Persian times. In addition, the recognition of the importance of the Samaritans in the formation of the Pentateuch, including in the composition and transmission of texts relating to Yhwh's choice of a central place, means we need to review the role that pentateuchal discourses about centralization played in the negotiations between possible claimants to central authority.⁴

This all suggests that the traditional focus on texts that might be dated to the time of the Judean monarchy when studying cult centralization is too restrictive. Pentateuchal traditions stemming from later time periods in ancient Israel's history offer an important window onto the processes by which concepts of centralization were constructed and negotiated. The Priestly traditions are particularly relevant in this regard, given their manifest concern with matters of ritual practice and cultic hierarchies. The imaginative nature of these materials, as well as the disagreements which surround their dating, make it difficult to reconstruct how they might have related to historic trends and challenges facing the cult in ancient Israel. These issues will be addressed in detail at various points in this study; but it is clear that these materials should not be excluded from the discussion of cult centralization simply because they might contain materials which stem from Persian times.

Finally, it is contended that the traditional and dominant ways of conceptualizing centralization in the study of the Pentateuch and the history of ancient Israel require reconsideration. Scholars have tended to adopt D's view of centralization—the concentration of socio-cultic practices

⁴ For the idea that the Samaritans had a greater level of involvement in the formation of the Pentateuch than was classically assumed, see, among others, Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:523–33; 2010; Macchi 1994; Nihan 2007b; Hjelm 2010; Schenker 2010; Schorch 2011; Knoppers 2013, 169–216; Kartveit 2015. On the specific issue of Samaritan influence on texts related to centralization, see the discussion of the Samaritan version of Deut 12 in Schenker 2008; Knoppers 2011; Schorch 2011. These studies have shown that the textual tradition identifying the chosen place with Gerizim, far from being “sectarian,” preserves a well-established reading of the centralization command. See further the discussion of Deut 27:4 SP in Nihan 2007b, 2008c, 2012, where the case is made that it is SP's “Gerizim” that is the original reading, and MT's “Mount Ebal” the later correction; while Deut 27:4 SP was classically considered a sectarian revision of an earlier account of the building of Yhwh's altar on Mount Ebal, the reading “Gerizim” is attested in the Old Latin of Deuteronomy (Codex 100 of Lyon), Pap. Giessen 19 and now also a fragment of Deuteronomy from the Judean desert (location unknown) preserving Deut 27:4b–6 (Charlesworth 2009), although the authenticity of this fragment is disputed.

and resources to a chosen מִקְוֶה—as the benchmark, so to speak, against which all other traditions in the Pentateuch must be measured. However, while the issue of *where* the Israelites worshipped is of undeniable importance, there is also a need to explore other factors which might have contributed to normalizing the concentration of resources and power that is inherent in centralization. This requires, in turn, that we engage in a process of re-conceptualizing what might be meant by the term “centralization” for the study of the history of ancient Israel and its literary traditions, by drawing on the models developed by social theorists. As will be discussed in greater detail in this Introduction, such models suggest that “centralization” should not be narrowly understood as a restrictive process, in which certain behaviors are limited to a particular socio-cultic center. Nor should it be conceived solely in terms of issues of place, whereby the only question of consequence is where particular activities might be held. Rather, centralization is a dynamic and multifaceted network of processes with social, economic, political and religious consequences, which can be conceptualized in multiple ways in different traditions and socio-political contexts.

The intention of this study is therefore not only to redress the neglect of the Holiness legislation in the study of centralization by offering a detailed analysis of the centralizing logic that unfolds across its chapters. It also aims to highlight the multiple discursive strategies for negotiating and constructing centralization that can be traced in different pentateuchal traditions, and in this way to progress the discussion beyond a narrow focus on centralization in Deuteronomy. In addition, this thesis explores the broader question of how centralization might be conceptualized with aid of relevant social scientific theories. In particular, it seeks to advance scholarly understandings of the particular dynamics of *discourses* of centralization in the literary traditions of the Pentateuch, especially those of the Priestly tradition: that this, their function and power to create social memories which invest particular spaces, practices and personnel with central significance and meaning; and thereby serve as a device whereby the deference and attention of the audience is directed towards such central authorities.

Methodology

This study employs a range of approaches in its analysis of H and its discourse of centralization. Its methodology primarily consists of a close reading of relevant texts of Lev 17–26 using the classical methods of historical-critical exegesis. In addition to philological analysis, particular emphasis is placed on textual criticism; this includes reviewing select evidence of the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts found at Qumran, especially the lengthy addition to Lev 23:1–24:9 in 4QRP C frg. 23 (4Q365 23). The attention paid to textual criticism stems from the conviction that the transmission of H, as well as that of the texts on which it relies, provides valuable insights into how H’s discourse of centralization was understood in antiquity, and how it was developed to serve new discursive aims. When relevant, evidence of the reception of H’s centralizing discourse in Second Temple traditions, such as the *Temple Scroll*, will be considered.

The thesis will also include a literary-critical investigation of the place of Lev 17–26 within the broader Priestly traditions. In particular, it will offer a detailed discussion of the likely scope of P at the time H was composed—an issue of particular importance to determining the extent to which H builds on a discourse of centralization already established by P, or moves beyond these earlier materials in articulating a new centralizing logic. The analysis of H will also employ source and redaction criticism so as to justify treating the ideas about centralization found in Lev 17–26 as part of an intentional compositional strategy, rather than the combined result of multiple literary stages. The issue of texts outside Lev 17–26 which share strong phraseological and thematic correspondences with the H materials will also be addressed when such texts are relevant.

Furthermore, this thesis will explore H's reliance on other pentateuchal traditions by means of inner-scriptural exegesis. This method, although conceived in diverse ways by different scholars, will here be treated as the identification of lexical, syntactic and sequential correspondences between two or more texts—correspondences which might be interpreted as evidence of the reception of one text by the other (cf. Fishbane 1985). This thesis will apply rigorous standards when assessing what might constitute a suitably strong correspondence as to warrant postulating H's dependence on an earlier tradition. This will be discussed in particular detail when assessing the degree to which H's discourse of centralization may borrow from D, or may rather draw primarily on the earlier P materials.

I also position the analysis of Lev 17–26 within a comparative approach in which H's discourse of centralization is understood against a broader background of relevant Western Asian textual sources. This will be particularly relevant when assessing the significance of the absence of a royal figure from P and H's depiction of the centralized cult; the emphasis in Lev 23 on a fixed, standardized calendar for the entire community; and the image in Lev 25 of the land as Yhwh's estate and the Israelites as his slaves. In addition, the centralizing discourse of Lev 17–26 will be considered in light of historical evidence pertaining to the social, political, economic and cultic situation of Yehûd and Samaria in the Persian period, as well as the Judean diaspora at Elephantine. For this purpose I draw also on archaeological, epigraphic and textual documentation when relevant for illuminating H's discursive strategies and their possible implications in the history of ancient Israel.

Finally, as already mentioned, my reading of H's discourse will draw on a range of social science methodologies which can assist in our conceptualizing of centralization. Social theories are employed as a supplement to the close reading of Lev 17–26 of which this thesis primarily consists; they are introduced only when their different conceptual “lenses” enhance our understanding of the issues raised by the text itself. Discourses about centralization are widely recognized to be inherently about power dynamics and the attachment of significance and meaning to socio-cultic practices so as to affirm a particular socio-political order. The H materials thus share many fundamental similarities to more recent textual and oral traditions in which centralizing values and behaviors are promoted. Hence, it is appropriate to be sensitive to the arguments of many social theorists that discourse in

social domains, including ancient ones, is never value-free, and to integrate such theories of power relations into the study of centralization and H.

These various methodologies and theoretical insights, then, will be combined to provide a multi-modal approach to the analysis of the Holiness legislation and its discourse of centralization. The term “multi-modal” refers to the decision taken in this study to avoid employing any one or other of the methodologies described above in isolation, or to confine a particular approach to a specific chapter in the analysis of Lev 17–26 and its literary and historical context. It is only in combination that these various methodologies and theories work most effectively to help untangle the complex issues of interpretation inherent in the issue of centralization. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with discursive strategies employed by H—that is, how text articulates a case for centralized authority and the concentration of resources—the broader question of how this text operates to enhance power and centers can only be fully explored via the insights of theories that go beyond textual exegesis. Yet, given the danger that such theories may lead us to anachronistic conclusions—they are, after all, very often anchored in the study of more recent societal and political phenomena—we need in this study of H’s discursive strategies to return, wherever possible, to examining such historical materials and documentation as survive, while also considering the important light that comparative materials may throw on the issues at hand.

Key Concepts

One of the immediate problems that any study of centralization and the pentateuchal traditions encounters is one of definition. This relates in the first instance to the scribal and authorial categories scholars routinely employ. Each of “H,” “P” and “Priestly traditions” is a retrospective construct; and the composition of each raises its own interpretative issues: in particular matters of profile, scope, dating, sequencing and intersections with other traditions. However, beyond these issues, which I will explore in detail in Chapter One, there is the fundamental problem that besets the study of centralization: namely, what is meant by the term “centralization” and how it might be applied to the study of ancient texts such as the pentateuchal traditions. In the case of D, the concept of the chosen *מקום* has provided an important anchor for the study of its centralizing discourse. However, for the Priestly traditions, including Lev 17–26, the subject of this study, there is no single term or expression which so distinctly frames the analysis of its centralizing discourse. This adds a further layer of complexity to determining which legislative themes within these materials might shed light on whether, or not, they promote a discourse of centralization.

The use of social theory thus takes on particular importance in establishing the context for the present study of centralization and H; but it should not, in a procrustean fashion, impose externally generated conclusions upon the text. As already mentioned, the text must direct the use of theory rather than the reverse. Nevertheless, such theories arguably provide an essential control in the study of centralization and the literary traditions of the Pentateuch, and the history of centralization more

broadly. Without them, the scholarly discussion remains imprecise, lacking an appropriately articulated conceptual framework; it is at risk of being informed by implicit assumptions surrounding the nature of centralizing “logics,” as well as of the relationship between discourses and historical processes of centralization. This study will therefore begin with a description of how social theories shape my understanding of the key terms and concepts which will guide the chapters that follow: namely, centralization; center and periphery; discourse; and social memory.

a) Centralization

“Centralization” can be defined as simply the process of bringing activities together; but as social theorists have argued, these processes are rarely without some political and ideological underpinning. Centralization is therefore better understood as the structuring of power relations and social processes so that authority, decision making and resources are concentrated rather than dispersed (Greenwood and Hinings 1976, 151; Hollingsworth and Hanneman 1984, 8; V. Schmidt 1990, 12). Inherent in this process is the “progressive subordination” to central loci of power (González Chávez 2005 [1988], 316). Such subordination, of course, is rarely, if ever, absolute. The manner and extent to which power is concentrated or dispersed within a given group or society is always a matter of contestation and fluctuation; and even if a center attains a monopoly over certain procedures or resources, this does not always entail monopolistic action. Centralization rather involves “a variety of mechanisms of control” (Barkey 1994, 231). Some of these may even concede a degree of autonomy to peripheral groups in order to ensure long-term compliance with central authority. Overlapping processes of centralization and de-centralization can thus simultaneously cohabit within different sectors of society (Diaz-Cayeros 2006, 10 n. 9).

Archaeologists and historians have taken particular interest in the connection between centralization and processes of state formation, including in ancient Israel.⁵ The emergence of the state is widely understood as being characterized by the organization of populations into consolidated territories and the integration of military, economic and bureaucratic powers into a central government. Such processes typically produce or consolidate new centralized institutions, and with them, new elites who control these institutions and the procedures of governance. However, the processes of state formation are far from linear or monolithic (Abramson 2017); many states remain tolerant of regional diversity and discretion, or may place little emphasis on the need for central powers to exert control over the whole population. Nevertheless, the political and economic benefits which centralization can bestow, through processes such as taxation or military service, means that it is a strategy employed by a great variety of states to consolidate power and resources.

⁵ The literature on centralization and state formation is vast; see, with further literature, Weber 1978; Barkey 1994; Nugent 1994; Frangipane 2000, 2001; Gledhill, Bender, and Larsen 2005; Diaz-Cayeros 2006; Mann 2012 [1986]. On state formation in ancient Israel, see among others Frick 1985; Holladay 1998 [1995]; Master 2001; Finkelstein and Silberman 2006.

The interest of other social scientists in centralization, meanwhile, has commonly been at the sub-state level. This ranges from the study of systems that are small—such as the family, the business or communities—to larger organizational structures, including the welfare state (Hollingsworth and Hanneman 1984). The focus of these studies, which need not be rehearsed in detail here, has reflected the disciplinary interests of scholars: economists, for example, being concerned with the causes and impact of the centralization of economic resources; political scientists, with the political concentration of power; and sociologists, with the inequalities associated with particular forms of centralization. Common to all, however, is the recognition that centralization as a process is rarely, if ever, value-free or dissociated from power structures.

One of the strategies employed in centralization—and one which we will encounter often in this study focused on the centralization of cultic practice—is “standardization.” This, too, can be defined with a limited technical meaning: namely, the process of implementing and developing technical standards that maximize compatibility, interoperability, safety, repeatability or quality. But standardization again almost always has associations with societal control and power dynamics. Standardization, of its nature, is inherently inimical to diversity: that is, it silences individual discretion in favor of conformity. Hence, as the Flemish sociologist Mark Elchardus puts it (2011, 19), processes of standardization “are always closely related to issues of inequality and power,” since they aim to produce “a standard by which people can be compared, discriminated, classified in a hierarchical way.” Pierre Bourdieu too, using elements of Marxist sociology, has noted the extent to which issues of diversity and standardization are intertwined with issues of power, inequality and class. He focused (1991) on the centralizing effect of standardization when used to define official forms of knowledge or customs—in the specific case of his research, the establishment of a “standard” French language (see further § 2.3.1). By setting socio-cultural standards which align with particular sets of expertise, cultural elites reinforce their privileged position within society, while marginalizing those who operate according to different norms or customs.

Standardization, then, is much more than a technical process. As later chapters in this study will show, it can also be a device for developing norms and scripts which regulate behavior within a community for which the standardized phenomena become “not only predictable, but also understandable” (Elchardus 2011, 14). Recognizing the importance of standardization to the normalization of centralized systems proves especially relevant to the study of cult centralization and the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch. The Priestly discourse, as we shall see, manifestly employs standardization of ritual practice as a strategy of focusing communal attention on a central authority. In effect, P elevates its preferred set of prescribed practices and processes to a position of discursive superiority, in the hope of securing the Israelites’ compliance with, and acceptance of, a centralized standard for how the Yahwistic cult must operate. In so doing, collective deference to the central authorities who control that standard, and the rejection of the local differentiation that is inherent to de-centralization, is promoted and normalized. In the case of H, this form of standardization moves

beyond ritual practices to the manner in which the Israelites conceive their daily lives in all manner of social, agricultural and economic settings, therefore calling on the community to conceptualize their obligations both within and outside the central shrine in an essentially “centralized” way.

b) Center and Periphery

The term “centralization,” of course, assumes the existence of a “center”—a concept which itself raises important issues of definition. So too, does the obverse of “center,” “periphery.” Relations between center and periphery have been the subject of growing interest in the study of the Hebrew Bible (HB), as signaled by the recent volume edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period* (2016). Such studies have explored how scholars might move beyond physical interpretations of “center” and “periphery”—interpretations which have commonly infused traditional discussions of centrality and place in biblical texts—to view center and periphery as elements within a social system in which power is distributed unequally. From such a perspective, a “center” becomes a focal point which receives more attention, deference or resources than does other elements in a given society; while a “periphery” is that which receives significantly less attention, deference or resources. It is important to note that periphery, as the Latinist Alessandro Barchiesi points out (2005, 395), is not the same as a “boundary,” which marks the beginning of what is considered to be outside the norms of a given group, or what is considered to lie beyond a group’s territory. Rather, the periphery remains an integral part of the social collective (Greenfeld and Martin 1988); and even while it occupies a position which has reduced authority or fewer resources than those enjoyed by the center, the periphery is by no means devoid of power or agency (Martin 1988; Migdal 2001, 45). Moreover, while peripheral social agents may not always be able to deny the legitimacy of central institutions or resist the concentration of resources and authorities in the latter’s hands, they can generate a climate of social unrest which may lead to the reorganization or replacement of the structures of central power. “Center” and “periphery” relations are therefore relative categories, and are in a constant state of flux and contestation.

How each of the center and periphery is ascribed its status varies from context to context; but very often notions of “center” and “periphery” come to be associated with space and place. This dimension of “center” and “periphery” has been the particular focus of certain strands of sociology (Burgess 1968 [1925]; Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1968 [1925]) and, of course, of geography—a discipline for which place remains a foundational concept. German geographer Walter Christaller (1966 [1933]; cf. Beavon 1977; Bird 1977) developed the “central place theory” which seeks to explain the distribution—number, size and location—of human settlements in a residential system, and views “central places” as providing services to surrounding areas.

However, this functional geographical understanding of place is too limiting for the purposes of this study. Rather we need, with French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, to consider space as “political and ideological” (1991 [1974], 341): that is, space as a means of organizing the way social actors

experience the world, and a device by which particular individuals, groups, processes and activities come to be seen to be more important than others. In the words of human geographer Tim Cresswell (1996, 152), space is implicated in the creation and maintenance of the ideologies that sustain centers because it “is both a socially constructed arrangement of things and the medium of all these historical arrangements.” The control of space, and the way in which individuals access and use, conceptualize and imagine the spaces that surround them, therefore has a major impact on the way in which the social order is itself conceived, as well as the place of individual actors within that social order (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 10).

Space also assists in the maintenance of ideologies that sustain the unequal distribution of power and resources and the practice of deferring to collective centers. Apart from differentiating the elements that make up a society, it makes those differences appear neutral and objective. This is what Lefebvre termed “the realistic illusion” (1991 [1974], 29) of space. By appearing externally determined, spaces naturalize the social relations that they in fact engender and embody, allowing certain interpretations of what is central to the world to be perceived as inherently privileged (cf. Foucault 1980, 149). As Cresswell (1996, 159) explains, spaces “appear to have their own rules, not the rules constructed for them.”

Sacred space is a particularly striking example of this phenomenon because the sanctity of a given space can appear to have been decreed and sanctioned not just by political or social elites but also by external, transcendent forces. Being masked as standing somehow beyond human activity, sacred space appears as an absolute category, full of ultimate significance (Eliade, 1991 [1952], 1961 [1959]; van der Leeuw 1986 [1933]). Consequently, those who enjoy privileged access to these spaces, or whose participation in the space is claimed to be necessary to its sacred status, come themselves to function as a kind of “exemplary center” (Geertz 1971, 36; cf. 1973, 220–29). The privileged position, for example, of priests is itself perceived to be essential to the order of the world, despite its inherently constructed character (J. Z. Smith 1987).

Closely related to this concept is the role that ritual process plays in the formation of centers and peripheries. While there are many ways to define “ritual,” it is arguably most helpful to view it primarily as a particular type of spatial practice. “Ritualization,” as Catherine Bell (1992) termed it, creates a space in which the distinctions and hierarchies by which certain roles, personnel and the ideas that inform them might be set apart as central and others as peripheral. It does this by creating contrasts, which allow ritual participants to internalize the hierarchies that are intrinsic to the authorized construction of center/periphery. Since ritual participation enables reality to be conceptually organized in a manner that privileges those elements that are most dominant in the ritual, the ritual actor comes to perform in his or her body the oppositions and hierarchies that enable certain spaces, groups, activities and ideas to be deemed deserving of attention and deference. Ritual performance has thus been described by the historian of religions Jonathan Z. Smith as a “focusing

lens” (1982, 54), which directs attention to and marks particular acts, objects, gestures and personnel as being of central significance.

“Centers” and “peripheries,” in the sense just described, are therefore testament to the broader power dynamics by which social groups are constituted and negotiated (Shils 1982, 95). Notions of what is central and peripheral within a given society and their mappings in spatial practice play a key role in legitimating societal and political propositions about how benefits should be distributed, and about the value of those institutions of authority which will then occupy the dominant position. As we shall see in the analysis of H, and the earlier P materials on which it depends, such interpretations of “center” and “periphery” facilitate a more multi-faceted, and intellectually compelling, understanding of how such materials direct ancient readers to socio-cultic centers. It suggests that the detailed description of the space of the sanctuary in the Priestly traditions should be read not merely in terms of what it might reveal about the number of cultic sites which are deemed permissible in the ancient Israelite cult; but also in terms of how the Priestly scribes use the description of space to solicit support for the cultic elites which have the right to officiate within Yhwh’s sacred sanctuary, and for the ritual practices which are deemed legitimate within the Yahwistic cult. They also suggest the detailed ritual prescriptions of the Priestly materials, even when not directly addressing the issue of where the Israelites must worship, are integral to constructing notions of what is central and peripheral to the Israelite cult and community, and to normalizing the hierarchies which are essential to the negotiation of centralization.

c) Discourse

As mentioned, at the core of my analysis of centers, peripheries and centralization is the text of Lev 17–26 itself. Although I will consider the historical implications of this text for ancient Israel, as far as this can be ascertained from the limited sources, essentially this thesis is a critical study of “discourse”: that is, the manner in which the H materials create a case for a centralized cult that arises from their own inherent logic; and what we can conclude from these materials about the ideological motivations of the scribes compiling them, their idealized vision of the cult and community, as well as the power structures and collective behaviors they sought to promote through producing an authoritative text.

At one level, the critical study of discourse attempts to explain how language and thought are given structure: in terms of internal organization, argumentation and language choice, as well as the external influences that affect them (Fairclough 1995; Dijk 1997; Weiss and Wodak 2003). Again, however, the present study of H’s discourse requires a definition that goes beyond this. To cite the linguist Norman Fairclough (1995, 132), we need to understand critical discourse analysis as the study of how discursive practices relate to “wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes, to investigate how [they] arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.”

This interpretation of discourse as a form of power is closely associated with the work of the influential French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault. To Foucault, discourse was a way of mediating meanings and dictating practices, so as to define the reality of the social world, and the people, ideas and objects that inhabit it. Discourse typically emerges from institutions which seek, through their defining what can be reasonably thought and said about the world, to determine which thoughts and actions are truthful or right for society and which are threatening or deviant. As Foucault understood it, then, discourse is a practice of “normalizing judgment” (1995 [1977], 177). It provides the mechanisms through which certain groups and individuals are imagined as having a right to greater authority, resources or privilege, and others as requiring discipline and punishment. In this way, discourse becomes essential to the circulation of power: that is, rather than asserting power in a vertical or “top down” manner, discourse ensures that social agents will continue to reproduce the power dynamics which maintain the social system because such dynamics are accepted as right and proper (Foucault 1980, 98).

Foucault’s analysis of discourse resonates with aspects of the notion of “hegemony” as developed by the Italian communist intellectual Antonio Gramsci. Arguing that there is a foundational distinction between force and consent as mechanisms of social power, Gramsci insisted that coercion is not enough to ensure a viable form of society. Instead, the social system must be consolidated around ideas, values and beliefs that normalize power relations so as to solicit “consent” (1992, 153–56 and *passim*; 1996, 199–201 and *passim*). This consent is what Gramsci calls “hegemony”—the willingness of social actors to conform to the norms of a social system in which power is distributed unequally. This consenting behavior is secured, in Gramsci’s view, when social agents subscribe to certain core elements of the social system, and thereby consider the demand for conformity to be “more or less justified and proper” (Femia 1987, 38; cf. Stoddart 2007, 201). Hegemony thus manifests itself as “common sense” (Gramsci 1971, 325)—it is the set of foundational assumptions that guides our expectations of the world, and which produces the kind of “moral and political passivity” (1971, 333) that ensures collective participation in social systems which distribute resources in unequal ways. Hegemony thus ensures that social actors view their place within the social hierarchy, and all its associated rites and responsibilities, as natural and appropriate. At the same time, it normalizes the collective attention and deference that central institutions receive, and thus their right to control the distribution of resources.

For the purposes of our study, it is particularly important to note that for both Gramsci and Foucault a key role in constructing and defining the world, and thereby producing and sustaining power relationships, is played by media, including texts and other expressions through language. It is not simply that discourse reproduces or mirrors the power relations which are endemic in a given society; it enables such relations to emerge. In the case of an ancient text like H, our ability to understand the functioning of such discursive dynamics is constrained by our hazy knowledge of the institutional powers which might have stood behind the authors, as well as the scope of its ancient

audience. As will be discussed in greater detail below (see § 1.2.3), scholars continue to debate whether H promotes the interests of a central institution such as the temple at Jerusalem, or perhaps both Jerusalem and Gerizim, or the more marginal interests of rural communities (Joosten 1996b) or local shrines (Milgrom 2000a). Such debates stem in part from disagreements about how to interpret H's concern to legislate activities that take place in everyday contexts, away from the sanctuary center. The concept of communal holiness, which is perhaps the most distinctive theme of Lev 17–26, has also been read as suggesting a potentially “democratic” (Kugler 1997, 25 n. 50; 2009, 86; Bibb 2009, 2) thrust of the H materials—an impulse that would not align with a drive towards hegemonic power.

However, it will be argued that when viewed from the perspective of Foucaudian discourse analysis or Gramsci's theory of “hegemony,” an interest in everyday actions and behavior of the community writ large does not signal a concern to undermine central elites or a centralized socio-cultic system. To the contrary, this study contends that it is H's dual focus on the activities of the “center” and the “periphery” which is what makes its discourse of centralization so powerful: H normalizes the concentration of socio-cultic authority in a central shrine, its priesthood and ritual and legal standards by providing devices whereby the Israelites' everyday experience can defer to these central authorities. H's discourse of centralization thereby normalizes the values of a centralized cult by presenting deference to central spaces, processes, personnel and authorities as essential to all aspects of the daily life of the community of Israel.

d) Social Memory

When seeking to analyze the discursive strategies of Lev 17–26, this study begins by recognizing that these chapters describe the cult and community of an idealized *past*. They form a supplement to the Priestly “history of origins” („*Ursprungsgeschichte*“; Elliger 1952; Blum 1990, 331; Nihan 2007a, 20; Schmid 2012a) which stretches from the creation of the world to the establishment of Yhwh's sanctuary dwelling among his chosen community. However, if the Priestly materials present a “history of origins,” they cannot be seen as “history” in the sense that professional historians would define that form of scholarship today; a “history of origins” is not the result of an empirically researched analysis that, while necessarily informed by the historian's interpretation and subjectivity, aspires to be as accurate a record of past events as the surviving evidence allows. Nor are the Priestly materials a simple chronicle which lists a sequence of important or historical events in the order of their occurrence. Instead, the Priestly traditions as a “history of origins” are more usefully understood as being a form of social memory. They construct a shared past for the ethnic group “Israel,” a narrative which, in turn, serves to define the core characteristics or identity of the members of that group, the “Israelites.”

To appreciate the discursive potential of such a history of origins, it is fruitful to employ the now rich field of memory studies, in particular those theories developed by Barry Schwartz (1996a),

Jeffrey Olick (1998; 2007; 2011), Barbara Misztal (2003) and others (see, e.g., Connerton 1989; Jarman 1997; Zerubavel 2003; Assmann 2006; Erill 2008). Central concerns in this field of scholarship are the role that “collective” or “social” memory plays in the formation of group identity, and the processes by which these constructions of the past are formed. It is axiomatic among contemporary memory theorists that all memories, but particularly those at the collective level, are “highly selective, inscriptive rather than descriptive, serving particular interests and ideological positions” (Gillis 1994, 4). The choice of what is remembered, or alternatively forgotten or de-selected, is shaped not so much by what happened in the past as by the values and norms of the particular social context in which the agents of memory are operating. The construction of a shared imagination of communal origins, therefore, can serve to normalize the values of elites, such that not only these values but also the institutions, spaces and practices which embody them are seen as essential for the ongoing survival of the social group. In this way, images of the past play a key role in the mnemonic legitimation of the present social order and its associated hierarchies and power constellations (Connerton 1989, 3; J.-W. Müller 2002).

In these processes of memory formation, it is common for particular sites or episodes of the past to become focal points of collective attention. These “sites of memory” (*“les lieux de mémoire,”* to use Pierre Nora’s now classic term [1984]) are recognized by memory theorists to be often physical—a geographical space such as a temple, battlefield or site of political agitation or a massacre—but they can also be constructs of the cultural life of a community. Figures such as Moses (Assmann 1997), David (Edelman 2013) or the prophet Isaiah (Ben Zvi 2013), for example, are widely recognized to be instances of such sites of memory in the Second Temple period; they seemed to have been regularly recalled at that time as part of the construction of a shared sense of ancient Israelite “identity.” Moreover, even when physical sites of memory cease for whatever reason to have this presence, their symbolic and cultural mnemonic dimensions can continue to be powerful, thanks to the narratives constructed around them, the ritual practices associated with them and the commemorative behaviors of those collectives and elites whose authority is associated with them.

So it is with the Priestly traditions. Their description of the past serves to promote a collective social memory in which central figures, spaces, institutions and practices are considered core to the identity of the Israelite community, and thus as deserving of mnemonic attention from all its members. The Priestly traditions present a constellation of “sites of memory”—figures such as Abraham and Moses, and spaces such as the wilderness sanctuary and Sinai—as the “main characters and central places” (Ben Zvi 2017, 75) in the formation of the ethnic group “Israel” and its patron-client relationship with its national god, Yhwh. These various sites of memory are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Together, they function as what Ben Zvi terms “mnemonic nodes” (2017, 73), in that they serve “as magnets that attract and eventually embody that which was considered central to the community” (2017, 75).

In this authoritative social memory of the foundations of Israel, the wilderness sanctuary and its associated ritual cult and priestly personnel are positioned as particularly important mnemonic nodes. The narrative of Yhwh's creation of the world and the choice of Israel as his client reaches a "highpoint" (Stackert 2015) with the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai and the establishment of Yhwh's habitation, the wilderness sanctuary, in the midst of the Israelites. The climactic nature of this event is signaled by a number of verbal allusions to Gen 1:1–2:3 in the Priestly account of the revelation of the sanctuary's design to Moses (Exod 24:16–18) and the completion of the construction project by the Israelites (Exod 39–40).⁶ As a result of these terminological overlaps, the Priestly account builds a large inclusion around Gen 1–Exod 40, such that the construction of the sanctuary is construed as a fitting complement to the deity's creative works initiated during the time of creation.⁷ The sanctuary is thereby affirmed in the Priestly history as being of paradigmatic importance in Yhwh's plan for his created world.

This social memory, it will be argued in this thesis, infuses the discourse of centralization developed within the Priestly materials, including Lev 17–26. The core elements of the foundational narrative—the unity displayed by the Israelites in their worship at the wilderness sanctuary, the monopolistic authority of the Aaronide priesthood which serves there and the legislative conformity displayed by the community as they contribute to its ritual cult—all serve to provide the discursive context within which further expansion of cultic legislation and standardization of practice is justified. By invoking the imagined past, the Priestly materials can legitimate an intense centrality for the sanctuary cult, an ideal collective unity of the Israelites and a communal life shaped by legislative standards set by the sanctuary.

⁶ Notably, in Exod 24:16–18 P states that the cloud of Yhwh's כבוד "glory" settled on Mount Sinai for six days, and then, ביום השביעי "on the seventh day," that Yhwh called out to Moses and told him to ascend the mountain and receive the תבנית "pattern" (Exod 25:9, 40) for the sanctuary and its furniture. As has long been noted by scholars (see already McNeile 1908, 155; Ehrlich 1909, 365), the timing of the appearance of Yhwh's כבוד on the mountain and the revelation of the sanctuary תבנית to Moses echoes the pattern which is observed in the P creation account of Gen 1:1–2:3. In the latter passage, the god is said by P to undertake the works of creation across six days, before ceasing (שבת) work ביום השביעי "on the seventh day," and sanctifying it. Further links between Gen 1:31–2:3 and the sanctuary building account can be observed in Exod 39:32, 43 and 40:33. Note in particular the references to the completion (כלה *Qal* in Exod 39:43; כלה *Piel* in Exod 40:33) of the sanctuary construction work (עבדה in Exod 39:32; מלאכה in Exod 39:43; 40:33) by Moses and the Israelites, which echo the description of the completion (כלה *Piel*) of the work (עבדה) of creation in Gen 1:39–2:3; see also the mention in Exod 39:43 of how Moses saw (ירא *Qal*) the completed works and blessed (ברך *Piel*) them, which bears striking resemblance to the report in Gen 1:31 that the god saw (ירא *Qal*) everything that he had created, and in Gen 2:3 that he blessed (ברך *Piel*) the seventh day.

⁷ As noted, e.g., by Blenkinsopp 1976, 280–81; 1992, 218; Zenger 1983, 171; Janowski 1993b, 223–24; Sommer 2001, 43; Propp 2006, 675–76; Nihan 2007a, 54–55.

Like all social memory, the Priestly traditions speak to contemporary issues and imperatives as much as to the past. It is difficult, given the paucity of historical sources, to be confident about the precise context in which this social memory was constructed. However, this study will argue that there are compelling reasons to assume it was the temple in Jerusalem in the Persian period. As will be argued in detail (see §§ 2.2.1 and 2.4.2), the memory established by P, and further developed by H, normalizes the idea of all Israel worshipping together as a unified set of twelve tribes, singular in their purpose to serve a central sanctuary, and willing to devote the materials necessary for the ongoing survival of a sanctuary in which Judean interests are subtly positioned as predominate. Such a memory arguably says little about the actual dominance of Judean cultic authorities at the time of writing; but it speaks to the perceived need on the part of Priestly scribes to use the powerful medium of discourse to promote a logic whereby the Jerusalem temple can assert its *claim* to significance: that is, its claim to lead the unified community of “Israel” in centralized worship, and to gain a degree of control over economic resources that would only be warranted by its socio-cultic authority.

Outline of the Study

Working within the methodological and theoretical framework described above, this thesis examines the discursive strategies of centralization in Lev 17–26 whereby H compels the Israelites to unify in service to their patron god Yhwh by deferring to central spaces, processes and authorities. It begins (Chapter One) by examining the current state of research surrounding H, including the main issues in the study of H and centralization. It reviews and accepts the evidence that Lev 17–26 was a post-Priestly and post-Deuteronomic composition, which was composed most probably in the Persian period. Particular attention is then given to establishing the shape of P at the time that H was composed. While such an issue is difficult to resolve decisively, the case is made that H knew a fairly advanced version of the sanctuary construction account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 and the ritual instructions of Lev 1–16. For possible P materials beyond the Sinai episode, this thesis will take a cautious approach; although the possibility that a limited number of Priestly materials beyond Gen–Lev 16* could have been known to H is not ruled out, I argue that a more solid footing is gained if we largely restrict the analysis of centralization in the P materials to the Priestly traditions in Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus which can be said with greater confidence to have pre-dated the composition of Lev 17–26.

The second half of Chapter One then reviews current scholarly research into the importance of the Persian period in the negotiation of cult centralization, while also exploring why the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch still remain marginal in the discussion of centralizing discourse stemming from that period. It provides a comprehensive overview of the dominant view that H, like P before it, assumes the centralizing mandate of D. It then reviews those studies which have challenged the standard view of P and/or H in the research on centralization, and examines the tendency of such studies to focus on alleged evidence that these traditions pre-date or reject centralization in D; the

possibility that these materials might promote their own distinctive concepts of centralization remains largely unexplored.

Chapter Two provides the essential context for the study of H that follows by considering the question of centralization in the Priestly traditions that predate H. In contrast to much of the current scholarship on P, the chapter demonstrates that these traditions promote the ideal of a centralized cult but without “presuming” D’s mandate of centralization. While not ruling out the possibility that P may have known D, this chapter argues that P promotes a social memory of the foundation of the cult and community which is distinctive in its centralizing logic. In particular, the chapter argues, by analyzing the construction account in Exod 25–31, 35–40, the ritual legislation of Lev 1–16 and the depiction of the Aaronide priesthood in Exod 28–29 and related passages that P advances a three-pronged discourse of centralization: collective unity in constructing and maintaining a shared sanctuary space; standardization of ritual practice in accordance with Yhwh’s revelation to Moses; and the concentration of priestly competence in the hands of a monopolistic priesthood. The chapter also explores the subtle hints that this Priestly discourse of centralization was intended to shore up the temple of Jerusalem in the context of the Persian period. It suggests that P does not seem to be as ‘pragmatic’ as has been suggested by some scholars: insofar as it offers a realistic solution to the power struggles between Jerusalem and Gerizim, in which these two sanctuaries would have an equal share of power. Rather, P presents a highly idealized social memory, the intent of which is to solicit consent for a centralized cult in which all twelve tribes remain unified in their service of Yhwh, but representatives of the tribe of Judah occupy are subtly given primacy. In addition, the chapter explores the sophisticated ways in which H negotiates the loss of a royal patron in Judah for negotiating both the unity of the community of “Israel” and the survival of the temple and its ritual cult.

The core of the thesis comprises Chapters Three, Four and Five, each of which considers one aspect of H’s discourse of centralization. Chapter Three offers a close reading of the laws of Lev 17 dealing with the proper disposal of blood. The chapter argues that the impracticability of the prohibition of local slaughter in Lev 17:3–9 does not undermine a centralized reading of H, but rather reveals H’s strategic intent to express a ritualized ideal, in which all pragmatic considerations are displaced and ritual hierarchies ideally configured. Contrary to a classical view, this ideal shows little influence of Deut 12 on H’s thinking; the focus on blood disposal has little resonance with D’s program of centralization, and the evidence of verbal and conceptual borrowings from Deut 12 in Lev 17 is too scant to establish the latter as the key source of inspiration for H’s centralizing mandate. Instead, the phraseology and thematic continuities with the earlier P materials in this chapter suggest that the dependence of H’s discourse is on P rather than D, even as H moves beyond P by explicitly forbidding extra-sanctuary slaughter and sacrifice, and introducing harsh sanctions for those Israelites who fail to defer to the central sanctuary. Chapter Three also explores the possible historical context of such a focus on blood sacrifice in the centralized cult, and the benefits which such a ritualized ideal

might have afforded the temple in Jerusalem through its claiming exclusive rights to butcher Israelite livestock. In addition, it explores the possibility that a similar logic might inform the Elephantine correspondence (*TAD* A4.8, 9, 10): in that each of Lev 17 and the Elephantine correspondence might be read as indicating a narrowing of focus onto the centralization of sacrifices involving *blood*, while non-blood sacrifices, such as the מנחה “cereal offering,” are considered less controversial.

Chapter Four discusses the contribution of H’s calendar of Lev 23 and the laws regarding regular rites at the shrine in Lev 24:1–9 to its discourse of centralization. Drawing on social science theories and historical analyses of fixed calendars in antiquity, I argue in this chapter that H’s concern to devise a fixed, immutable program of the Israelite festal year, singular in its normativity and authority, can be read as a means to ensure conformity of ritual practice through a centralized means of time reckoning. The chapter analyzes H’s distinctive concern to prescribe domestic rites בכל מושבתכם “in all your settlements,” arguing that, far from making a concession to de-centralized practices, the references to the settlements reflects a concern on H’s part to assert the right of central sanctuary authorities to dictate the practices of the periphery; by assigning to the local settlements new domestic activities that can be performed without requiring a shrine, H’s festal calendar has the effect of denying the need for local sanctuaries, and disallowing the de-centralized worship and splintering that such sites entail. Chapter Four then discusses the appendix to the festal calendar, at Lev 24:1–9. These verses, with their focus on fixed rituals at the central shrine at daily and weekly intervals, reveal the linkage between the standardization of time and the concentration of material resources and cultic authority to the central shrine and Aaronide priesthood. These ideas are given fresh expression in the ritual addition at 4Q365 23, which effectively merges the interests of Lev 23 and 24:1–9 by adding two new festivals in which all twelve tribes must travel to a new centralized בית “temple” in the land to present the raw materials needed for its upkeep. The chapter then concludes by exploring how H’s interest in centralized time might have been a strategy to achieve temporal symmetry across a geographically dispersed community of Israel: it integrates the diaspora into the centralized socio-cultic system, while asserting the rights of the central shrine and Aaronide priesthood to receive donations from the entire community.

Chapter Five broadens the scope to address the significance of the concept of holiness for H’s centralizing discourse. Unlike P, which restricts holiness to the sanctuary, its paraphernalia and priesthood, H extends it to the community as a whole and their extra-sanctuary activities. Against the dominant view, the chapter argues that this extension does not reflect an increased concern for ethics in H, but rather intent to align everyday practice with central norms associated with the sanctuary. It thus explores how holiness reinforces a hegemonic discourse of centralization which is aimed at normalizing the reach of the Jerusalem temple into “extra-sanctuary” domains through the aid of the law; and which seeks to solicit the Israelites’ conformity with the law not just through coercion but also through consent. In order to be set apart as Yhwh’s holy possession, the Israelites must be transformed into a community defined by conventionalism, recognizing that they must separate

themselves from others and united as a sanctified community, given the god's derision of factions, divisions and variations among its chosen community, and preference for standardization and collective service of its central shrine. The chapter then explores how H's interest in the sabbath and in the Israelites' life on the land furthers this attempt to construct all activities, in social, agricultural and economic domains, as being integral to the Israelites' shared obligations to defer to central sanctuary authorities. The chapter concludes by assessing how this might have bolstered the claims of the Jerusalem temple authorities to economic centrality, in that they required ongoing, material support in the form of offerings and donations, but also recognition as an authority in agricultural and socio-economic domains.

The study then concludes with a brief discussion summarizing the main conclusions and findings, and their broader relevance for the study of centralization, H and the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch.

Chapter 1

Centralization, the Holiness Legislation and the Priestly Traditions: Past and Current Approaches

In the past two decades, the study of the Holiness Legislation has experienced substantial renewal. Once considered “a peculiar little collection of laws” (Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 51), haphazardly assembled and later attached to the Priestly document, Lev 17–26 spent much of the twentieth century in the wings of pentateuchal scholarship. This situation has now changed almost completely, with the 1995 landmark study by Israel Knohl *The Sanctuary of Silence* serving as a catalyst for H’s re-entry onto the stage as a major topic in the study of the Priestly traditions and the formation of the Pentateuch more generally. Reviewing key issues in current debates, this chapter will highlight those aspects of the recent research on H which are particularly important to the chapters that follow: the nature of H as a supplement to P (§ 1.1.1); the extent of the P materials at the time H was composed (§ 1.1.2); and the probable date of the H materials in the Persian period (§ 1.1.3).

The second part of this chapter will focus on issues related to H and the study of centralization. Despite the renewed scholarly interest in Lev 17–26, the issue of centralization in the H materials has continued to remain somewhat marginal in current research. This is due in no small part to the pervading assumption that cult centralization is a phenomenon that arose in an earlier time frame, and in a different set of traditions, to Lev 17–26 and the Priestly materials more generally. However, the situation is gradually beginning to change. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, many of the central tenants of the classical approach to the history of cult centralization, spearheaded by De Wette and Wellhausen among others, are at the risk of unraveling. While the importance of the issue of centralization itself is not in dispute, there are mounting reservations about the assumed linear process by which the centralized cult was established, as well as the idea that a centralized cult was more or less effectively achieved in Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian times. As a result, there is increased recognition that traditions from later time periods, especially the Persian period, need to be integrated into the study of centralization, although this has yet to produce a dedicated treatment of centralization in the Priestly materials of the Pentateuch (including H). Arguably this betrays the continued dominance of the classical view that P and H presume the mandate of centralization found in the book of Deuteronomy, but this assumption too is facing increasing scrutiny. A growing number of scholars are beginning to question whether these traditions might not enshrine an alternative approach to the Israelite cult, one which is less concerned with restricting Israelite worship to a single, chosen place than is their Deuteronomic counterpart. However, so far there have been few studies which have considered the possibility that Priestly materials such as Lev 17–26 might promote their *own* approach to centralization: that is, one that

neither “affirms” nor “rejects” that which is found in D but operates according to a distinctive, Priestly logic.

The second part of this chapter will therefore continue to set the scene of the present thesis by summarizing, first, the present debates which surround the history of cult centralization (§ 1.2.1); and second, the current state of the discussion as to whether, or not, P (§ 1.2.2) and/or H (§ 1.2.3) support a centralized cult. Such a synthesis cannot claim to be exhaustive. The predictable diversity among scholars, combined with the extensive secondary literature which the topic of cult centralization has generated, means that the history of research provided here will focus on overarching trends of recent scholarship and its antecedents, and thus the main issues for this study of H and centralization.

1.1 The Holiness Legislation

In the history of pentateuchal research, it has long been argued that the legal materials found in Lev 17–26 have a different profile to the earlier Priestly materials of Lev 1–16, and to the P account of origins more generally.¹ This idea was first raised in 1886 by Karl Graf in *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*. Graf observed (1866, 75–83) that Lev 18–26 seem to have a different linguistic profile when compared to the rest of P. For instance, these chapters are formulated as a direct address by Yhwh to Moses that includes first-person statements of Yhwh rarely found outside these chapters. There is frequent repetition of the closing formulae “I am Yhwh,” “I am Yhwh your god” and “I am Yhwh who sanctifies you/them.” Other nineteenth century scholars (e.g., Kuenen 1886, 88–91; Klostermann 1893 [1877]; Driver 1956 [1897], 49–50; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 149–72) added to Graf’s observations the high density of words derived from the root קדש, and a distinctive concern in these materials with holiness, which is particularly evident in the unique exhortation to the Israelites in Lev 19:2 “you shall be holy, for I Yhwh your god am holy!” The use of motive clauses and exhortations, such as the frequent references to the exodus from Egypt as a rationale for law observance, and the repeated threat of being “cut off” (כרת) from the community if certain statutes are not upheld, were also noted as contributing to the unique rhetoric of these chapters.

These linguistic peculiarities led classical scholars to wonder if at least Lev 18–26 preserve traces of a once-independent legal code that was taken up by the Priestly scribes and incorporated into their ritual legislation.² This code was formed, in Wellhausen’s view (1963 [1899], 149–72), via a

¹ The scope of P at the time H was written is a point of ongoing debate. See the detailed discussion in § 1.1.2.

² Graf already excluded Lev 27 from H (1866, 91–92), arguing that it formed a later appendix to the book of Leviticus. This insight has been affirmed in numerous studies since (see recently, e.g., Levine 1989, 192; Douglas 1999, 244; Grünwaldt 1999, 128; Milgrom 2000b, 1365–366; 2001, 2401–402; Ashlock 2002, 115–55; Römer 2008b, 21–22; Nihan 2015c, 329). The clearest evidence for the secondary nature of ch. 27 is the presence of a subscription at Lev 26:46 which concludes the revelation at Sinai: “These are the statutes (החוקים),

process of cobbling together an assortment of laws to form a somewhat unruly legal corpus, lacking in overarching logic. Wellhausen was the first to decisively argue (1963 [1899], 149–52) that Lev 17 must have constituted the original introduction to this collection of laws, rather than Lev 18. While the root קדש is not found in Lev 17, the chapter does exhibit a similar linguistic profile to Lev 18–26 on account of the כרת-formula (vv. 4, 9, 10, 14) and the specification that the law in vv. 3–7 be considered “an eternal statute...throughout their generations.” Wellhausen also noted that Lev 17 frames the H materials with a structure similar to that of other legal collections of the Pentateuch, opening the collection with a law on sacrifices and then, in ch. 26, closing with an exhortation to obedience (cf. Driver 1956 [1897], 48). Leviticus 17 thus made perfect sense, in Wellhausen’s view, as the introduction to an originally discrete code, equivalent to the Covenant Code of Exod 20–23 and the Deuteronomic Code of Deut 12–26 + 28.

1.1.1 H as a Post-Priestly Composition

While the view that Lev 17–26 was a pre-P legal code had a significant impact on the study of H for much of the twentieth century, in recent decades new interpretations have emerged.³ First, scholars have questioned Wellhausen’s characterization of H as an assortment of various independent laws, stitched together in a haphazard way. In the 1960s and 1970s scholars such as Christian Feucht (1964) and Alfred Cholewiński (1976) revived an earlier argument of Bruno Baentsch (1893) that the H laws had already been assembled in thematic units (e.g., Lev 18–20, 21–22) prior to their compilation to form the Holiness Code. As they saw it, the redactor of H brought together large blocks of material, each with their own internal logic, rather than an assortment of disparate sources. A different approach was spearheaded by Karl Elliger (1959, 1966) and Rudolf Kilian (1963). They both argued that H was not edited by a single scribe but was rather composed via a series of complex redactions, although they did not agree on their precise scope (see also the more recent study of Sun 1990).

Since the 1990s, however, scholars have tended to question both the idea that Lev 17–26 are composed of a mix of originally independent sources (whether large or small), as well as the alternative theory that H was composed in a series of successive and complex redactions. The studies of Klaus Grünwaldt (1999), Eckart Otto (1994a, 1994b, 1999b) and Christophe Nihan (2007a, 395–45) in particular have demonstrated that the number of independent sources used by H is far fewer than traditionally assumed, and that the redactional models proposed by Elliger, Kilian and others are

ordinances (המשפטים), and instructions (החורות) that Yhwh established between himself and the Israelites at Mount Sinai, by the authority of Moses.” The placement of the instructions in Lev 27 after this conclusion necessarily positions them as a supplement to the main legislation. For further discussion of the role of Lev 27 within the book of Leviticus, see, e.g., Douglas 1999, 244; Ashlock 2002, 115–55; Römer 2008b, 21–22.

³ For a detailed history of research of H scholarship in the twentieth century, see Sun 1990, 1–43; Grünwaldt 1999, 5–22; Nihan 2007a, 4–11.

also unnecessary. While additions were certainly made to Lev 17–26 following their initial composition—the episode of the blasphemer in Lev 24:10–23 being one such important case—H can be read as a well-structured literary composition, which is organized around the central theme of holiness (see further Joosten 1996b; Ruwe 1999; B. J. Schwartz 1999; Milgrom 2000b).

A second and related change in the study of H has been the rejection of the idea that Lev 17–26 originated as an independent code, prior to the writing of P. Beginning with an important article by Elliger in 1959, scholars have come to question whether Lev 17–26 can be read without reference to the earlier P narrative. H contains frequent references to the narrative setting of the earlier P materials, including Moses, Aaron, the Israelite *מחנה* “camp,” Mount Sinai, the exodus and the promised entry into the land of Canaan.⁴ H also refers to the wilderness shrine using both the terms *אהל מועד* and *משכן*,⁵ and mentions its various items of furniture such as the golden table and lampstand (Lev 24:1–9; cf. Exod 25:23–40), the high priest’s vestments (Lev 21:10; cf. Exod 28), and the *פרכת* “veil” which separates the inner and outer sanctums (Lev 21:23; 24:3; cf. Exod 26:31). There are also occasional references in Lev 17–26 to the earlier P materials in Genesis, such as the allusion in the wording of Lev 17 to Gen 9:3–7 (see § 3.3.3 below), and the mention of the covenant with Jacob, Isaac and Abraham in Lev 26:42. In their effort to reconstruct the state of the Holiness Code prior to its redaction by P, classical scholars had to extract all of these references to the P narrative from Lev 17–26—an exercise which could never be successfully achieved without causing significant disruption to the logic of H’s laws (Nihan 2007a, 395–401). Moreover, to remove the narrative context from H made it very difficult to explain why the unit was ever conceived as a divine speech delivered by Yhwh that included such formulas as *אני יהוה* “I am Yhwh” and *אני יהוה אלהיכם* “I am Yhwh your god.”

Yet if most scholars now agree that H presupposes a version of the Priestly narrative, there is little agreement on the state of P at the time Lev 17–26 was composed. Elliger suggested that H was written to supplement P before any other ritual materials had been added to that document (thus to the Priestly *Grundschrift*, or Pg). It would therefore have pre-dated the ritual materials of Lev 1–16 (Elliger 1959; cf. Cholewiński 1976; Kornfeld 1983, 6; Kratz 2005 [2000], 105–6). However, following the work of Volker Wagner (1974), Knohl (1987, 1995) and Jacob Milgrom (1991), the majority of scholars have argued that H presupposes not only the P narrative materials but also a version of the ritual laws of Lev 1–16 (see, e.g., Otto 1994a, 1999b; B. J. Schwartz 1999; Nihan 2004a; 2007a, 395–575). This dependence on Lev 1–16 can be seen in numerous texts in Lev 17–26;

⁴ For references to Moses, see Lev 17:1; 18:1; 19:1; 20:1; 21:1, 16, 24; 22:1; 22:17, 26; 23:1, 9, 23, 26, 33, 44; 24:1; 24:11, 13, 23; 25:1; 26:46. For references to Aaron, see Lev 17:2; 21:1, 17, 21, 24; 22:2, 4, 18; 24:3, 9. For reference to the camp, see Lev 17:3; 24:10, 14, 23. For references to Sinai, see Lev 25:1; 26:46. For references to the exodus, see Lev 18:3; 19:34, 36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38, 42, 55; 26:13, 45. For references to the entry into Canaan, see Lev 18:3, 24–26; 20:22–26; 26:2–45.

⁵ For references to the *אהל מועד*, see Lev 17:4; 5, 6, 9; 19:21; 24:3. For references to the *משכן*, see Lev 17:4; 26:11.

to name but a few examples, the references to the ritual process for presenting or eating the זבחי שלמים “well-being offering” in Lev 17:5; 19:5–8; 22:21 (cf. Lev 3; 7:11–34); the reference to the אשם “reparation offering” in 19:21 when discussing the case of a man who has sexual relations with a slave (cf. Lev 5:14–26 MT = 5:14–6:7 LXX); and the detailed prescriptions for priestly purity in Lev 21:1–22:17 which build on and develop Lev 11–15. H’s dependence on the P ritual instructions is also evident in the festal calendar of Lev 23: for example, in the date given for Passover in 23:5 (cf. Exod 12:1–13); and the instructions for the cereal offering as part of the celebrations of firstfruits in 23:10–14 (cf. Lev 2:14–16; see further § 4.2.3 below).

However, scholars disagree in how they interpret the evidence that Lev 17–26 was composed with the preceding ritual legislation of Lev 1–16 in view. A minority of scholars argues that Lev 17–26 should be viewed as part of the same compositional layer as Lev 1–16: that is, the continuity between the two sections of the book is indicative that they were in fact written at the same time. This possibility was already raised by Wagner (1974), who argued that the strong legislative and thematic connections between Lev 17–26 and Lev 11–16 suggest that there is no need to posit a diachronic distinction between the first and the second halves of Leviticus. Instead, Lev 17 constitutes merely “a subdivision” („eine Untergliederung“; V. Wagner 1974, 315) that introduces a new section in the book which extends the focus of Lev 11–16 on the obligations of the community to maintain purity and holiness. This idea has subsequently been developed in a number of significant studies, such as those of Erhard Blum (1990, 318–32; 2009), Frank Crüsemann (1996 [1992], 277–82), Andreas Ruwe (1999) and Alfred Marx (2011, 10–16). These theorists tend to regard P as a compositional layer within the Pentateuch, which did not necessarily circulate at any point as a discrete document but was always conceived as a redaction of the non-Priestly materials (see notably Blum 1990, 229–85; cf. Cross 1973, 293–325; Vervenne 1990). According to this view, then, Lev 17–26 are simply part of this broader Priestly compositional layer.

There are reasons to doubt the idea that Lev 17–26 was written as part of the same compositional layer as Lev 1–16. First, as many scholars have observed, there are a number of tensions between the P ritual materials of Lev 1–16 and the laws of Lev 17–26, which strongly suggest that the latter was intended to revise P on a number of important issues (see esp. Knohl 1995, 168–98; Milgrom 2000b, 1327–39 and *passim*; Nihan 2007a, 401–559, esp. 546). As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three (see esp. § 3.4.2), the laws of Lev 17 build on earlier P instructions concerning blood disposal to assert a much more restrictive approach to local butchery than that which is found in P, and also to reinterpret the purpose of the ritual disposal of blood at the central altar (see esp. Lev 17:11). In addition, as will be addressed in Chapter Five, Lev 17–26 provide a more expanded application of the holiness category when compared to the earlier P materials. In P, holiness is a category that becomes operational insofar as it is applied to the sanctuary and associated personnel and paraphernalia, and perhaps also to the day of the sabbath (see further § 5.1.1). H, on the other hand, while accepting the holy status of these people and things, moves in a

new discursive direction by permitting the non-priestly members of the Israelite community to attain holiness through their observance of the law. These differences would be very difficult to explain if Lev 17–26 had been written by the same scribes who were responsible for the P ritual instructions of Lev 1–16. It seems more probable that chs. 17–26 post-date P, and were written with the aim of updating the earlier P materials from a new legislative perspective.

Second, the distinctive style and phraseology of Lev 17–26 favors the view that these chapters were not written as part of the same compositional layer as the P ritual instructions of Lev 1–16. There would seem to be no compelling reason why the Priestly scribes would have decided to cluster first-person statements of Yhwh, the *אני יהוה*, *אני יהוה אלהיכם*, and *אני יהוה מקדשכם/מקדשם* formulae and the *כרת*-threat—to name only a few examples of the distinctive phraseology of Lev 17–26—within only one half of Leviticus. In addition, the exhortative style of Lev 17–26, with its repeated calls to obey Yhwh’s *הקת* “statutes,” *משפטים* “ordinances” and *מצות* “commandments” and references to Yhwh’s sanctifying actions in the exodus from Egypt, has little counterpart in Lev 1–16. It is again difficult to explain why these rhetorical features would have been reserved for chs. 17–26 had these been written at the same time at chs. 1–16.

Third, additional indicators of a diachronic distinction between Lev 17–26 and the earlier Priestly laws of Lev 1–16 are found in their different levels of engagement with other biblical traditions. The P ritual laws of Lev 1–16 are striking in their lack of dependence on the non-Priestly legal traditions, such as CC or D.⁶ In contrast, the materials of Lev 17–26 are characterized by a strong and persistent concern to engage with the non-P materials, especially the Deuteronomic

⁶ The only clear correspondence between the P ritual instructions of Lev 1–16 and D is the laws concerning pure and impure animals in Lev 11, which has a very close parallel in Deut 14:3–20. Some scholars have tried to interpret this parallel as attributable to the dependence of P on D, and thus to use it as evidence of the Priestly authors’ concern to engage with their Deuteronomic counterpart (see, e.g., Kuenen 1886, 85; more recently Veijola 2004, 296–97). However, such a theory struggles to explain why several passages in Deut 14 (specifically vv. 3, 4b–5, 11, 20) have no parallel in Lev 11. Since there seems to be no easy way of explaining why P would have deliberately overlooked such passages when composing Lev 11, it seems difficult to imagine that Deut 14 served as the source text used by P (Nihan 2011a, 415). Others propose the opposite direction of dependence: namely, that Lev 11 was the source for Deut 14 (Dillmann 1897, 525; Eerdmans 1912, 61–64; Rendtorff 1954, 45; Milgrom 1991, 698–704). However, this view also struggles to explain why the author of Deut 14 would have drawn heavily on Lev 11:2b–23 but then completely ignored the material in Lev 11:24–47, which has no parallel in Deut 14. Hence, both the pluses in Deut 14:3, 4b–5, 11, 20, on the one hand, and the lengthy materials of Lev 11:24–47, on the other, suggest that neither P nor D drew on the other’s list when composing their dietary prohibitions. Rather, they most probably drew separately from an earlier source—an independent set of dietary regulations—which they each adapted in different ways (Bertholet 1901, 33; Driver 1902, 163–64; Moran 1966; Mayes 1981, 237; Hartley 1992, 153–55; Houston 1993, 26–67; Nihan 2007a, 283–93; 2011a). The parallel between Lev 11 and Deut 14 therefore does not provide evidence of P’s engagement with the laws of D.

legislation. As has been convincingly demonstrated by scholars such as Otto (1994b, 1999b, 2009), Nihan (2004a, 2007a) and Jeffrey Stackert (2007), H not only complements the P ritual instructions with its focus on purity and cultic matters: it also looks to the non-P traditions of D and the CC when formulating and arranging its legislative materials. Indeed, the concern to “collect and distill” (Stackert 2007, 225) various traditions in the composition of its laws may even explain the overarching structure of Lev 17–26 (Nihan 2007a, 550). As mentioned above, the manner in which H commences with a law on sacrifices (Lev 17) and concludes with a list of promises and warnings (Lev 26), suggests that the legislation has been styled in such a way as to imitate the legal collections of the CC and D. Such a structural device, rather than signaling that H was first an independent legal corpus as per the classical reading, seems rather to reflect a strategy of enhancing the exegesis of P and non-P traditions offered in Lev 17–26: it establishes these materials as Yhwh’s authoritative legal tradition in which earlier traditions are brought together to form new “harmonized” rulings.

This difference in the degree to which Lev 1–16 and 17–26 engage with non-P materials adds further weight to the idea that they were not written in the same compositional phase. If this were not so, how would we explain the failure of the Priestly authors to reference the non-P traditions in Lev 1–16, choosing instead to concentrate all their interactions with D and the CC in the second half of the book? When considered alongside the evidence of the tensions between Lev 17–26 and Lev 1–16, as well as the particular linguistic and stylistic profile of Lev 17–26, the much greater engagement with non-P materials in these chapters corroborates the theory that they were appended to P in a secondary stage, with the intention of bringing that tradition into greater dialogue with other scriptures.

Finally, although this does not directly confirm that Lev 17–26 was written in a secondary stage to Lev 1–16, there are also reasons to reject the overarching idea that P comprises a compositional layer rather than a discrete source, and thus that Lev 17–26 form simply one subsection of that compositional layer. As has been convincingly demonstrated in numerous studies of the past decades, the P texts, at least in the books of Genesis and Exodus, form a more or less complete narrative that can be separated from the non-P materials of these books and retain its coherence.⁷ In addition, the presence of doublets and several points of tension between the P and non-P narratives also militate against reading P as a redaction of non-P materials. This strongly favors the view that P originated as a discrete document, which was combined with the non-P materials in a secondary stage.

On this point, however, there is a complicating factor so far as the analysis of Lev 17–26 is concerned: among those scholars who view these chapters as a post-Priestly composition, there is no consensus as to whether they were appended to P when it was a stand-alone document, or after it had

⁷ See, e.g., Lohfink 1994 [1977], 146–47; Zenger 1983, 35–36; Koch 1987; L. Schmidt 1993, 1–36; Carr 1996, 45–46; 2011a, 292–97; B. J. Schwartz 1996b; Gertz 2000, 380–88 and *passim*; Nihan 2007a, 20–21 with n. 3; Baden 2009; Boorer 2016, 34–47.

been joined to the non-P materials to form the Pentateuch. Scholars such as Otto (1994b, 233–63; 1999b), Nihan (2004a; 2007a, 545–59; 2015c) and Reinhard Achenbach (2008) have argued that the degree of engagement with non-priestly traditions in Lev 17–26 favors the view that H was added to P when the latter had already been integrated into the Pentateuch. In such a scenario, H’s motivation for coordinating P and non-P would have been to assist in the creation of a unified document in which both sets of writings could be more or less accommodated (although whether this indicates that the authors of H were the redactors of the Pentateuch [Otto, Achenbach; cf. Knohl 1995] or were writing after a first version of the Pentateuch had already been formed [Nihan] is a matter of debate). Stackert (2007), by contrast, argues that it is more probable that H was added to P when the latter was transmitted as a separate document that had not yet been combined with the non-P traditions. In his view, H might have engaged non-P materials in the hope that the updated Priestly document (P + H) would form a “super law” (2007, 225) that would render the non-P legislation wholly redundant. H therefore enshrines, according to Stackert, the scribal techniques by which older traditions were marginalized and replaced in ancient Israel.

A middle road is advocated by David Carr (2011a, 301; 2011b, 72–73). While he considers it most probable that H was added to P when the latter was still an independent document, he has argued that the interest which H shows in coordinating P and non-P makes it unlikely that its authors sought to marginalize and replace the non-P materials (pace Stackert). Instead, H is an important example of the conciliatory strategies that were eventually instrumental to the process of grouping varying traditions in the formation of the Pentateuch. “[E]ven if it happens that the Holiness materials were added to a separate form of P,” Carr remarks (2011a, 301, emphasis original), “they *anticipated* the combination of P and non-P materials through the occasional ways in which they build on non-P models and/or modify non-P legal instructions.”

For the purpose of this thesis the issue of whether H was appended to P as a separate document, or attached when P had already been integrated into a Pentateuch, can remain open. In either scenario, there remain adequate grounds for regarding Lev 17–26 as a distinct textual unit which post-dates the composition of the P history of origins. It is also clear that the authors of Lev 17–26 were aware of both P and non-P but remained *primarily oriented* towards the P account of origins, since Lev 17–26 are designed to be read in tandem with Lev 1–16, and the P history more generally. The more pressing issue is therefore to establish what might have been the extent of the P account at the time Lev 17–26 was written, so as to establish the key literary context for the composition of the H materials.

However, before turning to address this issue, there is one final matter concerning the nature and scope of H which must be discussed: namely, the question of whether the authors of Lev 17–26 might have made further additions to the P ritual instructions beyond appending these chapters to the ritual legislation of Lev 1–16. Scholars have long observed that select passages in the P ritual materials evince strong linguistic, stylistic and thematic parallels to Lev 17–26 (see esp. Exod 12:14–

20, 43–49; 31:12–17; 35:1–3; Lev 11:43–45; 16:29–34a; Num 15). These texts were a problem in classical scholarship, given that the entire P document was thought to have been written after the Holiness Code. (Why would only very specific P passages have evinced such strong parallels with Lev 17–26, while the rest of P seems not to engage with H language or ideas?) These passages were classically explained by positing that Lev 17/18–26 preserves only part of a more extensive law code, fragments of which were inserted by a redactor into other sections of the P ritual legislation (Klostermann 1893 [1877], 377–79; Holzinger 1893, 411–13; Driver 1956 [1897], 48–50). Yet this suggestion was never able to explain how these passages fitted within the original code and so remained necessarily speculative.

A new approach came with the work of Henri Cazelles (1954) and Pierre Grelot (1955, 1956). They both observed that the passages outside Lev 17–26 that evince H-like language or ideas constitute late interpolations to earlier P laws. They therefore surmised that these texts were added as part of a very late redaction of the Torah that was intended to align certain laws within the Priestly corpus with the language and ideology of Lev 17–26 (Cazelles 1954, 126–28; Grelot 1955, 257–58; 1956). However, this theory was still unable to explain why it was H specifically that was chosen as the legal collection on which these later insertions were to be based.

This problem was creatively resolved by Knohl (1995), who, like Cazelles and Grelot, argued that the texts that evince parallels with H were written as part of a larger redactional project that post-dated the composition of the P document. However, he differed from Cazelles and Grelot by suggesting that the scribal school responsible for these late additions to the Priestly materials was also responsible for the H legislation of Lev 17–26. By this means Knohl explained why it was with Lev 17–26 specifically that these late additions shared a linguistic or ideological affinity. They were all, in Knohl's view, the work of a "Holiness School" (HS): that is, they were written by successive generations of scribes writing *after* P, all of whom were trained in a particular ideology and compositional style, the clearest articulation of which is found in Lev 17–26. In addition, Knohl suggested that the HS was active in an exceedingly large number of texts, which he identified on the basis of stylistic features and theological notions that he considered to be exclusive to the HS.⁸ Since the HS texts he identified were not confined to the Priestly materials but were added to select non-Priestly texts, Knohl concluded that the HS was responsible for editing the Torah as a whole.

⁸ In addition to Lev 17–26, Knohl assigned (1995, 104–6) the following texts to HS: in Genesis, 17:7–8 (14?) and possibly chs. 23 and 36; in Exodus, 4:21b; 6:2–7:6; 9:35; 10:1–2, 20–23, 27; 11:9–10; 12:1–20, 43–49; ch. 16*; 20:1; 24:12–18*; 25:1–9; 27:20–21; 28:3–5; 29:38–46; 30:10; 31:1–17, 18*; 32:15; 34:29–35; and chs. 35–40; in Leviticus, 1:1; 3:17; 6:10–11; 7:19b, 22–36; 9:17b; 10:6–11; 11:43–45; 14:34; 15:31; 16:29–34; in Numbers 1:48–5:10, 21, 27b; 6:21b–10:28; 13:1–17a; 14:26–35; ch. 15; 16:1–11, 16–24, 26–27a; chs. 17–18; 19:2a, 10b–13, 20–21a; 20:1–13*, 22–29; 25:6–18; 27:1–23; 28:2b, 6, 22–23, 30, 31a; 29:5–6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; ch. 31; 32:6–15; 33:52–53, 55–56; chs. 35–36; and in Deuteronomy, only 32:48–52.

Knohl's essential argument—namely, that the composition of Lev 17–26 led to a series of updates to the earlier Priestly materials—has made a significant contribution to how scholars conceptualize the H-like passages found outside Lev 17–26. In addition, his theory of a specific scribal school standing behind the H materials of the Pentateuch has been embraced by many scholars, especially in Anglo Saxon and Israeli academic contexts (see, e.g., D. Wright 1999; Olyan 2000; Stackert 2007, 2011a, 2015; Amit 2009; Warner 2012; Reynolds 2013, 589–92; Brett 2014; Tucker 2017). However, even those scholars who have supported the theory of a HS have queried the manner in which Knohl identified HS texts outside Lev 17–26. Knohl's criteria for separating H texts from their surrounding (usually Priestly) context are often very weak, relying on the presence of very few linguistic or thematic parallels with Lev 17–26 (for instance, the mere presence of the expression אֲנִי יְהוָה “I am Yhwh” [Knohl 1995, 169] or the use of first person address by the god [170–72]). Moreover, Knohl's arguments frequently rest on circular reasoning: that is, he identifies the linguistic and thematic profile of Lev 17–26 by comparing these chapters to P, and then uses that profile to identify texts within P which must be separated as part of an alleged “HS redaction” (Nihan 2007a, 564; Blum 2009, 34–36; Boorer 2016, 44–46).

Most scholars who support the theory of the HS therefore suggest that a stricter set of criteria should be used when identifying passages which might be attributed to HS; they, in turn, attribute a much smaller number of texts to HS than those identified by Knohl. However, this more cautious approach raises its own set of issues. The crux of Knohl's argument for a Holiness *School* was the sheer extent of H texts in the Pentateuch, which suggests that there must have been a scribal institution or group standing behind them. Once the number of HS texts begins to decline, the question arises as to whether we need to posit a historical school to explain such a small number of editorial additions, many of which are only a few verses each. Already with Milgrom's work (2000b, 1332–44; 2003a, 2003b) the number of texts which could be assigned to H outside Lev 17–26 was radically reduced, such that the idea of a school was replaced by a “Holiness Redactor” (H_R), who could have simply been a single scribe using H texts to craft late additions during the final stages of the editing of the Pentateuch. For scholars such as Stackert, an even more cautious approach to identifying HS texts outside Lev 17–26 is promoted, such that the number of HS editorial insertions becomes so few that one might question his continued use of the term “scribal school” as unwarranted.⁹

Like other scholars who take a more cautious approach when interpreting H-like texts outside Lev 17–26 (e.g., Achenbach 2008; Nihan 2013b, reversing 2007a; Boorer 2016, 44–46), this thesis will avoid using the term “Holiness School.” I will instead speak of “H-related” passages; and only

⁹ In Stackert 2015, 391 he lists only Exod 12:14–20; 31:12–17*; 35:1–3*; Lev 11:43–45; 16:29–34a; Num 9:1–14; 15:22–41; 18:1–32; 27:1–11 as belonging to H, although it is unclear if this constitutes a comprehensive list of all HS passages (outside Lev 17–26) in his view.

when a given text can confidently be identified as a late addition to its literary context, and when the number of linguistic and thematic parallels with Lev 17–26 is of a very high number. Moreover, I will not automatically assume that such H-related passages were written by the same scribes as those who were responsible for Lev 17–26. While not ruling out such a possibility, I consider it more likely that H phraseology and motifs influenced Priestly texts in multiple stages. As convincingly shown by Nihan (2013b), the passages in Exodus and Lev 1–16 which share affinities with H can usually be classified simply as minor emendations which aimed to achieve greater continuity across the Priestly ritual instructions in light of the new legal rulings of Lev 17–26; specific cases of such emendations will be discussed at various points throughout this study, as well as the possible reasons for their addition to specific laws in P (for instance, to the Passover instructions of Exod 12:1–12 [see § 4.3.2], or to the ritual instructions of Lev 16 [see § 3.1]). In the case of the ritual laws in the book of Numbers, however, the presence of H-like terms and ideas seems to require a different explanation. In these materials, H-like terms and ideas are occasionally concentrated in particular chapters (see most notably Num 15) but are more frequently found in small, isolated expressions, in which H-like terminology is mixed with that taken from other Priestly and non-Priestly traditions (Nihan 2007a, 568–71). This suggests that these materials stem from a stage in the formation of the Priestly traditions which *post-dated* the writing of Lev 17–26: that is, at a time when scribes knew Lev 17–26 and could freely draw on these materials, but could also combine H ideas and language with those of other traditions when crafting new laws.

1.1.2 Establishing the Pre-H Form of P

This interpretation of the H-related passages outside Lev 17–26 raises a further, and fundamental, question: which Priestly materials most likely pre-dated the composition of Lev 17–26, and which are better assigned to a post-H compositional phase? Such a question, it must be said, evades easy answers. Scholars continue to debate the original scope of P, especially where it ended, the extent of the ritual legislation it originally contained (if, indeed, it contained any at all), and the overall discursive purpose of the account. The aim of the present study is not to map the entire literary development of P or the earliest stages in which its narrative emerged. It is rather to identify which P materials can be said with some confidence to have existed at the time Lev 17–26 was written—what I term, “the pre-H form of P.” Since it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a comprehensive review of every text of P that possibly pre-dates H, the discussion will focus on those texts and issues which will be particularly important to the discussion of centralization that is to follow.

As stated above (§ 1.1.1), most scholars agree that H was familiar with a Priestly history of origins that included at least a first version of the primeval history, the stories of patriarchs, the exodus from Egypt and the establishment of the sanctuary cult at Sinai. There are also strong grounds for assuming that H knew an advanced version of Lev 1–16. As mentioned, the reference to the

offering of the זָבַח in Lev 19:21 reveals H's dependence on the instructions for the reparation offering in Lev 5:14–26 MT = 5:14–6:7 LXX. Since scholars widely agree that the instructions concerning the זָבַח in Lev 5 were always intended to complement the commandments for the תָּאֵחָה in Lev 4:1–5:13 (see, e.g., Koch 1959, 1121; Elliger 1966, 64–67; Nihan 2004b, 1263; 2007a, 198, 237–56; Watts 2013, 229–303; Hieke 2014, 1:278), we can assume that if H was aware of Lev 5:14–26, then it must also have post-dated at least a first version of Lev 4.

H's knowledge of Lev 4–5 is significant because these chapters have long been thought to stem from a secondary stage in the composition of the Priestly ritual materials (see already Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 51; Driver 1956 [1897], 43; Baentsch 1903, 320–21; Bertholet 1901, 27). This conclusion stems in the main from the classical observation that the תָּאֵחָה is described in Exod 29 and Lev 8–9 with seemingly no awareness of the distinction between the two main types of purification offerings that are described in Lev 4:1–5:13. For instance, the descriptions of the תָּאֵחָה for Aaron in Exod 29:10–14, Lev 8:14–17 and 9:8–11 seem oblivious to the requirements laid down in Lev 4:3–12 for the blood of the תָּאֵחָה to be dashed seven times against the veil in the inner sanctuary and to be applied to the horns of the altar of incense.

A further indication that Lev 4 is a late addition to Lev 1–16 is the prominence of the incense altar in its ritual prescriptions, specifically in vv. 3–21. In order to appreciate this, however, we need to briefly review the scholarly discussion concerning the place of the incense altar in the compositional history of the Priestly account of the construction of the sanctuary (Exod 25–31, 35–40), and the evidence that this item was probably added to that account in a secondary stage. Scholars have long argued that there are a number of compelling reasons to believe that the command at Exod 30:1–10 to build the incense altar is secondary.¹⁰ First, the instructions for the incense altar come much later than the instructions to build the other items of furniture that are to be placed in the wilderness sanctuary (Exod 25–27); they thus appear as something of an “afterthought” (Propp 2006, 369). Second, the incense altar instructions come after the exhortation at Exod 29:43–46, which appears to function as the conclusion to Yhwh's directions for the construction of the wilderness sanctuary. This again gives the impression that Exod 30:1–10, and the entire set of instructions in Exod 30–31, were appended to the sanctuary instructions secondarily. Third, the variations among the ancient witnesses to Exod 25–31 suggest that ancient scribes, and not just modern exegetes, perceived a problem in the placement of the instructions to build the altar of incense at Exod 30:1–11 and took steps to remedy it. While the Masoretic Text (MT), Septuagint (LXX) and Vulgate (Vulg.) agree on the position of the command to make the incense altar—they all place it at Exod 30:1–10—the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) and one Qumran ms (4QpaleoExodus^m = 4Q22) shift the instructions for

¹⁰ See, e.g., Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 137–41; Holzinger 1900, 145–47; Baentsch 1903, 219–20, 259–61; McNeile 1908, 195; von Rad 1934, 61; Noth 1962 [1959], 234–35; Fritz 1977, 112–14; Durham 1987, 353; Blum 1990, 308–9; Propp 2006, 369; Nihan 2007a, 31–33.

the incense altar to appear immediately after Exod 26:35: that is, at a much more logical place in the sanctuary account, since this item is now mentioned immediately after Yhwh's command to set up the table and the sanctuary light in the outer sanctum. This evidence arguably challenges the suggestion of scholars such as Milgrom (1991, 236–37), Carol Meyers (1996; 2005, 250–52) and James Watts (2013, 241) that the placement of the incense altar instruction at the end of the sanctuary instructions would not have been considered problematic by ancient audiences, but that it is only modern scholars who misunderstand the “logic” of its placement.

A fourth indicator of the secondary nature of the incense altar is the absence of this item from certain witnesses to Exod 35–40. These chapters recount how Moses and the community fulfilled Yhwh's instructions in Exod 25–31 to construct his shrine and all its associated items. MT and SP present a more or less similar account—one in which the construction works are undertaken by Moses and the community in much the same order as Yhwh's instructions in Exod 25–31. However, the Greek witnesses to Exod 36–39 evince substantial differences, both from one another and from MT and SP (Wevers 1990, 592–652; 1992). Most striking is the Greek Codex Vaticanus (B). This version attests to a significantly shorter version of the construction works, in which the sanctuary artisans undertake the works in a different order to that which is attested in MT and SP (see further § 2.2.1 below). In addition, Pierre Bogaert (1996, 2005) has highlighted the evidence of a late fifth or early sixth century CE fragmentary palimpsest of the Old Latin version of the Pentateuch (*Monacensis* [*Mon*]) which attests to Exod 36:13 LXX–40:32[38] LXX. Significantly, *Mon* seems to fragmentarily preserve the same order of these materials as is found in Codex B.

One of the major differences among these ancient witnesses to Exod 35–40 is the frequency with which they mention the incense altar. MT and SP consistently do this in the construction account at the various points where Yhwh's instructions in Exod 30:1–10 would lead us to expect the altar—in the summary lists of the completed works, or in the inventories for raw materials (see Exod 35:15; 37:25; 39:38; 40:5, 26). By contrast, Codex B mentions the incense altar less often: namely, at Exod 40:5 and 40:24 LXX. The situation is similar in *Mon*, where we have only one clearly attested reference, at Exod 40:5, although the state of this manuscript makes it difficult to reconstruct whether the incense altar might have been mentioned elsewhere.

The question of which of these versions preserves the earliest witness to Exod 35–40 is much debated. Bogaert has put forward the unique idea that *Mon* is the descendant of a Latin translation of a Greek version of Exodus that is older than any preserved LXX manuscript. The text base of *Mon* therefore constitutes, in his view, the earliest version of Exod 35–40 at our disposal. However, this argument overlooks the evidence that the sanctuary account in *Mon* seems to have undergone several late, editorial revisions. Most notably, *Mon* harmonizes the description of the wilderness sanctuary with other biblical texts that describe sanctuary spaces. Specifically, in column 22/2, which preserves the beginning of the description of the inner sanctum in Exod 27 LXX, *Mon* preserves a major variation, found in no other ancient witness to Exodus, in which the inner sanctum is adorned with

two seraphim—a clear attempt to align the description of the wilderness sanctuary with the text of Isa 6:2, as Bogaert himself concedes (1996, 410). Further aspects of *Mon*, such as the greater equality in the roles of the two sanctuary artisans Bezalel and Oholiab, also bear the signs of late editorial revisions (see further § 2.2.1 below).

Other scholars have defended the view that the Hebrew version of Exod 35–40 in MT and SP is the earliest version of the account (see, e.g., Finn 1915; Gooding 1978, 29–98; Wevers 1993; Owczarek 1998, 45). According to this interpretation, the variations in Exod 35–40 LXX were due to the creative license of the Greek translators, as opposed to a different, and earlier, Hebrew *Vorlage* behind Codex B. However, it is difficult to understand why the Greek translator responsible for Codex B would have taken such a radically different approach to the translation of Exod 35–40 than to the materials of Exod 25–31: in the case of chs. 25–31, the translator seems to have applied a fairly literal approach to his or her Hebrew *Vorlage*, while chs. 35–40 evince major variation (Nihan 2007a, 33). Moreover, it is hard to imagine why the construction account in LXX would have been reordered by the Greek translator in such a way that it evinces *less* harmony with Yhwh’s commandments in Exod 25–31 than was the case in its Hebrew *Vorlage* (Aejmelaeus 1992, 121). Finally, George Brooke has suggested (1992) that the *Temple Scroll (TS)* may presuppose a version of Exod 35–40 that stands closer to Codex B than to MT or SP, which adds additional support to the argument that the *Vorlage* of Codex B preserves an earlier version of the sanctuary account than that which stands behind MT and SP.

On balance, then, it seems most plausible that Codex B represents one of the earliest available versions of the construction account, with the Hebrew text of MT and SP preserving a later edition which sought to bring the account into greater alignment with Yhwh’s instructions in Exod 25–31. This suggests, in turn, that the limited references to the incense altar in Codex B offer important evidence of the secondary nature of this item within the Priestly sanctuary account. It hints that the earliest version of Exod 35–40, traces of which are preserved in Codex B and perhaps *Mon*, had recounted the construction of the wilderness sanctuary without mentioning the incense altar, presumably because the instructions of Exod 30:1–10 had not yet been composed. Once the incense altar instructions had been appended to Exod 25–29, it seems that the text of Exod 35–40 underwent a series of edits, reflected in MT and SP, which aimed at facilitating the integration of this item into the building account (Bogaert 2005, 65–67; Nihan 2008a, 174–75).

Returning to Lev 4, there are strong indicators that the *הטאת* ritual instructions presuppose the description of the incense altar in Exod 30:1–10, and therefore stem from a stage in the development of the Priestly ritual instructions which post-dated the addition of the incense altar to the sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40. First, the language used in Lev 4:7 to describe *מזבח קטרת הסמים* “the altar of fragrant incense” is strongly reminiscent of Exod 30:7a, where Aaron is commanded to use the altar to offer *קטרת סמים*. Second, Lev 4:6–7 and 17–18 presuppose the precise location of the incense altar which is mentioned in Exod 30:6: namely, before the *פרכת* “veil” in the outer sanctum.

Admittedly, some scholars have suggested that these references to the incense altar in Lev 4 are themselves late additions, inserted in an attempt to incorporate the incense altar into an earlier instruction for the *הטאת* from which it was thought to be missing (see, e.g., Koch 1959, 53–58; Noth 1977 [1965], 39–41; Elliger 1966, 57–68; Janowski 1982, 196–97; Eberhart 2002, 130–31). However, there are few literary indications that vv. 7 or 14 should be removed from the chapter, since they fit well within the surrounding description of the rites which must be performed when the high priest (4:3–12) or the congregation errs unintentionally (4:13–21; see further Milgrom 1991, 236–37; Nihan 2007a, 161–64; Watts 2013, 335–37). This therefore suggests that the references to the incense altar are an integral part of Lev 4, and thus that the chapter as a whole post-dates the composition of Exod 30:1–10.

This evidence that Lev 4 stems from a relatively late stage in the development of the P ritual instructions has import for how we understand the state of P at the time when H was written. It suggests that H, which as mentioned earlier seems to have known Lev 4–5, was written with knowledge of a fairly advanced version of Lev 1–16, which had already been updated with secondary ritual instructions such as those of the *הטאת* and *אשם*. In addition, H's knowledge of Lev 4–5 also indirectly sheds light on the shape of the P sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 at the time Lev 17–26 were written. Since Lev 4 knows the incense altar instruction of Exod 30:1–10, we can surmise that H too, knowing Lev 4–5, postdated the writing of Exod 30:1–10. We can perhaps further surmise—although this is more difficult to prove—that H might have known a version of Exod 35–40 which had already begun to be updated to make reference to the incense altar and its associated items. In any event, it is reasonable to conclude that the pre-H form of P included a well-developed version of the sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40, and also of the ritual instructions of Lev 1–16.

Priestly Materials beyond the Sinai Episode?

A further, arguably more difficult, question is which, if any, of the Priestly materials *after* the Sinai episode in Exodus–Leviticus might have been known to H. This requires us to consider the broader question of the scope of the P source in the Pentateuch: and, in particular, whether the P document originally extended beyond the Sinai episode to recount the wilderness wanderings, or perhaps even the conquest of the land. In much of pentateuchal scholarship, P has been thought to conclude with Moses' death in Deut 34:1, 7–9 (see, e.g., among earlier studies Noth 1967 [1943]; Elliger 1952; Eissfeldt 1974 [1956], 188–89), or perhaps to extend into the book of Joshua (see, e.g., Blenkinsopp 1976, 287–91; Seebass 1985, 64; Lohfink 1994, 145–46 with n. 30). However, a growing number of scholars now question whether any of the texts of Deuteronomy or Joshua might be identified as possible endings to P. In the case of Joshua, scholars writing in the mid-twentieth century had already noted that the Priestly materials in this book seem to stem from a later redactional phase in which P and non-P language and ideas were freely combined (see already Noth 1967 [1943], 182–90; Eissfeldt 1974 [1956], 251–52; von Rad 1962 [1957], 159–60). Concerning a possible ending for P in Deut 34,

an influential study by Lothar Perlitt (1988) also raised the possibility that the purportedly P materials in this book are actually post-Priestly. He argued that the Priestly materials in Deuteronomy (Deut 1:3; 32:48–50; 34:1, 7–9) constitute editorial additions which were made to the book when it was already in an advanced state of composition. Not only do they combine P and non-P terminology and motifs (e.g., the link to Gen 6:3 in the reference in v. 7 to Moses' life spanning 120 years, or the link to Num 27:15–23 in the reference in v. 9 to Joshua's appointment as Moses' successor), but they also fulfill a specific function within Deuteronomy: they frame the book as a speech which Moses gave on the day of his death. This literary function, Perlitt argued, reveals that these "P" verses were never intended to be read separately from their present literary context (i.e., as part of the book of Deuteronomy) and were therefore unlikely to be part of the original P document (among early proponents of this view, see also Stoellger 1993; Pola 1995).

Since Perlitt's 1988 article, an increasing number of scholars have chosen to situate P's end somewhere in the account of Israel's journey to Mount Sinai. The majority looks to the book of Exodus, the most common suggestions being Exod 40:16–17a, 33b (Pola 1995, 213–349, esp. 298; Kratz 2005 [2000], 102–4, note that he also includes 40:34; Bauks 2001; de Pury 2010, 161) or perhaps even Exod 29:42b–46 (Otto 1997, 35; Achenbach 2008, 145 n. 1). However, an alternative view is that the P materials might have continued into the book of Leviticus, either with the account of the inauguration of the sanctuary cult at Lev 9 (Zenger 1995, 95; 1997, 38–39) or with the instructions for the purification of the shrine in Lev 16 (Köckert 1989; Nihan 2007a, 379–82; tentatively Römer 2008b, 16–18).

Despite the growing popularity of the idea that P ended at Sinai, this interpretation is not without its critics. A substantial number of scholars have continued to locate the end of P in Deut 34 (see, e.g., L. Schmidt 1993, 35–271; 2009; Frevel 1999; 2000, 9–210; Weimar 2008, 26–90), while a minority has persisted in situating the end of P in Joshua (see, e.g., Guillaume 2009, 157–62). Yet others have proposed that a possible ending might be found in the book of Numbers, for instance Num 10:9 (Kaiser 1992, 58–59), Num 20:22–29 (Köckert 1995, 148), or Num 27:23 (Janowski 1993b, 224, 31, 43–44; Ska 2006, 147–51). Nevertheless, even for those scholars who have maintained that P must have extended beyond the Sinai account into the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy or Joshua, the number of P materials which they identify in these books is dwindling.

A different approach is taken by Carr who has argued (2011a, 111–17) that the search for the "end of P" might be misconceived. According to his view, it is unlikely that the end of a source would be preserved once it had been integrated into a larger composition. Carr has compared the Pentateuch to other documented cases of works in antiquity which were based on "large-scale appropriation and/or conflation of documents" (2011a, 139): crucial among these is Tatian's *Diatessaron*, an early Christian document which interweaves the four canonical Gospels. This document, Carr has argued, provides clear evidence of the process of "source elimination" (2011a, 112) whereby once-independent sources were trimmed in order to be interwoven with other texts to form a new, cohesive

document. Most importantly, Carr has noted that in such processes it was usually the *end* of the sources that underwent the greatest amount of editorial change, or was removed in its entirety from the new compilation. He has argued on this basis that it might be impossible, now that P has been thoroughly embedded into a broader composition, to identify its “pure” end, devoid of post-Priestly editing. Perhaps, he has suggested, some of the Priestly materials in Numbers, Deuteronomy and, maybe, Joshua might be read as part of an original P document, since this would bring greater resolution to the P narrative of Israel’s journey to the promised land, even if the “pure P” state of these texts can no longer be identified (2011a, 296). However, Carr has conceded that it becomes difficult to identify such P passages once we have admitted that all of these texts might be contaminated with later editorial revisions.

All of this suggests that there are manifold—and perhaps irresolvable—difficulties in determining which of the Priestly materials beyond the Sinai episode can be isolated as part of the original P narrative. I concur with Carr, and with scholars such as Blum (2009) and Christian Frevel (1999, 117–20), that certain aspects of the P narrative in Genesis and Exodus seem to anticipate an account of crossing the wilderness towards the promised land, and that this might favor the view that a conclusion at Sinai makes little sense. These include, for instance, the emphasis on the portability of the wilderness sanctuary in Exod 25–31, 35–40, which is something of a blind motif unless the sanctuary is positioned within the wilderness journey. So too does the emphasis on the promise of the land to the patriarchs perhaps achieve greater resolution if the account moves beyond the Sinai episode (although see the thoughtful analysis in Köckert 1995). However, the challenges of actually locating an ending for P outside the Sinai episode make it difficult to positively affirm that the P narrative did indeed extend beyond Sinai; in turn, it is difficult to include Priestly materials outside Gen 1–Lev 16, such as the so-called Priestly laws and narratives in Numbers, in the analysis of P offered in the context of this thesis.

Moreover, even if a small number of texts in Numbers might be included in the original P narrative, it seems clear that the vast majority of the Priestly materials in that book represent the work of later redactors. There is, however, no scholarly consensus as to the precise contours of these redactional activities—whether they involved updating the P narrative (whatever its scope) when it remained a stand-alone document, or whether they should all be assigned to compositional phases which post-date the merger of the Priestly and non-Priestly traditions.¹¹ It is beyond the limits of the present study to review the various models which have been proposed for the redactional growth of the priestly materials of Numbers; and the task of relating these models to those concerning the

¹¹ See the helpful summaries in Frevel 2013, 6–15; 2014, 262–86. For a sense of the differences of scholarly opinion, compare and contrast, e.g., Römer 2002; 2008b, 22–32; Achenbach 2003; L. Schmidt 2004, 3–10 and *passim*; Albertz 2011a; Baden 2012, 169–92; Seebass 2012, 22*–38*. A short comment will be made about certain aspects of Achenbach’s theory below.

composition of H would merit a study in its own right. It therefore seems prudent to eschew definitive conclusions and to exercise caution before concluding which materials of these books may, or may not, have been known to the authors of H.

This caveat notwithstanding, it can be said with a high degree of confidence that a large portion of the Priestly materials in the book of Numbers probably post-date the writing of H. This has been shown with particular clarity by Achenbach in his seminal study *Die Vollendung der Tora* (2003). In the context of a broader model for the composition of Numbers, and of the Torah as a whole, Achenbach argued that many of the priestly materials in Numbers actually form part of a series of very late redactional layers which he terms “theocratic revisions” („*theokratische Bearbeitungen*“). These materials develop a number of themes which have little counterpart in the materials of Exodus and Leviticus (including those of H), such as the social organization of the wilderness camp, the separation of the Aaronide priesthood from the Levites and the idea that the Israelites are to form a military community under Yhwh’s direction. Achenbach has suggested (2003, 443–628) that these materials were the handiwork of priestly scribes working in the fourth century BCE who wished to redefine the Israelites as a theocratic community—one which was organized according to strict socio-cultic hierarchies, and was to be led by a high priest singular in his authority to interpret the Torah. The particular insight in Achenbach’s approach was to explain both the thematic consistency of many of the Priestly materials of Numbers, as well as their distinctiveness when compared to Exodus and Leviticus. While certain details of his literary-critical model remain open to question, his study argued convincingly that many of the traditional “P” materials of the book of Numbers should, in all probability, be assigned to very late stages in the development of the Pentateuch, which almost certainly post-dated the composition of Lev 17–26.

This theory finds additional support in the evidence that many of the ritual laws in Numbers seem to know and respond to those of Lev 17–26. This issue will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Four in the discussion of the list of festal sacrifices of Num 28–29. As I will argue in detail (§ 4.2.3), these chapters build on and complement the earlier festal instructions found in Lev 23 to provide a new set of regulations for the precise sacrifices and offerings which must be presented on the holy days outlined by H. This concern to expand, amend or clarify earlier rulings is not confined to Num 28–29, but can be observed throughout the Priestly laws in Numbers, many of which build specifically on the laws of Lev 17–26 when formulating their new rulings. This again suggests that these materials stem from (a) late compositional phase(s) in the formation of the Pentateuch which post-dated the composition of many earlier Priestly traditions, including H.¹²

¹² This is not to deny, however, that some of the laws in Numbers preserve traces of ancient traditions. A clear example is the Priestly blessing of Num 6:24–26, which shows striking parallels with the text preserved on the two silver plates found in Ketef Hinnom (KH 1 and 2), especially the second plate. (For the edition of the two silver plates, see Barkay et al. 2004; see further Berlejung and Heckl 2008, 37–40; Renz and Röllig 1995, 447–

This all suggests that we are on a surer footing, when considering the influences on H's discourse of centralization, if we focus on those Priestly materials in Gen 1–Lev 16 which we can confidently assume pre-dated Lev 17–26. Although in the discussion of centralization in P (Chapter Two) I will make occasional references to select priestly materials in Numbers (most notably Num 1–10), my main focus will be on the Priestly materials in Gen 1–Lev 16* that we can be more confident predate H and which seem to have provided the foundation on which H's logic of centralization was positioned.

1.1.3 The Date of H

What might now be said about the historical context in which Lev 17–26 emerged? Scholars have adopted a variety of positions on this issue. Following the approach spearheaded by Yehezkel Kaufmann (1960 [1937–1956]), Knohl (1995, 119–224) and Milgrom (2000b, 1361–64) have argued that the bulk of Lev 17–26 reflects the socio-cultic realities of the pre-exilic period, although they both maintained that the work of the HS or H_R continued into later times. The key legislative themes of Lev 17–26 reflected the “deep social and religious crisis” (Knohl 1995, 214) of growing social inequality in Judah in the eighth century BCE, and the subsequent rift between “the Priestly-Temple sphere and the nation at large” (Knohl 1995, 192; cf. Milgrom 2000b, 1361–64). The eighth-century prophets, these scholars have argued, were scathing about the Jerusalem priesthood's silence on matters pertaining to social justice and the everyday lives of Judeans. Leviticus 17–26 can thus be seen as the Jerusalem priesthood's response to this prophetic critique. Once warned of the danger of divine rebuke if they did not take a more explicit interest in justice and ethics, the priestly scribes of the Jerusalem temple authored a new legislative work (Lev 17–26) which fused popular religion with cultic precepts to offer what Knohl termed a “priestly-popular outlook” (1995, 45) on the Israelite cult

56.) The date of the plates is disputed, with some scholars advocating a seventh-century date (Barkay et al. 2004, 43–44, 49–50; Ahituv 2012; Smoak 2012, 208; B. Schmidt 2016, 129–32), while others consider it more likely that the plates were written during the early Persian period (Berlejung and Heckl 2008; Na'aman 2011; cf. Renz and Röllig 1995, 447–56). Although a direct literary relationship between the plates and the text of Num 6:24–26 is unlikely (Berlejung and Heckl 2008, 42; pace Waaler 2002), the inscription confirms that at least some of the Priestly texts in Numbers should be situated within a broader continuum of written and oral traditions; they were not simply the literary inventions of scribes working in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period but seem also to include traces of more widely dispersed traditions. Yet, while allowing for the antiquity of the traditions *behind* some of the Priestly materials in Numbers, the evidence of engagement with earlier P and H materials in the wording of the laws, in addition to their tendency to clarify or amend earlier instructions, supports the view that they were introduced to the Torah in a relatively late compositional phase.

and community.¹³ As a result of these reforms by the HS, the Jerusalem temple was able to maintain the trust and allegiance of the Israelite population in the face of mounting calls for reform.

A further attempt to read H against the background of the pre-exilic period was that of Jan Joosten (1996). Like Knohl and Milgrom, Joosten has argued that H's focus on everyday issues pertaining to agricultural settings provides the key to dating Lev 17–26. In particular, H's prescriptions for managing the land suggest that it must have been written at a time when Israel had full political discretion in the use of its territory, and could therefore implement agricultural regulations such as the sabbath year (Lev 25:1–7) or the jubilee (Lev 25:8–55). Throughout H, Joosten claimed (1996b, 167), “the Israelite state is viewed as politically independent and YHWH as dwelling in its midst. Both of these principles are applicable to pre-exilic Israel, but neither of them finds a place in any later period.” Joosten has therefore advocated a date for Lev 17–26 during the monarchic era, although he has not specified a particular timeframe.

Yet, there are a number of indications that a monarchic date for Lev 17–26 is unlikely. Chief among these is the reference at Lev 26:27–45 to the exile and return to the land. This text constitutes strong evidence that H presupposed the Babylonian invasion of Judah and the deportation of a significant portion of its population in 587 BCE, as well as the (limited) return of the exiles to Yehûd in the early Persian period. Acknowledging this, Joosten suggested (1996b, 9–15) that Lev 26:27–45 might reflect a generalized fear of expulsion by foreign powers, rather than constitute an allusion to the exile to Babylon specifically. Knohl (1995, 204–12, 22–24) and Milgrom (2001, 2363), for their part, proposed that the exile in question might have been that of the Israelites to Assyria during the eighth century BCE, which would be compatible with their pre-exilic dating of H. However, neither of these explanations stands up to scrutiny. Joosten's reading of Lev 26 as a general motif of exile and return seems to ignore the manifest evidence that the Judeans *did* experience exile and return from exile in Neo-Babylonian and Persian times, and that this experience had a profound influence on the literary traditions preserved in the HB. There seems no compelling reason, other than Joosten's preference for a Neo-Assyrian setting for H, to read Lev 26 as a “generalized fear” of exile. As for Knohl and Milgrom's readings: the Assyrian exile is difficult to reconcile with the image in Lev 26:39–45 of the community's return, since there is little evidence that the fall of the Northern Kingdom was followed by a return of deportees to the land. The image in vv. 39–45 thus accords

¹³ For instance, the idea that obedience to the law would result in abundant harvests and agricultural success, or that holiness could be attained in both sanctuary and extra-sanctuary contexts comprise two prominent concessions to popular religious notions in Knohl's view (1995, 183). The jubilee legislation formed another attempt, according to Knohl, at “wide-ranging agrarian and social reform” (1995, 205) that betrayed H's concern to connect ritual legislation with legal material pertaining to the social and moral issues that were facing rural and impoverished Judeans in the eighth century. On these issues and their significance for the study of H and centralization, see Chapter Five below.

better with what we know of the Judean experience of the exile to Babylon, in which small groups of Judeans were able to return to Yehûd in the early Persian period.¹⁴

A further reason to exclude a Neo-Assyrian date of Lev 17–26 is the problem of relative chronology that such an early date poses. To situate H in the eighth century requires that all of the sources on which the authors of H depended be written prior to this time. This is clearly untenable in the case of D, which scholars agree could not have been written prior to the late seventh century BCE. In light of this problem, Milgrom argues that all the parallels between H and D are due to the latter traditions' dependence on H as a literary source (cf., e.g., Weinfeld 1972; Fishbane 1985, 174–77; Japhet 1986; Knohl 1995). However, such a view has been appraised in various studies as lacking critical foundation since, as mentioned above (§ 1.1.1), H not only evinces parallels with D but also *blends* the language and themes of that tradition with those drawn from P, the CC and the prophetic traditions (see, e.g., Grünwaldt 1999, 139–374; Otto 1999b; Nihan 2004a; 2007a, 395–559; Stackert 2007; Carr 2011a, 301 with n. 101). Knohl tries to resolve the difficulty of relative chronology by suggesting that the HS continued working into the Persian period, and therefore could update earlier H texts with reference to D. However, such a view is questionable, given that H's dependence on D is not isolated to a few late interpolations but permeates the legislation as a whole.

The problems of relative chronology arising from a Neo-Assyrian dating are further compounded when we accept that H is a post-Priestly composition. Although P almost certainly contains traces of ancient sources, it is very difficult to argue that it was composed prior to the eighth century BCE. How, for example, can we explain why the pre-exilic and exilic traditions found in 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings seem almost never to refer to the P cultic legislation or its Aaronide priests, while the post-exilic works of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles regularly do so? Moreover, if P is argued to date from the eighth century, the non-P patriarchal narratives, which the authors of P seem to have known (Carr 1996), must be dated to a *still earlier period* in ancient Israel's history.

¹⁴ Admittedly, the use of Lev 26:27–45 to date H is complicated by the present debates that surround the place of vv. 39–45 (the verses which mention the return from exile) within the compositional history of H. While some scholars have argued that vv. 39–45 are an integral part of the chapter (e.g., Blum 1990, 327–38; Nihan 2015c), others have suggested that the legislation originally concluded with the threat of exile in vv. 36–38, and that the promise of return in vv. 39–45 is a late addition to the chapter (e.g., Elliger 1966, 369; Levine 1987, 19; Ginsberg 1982; Groß 1998b, 86–87; R. Müller 2010, 221–22). Surprisingly, neither Knohl nor Milgrom have contended that vv. 39–45 constitute later additions. However, one could imagine the case being made that Lev 26:14–38 originally referred to the Assyrian exile and was then later updated with vv. 39–45, which were written from the perspective of the return from Babylon. Nevertheless, the interpretive gymnastics which such a view would require—we would have to imagine a gap of some two hundred years between the original composition of Lev 26:3–38 and the addition of vv. 39–45—makes this reading less probable than the simpler idea that Lev 26 was always written from the perspective of the Babylonian exile.

Finally, a monarchic date for P struggles to explain the absence of any royal figure in P's legislative materials—an absence which is especially striking when we consider the importance of the king in other Western Asian and biblical sources concerned with the cult and the mediation of justice. As will be discussed in detail below (see §§ 2.2.2 and 2.3.2), P not only omits a king from its description of the cult: it transforms traditional royal roles so that they are redistributed among the various members of the Israelite community (Yhwh, Moses, Aaron, the congregation). Such a concern to reinterpret traditional monarchic functions would have made little sense had a royal leader been effectively ruling in Judah at the time of P's composition; it is, however, entirely congruent with a post-monarchic context for the P materials.

It therefore seems almost certain that Lev 17–26 cannot be dated to before the Babylonian exile. But how far beyond 587 BCE should H be situated? A small number of scholars have defended a Neo-Babylonian date of H on the grounds that its legislative themes enshrine an exilic outlook. One such study is Hans Peter Mathys' 1986 monograph, in which he attempted to show how each chapter of Lev 17–26, and especially the central command of Lev 19:18, built an "exilic program" („*Programm der Exilierten*“; 1986, 108): that is, a program which sought to elevate the family unit and establish new social structures which could see the Judeans through the period of exile. For instance, H established new legislative means for adjudicating marital and sexual unions, economic exchanges and the timing of work in the absence of the traditional institutions of palace and temple. Furthermore, Mathys argued (1986, 92) that, by writing down the rules for the sacrificial cult (Lev 17; 22) and the priestly service (Lev 21–22), H ensured that the Judean priesthood preserved the knowledge needed for reinstating the sacrificial cult once they returned to the land. Other scholars have argued that it is H's focus on the sabbath that reveals its exilic origins. For instance, Jared Calaway (2010; 2013, 57–58) and Carr (2011a, 302–3) have suggested that H's attempt to elevate the holiness of the sabbath to equal that of the sanctuary (see Lev 19:30; 26:2) was a creative response to the challenges of living without a functioning temple. It provided a temporal means by which the exiles might experience the type of sanctity that was previously exclusively associated with the space of the shrine (see further § 5.1.3).

However, while a Neo-Babylonian date for H cannot be discounted, many of the legislative themes mentioned by Mathys, Calaway, Carr and others in support of an exilic date of H are open to alternative interpretations. As this study will demonstrate (see esp. Chapter Five), H's distinctive interests in everyday customs, domestic activities and the sabbath cannot be disassociated from its concern to orient the community towards the central sanctuary and its ritual laws. The entire legislation therefore arguably loses its central rationality and organizing principle if we imagine that H was composed at a time when the Israelites were living without an operating sanctuary cult.

On balance, then, a Persian period dating for Lev 17–26 seems more plausible.¹⁵ Not only does Lev 26:39–45 presuppose the return to the land, and thus a “post-exilic” context; but throughout H’s laws the Israelites are continually directed towards the spaces, processes and authorities associated with the cult of the Second Temple. Beyond this, issues of relative chronology strongly favor a Persian period dating of H. The laws of Lev 17–26 engage with the CC and D in such a way as to reveal that these non-Priestly legislative materials were already in an advanced state of composition by the time the H scribes were writing (Otto 1999b; Nihan 2007a, 401–545; Stackert 2007). It is difficult to imagine that these materials had already achieved such a compositional state by the end of the Neo-Babylonian period. In addition, H’s dependence on an advanced version of the ritual legislation of Lev 1–16 strongly suggests that it could not have been written prior to the Persian period. While there is little consensus as to whether a first version of the P narrative was written in the late Neo-Babylonian (Weimar 1988; Pola 1995; Otto 1997; Frevel 2000; Boorer 2016, 100–3) or early Persian period (L. Schmidt 1993; Schmid 2010 [1999]; Knauf 2001; Nihan 2007a, 383–94), most scholars agree that the P *ritual texts* did not originate in the exile. Instead, these seem most likely to reflect the attempts of the Jerusalem priesthood to establish the ritual cult of the Second Temple in the early decades of the Persian period.¹⁶ Hence, once it is acknowledged that H post-dates not only a core P narrative but Lev 1–16 as well, a Neo-Babylonian date for H is very difficult to sustain. Instead, Lev 17–26 are best read as a Persian period composition, which continues P’s efforts to outline the socio-cultic norms and practices which are to be considered determinative for the post-exilic community.

1.2 Centralization, P and H in the History of Research

As mentioned in the Introduction to this study, there has been relatively little scholarly discussion of how the laws of Lev 17–26 might relate to the study of cult centralization. While the opening laws of Lev 17 have received considerable attention in the history of research on centralization, few attempts have been made to move beyond this lone chapter to explore how H as a whole might advance a discourse of centralization. This lacuna in the history of research, it has already been suggested, is due to a series of long-standing assumptions concerning, on the one hand, the history of cult centralization in ancient Israel, and, on the other, the place of the Priestly traditions within that history. The following section seeks to provide a more detailed discussion of these guiding assumptions in the

¹⁵ As argued, e.g., by Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:489; 2011b; Otto 1994a, 1999b; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 434–36; Grünwaldt 1999, 379–81; Ska 2006 [1998], 151–53; Nihan 2007a, 572–75; Achenbach 2008; Schmid 2012b [2008], 176–77; Meyer 2010.

¹⁶ For this view see among others Levine 1989, xxxiii; Blum 1990, 319–60; Blenkinsopp 1992, 237–43; Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:480–88; Ska 2006 [1998], 161–71; Nihan 2007a, 383–94; Schmid 2012b [2008], 152.

history of research, as well as the recent trends in scholarship which have seen many of them begin to unravel.

1.2.1 Rethinking the History of Cult Centralization

In classical scholarship, centralization was usually taken to be the historical process by which the sacrificial cult of the god Yhwh was restricted to one place: the temple in Jerusalem. This process was typically thought to have commenced in the Neo-Assyrian period, specifically during the cult reforms of Hezekiah (approx. 715–686 BC) and/or Josiah (approx. 660–640 BCE) as described in the book of 2 Kgs. The reign of the latter monarch was accorded a particularly decisive role: he is reported in 2 Kgs 23 as having defiled and destroyed the high places in Judah and Samaria (2 Kgs 23:8, 13–15, 19–20) and undertaken a series of cult reforms within the temple of Jerusalem itself (e.g., 2 Kgs 23:4, 6–7, 11–12). Crucially, 2 Kgs 22 states that these centralizing and reforming measures were inspired by the discovery in the temple of a ספר התורה “book of the law” (2 Kgs 22:8; ספר הברית “book of the covenant” in 2 Kgs 23:2)—a book which has been traditionally identified, since De Wette (1805), as the earliest version of the legal code of Deuteronomy.

This understanding of the centralization of the cult acquired paradigmatic significance in the 1878 monograph by Wellhausen *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*). In this Wellhausen argued (1957 [1878], 99–112 and passim) that cult centralization was the key point of differentiation between two major epochs in the history of Israel. Prior to the restriction of worship to one central site, ancient Israel had been characterized by free religious practice at multiple shrines. After the centralizing reforms of the seventh century, under the influence of D, a new epoch commenced in which ancient Israelite religion morphed into emerging Judaism—a religion devoid of the authenticity of earlier times, being now controlled by the central sanctuary in Jerusalem and its domineering priesthood.

With this theory, Wellhausen established the fundamental contours of the study of centralization in ancient Israel for the late nineteenth century and much of the twentieth. While later scholars criticized his negative assessment of emerging Judaism and evolutionary model of ancient Israelite religion, the core idea that the transition from multiple sanctuaries to centralized cult was essentially linear long remained one of the most influential aspects of his *Prolegomena*. However, recent decades have seen many scholars express reservations about the appropriateness of this approach to centralization, especially the idea that the history of ancient Israel can be neatly divided into two epochs, with the centralized cult being established “once and for all” during the Neo-Assyrian period. Instead, many scholars now argue that the centralization of worship was a complex and protracted process which extended into the Persian period and beyond.

In the first instance, there are growing questions as to whether the reform accounts of 2 Kgs 18 and 22–23 can be used to reconstruct the history of centralization in the eighth or seventh centuries

BCE. The historicity of Hezekiah's reform has long been questioned (even by Wellhausen himself; see Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 25–26, 46–47), with the references to the destruction of the high places in 2 Kgs 18:4, 22 commonly regarded as secondary additions, modeled on the account of Josiah's reform (see, e.g., H.-D. Hoffmann 1980, 149–55; Spieckermann 1982, 174–75; Würthwein 1984, 410–13; Na'aman 1995, 181–84). Although the archaeological evidence at select sites (esp. Arad, Beer-sheba and Lachish) might suggest that the number of Yahwistic sacrificial sites decreased during the eighth-century (Aharoni 1968, 1974, 1975; Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Herzog 2010; Thomas 2014, 398–401), most biblical scholars are skeptical that this proves the historicity of Hezekiah's reforms as they are described in 2 Kgs 18.¹⁷

In the case of Josiah, most scholars accept that 2 Kgs 23 contains the kernel of a historical account of some kind of reform which was undertaken by the monarch in the seventh century.¹⁸ However, it is open to debate what was the purpose of this reform: whether it was aimed at centralizing the practice of sacrifice to Jerusalem or rejecting aspects of the cult which were associated with Assyrian imperial power (see, e.g., Uehlinger 2005; Thelle 2012, 129–86). In addition, while the archaeological evidence from the late seventh century suggests that there might have been a reduced number of cultic sites operating outside Jerusalem at that time (see, e.g., the summary in Frevel 2016, 267–69), there is little to suggest that this is because they were destroyed during the reign of Josiah (Fried 2002). To make matters even more complicated, there is also no consensus as to whether the references to Josiah's destruction of the high places should be included in the earliest version of the account of 2 Kgs 23 or attributed to a later redactional stage.¹⁹

Meanwhile, there are growing misgivings about correlating the composition of Deuteronomy with the alleged reforms of Josiah. Many scholars now agree that the episode in 2 Kgs 22 describing the discovery of a book of law—arguably the earliest version of Deuteronomy—was added to the account of Josiah's reforms in 2 Kgs 23* long after any historical reform in the seventh century (see, among others, Levin 1984; Römer 2005, 56, 177). Moreover, the differences between Josiah's reforms and D's commands have led many scholars to question whether 2 Kgs 22–23 can be used to reconstruct the origins of D (see, e.g., Wenham 1971; Knoppers 2001, 413; Levinson 2001; Schmid 2004; Monroe 2011; Thelle 2012, 129–86). Hence, while many scholars maintain a Neo-Assyrian

¹⁷ See, e.g., Spieckermann 1982, 170–75; Handy 1988; Na'aman 1995; Uehlinger 2005, 287–92; Gleis 1997, 149–63; Fried 2002; Edelman 2008; Kratz 2010, 134; Pakkala 2010.

¹⁸ See, e.g., Lohfink 1987, 459–75; Albertz 2005; Römer 2005, 55; Sweeney 2007, 438–43; Pietsch 2013, 471; Thomas 2014, 414–15; Frevel 2016, 267–69. There remains, however, a number of dissenters; see e.g., Levin 1984; Niehr 1995; Davies 2005, 65–77; Pakkala 2010.

¹⁹ The composition of 2 Kgs 22–23 is a point of considerable disagreement among scholars and cannot be discussed in detail here. For different reconstructions, see e.g., H.-D. Hoffmann 1980, 169–270; Würthwein 1984, 452–66; Levin 1984; Niehr 1995; Kratz 2005 [2000], 185; Römer 2005, 55–56.

date for at least a core of the D legislation, the question of how its mandate of centralization might have influenced actual cultic practices in the seventh century is far from settled.²⁰

Some scholars have even proposed that we should abandon the idea that cult centralization was a concern in the monarchic period and instead situate its genesis after the downfall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE (Niehr 1995; Davies 2005, 65–77; Kratz 2010, 52; 2015 [2013], 52–53; Pakkala 2010). For instance, Herbert Niehr concludes his analysis of 2 Kgs 22–23 by suggesting that the account of Josiah’s reform might have been written by the struggling priesthood of the Second Temple in an attempt to bolster its economic situation. “In the economically difficult period of the sixth and fifth centuries,” contends Niehr (1995, 51), “this [priesthood] had to provide for itself, not having the monarchy as a support” („Diese mußte sich in der wirtschaftlich schwierigen Zeit des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts selbst versorgen, ohne das Königtum als Stütze im Rücken zu haben“). By telling of how one of Israel’s last kings had already commenced a program of centralizing the cult to Jerusalem, the priests at that sanctuary, Niehr suggests, might have been able to justify their status as the sole beneficiary of the Israelites’ financial support by delegitimizing any rival cultic sites. Reinhard Kratz has likewise argued (2015 [2013], 52) that 2 Kgs 22–23 might have served the interests of Judeans faced with the dissolution of the monarchy. These texts recast the history of Judah’s kings in such a way that the centralized cult and worship of the single god, Yhwh, emerge as the ultimate criteria for measuring the success or failure of the monarchy. As a result, the cult, rather than kingship, emerges as the ultimate unifying force in Israel’s history.

Among those scholars who do not wish to abandon altogether the idea that cult centralization began in the Neo-Assyrian period, there is nonetheless growing recognition that such a process did not produce a seismic rupture in the history of ancient Israel such as Wellhausen described. Instead, it seems to have instigated a slow shift towards a centralized cult that lasted well beyond the reign of Josiah. Indeed, diverse archeological and textual sources suggest an untidy continuity as much as rupture: in that a limited number of sanctuaries outside Jerusalem continued to operate well into the Persian and later periods.

Perhaps the most important evidence attesting to the complexities in the history of cult centralization concerns the revised dating of the temple on Mount Gerizim in Samaria—a temple kept firmly in Jerusalem’s shadow for much of the history of scholarship. Excavations at the site led by Yitzhak Magen have revealed (2000; 2004, 1–12) an older Persian layer underneath the Hellenistic sacred precinct which, on the basis of pottery fragments and coins, Magen dates to the early fifth century BCE (approx. 480 BCE; cf. E. Stern and Magen 2002; Zangenberg 2012, 406, who suggests a slightly later date of 450 BCE). The temple almost certainly served as a site of animal sacrifice, as is

²⁰ The date of the earliest version of D is a matter of ongoing dispute; see the histories of scholarship offered by Altmann 2011, 8–36; Otto 2012, 62–230, esp. 146–230, which attest to the ongoing support that a Neo-Assyrian date of a core of Deuteronomy continues to enjoy.

confirmed by an inscription (no. 199) that refers to the offering of livestock “in the house of sacrifice,”²¹ in addition to the many charred faunal remains found at the temple, some of which are dated to the fifth century (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 9).

The revised dating of the Gerizim temple has generated multiple theories about the relationship between Gerizim and Jerusalem in Persian times. Magnar Kartveit (2009) imagines a strong rivalry between Jerusalem and Gerizim in the Persian period, with the priestly families at the former shrine maintaining the exclusive legitimacy of the central temple against their cousins in the north. By contrast, Benedikt Hensel argues (2016, 415–16 and *passim*) that the evidence points to Gerizim being the temple which had the primary claim as the center of Yahwism in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, with Jerusalem occupying a position of relative weakness until very late in Second Temple times. Other scholars, such as Gary Knoppers (2013) and Nihan (2012), advocate a less hierarchical relationship between the two sanctuaries: they argue that the evidence suggesting that the Pentateuch was the joint project of the two shrines implies the strong cooperation of their priestly families, although probably with the Samaritans enjoying the upper hand in the process (see e.g., Nihan 2012, 185). In such a scenario, Gerizim and Jerusalem could have worked together to establish a sacrificial duopoly, in which each recognized the other’s claim to be the sacrificial center of its respective province.

There do indeed seem to be compelling reasons to doubt whether Jerusalem would have been in an economic or political position to assert its dominance over its northern counterpart as the exclusive sanctuary of Yahwism in Persian times. Recent archaeological studies have shown that Jerusalem was a small town in the Persian period, with some estimates putting the population at 1,500 (Carter 1999, 201; Lipschits 2005, 261–74; 2006, 31–32; Becking 2006, 9–10), while Israel Finkelstein has suggested (2008, 514) that it might have been as low as “a few hundred people—that is, not much more than 100 adult men.” The population of Yehûd too seems to have been small, as well as impoverished (E. Stern 1982, 31–40; Carter 1999, 172–213; Lipschits 2003, 364–65). There is every reason to believe that Jerusalem would have gained prestige when the Second Temple was built—an event which is difficult to date with certainty, but which may have taken place between the second and sixth year of the reign of Darius I (521–485 BCE), thus to 520–515 BCE²²—but even

²¹ For a photograph, transcription and translation of the inscription, see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 171–72.

²² An absence of archaeological evidence means that scholars must rely largely on the literary sources of the HB when dating the construction project of the Second Temple. According to Ezra, the Persian king Cyrus was charged by Yhwh to give the construction order (Ezra 1:2) and the temple was completed during the sixth year of Darius I (515 BCE; see Ezra 6:14–15 and the discussion of this evidence in § 2.2.2). Haggai 1 and Zech 1–8 also state that the Second Temple was built during the reign of Darius I, but date its completion to his second year (i.e., 520 BCE). However, Diana Edelman has argued (2005) that it is more probable that the temple was built during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–425 BCE) and then retrojected back into the reign of Darius I in

then, the rebuilding of the temple did not afford Jerusalem the status of capital city of the region of Yehûd in the Persian period. Indeed, we know from archaeological evidence that the Persian empire established the imperial governor's residence at Ramat Raḥel, approximately five kilometers south of Jerusalem (Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut 2012; see further § 5.4.2). Later in the Persian period Jerusalem might have regained prominence on account of the possible rebuilding of its walls in connection with Nehemiah's governorship (approx. 445 BCE). But still, there is little evidence that the fifth century saw the city of Jerusalem operate as the administrative or economic center of Yehûd or experience significant growth in population (Altmann 2016, 177–87).

The temple of Gerizim, in contrast, was located in an economically stronger and more populous region (Altmann 2016, 150–55, 303–4). Samaria seems to have been largely spared the demographic decline which afflicted Judah in the transition from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian period (Zertal 1990, 2003; Magen 2008, 7; Knoppers 2013, 103–9; Frevel 2016, 244). In fact, the Persian period seems to have been a time of significant demographic expansion in Samaria, as can especially be seen in the substantial number of habitation sites in the northern (Zertal 2001) and western (Dar 1986) areas of the province. Furthermore, archaeologists such as Ephraim Stern (1982, 29–31; 2001a, 424–27) and Adam Zertal (2003, 380) have suggested that the city of Samaria, which served as the center of the Assyrian satrapy in the eighth century BCE, continued to function as an administrative center in Neo-Babylonian and Persian times and grew to be one of ancient Israel's largest and most important urban areas. This favors the view that the Samaritan temple of Gerizim would have been in an economic and social position to exert considerable influence in Yahwistic cultic practice already in the fifth century BCE.

A second issue which complicates the study of centralization in Persian times is the evidence that a small number of shrines continued to operate in regions outside Yehûd and Samaria. For instance, a "solar shrine" uncovered at Lachish (in Idumea) in the 1930s was classically dated to the Persian period (Starkey 1937, 171–72), although a Hellenistic date may be more likely (see Fantalkin and Tal 2006, 176). In addition, there is continued debate as to whether the shrine at Lachish was a Yahwistic site and what sacrificial capacities it might have had (cf. e.g., Aharoni 1975; E. Stern 1982, 61–63; 1984, 102–3; Fantalkin and Tal 2006; Knowles 2006, 44–47; Ussishkin 2004, 1:96–97). There is also speculation that a major sanctuary at or near Bethel continued operating until the late Neo-Babylonian or early Persian period (Blenkinsopp 1998; Knauf 2006, 318–19). A "house of Yahô"

order to fulfill the prophecy of Jeremiah that the land of Judah would be desolate for 70 years. While Edelman offers a thoughtful analysis, the majority of scholars have continued to favor the classical date for the rebuilding of the temple as opposed to the revised view she proposed, since the latter causes a number of issues for the dating of those traditions which presuppose the existence of the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., apart from Haggai and Zech 1–8, texts such as Isa 60–62). In addition, Edelman's attempt to argue on the basis of genealogical evidence that Zerubbabel and Nehemiah were near contemporaries has been convincingly refuted by Ralph Klein (2008).

(*BYT YHW*) is also mentioned in an Aramaic ostrakon (no. 283) published by André Lemaire as part of a private collection (2002, 149–56; cf. 2006, 416–17) and dated by him to the fourth century BCE. Lemaire argues that the frequent references to Khirbet el-Kôm/Makkedah (in Idumea) in these ostraca suggest that the temple was probably located at that site.

It is clear that a number of Yahwistic shrines also operated in the diaspora throughout the Second Temple period. To name the most prominent cases, another “house of Yahô” is mentioned in papyri found on the island of Elephantine in the Nile. The evidence of this temple is particularly significant to the study of centralization: not only does it reveal that Yahwists in the diaspora worshipped Yhwh at a local temple, but there is also evidence that the leaders at Jerusalem and in Samaria were aware of the temple’s existence and were not necessarily troubled by it. A memorandum found on the island (*TAD* A4.9) states that the Yahwists at Elephantine were permitted by the governors of Yehûd and Samaria to reconstruct the shrine after it was destroyed by the Egyptians, but perhaps with the caveat that they must cease offering animal sacrifices at the site (ll. 9–10; see further the detailed discussion in § 3.5). Scholars continue to debate the meaning of this text. Some suggest that it sheds light on the Jerusalem priesthood’s strategy of cult centralization in the Persian period, which primarily focused on centralizing the practice of animal sacrifice rather than on reducing the number of cultic places per se (Frey 1999, 176–80; Knowles 2006, 40–43). However, others contend that the Elephantine correspondence shows that cult centralization was perhaps less of an issue in the fifth century than the biblical traditions might lead us to believe (see, e.g., Chong 1996; Kratz 2006, 262; 2007b, 84; Watts 2013, 104–7; cf. Kottsieper 2002, 169–75).

Beyond the temple at Elephantine, Josephus (*J.W.* 1:33; 7:426–36; *Ant.* 12:388; 13:62–73, 285) indicates that a temple was built at Leontopolis, north west of Memphis, by Onias III, the son of Simon the Just, who had served as the high priest in Jerusalem. Josephus claims that this temple was built 343 years prior to its destruction by the Romans in 73 CE (hence in 270 BCE), but the reference to Simon the Just suggests that the temple was built in the second century BCE. Inscriptions found at *Tell el-Yehudieh* attest to the presence of a large Judean population at the site during that time, although the remains of the temple have not been found (see further, e.g., Delcor 1968; Frey 1999). In addition to Leontopolis, it is also possible that another temple to Yhwh was constructed during the Hellenistic period by Yahwists at Edfu (Harmatta 1959, 1961). While no physical remains of the temple have been found, an Aramaic text from the beginning of the third century BCE (*TAD* C 3.28) mentions a series of Judean names, which include “Johanan, the priest” (l. 85) and “Šlm[] the priest” (l. 113), which Harald Samuel (2013) and Sylvie Honigman (2017) have argued suggests the presence of a functioning sanctuary. Finally, it cannot be ruled out that a Yahwistic temple might have been located among the Judeans exiled in Babylon. Certain biblical passages seem to hint at the presence of a temple in the Babylonian diaspora (see, e.g., the reference to a *מקדש מעט* “little sanctuary” in Babylon in Ezek 11:16b, or to the *בית* “house” at Shinar in Zech 5:5–11). In addition, a recently published cuneiform archive from 572–477 BCE attests to a flourishing Judean community living at

āl Yāḥūdu “the town of the Judeans” in Babylon. While the archive does not reference a temple or priesthood devoted to Yahweh at *āl Yāḥūdu*, it is not implausible to imagine that a shrine might have been established by the community who had settled there.²³

This evidence strongly suggests that the traditional account of centralization in ancient Israel, which divides Israel’s history into two distinct epochs and focuses on Jerusalem’s dominance from Neo-Assyrian times onwards, lacks critical support. Into the Persian and Hellenistic periods Jerusalem needed to negotiate its centrality relative to a limited number of other sanctuaries, in addition to operating alongside another major cultic center to its north at Gerizim. To be sure, the number of local sanctuary sites outside Jerusalem should not be overstated; and it is significant that the majority of these seem to have been located outside the boundaries of Yehūd, within which region Jerusalem seems to have enjoyed a growing dominance. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the centrality of Jerusalem during Persian times was almost certainly contested, and needed to be negotiated vis-à-vis other sanctuaries, both in Samaria and also in the diaspora. We should therefore consider that there were possibly centralizing processes at multiple levels: those whereby Jerusalem sustained its dominance within Yehūd; those which were mediated through its relationship with Gerizim; and those which manifested its efforts, if such existed, to impose a centralizing logic on a far-flung diaspora.

There is, of course, a growing awareness in the field of the need for such a nuanced understanding of cult centralization. A number of recent studies have begun to reassess how Persian period biblical traditions might have played a part in negotiating Jerusalem’s centrality. These have primarily focused on the evidence of Second and Third Isaiah (Berges 2010), Zech 1–8 (Lux 2009) and Chronicles (Selman 1999; Kalimi 2003; Knoppers 2005; Nihan 2016). The most detailed study from this perspective is Melody Knowles’ *Centrality Practiced* (2006). Here Knowles analyzed the representation of Jerusalem in Haggai, Zech 1–8, Malachi, Third Isaiah, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles and Ps 120–34. She augmented this literary analysis with a discussion of archaeological evidence of centralization in the Yahwistic cult of the same period. On this basis Knowles concluded that Jerusalem’s centrality was fluid and contested. Far from its being settled once and for all in a single series of historical reforms, Knowles argued that it needed to be continually enacted via religious, scribal and economic practices, including restricted animal sacrifice and incense offerings, pilgrimage to the city of Jerusalem and increased tithing efforts. While the Persian period traditions varied in which practices they emphasized and the manner in which they promoted them, Knowles contended that these texts shared a similar concern to stress the obligations of the Israelites to defer to Jerusalem as often as was feasible.

²³ For a transcription and translation of the archive, see Joannès and Lemaire 1996, 1999; Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 97–188. For further discussion of the evidence, see, e.g., Pearce 2006; Abraham 2007; Lambert 2007; Kratz 2015 [2013], 147–53; Wunsch 2013.

Knowles further argued (2006, 124) that the efforts to establish Jerusalem as a central place had increasing success with the passage of the Persian period, even though she admitted that a limited number of sanctuaries continued to operate in Samaria and the diaspora. Knowles argued that Jerusalem progressively acquired a unique status as a central place because it met a need in defining the community of “Israel” in post-exilic times following the dissolution of the geographical boundaries that had traditionally held the community together. “[E]nacting a map in which Jerusalem is ‘central,’ ” Knowles contended (2006, 8), “was one of the ways in which a geographically distant community [could] cohere as a self-identified group.” Hence even if some Yahwistic communities had very little contact with Jerusalem on a day-to-day level, owing to their geographical isolation, its city and temple eventually became an indispensable part of how they *conceived* themselves as being connected to a larger whole. As a result, the practices which affirmed Jerusalem’s centrality took on increased significance in Yahwism, since they were essential to establishing a sense of connectedness among Yahwists living in different locales.

The importance of Knowles’ study is her focus on the variety of processes by which Jerusalem’s centrality was negotiated with respect to alternative sanctuary sites and communities living at a distance from the city. It moved beyond the traditional preoccupation with whether, or not, Jerusalem had a sacrificial monopoly or exclusive claim to Yahwistic cultic practice to focus on the diverse strategies which might have enabled Jerusalem to receive *greater* deference and attention than other sanctuaries or cities. That is, it positions centralization as a matter of *degree*, rather than an absolute state. Not all subsequent studies have agreed with Knowles’ reading of specific texts or her interpretation of certain archaeological finds (see, e.g., the articles in Knoppers 2007)—does Knowles give adequate attention to the evidence of the concurrent claims of Gerizim to centrality in Persian times, for example?—but her study has the significant value that it elucidates the fluid nature of Jerusalem’s centrality in ancient Israel, as well as the variety of discursive strategies and ritual practices that played a role in construing it.

Perhaps understandably, Knowles omitted from her study the pentateuchal traditions concerning the centralized cult. This omission is primarily due to her having focused explicitly on *Jerusalem* and its positioning as central place—a site which is never directly mentioned in the Pentateuch. However, the exclusion of the pentateuchal traditions has the effect of limiting our understanding how the centrality of Jerusalem was construed in Second Temple times; many of the Second Temple texts analyzed by Knowles (e.g., Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles) heavily rely on the pentateuchal traditions when they describe the practices by which Jerusalem’s centrality is to be enacted. Thus, while the term *ירושלם* does not appear in the pentateuchal traditions, they are nonetheless important to understanding how the centrality of Jerusalem was legitimated in the Persian period.

Furthermore, the absence of discussion of the Priestly traditions in Knowles’ study is conspicuous because of her focus on the *practices* by which centrality was negotiated in the Persian

period. The most detailed source of information concerning these very ritual practices is in fact contained in these traditions. While the Priestly materials may not directly mirror the rituals that were actually performed in ancient Israel—as will be discussed in detail below (§ 3.5), there is invariably a gap between textual rituals and actual ritual practices—they provide valuable evidence of how priests, probably working at the temple at Jerusalem (see further §§ 2.2.2 and 2.4.2 below), imagined the Israelites undertaking ritual practice during a time of ideal socio-cultic unity: that is during the foundational period at Sinai, when pragmatic considerations could be displaced and centralized hierarchies ideally configured (see further § 3.5.1 below). As a result, the Priestly traditions have the potential to shed valuable light on those practices that were considered most important in the promotion of centralization.

Despite this potential, the Priestly traditions, as mentioned in the Introduction, have been the subject of remarkably limited scholarly attention in the study of the history of centralization in the Persian period—not just in Knowles’ study but also in the various studies referenced above. Generally scholars have looked exclusively towards Deuteronomy, the assumption seemingly being that all other traditions in the Pentateuch must be measured against it. But if it is acknowledged that centralization needs to be seen as an ongoing process of negotiation, in which *multiple strategies* were employed, such a singular focus on *one* literary tradition of the Pentateuch is manifestly limited. Since P is rich in information about cultic practice, it is long overdue for these materials to be brought into the center of the discussion.

1.2.2 Centralization and the Priestly History of Origins

In order to fully understand why the Priestly traditions have been marginalized in the study of centralization, we need to review the commentary on P’s role in early biblical scholarship. Specifically, a review of this research will reveal the trends which have kept the Priestly traditions in D’s shadow within the debates about centralization, and the few attempts that have been made to challenge these trends. In turn, H, as one section of the Priestly traditions, cannot be understood in isolation from this context of research. A general analysis of the scholarship on P and centralization will therefore provide important background for the specific debates surrounding H that will be reviewed in detail below (§ 1.2.3).

Classical Approaches to P and Centralization

In his 1805 dissertation, De Wette observed (1805, 164–65 n. 5) that P lacks a clear command to the Israelites to continue the wilderness cult at a single sanctuary in the land. He concluded on this basis that the authors of the P narrative were ignorant of the cult reforms mandated by the book of Deuteronomy and instigated under king Josiah (2 Kgs 22–23). Since he reasoned that any source which post-dated such reforms would necessarily have affirmed the need for cult centralization, P’s

silence on this matter was taken as evidence that its narrative stemmed from the earliest stages of the formation of the Torah, and thus constituted the *Grundschrift* of the Pentateuch. However, De Wette also acknowledged (1807, 273–385) that many of the Priestly legal materials seem to reflect ritual practices which were unknown during the First Temple period, and thus that the formation of the Priestly traditions was a multifaceted and protracted process.

With De Wette's recognition that many of the Priestly laws stemmed from a late period in ancient Israel's history, subsequent scholars gradually began to ask whether the narrative components of P might also be informed by centralizing cultic assumptions. In perhaps the earliest comprehensive study on cult centralization in the history of HB scholarship, Orth contended in 1859 that P's image of Israel's origins at a *single* desert sanctuary (the אהל מועד), and in accordance with a standardized form of ritual practice, shows that its legal materials stemmed from a time when the centralization of the cult was already normative and that they were intended to project cult centralization back into the earliest phases of Israel's history. However, this precedent of centralized worship in P seemed to Orth to have been completely unknown to the scribes responsible for the law of Deut 12 (see esp. vv. 8–11), as well as to those who recounted the centralizing reforms of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18) and Josiah (2 Kgs 22–23). As a result, Orth put forward the idea (1859, 360) that the Priestly laws of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers must have post-dated both the writing of Deuteronomy and also the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, and inherited their centralizing outlook.

Enfin, puisque l'Exode, le Lévitique et les Nombres n'admettent pas la possibilité de plusieurs sanctuaires et nous tracent un tableau minutieux du culte de Jéhovah concentré sous la direction ferme et constant d'une hiérarchie bien organisée, j'en conclus que les lois qui, dans ces livres, touchent à notre sujet, datent d'une époque où l'idée d'un culte centralisé était devenue dominante, peut-être même populaire. Elles ont donc été rédigées au plus tôt dans les dernières années de l'existence du royaume de Juda, ou, ce qui est plus probable, lors du rétablissement du temple de Jérusalem.

Finally, since Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers do not concede the possibility of multiple sanctuaries and draw a meticulous picture of the cult of Jehovah, concentrated under the firm and constant direction of a well-ordered hierarchy, I conclude that the laws in these books, which touch on our subject, date from the time when the idea of a centralized cult was already dominant, perhaps even popular. They were therefore written at the earliest in the final years of the existence of the Judean monarchy, or more likely during the reestablishment of the temple in Jerusalem.

Orth's approach to the P legal materials quickly became the standard interpretation. In Graf's 1866 study, similar ideas to those of Orth were developed into a detailed comparison of the D code and the Priestly ritual laws, on the basis of which he concluded that the latter were unknown to D and played no part in its conceptualization of centralization. A similar case was made by Abraham Kuenen in the second (1875) volume of *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*. He argued that the Priestly laws reveal the familiarity of their authors with the mandate of centralization found in the book of Deuteronomy and implemented by Josiah, and that they seek to "make Moses ordain and introduce it at Sinai" (Kuenen 1875, 167–68).

However, it was with Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* that the idea that P accepts and confirms the norm of centralization established by D acquired a real dominance. For Wellhausen, the linear development from multiple sanctuaries to centralized worship in ancient Israel was the cornerstone of any analysis of the origins of the Pentateuch, and specifically of its four sources (J, E, D, P). He claimed that P's emphasis on "unity of worship" (1957 [1878], 31) at the tent of meeting was clear evidence that this source stood at the end of the evolutionary development of the ancient Israelite cult, and was, in turn, the last of the pentateuchal sources. However, Wellhausen went far beyond what had previously been said on this matter, offering (1957 [1878], 34–37) the most comprehensive defense at the time of the idea that the absence of an explicit statement in P about centralization was evidence not of its early dating but of its tacit acceptance of an already developed concept: it reveals that by the time P was written, centralization was so well established by D that P could apply it to Israel's founding period without further comment. While in Deuteronomy "the unity of the cultus is *commanded*," so Wellhausen argued, "in the Priestly Code it is *presupposed*" (1957 [1878], 35, emphasis original; cf. Kuenen 1886, 273–74).

In addition, Wellhausen argued that positive evidence of P's acceptance of D's mandate of centralization could be found in P's lenient stance on "profane" slaughter (Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 55): that is, on the permissibility of butchery away from the sanctuary precinct. One of the central aspects of D's call to centralized worship is the concession that the Israelites might butcher their animals בכל־שַׁעְרֵיךָ "in all your towns [lit. gates]" (v. 15) without the need for an altar or the involvement of a priest, provided that the blood is not consumed but instead poured on the ground כמים "like water" (v. 16). In what appears to be a later supplement to the chapter (vv. 20–28), this concession is clarified as being applicable only "if the place (מקום) where Yhwh your god will choose to put his name is too far from you" (v. 21a). The logic here seems to be that it was too difficult to expect the Israelites to travel to the central מקום every time they wished to slaughter meat, and therefore a solution was needed for the butchering of livestock (see further § 3.4.1).

Wellhausen observed that the H scribes responsible for Lev 17 did not affirm D's concession of local butchery, but instead commanded the Israelites in Lev 17:3–4 to restrict not only their sacrificial worship (זבח) but also their butchery practices (שחט) to the tent of meeting. He argued that this was evidence that H knew and accepted D's mandate of centralized sacrifice but rejected the idea that those who lived away from the shrine were entitled to special concessions when it came to eating meat. All livestock, in H's view, must necessarily be brought to the central shrine for ritual treatment. (I will have more to say about this key text in the study of centralization and H, see §§ 1.2.3 and 3.3.1 below.) P, however, did not, in Wellhausen's view (1957 [1878], 52; 1963 [1899], 151), feel bound by the same concern as H to prohibit local butchery. He noted that the sacrificial legislation of Lev 1–7 never commands the Israelites to offer a sacrifice every time they wished to butcher their animals. Moreover, Wellhausen observed that the P account of the Passover in Exod 12:1–13 appears to condone the slaughter (שחט) of the Passover lamb within individual Israelite households (see esp. vv.

3–6), with no indication that this practice should be restricted to the central sanctuary once the cult had been established. Wellhausen therefore surmised (1963 [1899], 151) that, by the time P was written, D’s law of centralization had become so ubiquitous that the P scribes no longer considered it necessary to impose the limitations asserted by H on extra-sanctuary slaughter. P’s openness to local butchery could therefore be taken as evidence of the pervasive influence that D’s program of centralization had had on P’s view of the sacrificial cult.

Finally, Wellhausen gave particular weight to the idea, already raised in passing by Orth, that P’s acceptance of centralization could also be detected in its hierarchical ritual prescriptions. As mentioned above (§ 1.2.1), Wellhausen argued (1957 [1878], 64–67 and *passim*) that D’s mandate of centralization had given birth to a new form of Israelite religion in which the spontaneity and free religious spirit which had characterized earlier periods was gradually snuffed out. In its place arose a form of ritualized cult which primarily served to affirm the power of the central sanctuary and its priesthood to regulate Israelite religious experience. The detailed ritual prescriptions of the P tradition therefore bore out the consequences of the program of centralization instigated by Deuteronomy, and sealed its “degenerat[ion]” from natural and authentic worship “into mere prescribed religious forms” (1957 [1878], 66).

Wellhausen’s analysis of P and centralization had an enormous influence on subsequent pentateuchal scholarship. The widespread adoption of the “New” Documentary Hypothesis went hand-in-hand with scholars embracing the idea that P assumes and accepts the centralizing mandate of Deuteronomy, and that it was therefore the last of the pentateuchal sources. Even as scholars rejected Wellhausen’s highly negative interpretation of P’s ritual prescriptions and the identification of four pentateuchal sources, the idea that P “presupposes” (Eissfeldt 1974 [1956], 207; Blum 2009, 32) D’s mandate of centralization continues to inform the majority of contemporary studies of P. As a result, the topic of P and centralization continues to go largely ignored in more recent pentateuchal scholarship. Since P is thought to adopt a concept which was formed and defended elsewhere, scholars have focused their attention on studying the “original” mandate of centralization in the book of Deuteronomy.

Challenges to the Classical Approach

It must be noted, however, that not all scholars have adhered to the classical interpretation spearheaded by Wellhausen. Already in the 1930s, Kaufmann offered (1960 [1937–1956], 175–205) a thorough critique of the idea that the P materials (either in part or in whole) post-dated D and accepted its mandate of centralization. Kaufmann argued that the absence of an explicit law in P banning local worship in the land cannot be explained simply by positing that P is an exilic or post-exilic source and therefore presupposes Deuteronomy. Anticipating many of the later trends just outlined (see § 1.2.1 above), Kaufmann pointed (1960 [1937–1956], 176) to the evidence that multiple sanctuaries operated well into the post-exilic period—the Temple of Yahô on the island of Elephantine in Egypt,

the temple on Mount Gerizim, and later the temple at Leontopolis—as revealing the relative instability of the centralization mandate throughout the later history of ancient Israel. If the authors of the Priestly traditions had indeed been concerned to centralize worship to a single shrine (presumed by Kaufmann to be Jerusalem), he reasoned that they would have surely felt the need to explicitly reaffirm this requirement so as to counteract the influence of these rogue shrines.

In addition, Kaufmann argued that there is no positive evidence in P that this source was written subsequent to, and under the influence of, the book of Deuteronomy. First, he contended that there is no literary basis for the idea that P built its description of the cult on the foundation of D's law of centralization. Not only does P lack any reference to D's concept of a chosen מקום in the land or any explicit affirmation of its mandate of centralization, but Kaufmann argued (1960 [1937–1956], 175–76) that P as a whole evinces no clear evidence of verbal borrowings from any of the legal or narrative materials of Deuteronomy.

Second, Kaufmann contended that it is erroneous to suppose that P's אהל מועד is conceptually equivalent to D's מקום, such that it could be treated as a wilderness surrogate of D's central place. He maintained (1960 [1937–1956], 180) that there are critical differences between their temporal and spatial dynamics that betray the different logics of the texts that invoke them. The מקום of Deuteronomy's discourse is a single, fixed and permanent location in the land, to which the Israelites are to bring their offerings into the foreseeable future. The אהל מועד, by contrast, has a fundamentally different orientation. It invokes the past to imagine a sanctuary cult that evades association with any specific locale (1960 [1937–1956], 183–84): that is, it is not fixed but *mobile*, a portable shrine not exclusively anchored in any chosen location.

Third, Kaufmann rejected (1960 [1937–1956], 182) Wellhausen's idea that P followed D in condoning the practice of local butchery. He argued that there is no positive evidence within the P legislation that it was permissible for the Israelites to slaughter their animals outside a sanctuary context. To the contrary, the inclusion of Lev 17 within the Priestly Code (he assumed that H was written before P) strongly suggests that P affirmed the restriction of all acts of slaughter to sanctuary spaces. Yet, Kaufmann argued that this expectation should not be taken to mean that P sought to restrict local butchery to *one* sanctuary alone. Instead, P was concerned only to ensure that the Israelites conducted their butchery practices “at a temple, by a priest” (Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956], 182) so as to ensure they did not offer their livestock to other, illicit beings: namely, the goat creatures mentioned in Lev 17:7.

On the basis of these observations, Kaufmann concluded (1960 [1937–1956], 200–5) that P was most likely written prior to the emergence of the centralizing discourse of Deuteronomy, and also before the centralizing reforms of Hezekiah in the eighth century. Far from an archetypal central sanctuary, the tent of meeting is evidence of the “moving worship” which characterized the earliest phases of Israel's history, when local shrines operated across the land in service of individual communities (or perhaps even when tent shrines were used during the alleged nomadic period). True,

there was only one tent of meeting during the wilderness wanderings, but it does not follow, Kaufmann argued, that P saw this as setting a precedent for all scenarios in the future: instead, the single tent was a function of P's narrative, a wilderness setting in which the Israelites transporting more than one shrine would have been inherently improbable (1960 [1937–1956], 183).

Kaufmann's de-centralized interpretation of P had a sizeable impact on scholars who found his early dating of the P materials persuasive (see esp. Milgrom 1991, 28–34; 2000a; Pitkänen 2003, 69–74). It was also very occasionally adopted by scholars who, while not accepting his pre-exilic ascription of P, agreed that the portability of the wilderness sanctuary suggests that P was open to multiple sanctuaries in ancient Israel. The work of Mary Douglas (1999, 90–98) stands out in this regard. She interpreted the mobile tent of meeting as P's attempt to resist D's centralizing influence in the Persian period by asserting an alternative conception of space that does not require the desert sanctuary (a sacred *space*) to be “translated” into a central temple (an exclusive *place*) in ancient Israel. Rather, P intended the space of the tent of meeting to be reproduced in multiple locations in ancient Israel as the need arose, provided that each local sanctuary maintained the proportions and materials of the wilderness shrine, as set down in the Torah. Hence Douglas stressed that the pentateuchal traditions which post-dated D do not, of necessity, need to be read by scholars as adopting D's centralizing mandate. To the contrary, it was possible, in her view, for ancient Israelite scribes to hold multiple positions on the legitimacy of local worship well into the Persian period.

Another scholar who built on Kaufmann to offer an alternative reading of P and centralization is Benjamin Sommer. In an article from 2001, later developed in a 2009 monograph, Sommer agreed that the mobility of the wilderness shrine in P reveals a different understanding of divine presence to that which informed D's concept of a chosen place. In addition, he argued that it suggests that P sought to articulate an alternative concept of sanctuary space to those traditions that emphasize Yhwh's association with a particular temple in a specific location, such as the Zion-Sabaoth traditions. Drawing on the work of the historian of religion J. Z. Smith (1978), Sommer further argued that P presents a “locomotive worldview” (2001, 52), in which the sacred center in which Yhwh's כבוד “glory” is manifested can move with the community. This concept of sacred space underscores the possibility that the divine presence need not be limited to a central temple in the post-wilderness future. Instead, it was entirely feasible that the sacred center could manifest itself at multiple places as need arose—a process which he described as “the periphery spawn[ing] centers” (2001, 55; cf. 2009, 84).

Perhaps the most influential scholar to build on and develop Kaufmann's views of P and centralization was Milgrom (1991, 28–34; 2000a). Milgrom affirmed with Kaufmann that the portability of the tent of meeting suggests that P was written at a time when the Israelites were permitted to worship in multiple, local sanctuaries. However, he departed from Kaufmann by arguing that the image of Israel's founding at a single shrine suggests that P probably intended the description of this sanctuary to support a “limited doctrine of centralization at a regional sanctuary (possibly

Shiloh), thereby admitting to the existence of and legitimacy of other regional sanctuaries” (Milgrom 2000b, 59). Specifically, the tent of meeting represents a cultic ideal whereby one sanctuary forms the common core of the Israelite cult, but without necessarily holding a monopoly on sacrificial worship; or in Milgrom’s words (1991, 34), “P’s Tabernacle presumes a central but not a single sanctuary.” It permits mobile worship at local shrines on a day-to-day level, but only so long as the Israelites recognize the special claim of a central shrine to their allegiance and reverence by deferring to it as often as possible. This idea was subsequently taken up and expanded in the 2003 study of cult centralization by Pekka Pitkänen. In his analysis of P he arrived at a conclusion which very much echoed Milgrom’s: namely, “that *in many ways the Priestly material argues for a central sanctuary as an ideal in the strongest possible way, but more or less tacitly allows other options as well*” (Pitkänen 2003, 94, emphasis original).

The interpretation of P presented by Milgrom and developed by Pitkänen overlapped in some regards with another scholarly approach which, while avoiding such an early dating of P, asserted a similar reading of the tent of meeting as a model for a central but not exclusive sanctuary. In a groundbreaking article from 1991, Bernd Diebner argued that P’s depiction of the tent of meeting as a traveling shrine was a strategy of negotiating between two “central sanctuaries” („*Zentral-Heiligtümer*“; Diebner 1991, 127) in the post-exilic period—namely, the temples at Jerusalem and on Mount Gerizim—whose priestly leaders each sought to find their origins in the Torah’s description of the foundational sanctuary established at Sinai. As a pan-Israelite space, which was constructed by members of both the southern and northern tribes, the tent of meeting served as a compromise sanctuary of sorts, in that it could be associated with *both* of these temples at the same time. As a result, Diebner argued (1991, 141–44), the wilderness sanctuary played a key role in negotiating the compromise between the Judeans and Samaritans that enabled these two groups to share the same Torah, since they could both associate their respective temples with its foundational shrine.

The reception of Diebner’s interpretation of the tent of meeting was somewhat muted in pentateuchal scholarship. This was due in part to the framing of his essay as a “canonical interpretation” („*kanonische Interpretation*“; 1991, 127) of the HB, in which he eschewed the division of the Pentateuch into sources (such as P) and instead focused on the pragmatic function of the narrative of the wilderness sanctuary once the HB was more or less finalized as authoritative scripture (thus between the second century BCE and the first century CE). For those scholars who have been instead focused on the historical origins of the pentateuchal sources, the idea that the tent of meeting *originated* as a “compromise sanctuary” for both the Jerusalem and Gerizim temple communities has usually been considered unlikely. Such a reading would logically require that P was written after the construction of the Gerizim temple around 480–475 BCE if we follow Magen (2000) or Stern (2002), by 450 BCE if we follow Zangenberg (2012, 406), or as late as the second half of the fifth century if we follow Dušek (2012, 3). All of these are time periods which are later than the two

dates which are usually assigned to the core P account: namely, the late exilic period or the first decades of the post-exilic period.

An important exception, however, is the work of Thomas Römer. In a 2004 article on cult centralization and Deut 12, Römer built on Diebner's ideas to argue that the P account of origins does not share the same interest in cult centralization as that which is found in Deuteronomy. He argued that while D insists that a single chosen place is to form the center of the Israelite cult, P's image of the tent of meeting as a moving shrine suggests that P "had a more open understanding of this doctrine, possibly accepting a diversity of cultic places" (Römer 2004, 178). More recently, Römer has come down more strongly in favor of Diebner's original idea that the tent of meeting was chiefly intended to be a cultic compromise between Gerizim and Jerusalem (and perhaps also a sanctuary at Bethel) by avoiding a direct association between the foundation of the cult and a particular sanctuary site (Römer 2017, 20–21; forthcoming). He has suggested, therefore, that the P document probably originated as a joint venture between the priestly families of these two central shrines, and so was presumably written mid-way through the fifth century (although he has remained ambiguous as to what is the precise dating of P).

Hence, with the readings of the tent of meeting proposed by Diebner and Römer, and to a lesser extent Milgrom and Pitkänen, the study of P and centralization has begun to shift away from an exclusive concern with establishing whether or not P expects *one* central place to hold a monopoly over sacrificial worship in ancient Israel. Instead, there has been a growing trend to see the centralizing impulses in that document as being compatible with an acknowledgment that more than one sanctuary was operational in ancient Israel, although the number of alternative cultic places differs according to the various dates assigned to P.

Yet in all of these studies, there remains a core assumption which guides their respective approaches, and which they hold in common with scholars who adhere to the classical view of P and centralization outlined above: namely, that the study of centralization and P is concerned first and foremost with the question of *where* P expected the Israelites to practice sacrifice in ancient Israel. This focus has meant that scholars have largely restricted their discussions of P and centralization to analyzing how the properties of the wilderness sanctuary, especially its portability, might inform our understanding of the number of cult locations which could be accommodated in P's vision of Israelite cultic practice. It has also fixed scholarly attention on comparing P's centralizing impulses to D's mandate of centralization, as they seek to establish the extent to which P supported D's concern to limit the sacrificial cult to a chosen מקום in the land. As a result, scholars on all sides of this debate generally have paid little attention to ways in which P might have advanced a centralizing discourse "on its own terms": that is, they have not considered whether P's instructions for how the Israelites were expected to behave as members of a centralized cult and community in the foundational past—and not just where they were required to worship—might have been an alternative argument for centralization to that offered by D.

In this respect, the work of Watts offers a rare exception. In a series of recent publications (2007a, 2007b, 2013), Watts explored an alternative means through which P might have promoted centralization: namely, through P's elevation of priestly power and hierarchy. Watts argued that P's interest in Aaronide power far surpasses any concern in that document to restrict Israelite worship to a central sanctuary or sanctuaries. The entire P account is a work of "priestly rhetoric" (2007a, 73 and *passim*) which aims at justifying an Aaronide "monopoly over rituals at the alter (sic) and inside the sanctuary building" (2013, 107). In this, Watts returned to some of the ideas raised by Wellhausen concerning the link between P's interest in priestly control over Israelite religious practice and the centralizing assumptions which inform this document. However, while Wellhausen interpreted these aspects of P's ritual prescriptions as a by-product of the limitation of worship to a single central sanctuary, Watts suggested that it reveals a fundamentally different approach to cult centralization in P to that which is found in D: it shows that P is "far less committed to Deuteronomy's doctrine of the geographic centralization of cultic worship in Jerusalem than...to...the Aaronides' monopoly over the conduct of all cultic worship, wherever it might take place" (Watts 2007b, 323). So long as a sanctuary cult was headed by the Aaronide priests, and conducted in accordance with Mosaic Torah, it would have been legitimate in P's eyes. Watt therefore concluded (2013, 104) that "P's concern for centralization involves personnel rather than location."

In support of this reading, Watts argued that P's decision to describe a mobile sanctuary of the distant past was part of its attempt to focus the texts' rhetoric on affirming the religious and political claims of the Aaronides, rather than any specific location of the centralized cult. In particular, P's decision to eschew issues of whether Yhwh had specific plans for the location of his shrine in the land laid the ideological foundation for Aaronide priests to manage at least three different central sanctuaries in the post-exilic period: the temples in Jerusalem, Gerizim and, eventually, at Leontopolis (2013, 104). Specifically, the decision to speak only of a movable sanctuary in the distant past enables P to focus on the exclusive rites of the Aaronide priesthood, while quietly permitting them to operate multiple central shrines across the dispersed communities of emerging Judaism, and thus further entrench their economic and political influence.

The innovation of Watts' analysis lies in its dynamic concept of "center"—one which moves beyond a narrow preoccupation with "place" to explore how priestly personnel could serve as the central core of the ancient Israelite cult. It also takes a much broader approach to centralization by emphasizing the interconnection between promoting priestly authority over ritual practice and the channeling of resources towards centralized authorities. However, Watts' argument that P's interest in centralized priestly competence comes at the *expense* of any interest in centralized sanctuary space arguably swings too far. While Watts has suggested that the Aaronides' "monopoly over the conduct of all cultic worship" stands regardless of "[where] it might take place" (2007b, 323), this does not seem to have a firm footing in P's own claims about priestly competence. P repeatedly emphasizes the interdependence of the Aaronide priests and Yhwh's sanctuary, for example by including the

fabrication of the priestly vestments during the construction of the sanctuary (Exod 28; see further § 2.4.1 below), or by consecrating Aaron and his sons with the same oil and at the same time as the tent of meeting is consecrated (Lev 8:10–11; cf. Exod 40:9–11). These requirements would seem to suggest that Watts has erred when he suggests that the centrality of the Aaronide priesthood exists semi-independently of the central shrine, or that it did not matter to P in which sanctuary the Aaronide priesthood officiated. As I will argue in detail below (see § 2.4.1), Aaronide centrality seems rather to have been conceived as part of a broader concept of ritual practice, in which the space where the Israelites worship remains of crucial importance.

Rather than pitting one cultic center, be it the sanctuary or the priesthood, against the other, a more fruitful approach is to explore how P advances a discourse of centralization through visualizing a *network* of spaces, rituals and personnel which together serve to centralize the Israelite community in their service to their patron deity, Yhwh. This is the approach to P and centralization which was spearheaded by Menahem Haran in 1978, and later developed by his student Baruch Schwartz. In *Temples and Temple Cult in Ancient Israel*, Haran argued that Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen's reading of the Priestly traditions was unduly colored by their concern with the role that D allegedly played in the development from multiple sanctuaries to centralized cult in ancient Israel. He suggested that P's centralizing agenda has its own logic which does not need to be read necessarily in tandem with that of D: it is a logic which emerges through what he termed the four "dimensions" of the cultic activity in P's account of origins: "place (or institution), time (or occasion), act (or ceremony) performed, person (or personnel) performing it" (1978, 1). Haran therefore argued that, when seeking to understand P's centralizing vision, scholars should primarily focus their attention on P's "conception of the temple" (1978, 2) and its cult—the grades of sanctity of the tent of meeting, the ritual hierarchies which distinguish priests and non-priests, the complex rites which must be performed inside the sanctuary, and so on—rather than seeking to reconstruct the hypothetical influence of D on this document. The insight contained in Haran's approach is that it conceptualized centralization in P primarily through the cultic details which are core to its distinctive account of Israel's origins at the wilderness shrine, and thus through what P *actually says* about Israelite worship, as opposed to what it allegedly "presupposes" on account of D. It therefore opened the discussion of P and centralization to a much wider range of texts than have traditionally been considered relevant to this topic, and broke the scholarly fascination with comparing P with D when seeking to recover its centralizing logic.

However, Haran's study offered a very minimal explanation of how P intended to concretely influence the way the ancient Israelites perceived their ritual responsibilities towards the sanctuary cult in ancient Israel. Haran argued that P originated in the ninth or eighth centuries BCE as a "quasi-sectarian" document, which was kept "hidden" (1978, 12) from public view by the small priestly school which produced it. It was not until the alleged arrival of Ezra in the fifth century—at least three hundred years after the original composition of P—that Haran imagined this document was

finally brought into the “public domain” (1978, 44). As a result, P’s centralizing vision is reduced by Haran to a “utopian image” (1978, 146) of how the cult should be conceptualized, with little interest on the part of its authors in influencing the way the cult was actually organized.

To be sure, Haran did assert (1978, 132–48) that the historical impact of P’s vision of cult centralization could be seen in the cult reforms which took place under Hezekiah. He argued that Hezekiah’s attempt to institute a centralized cult at Jerusalem “was based on the priestly ideology” which was espoused by the same “school” (1978, 146) which composed the P document. However, Haran never explained how Hezekiah came to be influenced by the writings of this school, especially if the P document was locked away by the Jerusalem priests. Nor did he discuss which specific aspects of the P materials were used to justify the particular reforms which, he claimed, were carried out during Hezekiah’s reign. As a result, his analysis offered little insight as to the discursive potential of the specific ritual details which P promotes via its description of the foundational cult and community. More generally, the idea that P can be dated so early in the history of ancient Israel is problematic, and thus reduces the impact of Haran’s theory for the study of P and centralization (see further § 1.1.3 above). Thus, while Haran’s call for a reading of P on its own terms provides an important foundation for the literary analysis of P’s discourse of centralization, it needs also to be combined with an approach which engages deeply with the role which such a discourse played in negotiating the distribution of power and resources in later periods.

1.2.3 H and Centralization in the History of Research

We turn now to the question of the specific role that the Holiness legislation has played in previous scholarly debates concerning the Priestly traditions and cult centralization. There is certainly no doubt that considerable attention has been paid to H in the arguments for and against a centralized reading of these materials. However, this discussion has usually been narrowly conceived; and has been so almost exclusively focused on the opening verses in Lev 17:3–9 concerned with outlawing local butchery and sacrifice. Other legislative issues have occasionally been examined from the perspective of cult centralization, but such discussions have remained marginal and underdeveloped.

The Laws of Slaughter and Sacrifice in Lev 17

As mentioned above (§ 1.2.2), H begins in Lev 17:3–9 with the command that the Israelites must restrict their slaughter and sacrifice to the tent of meeting. This has long been taken as explicit confirmation that P expected the Israelites to defer to the tent of meeting in all matters of animal sacrifice (see further § 3.1 below). Given that in classical scholarship P was thought to have edited Lev 17 and integrated it among the Sinaitic revelation, scholars could reasonably assume that P included this chapter because it was informed by a similar centralizing impulse to that of H. Even following the reversal of the traditional chronology of P and H (see § 1.1.1 above), the majority of

researchers have argued that Lev 17 makes explicit what is already implied throughout P: namely, that there is only *one* altar for the entire community, and thus only one location of legitimate sacrifice.

Most scholars have followed Wellhausen in arguing that these verses prove that H knew and supported D's program of centralization, albeit with a caveat concerning the permissibility of local butchery (see, e.g., Blum 1990, 337–38; 2009, 32–33; Otto 1999b; 2016, 1162–63; V. Wagner 2005, 158–62; Nihan 2007a, 402–30). While the arguments in support of this interpretation will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, it can already be noted that scholars have long located in the wording of Lev 17 evidence that H drew on the phraseology of Deut 12 when crafting its own legal rulings concerning butchery, sacrifice and the non-consumption of blood; scholars have focused in particular on the close parallels in the wording of the rationale for the blood prohibition in Lev 17:11 and Deut 12:23 (cf. *כי נפש הבשר בדם הוא ואני* [Lev 17:11]; *כי הדם הוא הנפש* [Deut 12:23]). Very occasionally Lev 17 has been read as supporting a centralized cult but without necessarily depending on D (Knohl 1995, 112–13; B. J. Schwartz 1999, 97–101). However, such readings have usually struggled to explained the parallels in the wording of Lev 17 and Deut 12.

One issue that has never been satisfactorily resolved by scholars who hold to a centralized interpretation of Lev 17 is how this text could have been applied in ancient Israel if it promoted a centralized cult and yet restricted butchery to the central shrine alone. As will be discussed further in Chapter Three (see esp. § 3.4.1), the law of Deut 12:20–27 suggests that local butchery was a necessary allowance for those Israelites who lived at a distance from the central site of sacrifice. H, by contrast, offers no such concession. Observing the problem of the practicability of Lev 17:3–9, Kaufmann argued (1960 [1937–1956], 181) that these laws could not make sense unless H “presupposes the existence of many legitimate local sanctuaries, each of which is represented here by the tent.” Leviticus 17 was therefore an important proof text for his theory that the wilderness sanctuary in the Priestly traditions was not a surrogate for a centralized temple, but rather an allegory for the traveling worship associated with the pre-Josianic era.

While Kaufmann's interpretation did not garner the widespread support which Wellhausen's theory enjoyed, it was taken up and affirmed by Milgrom in an important article of 2000. This upheld Kaufmann's thesis that, in order for Lev 17 to be “mandatory for all time” (2000a, 64), H must have allowed the Israelites to travel to a local priest and altar when slaughtering their livestock, since any other scenario would have been so impracticable as to have been impossible to enforce. Milgrom thus heralded Lev 17 as clear evidence that H was a pre-exilic composition that pre-supposed the de-centralized cultic arrangements of the pre-D era. Douglas had offered a similar reading of Lev 17 in 1999, when she emphasized the need for a de-centralized interpretation of the tent of meeting in order for H's opening laws to retain practicability. “If there is to be no slaughter except it be sacralized,” Douglas reasoned (1999, 93), “easy access to the tent of meeting is necessary for the herdsman. The Levitical law for exclusively sacral killing of livestock would be practical if there were a lot of recognized shrines, preferably one in every local district.” However, unlike Kaufmann and Milgrom,

Douglas argued (1999, 90–98) that Lev 17 did not pre-date D but was rather a Persian period attempt to reject both of Deut 12's innovations: namely, the centralization of sacrifice; and the related concession of local butchery. In her view, Lev 17 reveals the efforts of Second Temple priests to return to the traditional practice of deferring to local sanctuaries in all matters pertaining to the slaughter and sacrifice of livestock, the motivation for which is to be found in the overall theology of Leviticus and its concept of portable sacred space.

The debates which have surrounded Lev 17:3–9 therefore tap into multiple issues in the study of H, P and cult centralization: the degree to which these traditions depend on, and depart from, D; the interpretation of the tent of meeting as an archetypal central shrine or regional sanctuary; and the weight which should be given to “practicability” in evaluating conflicting interpretations of ritual law. Yet despite the undeniable importance of Lev 17:3–9, the scholarly focus on this passage has had the effect of deflecting attention away from the possibility that other texts of Lev 17–26 might be relevant to the study of H and centralization. This neglect of other texts is perhaps attributable to the widespread assumption that Lev 17 proves H's acceptance of D's mandate of centralization; since the entire legislation is framed by this opening passage, it would then reveal the centralizing logic of Lev 17–26 as a whole. However, it seems again to stem from a more foundational limitation in much of the history of research on centralization and the Priestly traditions, one which affects scholars on all sides of the debate: namely, the assumption that centralization is exclusively concerned with the issue of where the Israelites practice sacrifice. Outside Lev 17 there are very few laws that regulate the sacrificial cult or the community's interactions with the tent of meeting (see notably Lev 22:18–30; 24:1–9). However, as discussed above (§ 1.2.2; see further the Introduction to this thesis), the issue of location is not necessarily determinative in discourses of centralization. The concentration of resources and authority that is implicit in centralization can be promoted via a variety of mechanisms which move well beyond restricting particular activities to a central site. Hence there is ample room for scholars to move beyond the single text of Lev 17 to explore how H's rulings on other socio-cultic, economic and agricultural matters might relate to the issue of centralization in that legislation.

Other Legislative Issues in the Study of H and Centralization

That said, it needs to be acknowledged that occasionally the discussion of H and centralization has occasionally been extended beyond Lev 17. This expansion of focus has tended to serve the purpose of denying the classical view that H is characterized by a centralizing outlook. In the 2000 article mentioned above, Milgrom argued that Lev 26:31 might provide further evidence that H does not support a centralized cult. In this text Yhwh warns the Israelites that he will punish their disobedience by laying waste to their cities and desolating *מקדשיכם* “your sanctuaries” (note the correction to the singular *מקדשכם* in 26:31 SP). Milgrom argued (2000a, 59–60) that the plural in Lev 26:31a proves that H considered a de-centralized cult at multiple sanctuaries to be the norm, as signaled by the second half of the threat in 26:31b, *ולא אריה בריה ניהחכם*, “I will not smell your soothing odors”: this

Milgrom took as proof that the sacrifices made at these sites would have otherwise been accepted by the deity as legitimate. This reading, however, has had limited impact on subsequent research, since it seems to ignore the highly polemical context of Lev 26:30–31. The parallel reference to the destruction of *במתיכם* “your high places” in v. 30 strongly suggests that H employs the plural *מקדשיכם* in v. 31 in an attempt to *denounce* multiple sanctuaries as illegitimate rather than affirm them as normative (Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 421). Their presence in the land therefore seems to be a sign of the Israelites’ disobedience of Yhwh’s commandments, which has contributed to the punishments outlined in vv. 14–39, rather than an indication of the cultic arrangement which was considered normative by H.

A more substantial discussion has surrounded the festal calendar of Lev 23 and whether it has a centralizing or de-centralizing character. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four (see esp. § 4.1), most scholars have followed Wellhausen (1957 [1878], 64–67) in assuming that Lev 23 inherits from Deut 16:1–17 an interest in restricting festal worship to a central sanctuary, while going beyond D in regulating the festal gifts and donations that the Israelites must contribute on fixed days each year. However, this theory has occasionally been challenged by those who argue that the calendar of Lev 23 seems to take a more local approach to festal worship than that which is enshrined in Deut 16:1–17 (Kellogg 1891, 453; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 352–54; Ulfgard 1998, 81; Brett 2012, 59; cf. Milgrom 1997; 2001, 2054–56). The most detailed study from this perspective is found in the 2004 monograph by Karl W. Weyde *The Appointed Festivals of YHWH*. In his analysis of Lev 23, Weyde focused (2004, 73) on the distinctive formula found at the conclusion of certain laws in Lev 23, which states that certain festivities must be observed *בכל מושבתיכם* “in all your settlements” (23:3, 14, 17, 21, 31). Weyde argued that the placement of this formula at the conclusion of the different lists of festal instructions which make up the calendar reveals H’s expectation that the Israelites will undertake *all* the rites, including the offering of festal sacrifices, within their local context. On this basis, he concluded that H must have presupposed the presence of multiple, local sanctuaries in ancient Israel, and expected the Israelites to gather at these during the annual feasts.

Weyde’s exegesis of Lev 23 has so far held limited sway among subsequent studies of H and centralization. As will be discussed in detail below (see further § 4.2.4), there are a number of interpretive issues in his reading of the *בכל מושבתיכם* formula, which ultimately make his reading of the calendar unpersuasive. Nevertheless, Weyde’s analysis has thrown a valuable light on a distinctive feature of Lev 23 that has so far received too little attention in the study of H’s calendar: namely, H’s concern to coordinate those rites that take place within domestic contexts with those which involve the making of sacrifices. While Weyde took this as evidence of a de-centralizing logic in H, alternative readings are possible: namely, that H here exemplifies the kind of careful negotiation that was required in the Persian period between the sacrificial center and those Israelites who lived at a distance from the centralized cult. The distinctive nature of this concern—no comparable interest in regulating the activities of the settlements can be detected in Deut 16:1–17—suggests that the

classical approach to H's calendar is too limiting: rather than reading it through the lens of D, Lev 23 deserves to be studied on its own terms as a creative attempt to provide a new means of achieving a centralized temporal system across the various communities of "Israel" (see further §§ 4.2, 4.3 and 4.5 below).

Leviticus 23 therefore provides an important illustration of how texts in H describing domestic activities, performed far from the shrine, can offer new insights into the diverse strategies through which a centralized cult and community was promoted by H. Once this insight is accepted, we find that many texts that have traditionally received almost no attention become relevant to the analysis of H's approach to centralization. This includes those materials in Lev 17–26 which deal with the regulation of "everyday life" in diverse agricultural and socio-economic settings. Scholars have long agreed that one of the distinguishing features of Lev 17–26 when compared to Lev 1–16 is the prominence which H gives to activities which transpire outside the sanctuary, especially in pastoral contexts. Leviticus 17–26 include many more laws than are found in Lev 1–16 pertaining to agricultural practices such as harvesting, animal husbandry, the planting of fruit trees and the reaping of produce (see Lev 19:9–10, 19; 23–25; 23:10–11, 22, 39; 25; 26:4–6). Furthermore, as mentioned above (§ 1.1.1), Lev 17–26 devote considerable legislative attention to the sanctification of the Israelites through keeping the law in all manner of everyday settings—an idea which has no counterpart in the P ritual materials and represents a major innovation on H's part.

Thus far these issues have generally remained marginal in the scholarship on H and centralization. A few important studies, however, have begun to explore whether H's interest in the land and everyday holiness might reveal its particular concern to articulate the relationship between the sanctuary center and everyday life: what we might call center-periphery relations. Yet, so far there has been little agreement among these studies as to precisely what conclusions we might reach on this subject. Joosten has argued (1996b, 154) that the interest in Lev 17–26 in the common people and their life on the land reveals H's "provincial outlook": in that it shows the primary context of the H scribes as being the rural margins as opposed to the cultic center of Jerusalem. He has even gone so far as to insist that H "could not have arisen in the capital" (1996b, 164) because its interest in agriculture and land holdings cannot reflect the preoccupations of "the central authority" (1996b, 203) of Jerusalem. Further, Joosten has argued that the H authors were themselves spatially located in the Judean countryside; they might have been priestly scribes who, while connected to the Jerusalem temple, did not live in the capital permanently but rather traveled to serve in Jerusalem only a few times per year. Thus, while P would reflect the interests of priests located at the heart of the central authority at Jerusalem, Joosten has imagined H as mediating between central and peripheral perspectives, with a final emphasis on those issues that pertain to a provincial populace "far removed from the realities of the capital and its preoccupations" (1996b, 164).

Knohl, by contrast, has argued (1995, 204–24) that H reveals the attempts of the central authorities at Jerusalem to adopt a provincial outlook in order to sustain or strengthen their claims to

centrality. While H's interest in the land might reflect its concern to integrate everyday matters affecting provincial Judeans into the Priestly Torah, it does not follow that H was written by priests living in the countryside. To the contrary, Knohl has argued the adoption of what he calls a "priestly-popular orientation" (1995, 44) served as the key mechanism by which the priests working in Jerusalem, during the reign of Hezekiah, were able to facilitate the centralization of the cult. H reforms the image of the Jerusalem priesthood from the cloistered institution that is depicted by P to one which "combines the many streams of faith and cult present in the Israelite nation" (1995, 198), and thereby demonstrates the priesthood's relevance for all aspects of life and not just ritual contexts. Once "the bond between the people and the Temple" (1995, 195) had been suitably strengthened, Knohl argued, H ensured that the provincial population would agree to slaughter their animals only at the central altar of Jerusalem. Hence the call to "be holy" in all aspects of life, whether when working in the fields or making a temple sacrifice, effectively funneled attention *towards* the cultic center of Jerusalem by broadening the application of priestly law.

The fact that Knohl and Joosten could reach such opposing conclusions on the question of center-periphery relations in H—even as they agree on traditionally divisive issues such as the dating of the materials—highlights the problems that arise when there is a lack of clarity and theoretical discussion about the core concepts of "center" and "periphery." This affirms the importance of the theoretical analysis of center, periphery and centralization provided in the Introduction to this study. If we wish to fully appreciate how the diverse legislative themes of Lev 17–26 related to issues of centralization, we need a form of interpretive control; one which allows us to move beyond assumptions about terminology that remain largely unexpressed. As will be explored in detail in Chapter Five, social theories have the capacity to reframe our analysis of the texts of Lev 17–26 that concern "extra-sanctuary" spaces and activities; and thereby illuminate the ways in which the regulation of everyday life by H served as a device for producing the necessary conditions for the centralized cult to be sustained. These theories, as we shall see, affirm Knohl's insight that the regulation of everyday life forms an integral part of H's discourse of centralization: namely, that it provides a rationale, beyond the fear of sanctions, for the collective conformity that is key to sustaining the centralized cult, and for positioning the central sanctuary as the social, cultic and economic center of the entire community. However, this study contends that such discursive interests in Lev 17–26 should not be related to Hezekiah's alleged reforms, as per Knohl's reading, but rather to the particular challenges that faced the Jerusalem temple as it sought to establish its authority and centrality in the Persian period.

1.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the foundations for the analysis of H which is to follow. It has established the justification for considering Lev 17–26 as a post-Priestly composition that combines and

coordinates a variety of traditions in offering new legislative rulings on cultic and non-cultic matters. It has further explained why this thesis will take a guarded approach to the passages outside Lev 17–26 that evince H-like terminology, style or themes, such that it will not embrace a theory of a Holiness School. This chapter has also explored the thorny issue of the probable state of the P traditions at the time of H's composition. Acknowledging the diversity of opinions which have surrounded the scope of the P narrative, especially concerning its endpoint, this chapter has concluded that it is difficult to reconstruct a pre-H form of P which extends into the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy or Joshua. While not ruling out the possibility that a limited number of Priestly materials in those books could have been known to H, the present thesis will restrict its focus to select texts of Exodus and Leviticus which can be said with greater confidence to pre-date the composition of Lev 17–26. This includes a fairly advanced version of the ritual legislation of Lev 1–16, and also of the sanctuary construction account of Exod 25–31, 35–40, which we can tentatively assume on the basis of H's knowledge of Lev 4–5 had already begun to be updated to make reference to the incense altar.

Furthermore, this chapter has adopted the majority view in contemporary scholarship that Lev 17–26 should be dated to the Persian period. While the dating of pentateuchal traditions always runs the risk of circularity, the reference to the exile and return in Lev 26 adds significant weight to the arguments for a post-exilic date based on relative chronology. As a Persian period composition, H has the potential to shed valuable light on the process by which cult centralization was negotiated in early Second Temple times. The classical view of the Persian period as a “centralized epoch” can no longer be supported uncritically. Rather, the processes of centralization were ongoing, at multiple levels, and may have varied according to geographical location.

While the history of scholarship has largely overlooked the place of the Priestly traditions in the study of cult centralization, it is the contention of this study that these traditions provide some of the most valuable data for reconstructing the processes of negotiating cult centralization in the Persian period. They offer the most detailed description of the ritual practices that were considered important to priestly elites writing at that time. Furthermore, the laws of Lev 17–26 are particularly well positioned for an analysis of the centralizing tendencies of the Priestly materials. H's particular interest in coordinating D and P allows a reassessment of the degree to which D directs H's interest in centralization, or whether H might have looked to earlier Priestly materials when conceptualizing the centralized cult. In addition, H's dual interest in regulating ritual practices at the sanctuary and everyday customs in extra-sanctuary spaces shines valuable light on the negotiation of center-periphery relations and the creative processes whereby centralization was affirmed. H therefore has the potential to open up the study of centralization to new issues that move beyond the singular concern with where the Israelites sacrificed.

The chapters that follow engage with and extend the history of scholarship just outlined by offering a reassessment of how H, and the Priestly traditions which it supplements, promote centralization. The place to start is with an analysis of the scholarly arguments about P and

centralization; and in particular, the problems with the view that P assumes and confirms D's centralization command rather than developing a distinctive approach to centralization via its detailed ritual legislation. This analysis, provided in the next chapter, sets the context for a later reading of H's approach to centralization, which explores the influences on its discourse as well as the innovations which it contains with regard to this legislative theme.

Chapter Two

Centralizing Discourse in P: Sanctuary, Ritual and Priesthood

As the preceding chapter established, scholarly discussions of P and centralization have often been narrow in their scope and the assumptions which inform them. Most scholars have restricted their focus to establishing whether, or not, P presumes the model of centralization found in D (see esp. Deut 12:13–19). The present chapter takes issue with this, arguing (§ 2.1) that there is insufficient evidence to substantiate the claim that P borrows from D when conceptualizing the centralized cult.¹ While not ruling out the possibility that P may have known D, and been inspired by its law of centralization, this chapter suggests that it is more productive to explore how P's history of the foundation of the cult and community makes a distinctive contribution to an emerging discourse of centralization.

This centralizing impulse in P, the chapter proceeds to demonstrate, consists of three main discursive elements: the call to Israel to unite in constructing a shared sanctuary (§ 2.2.1); the standardization of ritual practice (§ 2.3.1); and the centralization of priestly competence (§ 2.3.2). Each of the three aspects of P's discourse, I argue, might be understood in the light of the challenges facing the Jerusalem temple in the early Persian period. Admittedly, the highly imaginative nature of P's history of origins necessitates that we exercise caution about mapping directly onto the history of ancient Israel P's discourse about the wilderness sanctuary, the ritual cult at Sinai, and the roles assigned to Aaron and his sons. Nonetheless, I argue that some features of this discourse might reflect historical negotiations in the legitimation of the centralized cult at the time of P's writing. In particular, this chapter demonstrates that they can each be read as discursive mechanisms whereby the Jerusalem temple sought to establish its centrality in the post-monarchic period, in the wake of the loss of a royal patron and guardian.

Each of the discourses of sanctuary, standardization and priesthood contribute to our understanding of P's historical framing in distinctive ways. The chapter therefore opts not to consider the light each may throw on the history of cult centralization in one consolidated analysis at the conclusion of the chapter. Rather it considers the historical positioning of each of these elements discretely at the conclusion of the associated section (§§ 2.2.2, 2.3.2 and 2.4.2). The intersections between the three elements of P's centralizing discourse will be then be profiled in the conclusion (§ 2.5), which summarizes the main findings of the chapter and identifies how these will shape the study of H in the three chapters that follow.

¹ This chapter focuses on the “pre-H form of P” described above (§ 1.1.2), which, for simplicity's sake, will be referred to as “P.”

2.1 Does P “Presuppose” Centralization in D?

As already mentioned, the classical argument which has long shaped understandings of P’s concept of centralization is that it is essentially borrowed from the book of Deuteronomy. Rather than articulating a distinctive argument for a centralized cult, P simply “assume[s]” and “confirm[s]” (Kuenen 1886, 27 n. 14; cf. Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 27–28) the mandate of centralization advanced by D. In support of this position, we have seen above that essentially three closely related arguments have been made (§ 1.2.2).

The first is that P’s narrative of the foundation of Israel’s cult speaks of only one sanctuary—the אהל מועד “tent of meeting”—because it was influenced by D’s command that there be only one מקום “place” of worship in the land. Though the location of the אהל מועד in the land is never specified by P,² this shrine is taken to have a kind of conceptual equivalence with D’s chosen place, in that both spaces comprise an exclusive site of deference and attention of the entire community in their worship of Yhwh. Second, scholars have observed that P differs from the other legislative codes of the Pentateuch, specifically CC and D, in its absence of an “altar law” mandating where the Israelites should sacrifice (cf. Exod 20:24–26; Deut 12). This absence, it has been frequently argued, can be explained only if the law pertaining to this issue is to be found elsewhere: that is, if P assumes the law of Deut 12 prevails and it is unnecessary to repeat its prescriptions. Third, in support of the argument that P knows D’s mandate of centralization, scholars have often noted that P appears to operate according to the double innovation of Deut 12: that is, it limits sacrifices to a central shrine but permits slaughter at home. Evidence of this is the Passover story of Exod 12:1–13, where the Israelites slaughter the Passover lamb outside sanctuary space, as well as the laws of Lev 3 and 7:11–36, where P regulates the זבח שלמים “well-being sacrifice” but with no command that the Israelites bring their animals to the sanctuary every time they wish to eat meat.³

The nature of these arguments, relying as they do on legislative lacunae or thematic overlaps, makes them difficult to disprove. However, it must be questioned as to whether, individually or in sum, they constitute evidence that P’s logic of centralization was borrowed from D. First, while it cannot be denied that both P and D imagine single sites of worship, there are few indicators to suggest that the אהל מועד was modeled on D’s chosen מקום. As pointed out by Kaufmann (1960 [1937–1956], 180–84) and others, there are important differences between these two spaces which militate against the idea that the wilderness sanctuary is a proxy for D’s central place (see further § 1.2.2 above). P shows no concern to align the אהל מועד with a specific place in the land, but rather leaves this shrine

² Note, however, that certain late HB texts report how the אהל מועד came to rest in Gibeon (e.g., 2 Chr 1:3, 13), and/or the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:4; 2 Chr 5:5). On the link between the wilderness sanctuary and the First Temple, see §§ 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 below.

³ For the classical foundation of this approach, see e.g., Wellhausen, 1957 [1878], 52; 1963 [1899], 151; Kuenen 1886, 90 n. 28.

firmly in the imaginary past of the sojourn at Sinai. In addition, P never employs D's key term *מִקְדָּשׁ* when referring to the wilderness sanctuary; nor does it use it to describe the Israelite cult in the post-wilderness future.

The absence of this lexeme in P's description of the cult is almost never addressed by scholars. The assumption seems to be that D's expectation that the Israelites would worship at one central site was so ubiquitous by the time P was written that the actual texts in D that contain this command or employ the lexeme *מִקְדָּשׁ* needed no explicit referencing by P. But this reasoning simply does not follow. As was discussed above (§ 1.2.1) a linear conceptualization of the development of centralization is unfounded, such that the mere fact that P was written after D does not in itself prove the influence of the earlier source over the later. As a result, it is necessary to apply the standard means of identifying literary influence—namely, establishing lexical, syntactic and sequential correspondences between P texts that describe the sanctuary cult and D passages which are related to the chosen *מִקְדָּשׁ*—if we are to prove that D shaped P's conception of the sanctuary. But with little evidence of such correspondences between P and D (at least in the P materials which describe the cult in Exod 25–Lev 16) the idea that P describes the foundation of the Israelite cult at a single sanctuary under the influence of D should not be accepted by scholars uncritically.

The same holds true for the argument regarding the absence of an altar law in P. Again a lacuna in itself is evidentially weak. We cannot simply assume that P's perceived indifference to explicitly referencing Deut 12 is evidence that P was written in a milieu in which D's prescriptions were so extensive in influence that they could simply be taken for granted. To actively prove that the absence of a P altar law is attributable to the presence of the centralization command in Deut 12, we would need at the very least for that text to be referenced at some point in the P ritual prescriptions, or for P to show generalized dependence on D in its description of the cult. But given the dearth of such indications in P (see § 1.1.1 above), there is little compelling evidence that P's acceptance of the centralization mandate of D can be justifiably assumed.

The issue concerning local butchery is somewhat more complicated, given that there are some positive indications that P might have permitted local butchery in specific circumstances. The strongest evidence in favor of this view is P's account of the first Passover in Egypt in Exod 12:1–13.⁴

⁴ The ascription of these verses to the P *Grundschrift* is generally accepted by scholars (see, however, Eerdmans 1910, 34–38; Lohfink 1994 [1977], 140 n. 16; tentatively Ska 1979, 30–34; Knohl 1995, 52–53). However, there is also widespread agreement that these verses underwent a process of editorial expansion, which might be signaled by the alternation between second and third person forms of address (see further, e.g., Rendtorff 1954, 57–59; Laaf 1970, 10–12; Otto 2003 [1988–1989], 17–18; Köckert 1989, 46–50; Grünwaldt 1992, 72–75; Bar-On [Gesundheit] 1995, 19–22; Gesundheit 2012, 46–58; Gertz 2000, 31–37; for a dissenting view, see Wagenaar 2005, 91–93). There remains, however, a core of the account (at the very least, vv. 1, 3, 6b–8) which is very widely recognized as belonging to the original P account, and which contains the main commands to the Israelites to slaughter the Passover in individual homes. On Exod 12:14–20, which are generally acknowledged

When instructing the Israelites as to how their firstborn sons might survive the Passover, Yhwh commands them to take *שֶׁה לְבַיִת* “one lamb per house” on the tenth of the month, to guard the lamb for four days and then slaughter (*שָׁחַט*) it on the fourteenth day of the month. According to v. 7, the Passover is to be eaten as part of a broader apotropaic ritual in which the Israelites must take the blood of the lamb and smear it “on the two doorposts and on the lintel, on the houses in which they shall eat it.” This action ensures that Yhwh will pass over (*עָבַר*) the houses of the Israelites, and that he will not strike down their firstborn when exacting his punishment against the Egyptians (vv. 12–13).

Yet while Exod 12:1–13* seem to permit a localized act of slaughter, there is no positive evidence in the wording of this text to suggest that P’s conception of the Passover was influenced by D’s permission of local butchery. In fact, P’s description of this feast radically departs from D’s Passover regulations, found in Deut 16:1–2, which command the Israelites to slaughter the Passover lamb not at home but rather at Yhwh’s chosen *מִקְוֶה*. Hence it is difficult to use P’s description of the Passover in Exod 12:1–13 as proof of the influence of D and its mandate of centralization at the time P was written.

Furthermore, the value of Exod 12:1–13 for determining P’s wider approach to extra-sanctuary slaughter remains ambiguous. First, Exod 12:1–13 does not constitute clear proof that P legitimated the butchery of animals away from the sanctuary on occasions during the year other than the Passover. This passage offers no comment on the matter of where the Israelites should slaughter their animals for food in an everyday setting. Hence it is difficult to know whether P considered the domestic slaughter of Passover to be a feature unique to this festival, or whether it condoned a

as a post-Priestly addition to the earlier materials in 12:1–13, see § 4.2.4 below. Shimon Gesundheit has suggested (Bar-On [Gesundheit] 1995; 2012, 58–73) that 12:21–27 should be regarded as the original continuation of the P materials in Exod 12:1–11 (he regards vv. 12–13 as later additions), and thus also included in P. However, this theory raises a number of interpretive difficulties. While 12:1–13 presuppose that Yhwh spoke to Moses and Aaron and commanded them to report the instructions for the Passover to the community, 12:21–27 presuppose a different speech context, with Moses alone instructing the elders of Israel in how to undertake the required rites (Gertz 2000, 31). In addition, vv. 21–27 also present certain ideas about Passover which conflict with the P materials in Exod 12:1–13. For example, while v. 12 states that Yhwh will pass over the Israelite homes with no reference to the *מִשְׁחֵית* “Destroyer,” the *מִשְׁחֵית* plays an integral role in vv. 21–27. In addition, the reference to the Passover lamb in v. 27a as a sacrifice (*זֶבֶח*) has no precedent in the P account, which instead refers to the Passover as an act of slaughter (*שָׁחַט*; on the distinction between *זֶבֶח* and *שָׁחַט*, see further § 3.3.1 below). As neatly summarized by Jaeyoung Jeon (2013, 163), “P’s intention here is obvious: the Passover rite was assigned to each household—probably because there was no sanctuary at the time; but as lay people may not perform a sacrifice proper, the rite must therefore differ from a temple sacrifice. The redactor of the present passage (vv. 24–27a) clearly goes against this priestly tendency.” As a result, it seems justified to limit the P account to Exod 12:1–13*.

localized approach to slaughter more generally. Exodus 12:1–13 therefore cannot be heralded as conclusive proof that P permitted local slaughter, and thus adds little to the case that P presupposes centralization in D.

Second, it is even unclear whether, or not, the domestic location of the first Passover slaughter was intended to set a precedent for celebrations of the Passover at a future time. Since the Israelites are located in Egypt in Exod 12:1–13, without a functioning Yahwistic sanctuary, where else, other than their individual homes, could they have conducted this slaughter? Furthermore, although Exod 12:1–13 hint that P intended that the instructions provided here might provide some guidelines for future celebrations of the Passover—for example, the provision of the date of the Passover in vv. 3 and 6, as well as the detailed instructions for the manner in which the lamb is to be prepared (vv. 8–9) and eaten on the same night as it is slaughtered (vv. 10–11)—it is noteworthy that the text is silent on whether the *location* of the slaughter must remain that of individual houses in all future scenarios. It therefore remains unclear whether the domestic nature of the first Passover is simply a by-product of the narrative context of Exod 12, or is a programmatic statement on the domestic nature of the Passover for subsequent generations; let alone that, if it did view it as programmatic, that this view was derived from D.⁵

Beyond the text of Exod 12:1–13, there is also insufficient evidence in the laws of Lev 3 and 7:11–36 to prove that P took a permissive approach to slaughter, inspired by D. The classical theory concerning these texts again was based on the absence of a law, in this case one that would require the Israelites to offer a זבה שלמים every time they wished to slaughter their animals.⁶ However, we should

⁵ One possibility worth considering is that Exod 12:1–13 offer guidance as to what the Israelites might do when they need to slaughter the Passover outside the land and do not have a Yahwistic sanctuary close by: in effect, it might enshrine a diasporic outlook by P, insofar as it provides a solution for Israelites in geographically dispersed locales. Such a solution, however, would not necessarily preclude the possibility of more centralized Passover celebrations in contexts where Yhwh's central shrine was accessible. Those Israelites who lived in proximity to the central sanctuary could effectively celebrate the Passover according to the regulations laid out by D: that is, as part of a הג "pilgrimage festival." However, given the absence of evidence in Exod 12:1–13 that might reveal P's expectations for future Passover celebrations, such an interpretation remains speculative.

⁶ Traditionally, scholars also focused on two sets of verses found in each of these chapters—namely, Lev 3:17 and 7:22–27—which prohibit the consumption of the blood and fat of the well-being offering. Since these texts prohibit the eating of blood and fat מושבתכם "in all your settlements" (3:17b; 7:26b), they were long considered evidence that P took a localized approach to the consumption of meat (see already Kuenen 1886, 90 n. 28; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 151). However, this argument has always been complicated by the widespread recognition that these verses are secondary additions to their respective contexts (on Lev 3:17, see e.g., Bertholet 1896, 7; Baentsch 1903, 308, 320; Noth 1977 [1965], 26; Elliger 1966, 51; Hartley 1992, 4; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 48–49; on Lev 7:22–27, see e.g., Driver 1956 [1897], 44; Bertholet 1901, 18–19; Nihan 2007a, 261). In the case of Lev 3:17, its secondary nature is suggested by its location after the concluding formula in v. 16a and its wording in direct second person plural address, in contrast to the third person singular

be careful not to over-interpret P's silence on whether, or not, all livestock were to be slaughtered as זבח שלמים (B. J. Schwartz 1996c). While it is somewhat curious that P apparently saw no need to present general legislation on the location of slaughter—and, as we shall see in the next chapter, Lev 17:3–7 provides clear evidence that the H scribes sought to update the P materials with an explicit ruling forbidding the practice—neither Lev 3 nor 7:11–36 explicitly condone local butchery. This makes it difficult to conclude on the basis of these texts whether, or not, P considered extra-sanctuary slaughter to be permissible. Meanwhile, the absence of clear verbal parallels in either Lev 3 or 7 with Deut 12 means that there is little evidence to suggest that P's failure to condemn local butchery was influenced by D's allowance of the practice. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that, in much the same way that the absence of a law centralizing sacrifice cannot be taken as positive evidence of P's acceptance of D, the P instructions for the זבח שלמים also present insufficient evidence for reconstructing the hypothetical influence of D on P's concept of centralization.

In summary, the value of viewing P's centralizing logic through the lens of D is inherently limiting. Despite the influence of this approach in pentateuchal research and its continuing dominance in the field, it cannot provide an appropriately rigorous frame for analyzing centralization in P. This is not to say, however, that P was necessarily unaware of D's command, or pre-dated it. We should remain open to the possibility that the priestly scribes were familiar with this tradition, which in turn may have informed their own thinking. But in the absence of evidence of *how* this influence might be reflected in the actual text of P, we need to consider alternative pathways for exploring P's approach

address used throughout the rest of the chapter. In the case of Lev 7:22–27, this section is headed by a new introductory address in vv. 22–23a (“And Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows, ‘Speak to the sons of Israel as follows:’”) and likewise exhibits a change from third person singular to second person plural address. In addition, both texts show clear dependence on the H materials: see, for instance, the presence of H-like formulae, such as *חַקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם* “an eternal statute throughout your generations” (3:17a), *בְּכָל מוֹשְׁבֵיכֶם* “in all your settlements” (3:17b; 7:26b), and the *כִּרְתָּ*-formula (17:4, 9, 10, 14; 18:29; 19:8; 20:3, 5, 6, 17, 18; 23:39, 30). Both texts also share parallels with the blood prohibition of Lev 17:10–14 (although note that the prohibition of the consumption of fat is not found in Lev 17); and Lev 7:23–24 also show similarities to Lev 17 in the manner in which they stipulate separate provisions for the treatment of sacrificial animals (*שׂוֹר אֵי-כֶשֶׁב אֵוִי*) on the one hand, and for an animal carcasses (*בְּבָלָה*) and animals torn by beasts (*טֶרֶפָה*) on the other (Nihan 2007a, 261). The fact that these texts post-date both P and H suggests that their relevance to the debate concerning P and local butchery is limited. But more fundamentally, there is little evidence that either Lev 3:17 or 7:22–27 was intended to permit local butchery (B. J. Schwartz 1996c, 26–32). These verses do not address the location of slaughter but rather focus on the prohibition on consuming blood (and also fat in the case of Lev 7) and on asserting the normativity of that prohibition “in all your settlements.” Since both texts draw on and affirm the law of Lev 17, it seems highly unlikely that they are intended to legitimate local butchery—the very practice which Lev 17 outlaws in vv. 3–7. Rather, these texts are best understood as post-H additions that sought to align more directly the earlier P laws that deal with the eating of meat with the H prohibition on the consumption of blood.

to centralization. That is to say, we need to shift the focus away from the alleged significance of *absences* in P (its missing altar law, or lack of prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter) to exploring the substantive *detail* of P's depiction of the cult, and how this might enshrine a centralizing logic.

To question the classical view that P presupposes centralization in D is also not to imply that the P scribes *rejected* centralization in favor of a de-centralized cult. As we shall see below, there are good reasons to believe that P's description of the cult is informed by a centralizing impulse, in that it continually directs the Israelites towards central spaces, processes and authorities. However, in order to understand centralization in P, we need to take that source on its own terms, rather than looking to the claims made in another tradition (D): namely, as mentioned above, we need to ask how P's distinctive description of the ideal sanctuary of the wilderness period; the ritual processes performed in this space; and the priestly personnel to whom the Israelites must defer, might together present a Priestly logic of centralization.

2.2 The Centralized Wilderness Sanctuary

An appropriate place for this exploration to begin is with a consideration as to P's conceptualization of the wilderness sanctuary as a central space. In this respect, a key set of texts is Exod 25–31, 35–40, which provide a detailed description of the spatial properties of the shrine, its nature as an exclusive sanctuary and its role as the central point of focus in the Israelites' patron-client relationship with Yhwh. In this we see how, in a manner that is inherently centralizing, P imagines the creation of a single sanctuary, serviced by the *entire* Israelite community, as the climax of its distinctive history of origins. For P, the deity is unequivocal in commanding the construction of a single sanctuary which, in turn, will provide the meeting place between the unified community of Israel and their national god. In turn, the special role of Judean leaders in the construction project, combined with the reinterpretation of traditional roles played by a king in the building of a central shrine, attest to P's creativity in negotiating the complexities of the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem in post-monarchic times.

2.2.1 Centralization and the P Construction Account

P's account of the construction of the wilderness sanctuary (Exod 25–31, 35–40) provides an idealized depiction of the habitation that the deity requires: including the raw materials to be used; the items of furniture to be installed within it; and the members of the community who should play a particular role in overseeing its construction. From these details emerge two key points that position the sanctuary as an ideal central shrine. The first is that the shrine has a cultic monopoly: it is the only sanctuary that the Israelites are permitted to build for the god. The second is that the shrine provides

the point at which a united community converges, both for the purposes of its construction and its use as a meeting place.

P consistently presents the construction of the wilderness sanctuary as a divine initiative. It is Yhwh who instigates the process and reveals the sanctuary's תבנית "pattern"⁷ (Exod 25:9, 40) to Moses. All of the instructions found in Exod 25–31 are voiced by P as the direct speech of Yhwh to Moses, thereby investing them with the highest possible degree of authority. Many of these details are then repeated in Exod 35–40, which recount how Moses, the community and their representatives undertook the various works for constructing the sanctuary and its associated objects. The repetitive nature of Exod 35–40 is sometimes dismissed as the work of later Priestly tradents, and as generally lacking in literary artistry (see, e.g., Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 142). But the very detail of the construction report of Exod 35–40 ensures that the wilderness sanctuary is remembered as having been constructed in exactly the manner which Yhwh intended: it constitutes sanctuary space as ideally conceived (Houtman 2000, 321; Propp 2006, 367–68; cf. M. George 2009, 8).

There is never any doubt in P's sanctuary account that Yhwh desires that the Israelites construct only *one shrine* for him. The purpose of this shrine is explained to Moses in Exod 25:8b: "they [the Israelites] shall make a sanctuary for me so I might dwell among them (ושכנתי בתוכם)." This desire to use the sanctuary as a dwelling place is affirmed throughout Exod 25–31 via Yhwh's use of the descriptor משכן "habitation" when referring to the shrine. In addition, Yhwh's desire to dwell in the sanctuary is repeated later in the sanctuary account, in Exod 29:43–46, with a series of statements which expand on Yhwh's intentions for how he will use his sanctuary.

Exod 29:43–46

43 ונעדתי שמה לבני ישראל ונקדש בכבדי 44 וקדשתי את־אהל מועד ואת־המזבח ואת־אהרן ואת־בניו אקדש לכהן
לי 45 ושכנתי בתוך בני ישראל והייתי להם לאלהים 46 וידעו כי אני יהוה אלהיהם אשר הוצאתי אתם מארץ
מצרים לשכני בתוכם אני יהוה אלהיהם

43 I will meet with the Israelites there, and I will consecrate it by my glory. 44 I will consecrate the tent of meeting and the altar; and I will also consecrate Aaron and his sons to serve me as priests. 45 I will dwell among the Israelites and be their god. 46 And they shall know that I am Yhwh their god who brought them from the land of Egypt to dwell among them: I am Yhwh their god!

The wording of Exod 29:45–46 is of profound significance. It not only echoes the stated purpose with which the account of the construction of the shrine began in Exod 25:8b; it resumes another divine promise found at two points of critical importance in the earlier P account (see Table 2.1). The first occurrence is in Gen 17:7, where the god appears to Abraham and promises to establish a ברית עולם

⁷ The precise meaning of the term תבנית is "difficult to ascertain" (S. Wagner 1990 [1972], 179). It is a derivative of the verb בנה "to build," and seems to refer to a model or replica (see, e.g., Deut 4:16–18; Josh 22:28; Isa 44:13; Ezek 8:10). In the case of texts like Exod 25:9, 40 or 2 Kgs 16:10; 1 Chr 28:11, 12, 18, 19, the term seems to refer to the plan for how sanctuary space was to be designed and constructed.

“everlasting covenant” with him and his descendants; he will commit אהריך לך לאלהים ולזרעך אהריך “to be god to you and to your seed after you” and to give them the land on which Abraham is residing as an immigrant (גר). The second occurrence is in Exod 6:6–8, where Yhwh first reveals himself to Moses. Recalling his covenant with Abraham and his descendants, Yhwh declares his commitment to being the patron god of the Israelites (והייתי לכם לאלהים), and thus to bring them out of bondage in Egypt and establish them on the promised land. Now, at Exod 29:43–46, this same promise is repeated, but with the added detail that Yhwh will manifest his patronage of Israel by dwelling among them in the משכן they are to construct for him (Nihan 2007a, 64).

Table 2.1 Divine Promises in Gen 17:7, Exod 6:7 and Exod 29:45–46

<i>Gen 17:7</i>	<i>Exod 6:7</i>	<i>Exod 29:45–46</i>
והקמתי את־בריתי ביני ובינך ובין זרעך אהריך לדרתם לברית עולם להיות לך לאלהים ולזרעך אהריך	ולקחתי אתכם לי לעם והייתי לכם לאלהים וידעתם כי אני יהוה אלהיכם המוציא אתכם מתחת סבלות מצרים	45 ושכנתי בתוך בני ישראל והייתי להם לאלהים 46 וידעו כי אני יהוה אלהיהם אשר הוצאתי אתם מארץ מצרים לשכני בתוכם אני יהוה אלהיהם
I will establish my covenant between you and me, and your seed after you, throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be god to you and to your seed after you.	I will take you as my people and I will be your god. And you shall know that I am Yhwh your god who freed you from the burdens of the Egyptians.	45 I will dwell among the Israelites and be their god. 46 And they shall know that I am Yhwh their god who brought them from the land of Egypt so I might dwell among them: I am Yhwh their god!

It is highly significant that Exod 29:45–46 is the final iteration of this divine promise in the P history of origins. It effectively positions the creation of the משכן as the ultimate fulfillment of Yhwh’s commitment to take the Israelites as his client. The narrative by which Israel is formed as a community, descended from Abraham, led out of Egypt by Moses, and chosen by a single god (Yhwh) to be his people, with whom he has a ברית עולם—all of this now culminates in the construction of a single sanctuary in which the deity is to dwell.

Furthermore, in a detail which is of crucial importance, Yhwh commits in Exod 29:43 to meeting (יריה *Niphal*) the Israelites in this sanctuary space. The use of the verb יריה *Niphal* here creates an unmistakable echo of Exod 25:22, where the same term is used to describe Yhwh’s appearance to Moses from above the *kāpporēt*—a mysterious item made of pure gold (25:17), set in the inner sanctum and flanked by two cherubim (25:18–20).⁸ But whereas this earlier verse focuses on Yhwh’s

⁸ The nature of the *kāpporēt* is a matter of ongoing dispute (cf., e.g., de Tarragon 1981; Janowski 1982, 271–79; Koch 1995); it has no equivalent in other Semitic languages and occurs in the HB only in the Priestly traditions (Exod 25:17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; 26:34; 30:6; 31:7; 35:12; 37:6, 7, 8, 9; 39:35; 40:20; Lev 16:2, 13, 14, 15; Num 7:89; see, however, the one exception of 1 Chr 28:11). Since the Priestly materials provide only scant details of what the *kāpporēt* is to comprise—it is to be made of pure gold, to measure 2.5 cubits long x 1.5 cubits wide

manifestation to Moses alone, and his duty of reporting Yhwh's commandments to the community, Exod 29:43a declares that Yhwh will be received by the Israelites *as a whole* at his sanctuary. Reflecting this, the space is termed אהל מועד “the tent of meeting.”⁹ This descriptor is used elsewhere in Exod 25–31, but notably it is employed only when P refers to the sanctuary in the context of *ritual practice*: for example, in Exod 27:21 with reference to the lighting of the sanctuary candelabra; in 28:43 with reference to the priests' role in officiating within the sanctuary; and throughout ch. 29 with reference to the rite of ordination of Aaron and his sons (29:4, 10, 11, 30, 32, 42). This selective usage highlights the importance that P attaches to ritual practice in facilitating the “meeting” between Yhwh and his chosen client, Israel: that is, ritual practice is the means by which this community can interact with the deity as it dwells in its single sanctuary.

It is manifest, therefore, that in the creation of a single sanctuary dwelling, and the positioning of this as the meeting place between Yhwh and Israel, P's history of origins makes an assertion about the value and merit of having only one shrine. P unambiguously gives voice to Yhwh's will and desire

and be placed above the ark, between the two cherubim—it is difficult to know precisely what the term *kāpporēt* designated. Nevertheless, the *kāpporēt* is clearly intended by P to occupy the place which would have traditionally been occupied by Yhwh's throne: namely, the space between the wings of the two cherubim (on this see further § 2.2.2 below). As such, it represents the space where Yhwh's presence is manifested within his sanctuary.

⁹ Scholars debate whether the אהל מועד is original to Pg or if it might have been added in a secondary stage. In particular, Thomas Pola has argued (1995, 224–98) that in the original Pg layer of Exod 25–29, which he restricts to only a handful of verses (Exod 25:1a, 8a, 9; 29:45–46 [+ 40:16, 17a, 33b]), only the descriptor משכן was employed for the sanctuary. However, since it is clear that by the time of Lev 17–26 both terms (אהל מועד and משכן) were used as referents to the sanctuary (see § 1.1.1 above), this issue arguably has little impact on the present study of the pre-H form of P. The Priestly traditions are not alone in mentioning a “tent of meeting.” The term אהל מועד is occasionally found in non-Priestly texts in the Pentateuch (see Exod 33:7–11; Num 11:16–17, 24–29; 12:4–10). In these it also designates a sanctuary pitched by Moses at Mount Sinai (although note that they provide no instructions for how it is to be made by the community). However, this non-Priestly tent of meeting differs from the wilderness sanctuary in P, since it is to be located outside the Israelite camp (Exod 33:7a; Num 12:4), and has a more dominant oracular function: Yhwh is said to appear there in a pillar of cloud (Exod 33:9a; Num 11:25a; 12:5a; Deut 31:14–15) and to speak with Moses פנים אל-פנים “face to face” (Exod 33:11a) without the mediation of cultic officials. The history of this non-Priestly tent of meeting tradition is a matter of ongoing scholarly dispute. While scholars classically considered it to preserve a pre-Priestly tradition (see, e.g., Görg 1967, 138–70; Cross 1973, 185–86; Fritz 1977, 100–9; Haran 1978, 262–69; Mettinger 1982, 81–82; Koch 1997 [1983–1984], 124), many scholars now read these materials as stemming from a much later, post-Priestly stage in the redaction of the Torah (see, among others, Gunneweg 1990; Römer 1997; Frevel 2000, 287–88; Achenbach 2003, 178–80; Dohmen 2003). In this case, the emphasis in these texts on the oracular aspect of the אהל מועד could constitute a counter-image or critique of the sanctuary cult in P. Since this issue does not impact on the main focus of the present study, it can be left open here.

in mandating this. Its foundational narrative therefore sets the ideal cultic template as that of Israel building a central sanctuary: that is, a shrine which is to provide a single point of intersection between Yhwh and his community, on which their relationship is to depend. In turn, it is to be the focal point around which the community is organized and towards which its attention is directed through their ongoing ritual service.

The character of the sanctuary as a central point of communal orientation is further enhanced by P's insistence that this space is the shared responsibility of *all* Israel. First, P commands that the entire community contributes to the sanctuary's construction. Yhwh's instructions begin in Exod 25:2–8 with the command to Moses that the בני ישראל "Israelites" must provide the תרומה "contribution" of raw materials needed to undertake the works. The term בני ישראל is a general ethnographic designation, in which the בן serves "to express group affiliation" (Levine 1993, 130). The sons of Israel are first identified in Exod 1:1–6 as the descendants of the sons of Jacob ("Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin, Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher... and Joseph" [Exod 1:2–5]) who settled in Egypt with their respective households. Its usage here by P underscores the obligation for the entire community of the twelve tribes of Israel to contribute to the sanctuary construction project. The תרומה must be offered up by the Israelites willingly: it is to be brought by the Israelite who feels "impelled in his heart" (25:2ba) to contribute to the sanctuary building works. In addition to providing raw materials, the community is commanded (Exod 25:8a MT and SP) to undertake the work involved in making (עשה) the shrine; although the Israelites are not directly mentioned in this verse, the use of the third person plural verbal form עשו necessitates that the subject be the בני ישראל mentioned in v. 2.¹⁰

Crucially the detailed report in Exod 35–40 of how the Israelites fulfill these requirements consistently stresses the *communal* nature of the task of constructing the shrine. Exodus 35:4 begins by stating that Moses spoke to בני ישראל "all the congregation of the Israelites" and charged them with the task of donating to the construction project. The term עדה is a favorite descriptor of P's for the Israelites which, as a derivative of the root יעד "to arrive, meet," emphasizes their coming together to form a unified congregation (Milgrom 1990, 4; Watts 2013, 340). On certain occasions, the עדה seems to possibly refer to select representatives of the community, such as free adult males.¹¹ On this basis, some scholars have sometimes proposed that P understood עדה not as a descriptor of all the members of the community, but rather as a designator for "the 'general assembly' of all adult

¹⁰ See, however, Exod 25:7 LXX (= 25:8 MT), which attests a second person singular verb (ποιήσεις), and therefore suggests that Moses was to fabricate the sanctuary. This reading does not fit well with the use of a third person plural verb in Exod 25:2. It seems rather to look towards Exod 40, where Moses is charged with setting up the wilderness sanctuary after the community has constructed it.

¹¹ See, e.g., Num 1:2, where the census of the עדה results in the conscription of males for a military campaign; or Num 27:21, where Eleazar is said to discern via the Urim when "all the Israelites... and all the assembly" should go to war under Joshua's command.

males” (Joosten 1996b, 37).¹² Yet even if the עדה is understood in a more restrictive sense of adult males, it is clear that P considers this group to *represent* the unified community of Israel. This can be clearly seen in Exod 35–40 from the way in which Moses’ call to כל־עדת בני־ישראל to make a contribution to the sanctuary building project results in האנשים על־הנשים “both men and women” presenting a variety of objects for use in constructing the shrine.

Indeed, the language throughout Exod 35–40 when describing the contributions of כל־העדה בני־ישראל is consistently inclusive: all members of the community may participate, so long as they are willing. In Exod 35:21 we again find the modifier כל “all” when used in reference to כל־איש אשר־נשאו לבו “everyone whose heart impelled him” and to כל אשר נדבה רוחו אתו “all whose spirit is willing” to make a donation to the construction project. The result is a wave of donations to the sanctuary construction project of such excessive quantities that the community must be held back from contributing anything further. Exodus 36:2–7 tell of how the artisans in charge of the construction project received the donations from the community, which are said to be so numerous that those overseeing the works must ask Moses to command the Israelites to restrain themselves—“the people are bringing much more than [is needed] for doing the work that Yhwh has commanded!” (36:5b)—such was the communal enthusiasm for the sanctuary construction project. The quantities of gold, silver and copper listed in Exod 39:1–7 LXX (= Exod 38:24–29 MT) also underscore the Israelites’ extraordinary display of collective unity as they pool their resources to support the construction of a shared sanctuary (Altmann 2016, 193).

Similarly inclusive language can be observed in Exod 35:23–26 when כל־איש אשר־נמצא “anyone who possesses” the necessary fabrics for making the sanctuary is said to have brought them to the artisans overseeing the sanctuary works. This then culminates in v. 29 with a summary statement which stresses the thoroughly communal nature of the construction project and the willingness of the entire community to present the necessary donations.

Exod 35:29

כל־איש ואשה אשר נדב לבם אתם להביא לכל־המלאכה אשר צוה יהוה לעשות ביד־משה הביאו בני־ישראל נדבה ליהוה

All the men and women whose hearts made them willing to contribute to the work that Yhwh had commanded to be done under the authority of Moses, they (the Israelites) brought a freewill offering to Yhwh.

Yet while the construction of the shrine is depicted by P as a responsibility shared by all, and which integrates the Israelites around a common cultic center, within this framework of communal

¹² Cf. the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century BCE, which use the Aramaic equivalent of the term עדה to refer to a sub-group among the Judean garrison which could arbitrate in disputes among community members, most notably in cases of divorce; see, e.g., *TAD* B2.6, line 26; *Brooklyn Aramaic Papyri*, pap 2, l. 7 (pp. 142–43); pap 7, l. 21; note, however, the discussion concerning the meaning of the phrase יקום בעדה at Kraeling 1953, 147–48.

responsibility there is also a hierarchy. In Exod 31:1–11 Yhwh declares that he wishes for skilled artisans to be selected from within the community to lead the construction works.¹³ In particular, in vv. 1–2 Yhwh declares to Moses that he has called upon “Bezalel son of Uri son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah” (31:2) to lead the works for the wilderness sanctuary and its associated items. Bezalel is then said in 31:6 to be assisted by “Oholiab, son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan,” as well as a team of חכמים-לב “wise-hearted” members of the community (Exod 31:6b; cf. Exod 35:10 MT [= 35:9 LXX]). However, if some of the practical tasks of constructing the sanctuary are assigned to the artisans, the ultimate responsibility for its completion continues to reside with the community as a whole. When the work of constructing the shrine is completed in Exod 39:14–23 LXX,¹⁴ we find that it is the *Israelites*—not the artisans—to which P attributes the responsibility for ensuring that everything had been fulfilled according to Yhwh’s requirements. Moreover, the entire community presents the completed sanctuary to Moses as the fruit of their collective efforts, thus confirming that the shrine is the product of a communal endeavor.

Exodus 39:14–23 LXX further underscore the centrality of the wilderness sanctuary by positioning it as a site at which *the entire community gathers*. From the moment of its completion, the sanctuary is a space that brings the community together: in that all the Israelites act as a collective when presenting it to Moses (Exod 39:14–23 LXX). Its unifying potential is also evident in the account of its consecration by Moses and the priests in Lev 8–9. In Lev 8:3 Yhwh commands Moses to assemble כל־העדה “all the congregation” at the entrance of the tent of meeting so that they might witness the rites of anointing and consecration of his sanctuary. Such a statement already underscores the nature of the sanctuary as the shared space of all Israel, since it comes into operation only when the Israelites have shown their collective unity by gathering to witness its consecration.

¹³ It is highly likely that the references to the sanctuary artisans were introduced to P’s construction account in a secondary stage. Exodus 31:1–11, where the artisans are introduced, form part of a block of materials (Exod 30–31) that seem to comprise supplements to the sanctuary instructions of Exod 25–29 (see further § 1.1.2 above). Not only do chs. 30–31 come after the concluding summary at Exod 29:43–46, but they lack the clear structure and overarching logic which characterized Exod 25–29: in that they introduce items and aspects of the sanctuary construction which seem to come much too late in the account, and are therefore orphaned from the earlier description of the spaces of the sanctuary in which they are meant to be found (e.g., the command to make the incense altar of gold), or the processes which they are meant to contribute to (e.g., the command to the Israelites to keep the sabbath [31:12–17]).

¹⁴ Exod 39:14–15 LXX = 39:33, 35 MT; 39:16–17 LXX = 39:38, 37 MT; 39:18 LXX = 39:36; 39:19 LXX = 39:41 MT; 39:20–21 LXX = 39:40, 34, 40 MT; 39:22–23 LXX = 39:42–43 MT. As explained above (§ 1.1.2), I consider Codex Vaticanus (Codex B) to preserve the earliest available version of Exod 35–40 and will therefore follow its distinctive order when analyzing the construction account. For the text and a commentary on Codex B, see Gurtner 2013.

This focus on communal unity at the shrine is then further developed in the description of the first sacrificial offerings presented by Aaron after the completion of the seven-day ordination rites. In Lev 9:1–4 Moses calls on Aaron to tell כל־העדה to bring a male goat for a purification offering, a calf and a lamb for a burnt offering, an ox and ram for a well-being offering and grain for a cereal offering. Then, once the people have retrieved these items, they “draw near” (קרבו) before Yhwh (9:5) and observe as Aaron presents the offerings to the god on their behalf (9:6–21). At the conclusion of these rites, the Israelites (referred to as העם) are said to receive a blessing for their communal efforts in presenting the god with the donations he requires (9:22–23). This is followed by the appearance of the כבוד of Yhwh before כל־העם “all the people”—note again the use of the כל modifier—with fire coming out from Yhwh and consuming the burnt offering presented on the altar in the sanctuary court (on this see further § 2.3.1 below). This action confirms both the presence of Yhwh’s כבוד within the sanctuary, as per his promise in Exod 29:43, as well as the god’s approval of the offerings presented by his unified community, via Aaron’s mediation, upon the single altar which they have constructed for him.

The account of the inauguration of the sanctuary thus affirms the essence of the wilderness sanctuary as a place of “meeting” between the patron deity Yhwh and the *unified congregation of Israel*. It thus strengthens the reading of P’s construction account as setting a precedent of a *central* dwelling place for the national god Yhwh, served by a united community. The deity’s expressed wish to have only one shrine; for it to be made by the community operating as a collective; for it to be constructed using the donations from all the Israelites; for it to be serviced with sacrifices and offerings from the entire community; and for it to be used as a place of gathering and sacrificial worship of “all the congregation”—all of these aspects of the construction account suggest that the scribes responsible for P did not entertain the possibility that the wilderness shrine might set a precedent of the Israelites splintering into factions and building multiple sanctuaries. To the contrary, their logic when describing the origins of the cult at Sinai was intrinsically a centralizing one.

The Portability of the Sanctuary

One question that remains, however, is how this conclusion might be reconciled with one of the unique and notable aspects of the sanctuary: namely its portability. In Exod 26–27 Yhwh explains that his משכן is to comprise a transportable fabric structure, made largely out of curtains. It is to be covered by a tent (אהל) of eleven curtains, which appears to serve as a kind of roof (Exod 26:7–14). The resulting assemblage (the משכן with its אהל) is then to be supported with a set of קרשים “boards,” and surrounded by a חצר “court” (27:9–19) made of שש “fine linen” curtains. As the history of scholarship in Chapter One has indicated (see § 1.2.2), a number of scholars have argued that the ability of the shrine to be moved militates against a centralized reading of the wilderness sanctuary (e.g., Kaufmann, Douglas, Sommer, Milgrom, Pitkänen). Instead, its portability would reveal this space as inherently de-centralized, in that it is an allegory of sorts for a future sanctuary cult which was itself

movable and hence centrifugal. P's description of the wilderness sanctuary would thus be fundamentally at odds with the idea that Israel will one day build a single, fixed temple in Israel, favoring instead the idea that Yhwh's sacred center could be recreated in different places at different times, as the need arose.

However the mobility of the shrine should not be read as compromising its capacity to be a central space. In fact, it enhances it. The shrine's portability attests to P's creativity and ingenuity: in that it allows it to reconcile the cultic value of centralization with the essentially peripatetic nature of the Israelites as they journeyed to the promised land: that is, it allows P to explain how the centralized cult was established during the time of Moses, when the Israelites had not yet come into the land. A tent shrine can move with the Israelites, ensuring that they have a cultic center whatever their physical location. It thus fulfills a pragmatic requirement during the (highly unusual) period of Israel's foundational past—it enables the Israelites to move the habitation of their god across the desert—rather than indicating that P sought to legitimate de-centralized worship in Israel.

Indeed, P contains no statement which even hints that the mobility of the sanctuary in the wilderness period will translate into multiple, local sanctuaries at a future time. Moreover, not only does the idea that mobility is synonymous with multiplicity lack any basis in the P text: it is also implausible. Why should a portable sanctuary necessarily replicate itself to become many shrines in a later period? Scholars who advocate such a de-centralized reading of the P wilderness sanctuary almost never address this issue directly, yet it surely presents a major obstacle to the view that ancient readers and hearers of P were expected to parse the image of a single shrine into a model for many shrines in ancient Israel.

To the best of my knowledge, the only scholar who has attempted to address this issue in a systematic way is Douglas. As mentioned above (§ 1.2.2), she suggested that we might read P's description of the wilderness cult as providing a "blueprint" for building new shrines in ancient Israel: in the same way that a blueprint depicts a single structure which can be replicated multiple times, so too do the P materials, with their literary tour of the space of the wilderness shrine, depict "replicable holy space" (Douglas 1999, 231). Yet, apart from there being no known historical or literary evidence that ancient readers used the text in the way Douglas suggests, her theory, creative though it is, sits uneasily with the type of spatial description which we find in P. This source presents the sanctuary as a space located firmly in the *past*—a sanctuary which can be mentally mapped but with no suggestion that it should be literally reproduced in any future setting. The wilderness sanctuary is thus an ideal space, one which holds a representational power, providing a lens through which to view other, tangible and textual spaces, by guiding the reader's expectations as to what Israelite cultic space should constitute, but with no expectation that the Israelites would literally recreate it in a later time frame.

More importantly, even if we were to support Douglas' theory concerning the use of P as a blueprint, her idea that it would have served as a model for *local, de-centralized shrines* is also

implausible. It overlooks the way in which P emphasizes the strongly communal nature of the production of the wilderness sanctuary (described above), and thus the strong case for imagining later shrines modeled on the wilderness shrine as playing a *comparable role* in unifying the community. Hence, it seems more probable to read in the wilderness sanctuary a precedent for building a *single* dwelling place for the national god Yhwh in Israel, rather than permission for the proliferation of local shrines.

We can also discount the argument of scholars such as Kaufmann (1960 [1937–1956], 183–84), Sommer (2001, 52) and others that the tent shrine model proposed by P is inherently in tension with traditional concepts of a fixed temple shrine; and that this alleged tension militates against a centralized reading of the P wilderness sanctuary (see further § 2.1.2 above). Such a reading focuses on the similarities between the mobile tent of meeting and other Western Asian traditions and biblical texts which describe tent shrines.¹⁵ The inference drawn from this by some scholars (for example, Kaufmann) is that P’s use of such traditions can be taken as evidence of its antiquity, and thus of its originating before the instigation of cult centralization. Alternatively, it may be considered an indication that P deliberately sought to counteract the focus in later periods on promoting a central temple by promoting an “anti-temple” (Fretheim 1968) image of Israelite sanctuary space.

However, while it is undeniable that the image of the tent of meeting resonates with the motifs of other tent shrine traditions, it does not necessarily follow that P’s “concept” of sanctuary space was incompatible with the idea of a fixed temple serving as the center of the cult in later periods. Such a reading fails to acknowledge that many of the details of how the space of the wilderness sanctuary is to be configured have their closest parallels in the spatial layouts of Western Asian temples, as opposed to tent shrines (Clements 1965, 114; Vaux 1973, 296–97; Fritz 1977, 9–12; Haran 1978, 198–204; Boorer 2016, 301–10). The three-part, long-room plan of the wilderness sanctuary is well attested in temples from both the Bronze and Iron ages (Fritz 1977, 27–35; Ottosson 1980, 53–62; Pucci 2008, 163–66; Mazzoni 2010).¹⁶ So too is the idea of a tripartite division of the sanctuary, with each zone graded according to proximity to the deity, common to Levantine temples

¹⁵ See, for example, Ugaritic texts from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE might describe El as living in a tent on his cosmic mountain, where his divine assembly or messengers would consult him and receive his divine directives (*KTU* 1.14.2 l. 12, 3 l. 55, 4 ll. 21–24; see further, e.g., Clifford 1971; Smith 1994, 225–34). These texts even occasionally parallel “tent” (*’hl*) with the term *mškn* “dwelling” (see, e.g., *KTU* 1.15.3 ll. 17–19; see further, e.g., Wyatt 2002 [1998], 213), in a manner which shows striking resemblance to Exod 25–31, 35–40. These parallels may suggest that P’s description of the tent of meeting, especially in its description of the tent structure in Exod 26:7–14, preserves the kernel of an early tradition in ancient Israel concerning a tent dwelling of the Israelite god Yhwh (Cross 1947; Hurowitz 1992, 328–29).

¹⁶ While the three-part, long-room plan discussed here was certainly a common pattern among Western Asian sanctuaries, it was not the only one. For a comprehensive review of the sanctuary floor plans observed in Levantine sanctuaries, see Margain 1991.

from these periods (Pucci 2008, 175–76), where gods were often housed in the most secluded part of the temple and shielded by a series of walls or doors (see, e.g., Harrison 2012). In addition, Levantine temples frequently had only one entrance, which allowed passage between each of the different temple zones; and in certain cases, this entrance was located to the east (see, e.g., the “Southern Temple” on the Upper Tell of Hazor; Yadin et al. 1989; Zuckerman 2012, 110–12), just as is the case in the wilderness sanctuary described by P.

These parallels suggest that P, when describing the origins of the Israelite cult at Sinai, had no hesitation blending the image of a portable tent shrine with spatial features of fixed temples. Hence, there is good reason to question the idea that the portability of the wilderness sanctuary reveals a concept of Israelite sanctuary space which is fundamentally incompatible with the idea that, in the future, the Israelites would continue the worship established at the tent of meeting at a central temple in the land. While such a possibility is never described by P, owing to its singular interest in the foundational period at Sinai, the allusions to the spatial features of temples in the description of the tent of meeting, as well as the emphasis on the collective deference which the united community showed to this shrine, suggest that P saw the wilderness sanctuary as setting a precedent of centralized worship in all future scenarios.

Judean Bias in the Construction of the Sanctuary

There remains, however, a further argument that needs to be addressed: is it possible that P, while insisting in Exod 25–31, 35–40 on the need for the Israelites to construct a central shrine, used its portability to leave open the possibility that more than one sanctuary in the post-wilderness future might claim to be the heir of the tent of meeting? This question has been raised in recent scholarly discussion as to the possibility that P was written at a time when the two sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Gerizim were vying for legitimation (see §§ 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 above). Scholars such as Diebner, Römer and Watts suggest that, by representing the sanctuary as mobile, P can be read as finessing the question of the actual physical location of the centralized cult in the future, with the intention of allowing the priestly families associated with Jerusalem and Gerizim to each associate the foundational shrine with their respective sanctuaries. The mobility of the wilderness sanctuary is thus valuable evidence that P originated as a scribal collaboration between the priestly scribes at Jerusalem and Gerizim.

However, a closer reading of the P sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 brings the merits of this approach into question. Rather than P leaving open the issue as to which of the north or the south would inherit the mantle of legitimacy, its construction account contains several hints that P was concerned to give priority to the tribe of Judah within the sanctuary. Although the wilderness sanctuary was imagined without any link to a specific location in the land, intriguingly the specifics of its construction seem to have been modeled on a key Judean institution: that is, the Solomonic temple, as described in 1 Kgs 6–8. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the description of the artisans in the

contraction account articulates a hierarchy in which the Judean Bezalel is in charge and his northern associate Oholiab relegated to a secondary role. As will be explored in detail below, the presence of such details in Exod 25–31, 35–40 suggest that P should be read as engaging not so much in a pragmatic negotiation between north and south as a social memory which gives expression to a Judean ideal: namely, a situation in which Judeans dominate the centralized sanctuary space with the northern tribes acceding in this.

a) Allusions in Exod 25–31, 35–40 to 1 Kgs 6–8

Scholars have long observed that the wilderness sanctuary and the First Temple (as described in 1 Kgs 6–8) share a number of similarities.¹⁷ Both are rectangles, organized according to an eastern orientation, and divided between three areas of graded holiness: an inner sanctum (cf. Exod 26:33; 1 Kgs 6:19–21), outer sanctum (cf. Exod 26:33; Kgs 6:16, 19–20) and outer court (cf. Exod 27:9–19; 1 Kgs 6:36; 7:12; 8:64). Some of these similarities might simply reflect the common features of West Semitic temples of the first millennium BCE mentioned above. However, there are also a number of very precise correspondences between the two spaces which suggest a literary connection exists between the two construction accounts. In particular, the two sanctuaries seem to be measured according to corresponding schemes (Janowski 1982, 335–36): the dimensions given in Exod 26 for the wilderness shrine (30 cubits long x 10 cubits high x 10 cubits wide) correspond to half of those of Solomon’s temple in 1 Kgs 6:2–3 (60 cubits long x 20 cubits high x 20 cubits wide). Furthermore, they apply the same system of classification to the different areas of the sanctuary: gold is reserved for spaces closest to the deity’s presence (the inner and outer sanctums), and bronze for the outer court. The two sanctuaries also have similar furniture made with similar materials: a golden table in the outer-sanctum (Exod 25:23–30; 1 Kgs 7:48); golden lampstands (Exod 25:31–40; 1 Kgs 7:49, although there are considerably more in Solomon’s temple [ten as opposed to one in P]); and a bronze altar which stands in the outer court (Exod 27:1–8; 1 Kgs 8:64). Finally, the two texts each describe two golden cherubim within the inner sanctum (Exod 25:18–20; 1 Kgs 6:23–28), as well as cherubim iconography decorating the sanctuary structure (on the walls and doors of Solomon’s temple [1 Kgs 6:29, 32, 35]; and on the veils of P’s wilderness sanctuary [Exod 26:1, 31]).

The two accounts are not completely congruent, however. P’s wilderness shrine has many distinctive features—for example, its poles and elaborate curtain structure—on account of its portability, while Solomon’s temple also contains a number of unique spaces, such as the forecourt (אולם) which adjoins its outer sanctum (1 Kgs 6:3), and the royal residence which is attached to the

¹⁷ This observation has been made in numerous studies of the past one hundred and fifty years; see e.g., Nöldeke 1869, 120–21; Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 38–45; Kuenen 1874, 258–59; Holzinger 1900, 129; Driver 1911, 258–60; Gressmann 1920, 45; Noth 1962 [1959], 201; Clements 1965, 111; Fritz 1977, 6–7; Haran 1978, 189–94; Koch 1997 [1983–1984], 128; Janowski 1982, 329–31; Mettinger 1982, 87–89; Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:484 with n. 129; Nihan 2008a; Boorer 2016, 304–7.

sanctuary (1 Kgs 7:1–12). Ornamental differences can also be observed between the two spaces: for example, the bronze sea, which is said in 1 Kgs 7:23–26 to have stood in the court of Solomon’s temple, has no counterpart in P. And while both sanctuaries feature cherubim within their inner sanctums, the cherubim in Solomon’s temple are much larger than those in the wilderness sanctuary, with their wings reaching from one end of the room to the other and meeting in the center, where they designate the place of Yhwh’s throne (1 Kgs 6:27). P, on the other hand, does not depict the cherubim as stretching their wings from wall to wall but instead states that they must face one another and stand *על־הכפרת* “above the *kāpporēt*” (Exod 25:20), with no suggestion that Yhwh is to sit enthroned between them. (The significance of this difference between P’s sanctuary and Solomon’s temple is explored further below [see § 2.2.2].)

These differences therefore suggest that the wilderness sanctuary is not an exact replica of the Solomonic temple, or vice versa; and thus that we should be careful not to overstrain the parallels between the two accounts. However, on balance, there remain enough shared elements for us to conclude that one sanctuary account was known to the author(s) of the other, and that there was a desire to accept the other as the model. But which was the model, and which the derivative? The relationship between the two texts is problematic, given the uncertainty surrounding the dating and diachronic development of each account.¹⁸ Nevertheless, there are several indications that a first version of 1 Kgs 6–8, which contained the main details of the Solomonic temple, pre-dated the composition of the P sanctuary account. As Wellhausen observed (1957 [1878], 28), had P’s description of the wilderness sanctuary, with its authoritative status, been known to the authors of the Kings account, they would presumably have made explicit the connection between Solomon’s temple building project and that undertaken by Moses. Yet the building of the First Temple seems to have initially been described in Kings without reference to either Moses or the wilderness sanctuary. Later editors of the Kings account seem to have considered this absence problematic, and sought to remedy it. For instance, 1 Kgs 8 preserves a late addition to the account of the dedication of the First Temple which states that the entire *אהל מועד* was installed by Solomon within the Jerusalem sanctuary, along with all its utensils and furniture (vv. 4, 62–64; cf. 2 Chr 5:5). This constitutes the only reference to the *אהל מועד* in 1–2 Kgs and seems to offer a re-reading of the Kings building account in accordance with the Priestly materials of the Torah (Haran 1962, 21; Hurowitz 1992, 262–66; McCormick 2002, 177–83). Such a post-Priestly addition suggests that a first version of 1 Kgs 6–8 was written without knowledge of the P wilderness sanctuary, and was secondarily updated so as to foster greater interconnection between Solomon’s temple and the shrine established under Moses.

¹⁸ On the diachronic development of Solomon’s building account see, e.g., the recent detailed study by Peter Dubovský (2015). For Exod 25–31, 35–40, detailed studies include those by Helmut Utzschneider (1988) and Susanne Owczarek (1998).

It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the parallels between the P sanctuary account and the description of Solomon's temple in 1 Kgs 6–8 are due, in the main, to P's awareness of a first version of 1 Kgs 6–8. Even though P was influenced by other traditions, especially those concerning tent shrines, there is also a concern in Exod 25–31, 35–40 to draw on the account of the building of the First Temple when describing the space of the wilderness sanctuary. P never explicitly mentions the future temple built by Solomon; any direct reference to the latter sanctuary would have constituted a major break with P's imaginative context, which as explained in the Introduction focuses exclusively on the social memory of Israel's foundational period in the wilderness, as opposed to the question of where the cult would be located in the post-wilderness future. But the subtle appropriation of many of the elements of the description of Solomon's temple in 1 Kgs 6–8 when describing the wilderness sanctuary ensures that the two spaces share many quintessential features.

These parallels between the two sanctuaries are deeply suggestive: when imagining the space of the foundational shrine at Sinai, P was aware of, and keen to engage with, Judean traditions describing the royal temple in Jerusalem. Even though P also appears to have rejected certain aspects of the shrine which might associate it too closely with the Davidic monarchy (see further § 2.2.2 below), by drawing on 1 Kgs 6–8, it seems to be inviting ancient readers who would have been familiar with both accounts to make a connection between the two spaces, such that the wilderness sanctuary foreshadows many of the key aspects of the central sanctuary which was later constructed by Solomon in Jerusalem.

This finding is difficult to reconcile with the argument mentioned above that P originated as a joint enterprise between scribes at Jerusalem and Gerizim, written with the intention of providing a memory of the cult's founding which was not associated with either the north or the south. It is more credible to argue that only scribes favorably disposed towards Judean traditions would have been motivated to have drawn the parallels between the wilderness sanctuary and the Solomonic temple evident in Exod 25–31, 35–40. To be sure, it is possible that northern scribes might have played a role in the composition of P but tolerated or failed to detect the literary allusions to 1 Kgs 6–8 made by their Judean counterparts. Indeed, the very subtle nature of the allusions mean that they might have been visible only to readers who were aware of both P and 1 Kgs. However, this is an unnecessarily complex authorial scenario; it seems less an intellectual contortion to conclude, as per the classical reading, that P's dependence on 1 Kgs 6–8 is due to the fact that it is the literary product of scribes working in Jerusalem.

b) The Sanctuary Artisans

This interpretation gains weight when we consider P's description of the artisans who are to lead the sanctuary construction works (Exod 31:1–11; chs. 35–39). These passages explicitly assert that Yhwh desires a Judean to lead the project of building his sanctuary: namely, "Bezalel son of Uri son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah" (Exod 31:2b; 35:30b; 38:22). Bezalel's role is undeniably that of chief artisan,

chosen by Yhwh to lead the sanctuary project under Moses' overall direction. Bezalel is consistently mentioned before Oholiab and all the other skilled members of the community involved in constructing the shrine (Exod 30:1–11; 35:30–35; 36:2; 37:20–21 LXX = 38:22–23 MT). He is the only artisan of whom it is said that Yhwh קראתי בשם “called him by name” (31:2; 35:30) and filled him with a רוח אלהים “divine spirit” for carrying out the works (31:3). Moreover, Bezalel alone is said to have special skills for undertaking the sanctuary works, with Exod 30:2–5 and 35:30–33 declaring that he will receive wisdom (חכמה), intelligence (חכמה) and knowledge (דעת) from Yhwh for carrying them out. Finally, much of Exod 35–40 depicts Bezalel as undertaking the sanctuary construction on his own: in Exod 37:1–38:8 LXX (= Exod 38:1–38:20 MT), Bezalel is said to construct the ark, the table and its utensils, the lampstand, the pillars of the sanctuary, the bronze altar and bronze basin without assistance from Oholiab or any other artisans. He is even charged in Exod 38:25 LXX (= 37:29 MT) with the מעשה רקה/ἔργον μρρηψοῦ “work of a perfumer,” making the holy anointing oil and mixing the fragrant incense! What is more, Bezalel's critical agency in these construction works is given even greater emphasis in the Greek versions through the repetition in Exod 38:18–26 LXX of the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος “this one,” which seems intended to accentuate Bezalel's role as the only actor charged with the responsibility of fabricating these items (Wevers 1993, 127).

Bezalel's dominance in the sanctuary building project is all the more significant when we consider the origins of his collaborator, Oholiab. This man is not a Judean, but is rather the son of Ahisamach of the northern tribe of Dan (Exod 31:6a; 35:34; 38:21 LXX = 38:23 MT). His role in the construction of the sanctuary is clearly less important than that of his Judean counterpart. In fact, in MT, SP and LXX he is consistently depicted as Bezalel's “assistant” (Durham 1987, 410; Houtman 2000, 363). In almost every text in which Oholiab is mentioned, there is no accompanying remark concerning his special gifts or role in helping with the sanctuary construction. Exodus 37:21 LXX (= 38:23 MT) is the sole exception: here we find the detail that Oholiab has particular abilities in working the sanctuary fabrics.¹⁹ However, this does not seem to be a skill which was unique to

¹⁹ *Mon* (the late fifth or early sixth century CE Latin palimpsest discussed above [§ 1.1.2]) does not preserve Exod 31:1–11 or 35:30–36:2 (the texts which give the clearest explanation of the respective roles of Bezalel and Oholiab); but its fragmentary version of 37:19–38:2 LXX deviates from all other known versions of the account in its description of Oholiab's role in the sanctuary construction. Specifically, it rectifies the imbalance between this figure and Bezalel by dividing the labor equally between them: Bezalel undertakes all those works involving metal, while Oholiab is in charge of woodworking, the work involving fabrics and making the priestly garments. In addition, *Mon* also includes a new verse (see *Mon* 25/2/21) stating that Oholiab was a specialist not only in working with wood but also in designing the sanctuary structure. As a result of this new emphasis on Oholiab's special skills, *Mon* also includes a number of additional references to works involving wood which are not attested in Codex B. Bogaert, who argues that *Mon* preserves the earliest witness to Exod 35–40, contends (1996, 411–17) that we find here evidence that Oholiab, the Danite, originally played an equal role to Bezalel, the Judean, in P's sanctuary account. He argues that in LXX, MT and SP Oholiab's role was

Oholiab. In Exod 35:35 MT and LXX Bezalel is said to also have been given the gift of embroidery and of working with the fabrics. Exodus 31:4 LXX also attests a longer text than MT and SP in which this skill is again mentioned in the context of the special abilities that Yhwh gave to Bezalel. Moreover, a number of texts suggest that the ability to work with fabrics was shared with the wise-hearted members of the community. Note, for example, how Exod 28:3–4 adds to the description of Aaron’s vestments the charge to Moses “you shall speak to all the wise-hearted whom I have filled (with) the spirit of wisdom, and they shall make Aaron’s garments,” with no mention of Oholiab fulfilling a specific role in working with fabrics.²⁰ Furthermore, Exod 36:8–37:17 LXX employs third person plural subjects when describing the fabrication of the priestly vestments, sanctuary curtains, and other aspects of the shrine which are made of fabric, which again suggests that this task fell to the skilled artisans as a whole rather than to Oholiab specifically.²¹

deliberately suppressed because the scribes responsible for these versions were uncomfortable with the prominence given to a northerner in the construction of the shrine. However, such a scenario seems unlikely. In order to explain how Oholiab’s role was suppressed in both the LXX and MT/SP, Bogaert must assume that the process by which Oholiab was downgraded took two different paths: in the LXX, the Greek translators (or the scribes responsible for the Hebrew *Vorlage* on which the translators depended) omitted the references to Oholiab’s special skills with wood, fabrics and design, and also deleted all references to works involving wood from the construction account. In MT and SP, by contrast, the references to wood were maintained but now with Oholiab’s role as a woodworker assigned to Bezalel, and all references to Oholiab’s special skills deleted from the text. Rather than imagining how such complex parallel processes of removing Oholiab from Exod 35–40 might have transpired, it seems simpler to assume that the scribes behind *Mon* updated Exod 35–40 to give Oholiab a more prominent role. It is difficult to know what might have inspired the person responsible for *Mon* to edit the text of Exod 35–40 in this way. Possibly it was considered strange that Yhwh should have specified *two* artisans to lead the construction of his sanctuary but then relegated Oholiab to a marginal role; an expansion of Oholiab’s skills might therefore have been thought to produce a more coherent account of the sanctuary construction. Or perhaps it might be speculated that *Mon* stemmed from a scribal group with particular associations with the north of Israel, which saw value in placing greater emphasis on the role which the Danite played in constructing Yhwh’s sanctuary. In either event, it is clear that the earliest version of the sanctuary artisan passages preserved primacy for Bezalel.

²⁰ The secondary nature of Exod 28:3–4 is widely recognized (see, e.g., Baentsch 1903, 238, although with some hesitations; Noth 1962 [1959], 220; Nihan 2007a, 52–53). Exodus 28:1–2 begins with Yhwh commanding Moses to assemble Aaron and his sons and make (הָעֵצִים, second masculine singular) holy vestments for them—a command which accords with the use of second masculine singular verbal forms throughout Exod 28:9–43. The command to Moses in v. 3 to call on special artisans seems to jar with this command and the subsequent depiction of how the garments were to be manufactured (see, however, the use of third person plural subjects in vv. 4–6).

²¹ The situation is somewhat more complicated in MT and SP than in LXX. The description of the fabrication of the priestly garments, which comes much later in the account at Exod 39:1–31, switches between third person singular and third person plural subjects in an unpredictable fashion. In addition, the account in Exod 36:8–38

The implications of Bezalel and Oholiab's roles for our understanding of the intent of the Priestly scribes are intriguing. Yhwh's expression of a desire that his abode be constructed under the leadership of a Judean, with the assistance of a northerner, enshrines a *hierarchy between north and south in the construction of the central sanctuary*: Judean leaders are pre-eminent, and leaders from the north, ancillary. In the light of this, it is difficult to sustain the argument that P's reluctance to explicitly align the wilderness sanctuary with a specific location in ancient Israel was attributable to a desire on the authors' part to strike a compromise between Judean and Samaritan cultic leaders. Rather, the Priestly authors may have sought to promote a social memory that *normalized* both Judean dominance in the construction of central sanctuary space and the acquiescence of the north in their diminished status in the centralized cult. It is difficult to imagine, in turn, how scribes from the north might have been equally involved in composing the P sanctuary account as priestly scribes from the south. Bezalel's role seems to clearly link the origins of the centralized sanctuary with the tribe of Judah, and thus very much favors the idea that the P account was the scribal creation of priests associated with the region of Judah, most likely situated in Jerusalem.

A further possibility to consider is that the role of the two artisans in Exod 25–31, 35–40 evolved progressively: that is, the sanctuary artisan passages contain evidence that they might not have been written in a single stage. In particular, there are several hints that Oholiab's role in the sanctuary building project is so marginal and awkward that it is a late idea: that is, that the first version of the artisan passages named *Bezalel alone* as leading the sanctuary construction works, and Oholiab's role was introduced in a secondary stage. This theory remains difficult to prove, but it arguably finds support in the wording of the texts in which Oholiab is mentioned. In the first text to reference Oholiab (31:6), the northerner is introduced somewhat awkwardly (the independent pronoun אֹהִיאִ is followed by the particle הִנֵּה—a construction which occurs nowhere else in Exod 25–31 or 35–40) and after a lengthy description of Bezalel's credentials (31:2–5) but with no explanation of what Oholiab's role will be in the sanctuary works.²²

MT of the fabrication of the tabernacle curtains, as well as its accompanying structure, is much expanded when compared to the LXX and also alternates between singular and plural subjects. It begins in v. 8 with the statement that “all the wise-hearted” members of the community made the tabernacle and its curtains. But this quickly switches in vv. 9–38 to a third person singular subject, without any explanation as to who is the actor here. The reference to Bezalel in Exod 37:1 MT would seem to indicate that he is understood to be responsible for the works described in Exod 36:9–38 MT, where the singular subject is found.

²² Since the Hebrew and Greek versions of Exod 31:1–11 and 35:33–36:1 evince very few differences (the major disagreements between the versions commence at 36:8) I have supplied a translation only of the MT in the main text and listed the differences in LXX in footnotes.

Exod 31:2–6

2 ראה קראתי בשם בצלאל בן־אורי בן־חור למטה יהודה 3 ואמלא אתו רוח אלהים בחכמה ובתבונה ובדעת ובכל־מלאכה 4 לחשב מחשבת לעשות בזהב ובכסף ובנחשת 5 ובחרשת אבן למלאת ובחרשת עץ לעשות בכל־מלאכה 6 ואני הנה נתתי אתו את אהליאב בן־אחיסמך למטה־דן ובלב כל־חכם־לב נתתי חכמה ועשו את כל־אשר צויתך

2 See I have called by name Bezalel, son of Uri, son of Hur, from the tribe of Judah. 3 And I have filled him with a divine spirit, with wisdom, intelligence and knowledge in all works, 4 to devise designs, to work in gold, and in silver and in bronze²³ 5 in cutting stones for setting, and in carving wood, in every kind of craft. 6 And behold, I have appointed with him Oholiab son of Ahisamach of the tribe of Dan. And in the hearts of all the wise-hearted I have given wisdom, and they will do all that I have commanded you [Moses].

Oholiab also appears somewhat awkwardly in Exod 35:30–35, where Moses reports to the Israelites Yhwh's instructions concerning the appointment of the artisans. While vv. 30–33 repeat much the same information concerning Bezalel's skills as that which is found in 31:2–5, v. 34 introduces the idea that Yhwh has inspired Bezalel to teach (היה *Hiphil* infin. construct), before mentioning the assistance of Oholiab in a series of overloaded and awkward phrases.

Exod 35:34–36:1

34 ולהורת נתן בלבו הוא ואהליאב בן־אחיסמך למטה־דן 35 מלא אתם חכמת־לב לעשות כל־מלאכת חרש וחשב ורקם בתכלת ובארגמן בתולעת השני ובשש וארג עשי כל־מלאכה וחשבי מחשבת 36:1 ועשה בצלאל ואהליאב וכל איש חכם־לב אשר נתן יהוה חכמה ותבונה בהמה לדעת לעשות את־כל־מלאכת עבדת הקדש לכל אשר־צוה יהוה

34 and for teaching, he has inspired him [Bezalel]. He and Oholiab son of Ahisamach from the tribe of Dan, 35 he has filled them [with] wisdom of heart for doing all the work of an artisan, and a designer and an embroiderer in blue, purple and crimson yarns, and in fine linen, weaving—doing all the work of a skilled designer.²⁴ 36:1 Bezalel has made it, and Oholiab, and all those who are wise-hearted, whom Yhwh has given the wisdom and intelligence and knowledge for making all the works of the service of the sanctuary, for all that Yhwh has commanded.

The wording of v. 34b is cumbersome, since the third masculine singular pronoun הוא stands in an ambiguous relation to the previous phrase ולהורת נתן בלבו, where a pronominal suffix (referring to

²³ LXX preserves a more expansive text in v. 4:

διανοεῖσθαι καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν, ἐργάζεσθαι τὸ χρυσεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸν χαλκόν, καὶ τὴν ὑάκινθον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ κόκκινον τὸ νηστὸν καὶ τὴν βύσσον τὴν κεκλωσμένην

...to fashion the gold, the silver and the bronze and the blue and purple and spun scarlet and the twisted linen.”

²⁴ LXX preserves an expanded text in v. 35:

ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως διανοίας πάντα συνιέναι ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ τὰ ὑφαντὰ καὶ τὰ ποικιλτὰ ὑφᾶναι τῷ κοκκίνῳ καὶ τῇ βύσσῳ, ποιεῖν πᾶν ἔργον ἀρχιτεκτονίας ποικιλίας.

...and he filled them with skill and intelligence of mind to understand all things, to make the works of the sanctuary and to weave the woven and the embroidered things with scarlet and linen, to make every work of construction, of embroidery.

Bezalel) is already supplied with the noun לב. In v. 35a, it is unclear who is indicated by the suffixed particle אתם (that is, who is “filled” by Yhwh—Bezalel and Oholiab? The wise-hearted artisans?); and this use of a third person plural suffix seems to jar with 36:1, where the subject of the verb עשה is again third masculine singular (cf. 35:34) and therefore seems to return to speaking of Bezalel alone. However, it is also possible that the singular subject in 36:1 is intended to be understood collectively, which would somewhat reduce the awkwardness of the syntax. Nevertheless, it remains fair to say that Oholiab’s presence in Exod 35:34–36:1 is generally characterized by syntactical oddities, with the wording of v. 34b constituting the clearest case of this.

To be sure, not all the texts which mention Oholiab evince such awkward phrasing. Exodus 36:2 describes how Moses called “to Bezalel, Oholiab and to all those who are wise-hearted” to receive the raw materials for the sanctuary, with few disturbances observable within the text. Exodus 37:21–22 LXX (= 38:22–23 MT) also integrates Oholiab more fully in the construction project by stating that he had special skills for working with fabrics. That said, the description of Oholiab’s participation in 37:21–22 LXX is still somewhat awkward, since the Greek lacks an equivalent of the preposition את “with” connecting the two verses, and therefore gives the impression that Oholiab is again something of an afterthought.

Exod 38:22–23 MT

22 ובצלאל בן־אורי בן־חור למטה יהודה עשה את כל־אשר־צוה יהוה את־משה 23 ואתו אהליאב בן־אחיסמך למטה־דן חרש וחשב ורקם בתכלת ובארגמן ובתולעת השני ובשש

22 Thus Bezalel, son of Uri, the son of Hur from the tribe of Judah, did all that Yhwh commanded Moses. 23 And with him was Oholiab, son of Ahisamach of the tribe of Dan, engraver, designer, and embroiderer in blue, purple and crimson yarns, and in linen.

Exod 37:20–21 LXX

20 καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ὁ τοῦ Οὐρι ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα ἐποίησεν καθὰ συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Μωϋσῆ, 21 καὶ Ἐλιὰβ ὁ τοῦ Ἀχισαμάχ ἐκ φυλῆς Δάν, ὃς ἠργικτεκτόνησεν τὰ ὑφαντὰ καὶ τὰ ῥαφιδευτὰ καὶ τὰ ποικιλικὰ ὑφάναι τῷ κοκκίνῳ καὶ τῇ βύσσῳ.

20 Thus Bezalel, son of Uri from the tribe of Judah, made [it], according to what the Lord instructed Moses—21 and Oholiab, son of Ahisamach of the tribe of Dan, who constructed the woven items, and the needlework and the embroidered items, to weave with scarlet and linen.

If it is accepted that Oholiab was added to the sanctuary account secondarily, we can begin to sketch a picture of the multiple stages by which the roles of the north and south might have been negotiated in the transmission of the P sanctuary account. At one stage there would have been a version of the sanctuary account which had a very strong Judean bias. Not only would there have been echoes of the account of the building of the First Temple in the description of the wilderness sanctuary, but Yhwh would have stated that he wished *only* for a Judean to direct its construction. The inclusion of Oholiab in the sanctuary account would have occurred in a later stage, and introduced a new and sophisticated dimension to P’s description of the origins of the wilderness sanctuary. In one sense, the introduction

of a Danite alongside Bezalel is a concession to the north: the P account is amended to state that Yhwh did not wish for his habitation to be built by a Judean alone, but rather by leaders from the northern and the southern tribes of Israel working together (Diebner 1991, 143). We can perhaps surmise that the inclusion of Oholiab stemmed from a time in the development of the P materials when there was greater need to acknowledge northern claims to legitimacy on account of the growing power of priestly groups associated with the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Yet while the addition of Oholiab has the effect of representing the construction of the shrine as a pan-Israelite process, it does not present the kind of collaboration between equals which recent scholarship might suggest. Yes, Oholiab's role affirms the importance of the north in the wilderness cult, but it also entrenches a hierarchy between south and north—one in which Judah is dominant. Indeed, it is striking that the addition of Oholiab still left unchallenged the core idea that Bezalel was the chief artisan leading the sanctuary project. From this we might infer that the addition of Oholiab was intended not so much to emphasize the equality of Jerusalem and Gerizim as to strengthen the claim of the former sanctuary to deserve *the allegiance of the northerners*. Such an ideal could have been intended to *counteract* the claim of northern sanctuaries to the same degree of legitimacy as their southern counterpart in Jerusalem and to instead assert Jerusalem as the sole central sanctuary of all Israel. Instead of establishing equity between north and south, Oholiab's participation in the construction account confirms that the rightful place of the north in Yhwh's eyes is that of assistant to the south.

Excursus: The Reception of the Sanctuary Artisan Passages

This reading gains weight when we consider the evidence in select biblical traditions of the early reception of the Priestly texts that mention the sanctuary artisans. Late passages in 1 Kgs 7 and 2 Chr 2 appear to draw on Exod 31:1–11 when describing the collaboration of north and south in the construction of the First Temple in Jerusalem. In 1 Kgs 7:13–14 we find what Martin Noth (1968, 147), Martin Mulder (1998, 303) and others have argued is a late addition to the temple building account owing to its similarities to the sanctuary artisan passages (see further below). Solomon is said in v. 13 to have fetched an artisan from Tyre named Hiram (הִירָם) to help with the temple building project. In v. 14a MT this figure is described as בן-אשה אלמנה הוא ממטה נפתלי ואביו איש צרי “the son of widow woman from the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre”—meaning that Hiram is a Tyrian who traces part of his lineage through the northern tribe of Naphtali. However, in the Greek version of v. 14a, Hiram's lineage is presented in a slightly different way: with the presence of an additional copula before the pronoun οὗτος (καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς Νεφθαλι, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἀνήρ Τύριος), it now appears “as if not the widow, but Hiram himself was a member of Naphtali's tribe, so that the Tyrian to whom his mother was married was his stepfather” (Mulder 1998, 303). As a result, Hiram in the LXX appears as a full member of the northern tribe of Naphtali.

Importantly, 1 Kgs 7:14b in both versions goes on to describe Hiram's role in the building project in language which is a near-verbatim repetition of the description of Bezalel's skills found in Exod 31:3 and 35:3 (Noth 1968, 149; Mulder 1998, 305; Cogan 2001, 262; Werlitz 2002, 86; Bartusch 2003, 47): “he was full of

wisdom (חכמה), intelligence (תבונה) and knowledge (דעת) for doing all the works (כל־מלאכה) in bronze.” The strength of these verbal overlaps suggests that the scribe responsible for this addition to 1 Kgs 7 aimed to establish a connection between Hiram’s participation in the construction of Solomon’s temple and P’s description of the artisans who built the wilderness sanctuary—a connection which is strengthened in the LXX on account of the change to Hiram’s origins.

The echoes of Exod 25–31, 35–40 are even stronger in the parallel account of Solomon’s temple building activities in 2 Chr 2:12–13. In these verses, the northern artisan is now referred to as חורם אבי Hiramabi, perhaps in a bid to distinguish this figure from the King of Tyre, who is also called Hiram (Japhet 1993, 544). In a more significant change, Hiramabi is no longer associated with the tribe of Naphtali but is said to come from *the tribe of Dan*, thus strengthening the link between this figure and Oholiab in P. What is more, his role in the sanctuary building works is now described in a series of passages which evince multiple overlaps with the P materials of the Pentateuch. Note, for instance the description of the ritual cult in v. 3, which clearly presupposes the P ritual instructions for offerings such as קטרת־סמים, the מערכת of the display bread, and the תמיד sacrifices. See also the reference to the fabrics and works of engraving in vv. 4 and 13, which closely parallel the description of the high priest’s vestments in Exod 28.

2 Chr 2:3–4 [Eng. 2:4–5], 12–13 [Eng. 2:13–14]

3 הנה אני בונה־בית לשם יהוה אלהי להקדיש לו להקטיר לפניו קטרת־סמים ומערכת תמיד ועלות לבקר ולערב לשבתות ולחדשים ולמועדי יהוה אלהינו לעולם זאת עלי־ישראל 4 והבית אשר־אני בונה גדול כִּי־גדול אלהינו מכל־האלהים

...

12 ועתה שלחתי איש־חכם יודע בינה לחורם אבי 13 בן־אשה מן־בנות דן ואביו איש־צרי יודע לעשות בזהב־ובכסף בנהשת בברזל באבנים ובעצים בארגמן בתכלת ובבוץ ובכרמיל ולפתח כל־פתוחה ולחשב כל־מחשבת אשר ינתן־לו עם־חכמיו וחכמי אדני דויד אביך

3 Behold, I [Solomon] am the one to build the house for the name of Yhwh my god, to dedicate it for him, for fragrant incense, and for regular rows [of display bread], and burnt offerings in the morning and in the evening, and for observing the sabbath, and for the new moon, and for the fixed times of Yhwh our god—for this is forever upon Israel. 4 And now, send to me a wise man for working in gold, and silver and bronze, and in iron, and in purple and crimson and blue, knowledgeable in engraving, to be with the workers who are with me in Judah and Jerusalem, whom my father David provided.

...

12 Now, I [Hiram] have sent a wise man, endowed with understanding, Hiramabi, 13 the son of a woman from the daughters of Dan, and his father a man of Tyre—one who is trained for working in gold, silver, bronze and iron, stone and wood, and in purple, blue, byssus and crimson, for doing all engraving, and for designing all designs which are assigned to him, with your craftsmen, and the craftsmen of my lord David, your father.

It is intriguing that these additions to the accounts of Solomon’s building project in Kings and Chronicles not only integrate a northerner, Hiram/Hiramabi, into the building account using language drawn from P, but invest him with the skills which, in Exodus, were particularly associated with Bezalel the Judean. It might seem that these passages reinstate a northerner to a position of leadership and accord him a greater role than his counterpart had in the P account. However, this does not seem to be the best reading. Yes, the northerner is accorded greater prominence and skills in Kings and Chronicles, but this is in a context which is still dominated by a Judean, in this case, *Solomon*. Hence, far from the northerner being elevated to a position of dominance, he

is part of a strategy whereby the singular status of a Judean is thrown into greater relief. Bezalel's artisanal tasks can thus be fulfilled by a northerner with the balance between south and north remaining in favor of the former.

First Kings 7 and 2 Chr 2 thus throw valuable light on the precedent P's sanctuary construction project created for later assertions of Judean primacy in the centralized cult. The links to P in these later texts show that the scribes responsible for introducing Hiram/Huramabi to 1 Kgs 7/2 Chr 2 saw in the relationship between Bezalel and Oholiab a model for southern-northern cultic relations which accorded with their concern to affirm the Jerusalem temple as a pan-Israelite space that has the allegiance of the northern tribes, but which nonetheless remains firmly controlled by Judeans.

c) Further Evidence of Judean Bias in Num 1–10

As the discussion thus far indicates, it seems that the association of the wilderness sanctuary with Judah was a progressive development. While the echoes of 1 Kgs 6–8 within Exod 25–31, 35–40 probably stemmed from a relatively early stage in the development of the P sanctuary account, the inclusion of Bezalel and Oholiab most likely occurred later, and perhaps in multiple phases. This suggests that the attempt to assign the tribe of Judah primacy in the central sanctuary was an ongoing process which continued into relatively late stages of the development of the Priestly traditions.

Indeed, while this discussion has focused on the Judean bias present in the sanctuary construction account of Exod 25–31, 35–40, even a passing glance at the text of Num 1–10 suggests that this endeavor to emphasize Judah's dominance in the central sanctuary continued in other late materials where the tribes' interactions with the wilderness sanctuary are described. For instance, in Num 2, where Yhwh arranges the Israelite tribes within the camp around the tent of meeting, the tribe of Judah is mentioned first. This is significant since it differs from the order of the tribes which is observed in the first census in Num 1, where the tribes are listed according to the birth order of the patriarchs (thus beginning with Reuben). This difference suggests that the scribes responsible for Num 2 are deliberately articulating a new, alternative order of the tribes that is to be operative in socio-cultic scenarios. Indeed, in Num 2 Judah seems to have been listed first because this tribe is to be given the position at the east side of the sanctuary, aligned with its entrance—the same position which is identified in Num 3:38 as being the place where Moses, Aaron and Aaron's sons were to encamp. In this way, Judah is clearly associated with the socio-cultic leaders of the Israelite sanctuary community. The northern tribes, by contrast, are given no such prestigious position. In Num 2, the camps of Ephraim and of Dan are situated on the west side of the wilderness sanctuary and its northern side respectively.

Similar dynamics prevail in the march of the community and the wilderness sanctuary across the wilderness. In Num 2:9 the tribe of Judah is told to unite with the other southern tribes of Issachar and Zebulun to form an enormous *מהנה יהודה* “camp of Judah” totaling 186,400, who will then *לצבאתם* “set out first on the march” (2:9) under the leadership of Nahshon son of Amminadab. This then comes to fruition in Num 10, which records how Judah led the march of the Israelites and the wilderness sanctuary across the desert. No such prestige is awarded to the northern tribes within the

order of the march. Instead, the camp of Ephraim is commanded to occupy the third place (Num 2:24b), and Dan, the fourth (Num 2:31b).

Finally, the leadership of the tribe of Judah at the wilderness sanctuary is also emphasized in the account in Num 7 of the re-dedication of the wilderness sanctuary. This text describes the tribes bringing offerings to the tent of meeting *ביום כלות משה להקים את-המשכן* “on the day when Moses had finished setting up the habitation.” The tribes are said to present the offerings over a twelve-day ceremony, in which each of them is allocated a specific day to come to the sanctuary. Again, the order of the tribes does not follow the birth order of the sons of Jacob but privileges the tribe of Judah: Nahshon son of Amminadab is said to have been the first to appear at the sanctuary and present his offering on behalf of the tribe of Judah (vv. 12–17). The northern tribes occupy a position of limited prestige, presenting either towards the middle or the end of the twelve-day festival.

The focus of this thesis on H and centralization prevents me from offering a detailed study of these, as well as other Priestly texts, which assert Judah’s primacy vis-à-vis the space of the sanctuary (see, however, the discussion of Judah and the Aaronide priesthood in § 2.4.2 below). The point to be noted here is that the Judean bias of Exod 25–31, 35–40 appears to continue into other Priestly materials, such as Num 1–10, thus adding weight to the argument that the wilderness sanctuary functions as a discursive strategy whereby Judean aspirations to primacy in the centralized cult are asserted. It also raises the intriguing prospect that Judean scribes might have maintained control over the composition of Priestly texts throughout much of the Persian period, using these traditions to promote a social memory which could cement their claim to be the rightful heirs of the centralized sanctuary cult established at Sinai.

Summary

To summarize the discussion thus far: P’s construction account demonstrates the thoroughly centralized concept of sanctuary space promoted in that document. One shrine for a united community is the only way, in P’s view, in which the Israelites might fulfill the deity’s requirements for its habitation and meet with it via ritual practice. The portability of the shrine does not speak to its decentralized character but rather displays P’s creativity in reconciling a centralizing ideal with the narrative constraints of Israel’s travels through the desert at Sinai.

It can also be concluded that the Priestly description of the wilderness sanctuary, even in relatively late texts, does not offer the pragmatic solution to the power struggles between Jerusalem and Gerizim which Diebner, Römer and Watts assume. Rather, these texts present a highly idealized social memory of the foundation of the cult. It is an ideal in which both north and south must commit to gathering and worshipping at a single site. At the same time, there must also be an acceptance that representatives of the tribe of Judah will have the primary right to lead within that space and its ritual cult, and that the north will need to accept a subordinate role. Thus, to draw on Foucault’s terminology, the description of the wilderness sanctuary is a practice of “normalizing judgment”

(Foucault 1995 [1977], 177), in that it provides the mechanism through which certain groups—in this case the Judeans—are imagined as having a right to greater authority, resources or privilege.

This does not mean, however, that Judeans, at the time of writing, were in fact exerting total dominance over the Yahwistic cult. As Chapter One has suggested (see § 1.2.1), the power dynamics in the Persian period were unlikely to be such that Jerusalem would have been in a position to command its northern counterparts to recognize its exclusive centrality. But this only points to the importance of P's discursive strategies: in that those trying to promote Judean interests in Persian times perhaps perceived an idealizing discourse as a means of giving voice to these at a time when they were potentially marginalized. As a result, we can see in the promotion of a centralized ideal not so much a mirror of contemporary power relations as the Priestly authors' perception of these and their assumption that they needed to adopt such a strategy in order to shore up the position of Jerusalem.

2.2.2 The Post-Monarchic Sanctuary

These conclusions as to the purpose served by the articulation of a memory of the foundation of centralized sanctuary space may be further explored if we turn now to a final aspect of P's description of the shrine: namely, its post-monarchic character. Even more than the power dynamics between south and north—an issue which is, after all, only subtly present in the construct account of Exod 25–31, 35–40—the question of how royal roles were redistributed, reallocated and reinterpreted pervades P's description of the construction of the shrine and plays a key role in interpreting its discursive force.

As already mentioned above, a comparison of P's description of the wilderness sanctuary and the account of the First Temple in 1 Kgs 6–8 is productive, not only for the insights this provides as to the similarities between these two sacred spaces (§ 2.2.1) but also for what it reveals about the differences between them. Most profoundly, Solomon's temple is a thoroughly royal space. P, by contrast, omits or reinterprets those aspects of the sanctuary which might have been particularly associated with kingship. To begin with, there is no association of the wilderness shrine with a royal residence equivalent to Solomon's palace in 1 Kgs 7:1–12. Then, P seems to have intentionally marginalized any hints of traditional Davidic theology within the sanctuary interior. The differences in the cherubim iconography of the two sanctuaries are telling in this regard. In Solomon's temple, the cherubim are of an enormous size and serve as throne bearers for the god within the inner sanctum (1 Kgs 6:23–28). Their size and function most probably correspond to the designation in the “Zion theology” of the Davidic dynasty of Yhwh as *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִּים* “Yhwh of hosts who is enthroned on the cherubim” (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16; cf. Ps 80:2; 99:1). Central to this is the idea that Yhwh is physically present within the temple, where he sits upon on his throne and is flanked by the cherubim (de Vaux 1961; Keel 1977, 23–25; Mettinger 1982, 36–37; Janowski 1991,

235–59; Propp 2006, 516–19). From this position, Yhwh serves as the protector of his elected city, Jerusalem, and also of his house, the temple on Mount Zion (see e.g., Ps 48). Key to this theology is not only the invincibility of Jerusalem, but also the indispensable role of the Davidic monarch for maintaining Yhwh’s presence on earth. According to this outlook, if the deity is to remain enthroned in its temple, a Davidic king must serve as its vice-regent, maintaining the security of Zion and governing on Yhwh’s behalf (Ollenburger 1987, 59–66).

In P, by contrast, the cherubim in the inner sanctum have been stripped of this association with the enthronement of Yhwh, and thus also of the link between the deity, the monarch and Zion (Keel 1977, 29; Mettinger 1982, 87; Houtman 2000, 383–85; Propp 2006, 516–19; Nihan 2008a, 191–93). Being much smaller than the two statues in Solomon’s temple, they no longer appear to serve as bearers of Yhwh’s throne. Instead, they are given the function of protecting the *kāpporēt* which, while marking the point within the sanctuary where Yhwh manifests himself, does not serve as Yhwh’s throne. This change in the representation of the cherubim goes hand-in-hand with a conspicuous absence in P of any reference to Yhwh being *ישב הכרבים* “enthroned on the cherubim.” As part of this de-selection of the language associated with the enthronement of Yhwh, P offers a new interpretation of the divine presence in the sanctuary. In particular, P places new emphasis on Yhwh “meeting” with the Israelites at his divine abode in the form of his *כבוד*. This meeting is fundamentally connected to the Israelites’ willingness to practice the rituals which Yhwh revealed to Moses at Sinai. As mentioned above, the term *אהל מועד* is used in Exod 25–31 only when P refers to the sanctuary in the context of ritual practice. In addition, both Klaus Koch (1997 [1983–1984], 173) and Nihan (2008a, 197) have noted that the only time in P when the Israelites are able to directly perceive the *כבוד* of Yhwh is immediately after the instigation of the sacrificial cult in Lev 9:23–24. This supports the idea that P has re-conceptualized the divine presence in the sanctuary, such that it is now the *ritual cult* which both maintains the god’s presence in the sanctuary and enables that presence to be experienced by the community. As a result, P marginalizes the traditional ideology of the Davidic royal cult in favor of a new paradigm, which emphasizes the responsibility of all Israel to maintain the god’s presence in its sanctuary through shared ritual practice (see further § 2.3.2 below).

This reading gains weight when we consider how P’s interpretation of traditional royal roles differs from that found in 1 Kgs, and other texts which describe the construction of central sanctuaries in Western Asia. The account of Solomon’s construction of the First Temple consistently underscores the pivotal role played by the king. It begins with Solomon declaring his decision to build the temple (with Yhwh’s approval), procuring laborers and gathering building materials for the construction works (1 Kgs 5:15–32). It is followed by detailed descriptions of the building procedure which Solomon himself leads (1 Kgs 6:1–7:51), and the dedicatory rites in which Solomon then commissions the shrine as the deity’s abode and as the center of Israelite worship (1 Kgs 8:1–66). This depiction of Solomon’s role in the building of the First Temple resonates with Western Asian inscriptions concerning other royal building projects (Hurowitz 1992, 106–10). In these a familiar

pattern emerges (Frankfort 1955, 267–74; Ellis 1968): the royal leader is commissioned by the god to receive the instructions for building a sanctuary; he then implements these with precision, gathering the resources, calling upon laborers, preparing the building site and overseeing the construction project, often fashioning the first brick, before dedicating the finished sanctuary.²⁵

Crucially, P appears to model the construction and dedication of the wilderness sanctuary on the pattern of a royal building inscription (Hurowitz 1985; M. George 2009, 164)—ranging from the divine command for a sanctuary to be built, through the transmission of that command to a human intermediary, the listing of the materials needed, the commissioning of special workers, and the elaborate description of how the works were carried out, and the subsequent dedication of the sanctuary. But whereas in other Western Asian building stories these tasks would have been assumed by a king, in P these roles are assigned to others: to Yhwh, Moses, Aaron and the community. First, it is clear that Yhwh’s part in the sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 extends far beyond that traditionally assigned to a deity in such construction works. Rather than his simply authorizing the works, and perhaps providing limited instructions, he instigates and directs proceedings in a manner which is reminiscent of that of the royal subject in building inscriptions (M. George 2009, 164). Moses, too, assumes certain functions which in other biblical and non-biblical texts describing the construction of sanctuaries are performed by kings. He receives the god’s inspiration for the

²⁵ This pattern can already be seen in the Sumerian inscriptions of Gudea (approx. 2125 BCE), which record how Enlil, the highest god of Sumer, called for a sanctuary to be built, prompting his son Ningirsu to appear to King Gudea in a dream and to command him to build the E-ninnu temple at Lagash. Then, in a second dream, Ningirsu reveals to Gudea the manner in which the temple must be constructed, after which Gudea sets to work, gathering expensive materials, workers for the project, and executing the building works in the elaborate manner which Ningirsu decreed. In Cylinder B, the completion of the sanctuary building project is marked by Gudea anointing it with paste and oil (ll. 14–18)—a ritual which allows the god to enter the sanctuary. Once Ningirsu has organized the cultic household, Gudea makes the first sacrifices in the newly founded temple, before receiving the charge from Ningirsu to serve as its chief administrator. For a translation of the inscriptions, see Jacobsen 1987, 388–444. Later Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions again provide clear evidence of the king’s role in erecting and renovating temple buildings. Many of these follow a similar pattern to that of Gudea: with the king receiving the command to build the sanctuary, overseeing its various works and then dedicating it. This pattern is well attested, for instance, in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon that relate the restoration of the national temple Sara in Aššur in 679 BCE (Hurowitz 1992, 76–78; B. Porter 1993, 67–68). The patterns are also present in narratives about the Neo-Babylonian kings (626–539 BCE) preserved in temple precincts and on the materials (often bricks) used to construct the roads, gates and city walls that these kings sponsored (Waerzeggers 2011, 726). To name but one example, the Etemenanki inscription (approx. 620–609 BCE) describes the construction of a ziggurat in Babylon by king Nabopolassar following his defeat of the Assyrians. It recounts how Nabopolassar receives the command to rebuild the temple from Marduk and then commissions laborers, surveys the site with experts and wise men, purifies it, lays the temple foundations and ceremoniously molds the first bricks with his sons. For a transcription and translation, see Da Riva 2013, 77–92.

construction works, as well as the permission to undertake them; he coordinates the building by procuring the raw materials for the sanctuary construction (Exod 25:2b–7; 35:4–8 LXX [= 35:4–9 MT]), commissioning the laborers (Exod 25:8a; 31:1–11; 35:9–19 LXX [= 35:10–19 MT], 30–35), ceremonially installing the vessels within the sanctuary (Exod 40:1–27 LXX [= 40:1–33 MT]), and overseeing its dedication (Lev 8–9).

Aaron also assumes, in Lev 9, a role in the dedication of the central shrine that is reminiscent of a king's. In addition to offering the first sacrifices, he commences his role as intermediary between the god and the community, while presenting the offerings of the entire congregation (Lev 9:6–21). As mentioned above, it is at the conclusion of these rites that the Israelites glimpse the כבוד of Yhwh and watch as fire consumes the offerings on the altar. This correlation between the manifestation of the god and Aaron's sacrificial actions positions the high priest as playing the crucial role of maintaining Yhwh's presence in the shrine, while also enabling that presence to be experienced by his client "Israel" (see further § 2.4.1 below). In these ways, P effectively ascribes to Aaron a socio-cultic agency which was traditionally associated with kings, while also situating such agency within a broader network in which royal functions are no longer monopolized by one figure but rather are distributed among the community.

Beyond this, P significantly positions the Israelites themselves—not just their leaders—as fulfilling the traditional royal role of cultic sponsor (Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:484–85). While a king would usually have played a role in supplying the materials during the construction of the shrine, P charges the community with the responsibilities of donating the necessary raw materials (Exod 25:2b–7; 35:4–8 LXX = 25:4–9 MT; Utschneider 1988, 158–59). Moreover, they are charged with the ultimate responsibility for constructing the shrine and presenting it to Moses as the fruit of their collective labor. In assigning these roles to the community, P effectively assigns to the Israelites the key role of providing the economic resources and labor which would have traditionally been supplied or procured by the royal leader (Altmann 2016, 192–93). As a result, the community's generosity and commitment to the building project becomes the crucial means by which the deity's dwelling is successfully constructed, without need of a monarch.

This reinterpretation of traditionally royal roles suggests that we should not interpret the echoes of 1 Kgs 6–8 in the P sanctuary account as positioning the wilderness sanctuary as the direct "forerunner" to the royal temple in Jerusalem. Instead, these echoes might be read as part of a broader bid to creatively *subvert* the traditional association between central sanctuary space and a royal leader in Israel's foundational history; hence they constitute a means whereby the significance of a royal patron in the history of Israel's centralized cult is diminished (Nihan 2008a). By mimicking a royal building story, but with the character of the king removed, P renders redundant any link between palace and sanctuary cult in the future; this becomes an unnecessary, secondary development, inconsistent with the ideal revealed to Moses at Sinai in which the sanctuary would be a communal responsibility, and the divine presence maintained by a combination of Aaron's ritual agency and the

people's commitment to sponsoring the cult. P thus effectively displaces the link between royalty and the construction of the central sanctuary, so present in 1 Kgs 6–8, in favor of a post-monarchic cultic ideal.

Hence, idealized though P's discourse was, the construction account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 might provide a window into the actual historical context within which P's discourse of centralized sanctuary space developed. It suggests that P was renegotiating the centrality of the Jerusalem sanctuary following the significant changes in traditional power structures that faced the Judean cult during this time. It is clear that the hopes that the Davidic monarchy would be restored in Yehûd in the Persian period were not realized and that the Second Temple in Jerusalem was forced to operate without a local monarch or palace institution. This loss would not only have deprived the shrine of a sponsor, with all the financial ramifications this involved (see further § 2.3.2); almost certainly it would also have shaken the *ideological* underpinning of the Jerusalem sanctuary, since the core idea of a unifying central shrine in the Western Asian world (including in earlier Judean traditions) was one which connected this place of worship to the palace and its royal leader.

The P sanctuary account thus can be read as promoting a social memory in which the central sanctuary of Jerusalem could survive the downfall of the monarchy and assert its centrality in this difficult environment. P's account provides the central sanctuary at Jerusalem with an alternative history of origins, one that is no longer tethered to the memory of the royal cult of David but can instead trace its lineage to the ideal wilderness sanctuary and the foundations of a unified Israel before the emergence of the monarchy. It thus enables the Jerusalem temple to assert its place in a new social order in which “the sanctuary and not the king is to be the centre of society” (Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:485). This may have been especially important in the decades surrounding the reconstruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (probably around 520–515 BCE; see § 1.2.1 above). At that time, the construction account would have provided a social memory of how the Israelites unified in building a central shrine for the national god, without need of a royal leader. By profiling the willingness of the Israelites at Sinai to assume responsibility for donating to the sanctuary construction, P provides a powerful exemplar that might inspire the Israelites to repeat this behavior, this time in reality. Moreover, P ensures that the lack of a king would not constitute an impediment to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, since the foundational narrative of the Israelite cult has identified alternative agents of cultic responsibility who might ably assume the traditional royal roles.

Even if we do not associate the construction account with the specific historical event of the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple, its rhetorical power would still have a more general relevance for that sanctuary in the other decades of the Persian period. As noted in Chapter One (§ 1.2.1), a limited number of other Yahwistic sanctuaries continued to operate long after the Second Temple had been constructed, particularly in Samaria and the diaspora. This would have almost certainly dissipated the Israelites' donations, and so directed resources away from the fledgling Second Temple. The P construction account privileges the demands of one shrine, constructed under Judean leadership, and

casts negative light on the dissipation of resources. It would have therefore provided ongoing ideological scaffolding for sustaining the Jerusalem temple. Rather than splintering into factions and deferring to multiple sanctuaries, P insists that the Israelites must pool their resources to service a single sanctuary and, in so doing, achieve the socio-cultic unity which ensures the god's continued presence among the community. In this the P accounts serves, as discourse more generally is recognized to do, as a way of mediating meanings and dictating practices so as to define or in this case redefine, the reality of a changing world, and with this the manner in which the people who inhabit it must re-conceptualize their roles and responsibilities.

2.3 Standardized Ritual Practice

A single central sanctuary, then, was core to P's logic of centralization. As we have seen, it is not necessary to compare P to D in order to understand this. Instead the construction account enshrines a distinctively Priestly logic of centralization, in that it emerges from P's own narrative of the foundation of the cult at Sinai and the deity's expectation of its client, Israel. But, as explained in the Introduction to this thesis, centralization should not be limited simply to the analysis of sanctuary space, critical though this may be. Centralization resides as much in the ritual processes by which the attention of the cultic community is focused on the central sanctuary as it does in the description of this shrine's spatial properties.

In the case of P's imagining of center, we need then to consider the detailed prescriptions for ritual practice—namely, what the Israelites must do once the central sanctuary has been built—and the function which P imagined these activities served in centralizing the cult and unifying the community. In so doing, I seek to refocus the study of this question, away from the traditional preoccupation with an absence of an altar law in P's ritual instructions, to consider how P's use of highly prescriptive ritual legislation develops a far more extensive, and ultimately more pervasive logic of centralization. Specifically, I explore the nexus between cult centralization and ritual standardization—the form of legislative control evident in Lev 1–16, in which the individual discretion of local communities is silenced in favor of conformity and orientation towards shared, central authorities. In particular, I analyze how such a trend towards standardization not only presents de-centralized cultic practice as necessarily transgressive, but also entrenches the communal obligation to sponsor the central sanctuary and protect it against innovation. This aspect of Lev 1–16, it is argued, further highlights P's creativity in negotiating traditionally royal functions in imagining the centralized cult in the post-monarchic period, as it takes the role of cultic guarantor and guardian and redistributes it to the community as a whole, and in so doing makes the survival of the central sanctuary a collective responsibility.

2.3.1 Ritual Standardization in Lev 1–16

The study of Lev 1–16 from the perspective of centralization and standardization taps into long-standing debates about the purpose and function of the P ritual instructions in their ancient context. Traditionally, the scholarly focus has been on recovering the sources of which Lev 1–16 is comprised and reconstructing the probable role that such sources originally played within the Israelite cult. In particular, scholars have long been fascinated by the possibility that the sacrificial instructions in Lev 1–7 and the impurity regulations of Lev 11–15 preserve traces of priestly manuals, used in the performance of major rituals and the handling of impurity. Leviticus 1–3 has received particular attention in this regard. Not only do these materials contain very few references to the narrative context of the P history of origins, but they also evince a number of linguistic peculiarities when compared to other P texts which describe the same sacrifices (cf. esp. Exod 39 and Lev 8–9). Scholars thus read these aspects of Lev 1–3 as evidence that these chapters contain the kernel(s) of an earlier sacrificial source (or sources), which the Priestly scribes have taken up and edited.²⁶

Beyond this, scholars have identified formal markers in Lev 1–16 which may suggest that the Priestly authors have drawn on additional ancient sources when composing their ritual legislation. In particular, the formula X-זאת תורת “this is the instruction for X” which frequently occurs as the sub- or superscript to the laws of Lev 6–7 and 11–15 has long been considered a marker of smaller compositional units within the P ritual materials.²⁷ The use of the term “instruction” or *tôrâ* is significant here, since elsewhere in the HB it is often used when referring to priestly teachings on matters of purity and impurity and when distinguishing between the sacred and the common.²⁸ It has thus been argued that those passages which start or conclude with the expression X-זאת תורת may preserve traces of traditional instructions used by priests when overseeing sacrifices and adjudicating in matters of pollution and impurity.

This theory seems to gain support from a comparison of Lev 1–16 with other ritual texts from Western Asia. Scholars have noted (Levine 1983; Watts 2003, 83; Nihan 2007a, 215–19) that the focus on a proper sequence of ritual actions in Lev 17–26 is stylistically reminiscent of the ritual lists

²⁶ More specifically, most scholars suggest that chs. 1 and 3 were originally a “single literary unit” (Milgrom 1991, 203–4), and that Lev 2 has been inserted between them by P (although it is frequently maintained that ch. 2 preserves source material appropriated by P). This is based on the observation that the new case in Lev 2:1 interrupts the instructions which seem to flow from Lev 1:2 to 3:1, and also introduces the use of second person singular address, which jars with the third person singular subject of Lev 1 and 3. For this view see, e.g., Dillmann 1897, 413–14; Bertholet 1901, 7; Baentsch 1903, 308; Koch 1959, 52; Noth 1977 [1965], 26; Elliger 1966, 48; Rendtorff 1985, 84–85; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 37–39; Nihan 2007a, 198–215.

²⁷ For this view, see e.g., Baentsch 1903, 332–42; Noth 1977 [1965], 52–53; Elliger 1966, 79–95; Milgrom 1991, 396; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 82–83; Nihan 2007a, 229–300; 2013a, 314; Hieke 2014, 1:307.

²⁸ See, e.g., Lev 10:10; Deut 24:8; Ezek 22:26; 44:23; Zeph 3:4; Hag 2:11; cf. Jer 2:18; Ezek 7:26; Mal 2:7. This point has been noted, e.g., by Dommershausen 1995 [1982–1984], 68; Cody 1984, 258–62; Nihan 2013a, 314.

found in temple archives from Ugarit and Mesopotamia from the second and first millennium. These Ugaritic and Akkadian documents seem to have recorded a standard order for the performance of a given ritual, which could then serve as a “check list” for ritual specialists overseeing and keeping track of the rites (Caquot 1984, 133; Bottéro 1985; Pardee 2000, 3). This function is confirmed by the presence of cuneiform equivalents of “check marks” (Pardee 2002, 13) in the margins of some of the Ugaritic ritual lists (see, e.g., RS 24.24.264+ col. B, l. 10` in Pardee 2000, 1284; see also the right margin of RS 20.024` in Nougayrol 1968, 42–64).

However, while such theories may throw light on the possible function(s) of some of the *source* materials undergirding Lev 1–16, they do not necessarily explain the purpose of the ritual laws in the form that they finally take in P itself. While P may well have integrated sources that detail ritual sequences, and which would have typically been the preserve of the priests, it is too limiting to deduce from this that Lev 1–16 was intended to provide a kind of “handbook” (Rainey 1970, 487) or “manual” (Westbrook 1988, 2). Such interpretations overlook many of the most distinctive features of Lev 1–16, which suggest that P aims beyond the mere programming of the cultic behavior of the priests, to the promotion of a collective ritual standard: in that Lev 1–16 evince a concern with uniformity of practice across the entire community, in conformity with a central written authority.

The features of Lev 1–16 which support this theory include: (1) their imagined audience; (2) their divine voicing; (3) the repetition of particular formulae; (4) the narratives of ritual implementation; and (5) the inclusion of regulations concerning everyday matters of purity and impurity.

(1) The first of these features concerns P’s consistent interest in widening the addressees of its ritual legislation so that the Israelite community is implicated directly in the protection and maintenance of Yhwh’s cult. A manual intended for the use of a priesthood does not necessarily require that its content be known to all within the community. Yet Moses is repeatedly commanded throughout Lev 1–16 to convey Yhwh’s ritual instructions to the בני ישראל “Israelites” as a whole, with variations on the refrain *וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר* “Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: ‘Speak to the Israelites’ ” appearing frequently (see, e.g., Lev 1:1–2a [although with some variations]; 4:1–2a; 6:24–25a; 7:22–23a, 28–29a; 11:1–2a; 12:1–2a; 15:1–2a). This repetition underscores the deity’s expectation that the entire community, and not just the priests, will be familiar with the proper sequences of Israel’s most important rituals and ensure their proper performance. Watts has also argued (2007a, 59–60) that the repeated use of second-person address in Lev 1–5 reveals P’s concern to reinforce the message that non-priests, as well as priests, must assume responsibility for heeding Yhwh’s ritual instructions and dutifully follow them. The detailed ritual sequences outlined in Lev 1–16 thus emerge a form of *communal knowledge*, rather than the prerogative of the priests alone (see further Nihan 2013a, 357–58).

To be sure, certain instructions in Lev 1–16 are addressed directly to Aaron and his sons, with no accompanying instruction to Moses to convey them to the broader community. These include the

regulations for the disposal of sacrificial remains in Lev 6–7, and the instructions concerning skin disease in Lev 13. However, even these regulations are positioned so that they do not constitute secret priestly knowledge. Rather, P invites all those who hear and receive the text of Leviticus to consider themselves privy to the divine oracles which must guide priestly activities; now that the people have access to the god’s ritual instructions, in the form of the P document, the community, as much as the priesthood, is responsible for guarding the cult against any practice that would violate the law (Watts 2007a, 60). The result is that the Israelites are encouraged to consider themselves fit to evaluate the ritual conduct of the priesthood in accordance with the norms laid out in the text. It is a system in which conformity is ensured through mutual surveillance in accordance with the central authority of the law.

This incorporation of all Israel—community and priesthood—into a system of compliance with the law affirms the idea that P was trying to establish a ritual standard: that is, it is positioning the laws revealed to Moses at the tent of meeting as the “definitive instructions for Israel’s most important cultic practices” (Watts 2007a, 65). If they are to meet the deity’s requirements for its ritual cult, both priests and non-priests alike must defer to this standard; and it is by this measure that the legitimacy of cultic practice is judged.

(2) This deference, in turn, is contingent on the law being recognized as having absolute authority. P establishes this in large part via a second feature of Lev 1–16, beyond addressing the law to priests and non-priests alike: namely, the framing of the P ritual instructions as divine oracles, personally dictated by Yhwh to his chosen prophet Moses. This use of divine voicing is striking, given that it is rarely employed in other Western Asian legal sources (Levinson 2003, 12; Watts 2003, 88–89). It is far more common for legal texts to be voiced by a royal leader, who then claims divine approval for issuing the decrees. Hammurabi’s code is one such example of legal materials voiced by a royal leader (King Hammurabi) with the benediction of Shamash, the Mesopotamian solar deity. Similar phenomena can also be observed in other cuneiform legal collections from Sumer and Babylon (Paul 1970, 11–26; Roth 1997 [1995], 2 and *passim*; Levinson 2003, 12–14).²⁹

In the case of P, these conventions of royal voicing appear to have been re-signified. By personally voicing the instructions of Lev 1–16, Israel’s national god Yhwh might be said to assume the role traditionally played by the royal figure in cuneiform legal inscriptions, with the result that all the rules for organizing the ritual cult assume the status of divine decrees to his client Israel. To be sure, Leviticus differs from the legal sources mentioned above, in that its legislation covers in great detail, and at considerable length, *rituals*, as opposed to the civil matters typical of Western Asian law codes. P’s divine voicing of the ritual instructions of Lev 1–16 might then echo Western Asian

²⁹ See notably the laws of Lipit-Ishtar written in Sumerian in the beginning of the second millennium (approx. 1930 BCE), for which parts of the prologue and epilogue have been preserved. For the transcription and translation, see Roth 1997 [1995], 23–35.

narrative texts, in which deities occasionally give instructions for the performance of ritual sequences as part of an unfolding story.³⁰ Still, Lev 1–16 goes beyond anything that is found in such Western Asian narratives since, despite mixing ritual instructions with narrative material (cf. Lev 1–7 and 8–10), they articulate ritual regulations that are applicable far beyond the immediate narrative setting at Sinai. In this way, they clearly constitute a form of legislation, and so can be justifiably compared with the legal sources mentioned above.

Divine voicing in Lev 1–16 seems to have been a strategy on P's part to maximize the chances that its legislation will be accepted as normative by the Israelites. It is widely recognized that the Western Asian legal codes that put their laws in the mouths of kings do so in order to invest the laws with profound authority (Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:482–83; Levinson 2003, 15; Watts 2003, 91–92). They were designed to “*persuade* their audience to undertake a particular course of action, usually to preserve the temple or the king’s other accomplishments, particularly the inscription itself” (Watts 2003, 91–92 emphasis original). Royal voicing therefore maximized the likelihood that a set of laws would be considered authoritative by those who read or heard them. In P’s case, the adoption of divine voicing for its ritual materials seems to invest them with still greater authority, and thus persuasive power. As Bernard Levinson has remarked, “[t]here is a clear relationship between textual voice and textual authority, so that attributing a legal text to God literally gives that text ultimate authority” (Levinson 2003, 15). By amplifying the prestige of the ritual laws preserved in Lev 1–16 through this discursive device, P effectively rules out the possibility that the Israelites might engage in practices that deviate from the standard the laws establish.

(3) A similar strategy may also be present in a third literary device observed in the P ritual instructions: namely, the repetition of particular formulaic expressions. In particular, Watts has suggested (2007a, 58) that expressions such as *עלה אשה ריח-ניחוח ליהוה* “a burnt offering of soothing odor to Yhwh” (Lev 1:9, 13, 17; 2:2, 9, 11, 16; 3:5, 16) and *וכפר עליהם הכהן ונסלח להם* “the priest will make atonement for them and they will be forgiven” (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26 MT = 6:7 LXX) serve to continually promote the efficacy of the specific ritual sequences outlined by P: the inference being that no deviation from these ritual prescriptions will be considered acceptable by the deity. The refrain *זאת תורת-X* “this is the instruction for X” in Lev 6–7 and 11–15 might serve a similar rhetorical function: it asserts the laws’ authority, while also encouraging readers and hearers of the text to consider *this* particular version of Israel’s major rituals—and *only this* version—to be the authoritative account of the rituals at hand. The formula *זאת תורת-X* would thus be equivalent to “this is torah (not that)” (Watts 2007a, 59). In this case, such formulae would point persuasively to an

³⁰ This can especially be seen in Ugaritic narratives, such as “The Birth of the Beautiful Gods” (*KTU* 1.23), which begins in ll. 1–29 with a divine figure summoning guests to a feast, followed by ritual instructions for how it is to be celebrated. For a transcription and translation of the text, see Smith 2006.

impulse in P towards standardization; their prescriptive tone seemingly eliminates discretion, marginalizes alternatives and orients P's audience towards centralized authority.

(4) A fourth feature of Lev 1–16 confirms this argument: namely, the narrative implementation of the law by Moses, the priests and the community, and its transgression by Nadab and Abihu. After revealing the rules for sacrifice, P reports in Lev 8–9 how Moses, Aaron and his sons diligently went about instigating the sanctuary cult in precise accordance with Yhwh's oracles delivered to Moses. In addition to repeating many of the ritual details found in Exod 29 (concerning the consecration of the sanctuary and priests) and Lev 1–3 (concerning the major Israelite sacrifices), Lev 8–9 repeatedly affirm that everything is done exactly *כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה* “as Yhwh commanded him/Moses” (see, e.g., Lev 8:4a, 9b, 13b, 17b, 21b, 29b; cf. 8:31, 34, 35, 36; 9:5, 7, 10, 21). In addition, Lev 9:16 states that Aaron presents the burnt offering on the community's behalf *כַּמִּשְׁפָּט* “according to the rule”; it thus appears that the high priest was pairing his sacrificial actions with the instructions laid out in Lev 1. Yhwh's approval of the rites is then dramatically confirmed in Lev 9:24 with the manifestation of Yhwh's *כְּבוֹד* to the entire community and the eruption of fire which eats (*אָכַל*) the burnt offering and fat which have been dutifully placed upon the altar. Strict obedience to ritual law is thus upheld by P as the means by which the Israelites' sacrifices will be considered acceptable by their patron deity, and thus to ensuring the cult's proper functioning.

In contrast, in Lev 10 we see the disastrous consequences when priests fail to adhere to Yhwh's ritual commandments.³¹ Leviticus 10:1–2 describes how two of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, put fire in their censers to offer incense to Yhwh and present *אֵשׁ זָרָה* “strange fire” which Yhwh had *not* commanded (*אֵשׁ זָרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא צִוָּה אֲתֶם*). This act of insolence provokes fire to come out from before Yhwh and “eat” (*אָכַל*) Nadab and Abihu, killing them (*וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה וְתֹאכַל אֹתָם*; v. 2). As has been widely recognized by commentators, this description of Nadab and Abihu's punishment in v. 2 clearly reverses the positive approval which Yhwh gave to the rites in Lev 9:24, which were on that occasion presented in accordance with the law. Now, rather than eating the offerings, as he had done in ch. 9, Yhwh causes his fire to eat the disobedient priests instead!

Scholars have long debated precisely what Nadab and Abihu did wrong. The discussion has primarily focused on the interpretation of the key expression *אֵשׁ זָרָה*, and what this might reveal about the errant offering presented on the altar. Some scholars have suggested that Lev 10:1 might echo Exod 30:9, where the same term *זָרָה* is used when prohibiting the offering of *קֶטֶר זָרָה* “strange incense” on the golden altar (e.g., Levine 1989, 59; Milgrom 1991, 598). Others suggest that the term

³¹ This chapter seems to constitute a late addition to the book of Leviticus, which arguably post-dates the composition of Lev 17–26 (see further, e.g., Elliger 1952, 175; Achenbach 2004; Nihan 2007a, 148–50; Frevel 2012). Nevertheless, it forms a sophisticated supplement to the focus on law observance in the narrative of the inauguration of Yhwh's sanctuary cult in Lev 8–9, which throws valuable light on how narratives concerned with law observance/non-observance reinforce the need for ritual standardization.

זרה might reveal the “foreign” nature of the fire rite, and thus that Nadab and Abihu engaged in non-Yahwistic cultic practice (e.g., Hartley 1992, 132; Achenbach 2003, 97–110). “In any case,” as Katharina Pyschny has observed (2017, 208), the wording of v. 1bβ (אִשֶׁר לֹא צִוָּה אֹתָם) makes clear that the issue “concerns a fire that diverges from the divine norms of law and is therefore an unauthorized or illegitimate one” („In jedem Fall handelt es sich um ein von der göttlichen Rechtsnorm abweichendes und damit unerlaubtes bzw. illegitimes Feuer“). Hence the rhetorical strategy behind such a story is clear: it confirms that *only* those offerings which are made in accordance with P’s ritual instructions can be worthy of Yhwh’s attention (Watts 2013, 527–28). Those who dare to ignore the law do so at their peril.

These narratives of sacrificial practice in Lev 8–10 thus confirm the cultic requirement to standardize Israelite sacrificial practice in accordance with the ritual laws outlined in chs. 1–7. Priest and non-priest alike must accept the authority of P’s prescriptions and ensure that rituals are performed in accordance with the law. Such standardization requires, in turn, that the Israelites shun any competing version of Israel’s major rituals to those which are outlined by P, and judge the appropriateness of a given ritual action in accordance with the Mosaic *tôrôt*.

(5) Finally, it is important to note here that, although these narratives concern cultic practices that transpire within the space of the sanctuary, P’s tendency towards standardization is hinted at through a fifth device: namely its discussion of appropriate behaviors, *outside the sanctuary*, that relate to purity and impurity. In Lev 11–15, P offers extensive instructions concerning the application of the law so as to avoid pollution in everyday contexts. Their standardizing impulse is particularly clear in the legislation in Lev 11 concerning clean and unclean animals. As a number of scholars have recognized (Van der Toorn 1985, 35–36; Firmage 1990, 185; Nihan 2007a, 333–34; Angelini and Altmann forthcoming), the norms laid out in that chapter are striking on account of their generality and permanence for all Israel. Moses and Aaron are instructed by Yhwh to deliver the instructions to the בני ישראל as a whole (Lev 11:2a), who must then apply them indiscriminately to every situation in which they consume animals. The prohibitions are therefore absolute, intended to apply to all members of the Israelite community in equal measure, regardless of where they live or the time of the year when they consume the meat.

This aspect of Lev 11 distinguishes the Leviticus dietary prohibitions from those of other cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world. Outside the Bible, dietary prohibitions are almost exclusively associated with specific spatial contexts or times of the year. As such, they do not constitute prohibitions for all members of a given society under all circumstances, but instead apply to specific, defined circumstances. For example, Mesopotamian dietary prohibitions are usually found in hemerologies (Van der Toorn 1985, 33–35; Ermidoro forthcoming)—omen texts listing favorable and unfavorable days in the cultic calendar—which prohibit the consumption of particular foods on

specific days of the cultic calendar.³² Mesopotamian prohibitions also frequently apply only to particular socio-cultic leaders on set days of the year; for example, colophons of *namburbi* tablets record that the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal were apparently forbidden from eating onion, leek or fish for the three days of the *namburbi* ceremony (Van der Toorn 1985, 33). The dietary regulations known from ancient Egyptian sources also present a more contextual approach to food prohibitions than that which is witnessed in Lev 11. They often apply the prohibitions only to particular territories of Egypt, known as Nomes, because of the particular aversion that the god local to that area had to the specific animal in question (Volokhine forthcoming).³³ Other texts limit the consumption of particular foods by the participants in a specific ritual, or to priests officiating within the sacred space of a temple, or visitors to palace precincts.³⁴

The generality and permanence of the food prohibitions in Lev 11 are thus effectively “without parallel in the ancient Near East” (Firmage 1990, 185). In P’s notion that all Israel is to conform their dietary practices to a standard list of clean and unclean foods, in all circumstances and for all time, we see again the standardizing trend evident elsewhere. Now it moves, however, beyond the concern to establish a standard sequence of ritual action, as was observed in Lev 1–10, to promote the need for standardization of customs in non-cultic spaces as well. The dietary laws therefore

³² For instance, one list of favorable days (*KAR 178 18.23*) prohibits fish and leek on the first and the third days of *Nisannu* (the first month of the year), while another text encourages the consumption of these same foods on other days of the year (see, e.g., *SAA 8*, 231 rev. l. 4). It should be stressed, however, that certain animals, most notably the pig, were considered to bear impurity (*ikkibu*) in Mesopotamia regardless of what day it was. However, this did not mean that such animals were prohibited from being consumed as food. To the contrary, impure animals such as pigs appear to have been common dishes enjoyed by both kings and commoners alike (van der Toorn 1985, 34–35; Ermidoro forthcoming). It seems rather that such animals were primarily prohibited from entering particularly holy spaces such as temples, or from being consumed during significant ritual events on account of their impure status. See, for instance, the “Popular Sayings” recorded on a Neo-Assyrian tablet from the early first millennium (ninth–seventh century BCE), where the list of the pig’s “unholy” traits concludes with the statement, “the pig is not fit for a temple” (VAT 8807 [Plate 55, l. 15]); for a transcription and translation of the tablet see Lambert 1996, 215.

³³ This can be observed, for example, in lists dating to the Ptolemaic period that summarize the forbidden items in the different provinces; one such case is found in the list of Edfu, which prohibits eating fish in the Nome of Latopolis (Edfou I, 338, 3); for a transcription and translation (in German) see Leitz 2014, 36).

³⁴ Youri Volokhine points (forthcoming) to the Victory Stela of Piânkhy (also known as Piye; Cairo JdE 48862+47086–47089) from Egypt’s twenty-fifth dynasty (approximately 747–656 BCE) as a particularly clear illustration of how such rules were imaginatively applied. The stela recounts how Piânkhy, a Nubian, sought to cast himself as a true Egyptian by depicting his opponents as debased and unclean outsiders. He achieved this by prohibiting the kings and counts of Lower Egypt from entering his palace on account of their being “uncircumcised and eaters of fish—such is an abomination of the palace” (l. 50; for this translation see Ritner 2003 [1977], 385)

provide an important window into the way in which P charges the Israelite community with the responsibility to consider the prescriptions laid out in the text even when the Israelites are not in physical proximity to the shrine.

This idea is further developed in Lev 12–15 in the prescriptions for dealing with the bodily impurities caused by childbirth (12:1–7); scale disease affecting humans (13:1–44; 14:1–33) and clothing (13:47–59); diseased houses (14:34–53); and genital discharges (15:1–33). With the exception of the instructions for scale disease in Lev 13–14, which are directed to Moses and Aaron alone, all of these ritual instructions are to be made known to the community writ large. They include basic rituals that the Israelites are to perform at home, such as washing clothes and ritual bathing (e.g., Lev 15:4–11), as well as the knowledge for determining the severity of their bodily pollutions, such as the uncleanness of specific discharges (e.g., Lev 15:2–3). P construes this communal knowledge as essential to maintaining the holiness of the sanctuary in the midst of the people, as well as to preventing the Israelites from dying as punishment for polluting the shrine (15:31). Hence all Israel, and not just the priests, must be cognizant of Yhwh’s requirements for ensuring his habitation among the community and be vigilant in applying them in their daily life.

In a thoughtful analysis Nihan has argued (2013b, 362) that this aspect of the Priestly purity regulations represents an attempt on P’s part to “enlarge and consolidate the authority of the priesthood and the temple over the rest of society.” It is a mode of enculturation of the Israelites into a temple society in which cultic norms direct everyday life, and the priesthood, as the specialists in applying the law, exert authority in extra-sanctuary settings. Yet Nihan also suggests (2013b, 357) that “the partial transfer of priestly competences to non-priests was the price to pay, for the authors of Leviticus, for construing so broadly the spectrum of pollution.” The implication of this is that the dissemination of ritual knowledge somehow diminishes the power of the priesthood, in that it distributes power in a horizontal fashion. However, it can be argued that the sharing of competence need not be seen as a “price to pay.” Rather, as Foucault has argued, and Nihan emphasizes elsewhere in his essay (2013b, 362–63), the distribution of knowledge is the necessary precondition for the legitimation of power structures. By making all Israel cognizant of the ritual law and empowering them to apply it in a limited way in day-to-day life, P incorporates the community into that cultic order more effectively than if they were denied cultic knowledge. The community thereby comes to accept the cultic order, its rituals and the power hierarchies it enshrines, as normal and appropriate.

It would be straining the argument, however, to suggest that P presents a system of standardized practice that is totalizing, to the point where Israelites would no longer be able to tolerate any diversion from Lev 1–16 or localized customs. The ritual laws of Lev 1–16 are not exhaustive, rigidly prescribing every detail of how the rites should be undertaken, but are instead primarily concerned with sketching the sequence of ritual actions which must be performed (Marx 2005, 105 with n. 26). The texts also clearly assume knowledge of unwritten customs by P’s audience, which are not specified in the laws. For example, in the instructions for the burnt offering, P offers no comment

on the method by which the sacrificial animal must be killed—whether it should be killed by the slitting of the throat, by stabbing or some other ritualized means. Other key details are also absent, such as how to flay the burnt offering and cut it into its various parts (Lev 1:6), or how to arrange the parts on the fire upon the altar. The text therefore relies on ritual agents' knowledge of other customary practices, which would supplement the ritual sequences laid out in Lev 1–7. Meanwhile, it is evident in the textual transmission of Lev 1 that important aspects of the P ritual of the burnt offering remained open to ongoing debate and interpretation, meaning that the ritual standard promoted by P does not demand complete uniformity, even in how later scribes understood ritual process.³⁵

It therefore seems most helpful to view P's promotion of a ritual standard as a form of idealized discourse: in that it sought to normalize the idea that the Israelite cult must eschew local variation in favor of standardized processes, even though, in reality, ritual practice was characterized by flux and diversity. Indeed, the considerable evidence of cultic variety in the communities of the Second Temple period suggests that the P ritual prescriptions do not directly mirror cultic reality. The Elephantine correspondence mentioned above (§ 1.2.1) attests to the presence of a sacrificial cult in the Egyptian diaspora that, on account of its isolation, differed in important ways from cultic practices at Jerusalem or Gerizim. In addition, there are many indications that within the land of Israel everyday ritual practice was far more heterogeneous and dynamic than the ideal of standardized worship promoted by P. The material cultures of Samaria and Yehûd from the Persian period attest to considerable variation in religious artifacts (see, e.g., the essays in Frevel and Pyschny 2016). Items such as incense burners, coin iconography (including the depiction of Persian and Greek deities), and terracotta figurines—to name but a few examples—reveal how different economic and geographical factors, as well as local traditions, produced diversity in religious practice among the different communities within Israel. So too is there evidence that the dietary practices prescribed in Lev 11 were not strictly followed in the Second Temple period. Zooarchaeological remains from ancient Israel reveal that foods were regularly eaten in ancient Israel which violated the rules for clean and unclean animals in Lev 11. Perhaps most significant in this regard are the fish remains from ancient Israel, including Jerusalem, which reveal that fish species which did not conform to P's dietary laws, such as catfish, were consumed with regular frequency (H. Lernau and O. Lernau 1989; Van Neer et al. 2004).

³⁵ For example, the witnesses to Lev 1:5–6, preserve important differences in the roles assigned to the offerer and the priest in the process of offering the *עלה*. According to MT and SP, the offerer slaughters and skins the sacrifice of the burnt offering. In LXX, by contrast, plural verbs are used to describe both actions (slaughtering and flaying), thereby assigning these responsibilities to multiple persons, presumably the priests. Significantly, *TS* seems to hold the same position as that of Lev 1:5–6 LXX, since 11Q19 34:7–14 describes a sacrificial process in which *הכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן* “the priests, the sons of Aaron” (34:13) are responsible for slaughtering the animal, as well as offering it upon the altar.

Yet variation in actual practice should not be read as being incompatible with a general *motivation* on P's part to standardize, or with the idea that the writing of P's prescriptions might have instigated a gradual process of ritual standardization in ancient Israel. As Elchardus has put it (2011, 17), the application of standardized knowledge always has elements of the dynamic: "any standard allows for variations." Hence, whatever the compromises and adaptation of the standard in practice, the trend towards elimination of diversity in Lev 1–16 retains discursive, even ideological, power. In the case of P, the standard normalizes the belief that uniformity and adherence to the prescribed ritual practice is the wish of the deity. It is axiomatic that the deity will not accept behavior in which the community completely ignores its oracles and deliberately flout its revelation at Sinai. Hence, although standardization was inevitably a matter of degree, P establishes a benchmark, so to speak, in Lev 1–16, against which Yahwistic ritual practice should be evaluated, with any practice which clearly violates or contradicts this standard constructed as transgressive and meriting penalties.

Evidence that P's attempt to position Lev 1–16 as a standard was relatively successful in antiquity is the exactitude with which the book of Leviticus was transmitted. Scholars generally agree that the text of Leviticus shows a much greater degree of uniformity than other books of the HB (Mathews 1986; Ulrich 1994; Eshel 2000; Flint 2003; Metso 2012). Not only do the MT, LXX and SP of Leviticus stem from closely related parent texts, but the seventeen Leviticus manuscripts found at the Dead Sea (fourteen Hebrew manuscripts, one Aramaic translation [4Q156] and two Greek manuscripts [4Q119–20]) generally evince very limited variation, both one from another and also from MT, LXX and SP.³⁶ Sarianna Metso and Eugene Ulrich have argued (2003, 267) that the exactitude with which Leviticus was transmitted may be the result of its contents: namely, because Leviticus promotes "clear uniform instructions for correct procedures in the traditional sacred rituals," its transmission was closely guarded. Likewise Metso has argued (2012), with greater detail, that Leviticus might have attained a high level of standardization because priestly scribes sought to give the appearance of fixed, stable ritual practice by preserving a more or less stable textual base for the Leviticus prescriptions. "Evidently," Metso writes, "their rationale was *not* careful preservation of a 'standard text' of the *scriptural* book—otherwise, why were Exodus and Numbers allowed textual development?—but the preservation of instructions for standard praxis for the sacred rituals and orthodox priestly traditions to be practiced in the temple and beyond" (Metso 2012, 69).

³⁶ To be sure, the DSS include non-aligned Leviticus scrolls (i.e., scrolls which show affinities with two or more of the other witnesses, and/or independent readings unattested in later texts; see e.g., 11QpaleoLev^a and 11QLev^b). Moreover, the 4QRP mss preserve much more fluid textual traditions of Leviticus in which the text is rearranged, paraphrased and supplemented (see specifically mss 4Q365–67; see further § 4.4.2 below). Yet even when the evidence of the 4QRP mss is considered, it remains fair to say that Leviticus exhibits a higher level of standardization than other books of the HB.

From all this we can conclude that the P ritual instructions of Lev 1–16 go far beyond providing a handbook for priests. In these materials P imposes on the entire community of Israel the responsibility to know the ritual law, conform to it and use it as a standard for their collective behavior. It is thus a form of ritual standardization; and standardization that requires that the Israelites monitor their behavior, and evaluate that of the priesthood, through the lens of a central legal authority.

Standardization and Centralization in P

Thus it might be ventured that the standardization of ritual practice evident in the P ritual texts represents a process by which the cult is *centralized*. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, “standardization” and “centralization” might not seem at first to be synonymous. In modern technical and industrial spheres the term “standardization” is usually associated with regulating production processes: maximizing their compatibility, interoperability and repeatability. However, when applied to the social and cultural spheres, a “standard” can be understood as serving to regulate behavior in a way that consolidates centralized authority, and with this, power for central elites. As social theorists, such as Bourdieu, have explained, this centralizing effect is evident in processes such as the articulation of standard forms of knowledge or custom. Bourdieu (1991, 45–46) has argued specifically that the establishment of a “standard” French language across past centuries served “to reinforce the authority which [was] the source of its dominance.” The promulgation of an official form of French, and the processes of linguistic unification that this entailed, went hand in hand with state formation. As the status of the official language was being entrenched, local dialects acquired an inferior status to the “legitimate” language or usage; while those central elites, especially in Paris, “who owed their position to their mastery of the instruments of expression” (1991, 47) acquired “a de facto monopoly of politics.” It was thus “not only a question of [their] communicating but of gaining recognition for a new language of authority, with its new political vocabulary” (1991, 48).

We can read the standardization of ritual practice by P in a similar way. It may not have completely eliminated diversity in practice, any more than the promotion of official French could completely exclude the continued use of dialects at the regional level. However, it elevates its preferred set of mutually reinforcing prescribed practices and processes to a position of discursive superiority, with the effect of securing the Israelites’ compliance with, and acceptance of, central standardized practices. P obliges the Israelites to accept the premise that Yhwh has an aversion to division among them in their manner of worship and that they must be unified when presenting themselves before him. In so doing, it advances a distinctive centralizing logic, constructing other practices than those it prescribes as inferior, even deviant.

Hence, in Lev 1–16, P effectively removes the possibility that a truly de-centralized approach to Israelite worship, in which the regulations or norms set by the center are disregarded and the Israelites embrace local approaches to Israelite cultic practices, can be deemed legitimate. According

to the social memory which P promotes, Yhwh has *always* required the Israelites to conform their practice to a standardized set of norms and customs, revealed to Moses at the time of the cult's founding. As such, collective deference to central ritual authorities, and compliance with standardized rules for diet and purity, are construed as non-negotiable.

The essence of this centralizing logic, as we have seen, is the incorporation of the whole Israelite community into a shared responsibility for adherence to the obligations of cultic legislation. Any hindrance on the implementation of the ritual standard is therefore tantamount to communal negligence. P thus not only solicits communal consent to a cultic system in which diversity is transgressive and in which local cults are to be avoided: it seeks to secure the active, indeed practical and economic response of the Israelites to the needs of the cultic center. If the laws of Lev 1–16 are to be effectively implemented, the people must ensure that Yhwh's sanctuary does not lack the resources required for the observance of the P ritual standard. The Israelites must be fully cognizant of the ritual needs of the central sanctuary and its personnel—to know what the god requires in terms of sacrifices and donations; and to commit to ensuring that those requirements are regularly met. Leviticus 1–16 therefore effectively ensure that the Israelites funnel their attention and resources to the central shrine, since they construe the success of the cult as depending the Israelites' recognizing of their ritual obligations, and giving effect to these in material forms.

2.3.2 Communal Sponsorship of the Central Sanctuary

This emphasis on communal obligation towards the centralized cult might be read as another response on the part of P to the difficulties posed in the post-monarchic environment (cf. § 2.2.2 above). In the absence of a king—the figure traditionally charged with protecting the cult—P looks to new strategies for ensuring the continuing viability of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. From the evidence concerning other Western Asian temples, including those in ancient Israel, it is known that kings played an essential role in the maintenance of temple cults: they officiated at the daily rituals and provided material resources, while guarding the cult against misconduct and neglect of the sacred traditions. For instance, various letters and impressions attest to the role which Neo-Assyrian kings played in offering sacrifices, supplying the materials for the upkeep of central shrines and their daily cultic activities (see, e.g., the letters transcribed by Menzel 1981, 159–74; see further Reade 2002; 2005). There is also evidence that Neo-Assyrian kings enjoyed the “exclusive prerogative” (Löhnert 2007, 280) of appointing priests (see, e.g., *SAA* 13, 134), and played a key role in arbitrating in cases of cultic malpractice (Waerzeggers 2011, 741).

Kings in the Neo-Babylonian period seem to have played similar roles in maintaining the sacrificial cult of major temples, although they seem to have been less directive in cultic matters than the Assyrian kings had been (see, e.g., A. R. George 1988, 146–51; Kuhrt 1990). Votive gifts, such as vases, thrones and belts for the gods' adornment often preserve dedicatory inscriptions which refer to

Neo-Babylonian kings as being responsible for the donation (Waerzeggers 2011, 726). In addition, the royal patronage of the cult is emphasized in epithets that appear at the end of royal names (Vanderhoof 1999, 41; Da Riva 2008, 98–107). As Caroline Waerzeggers points out (2011, 729), short formulaic expressions such as “I am the one who firmly establishes the regular offerings’ (*mukīn sattukkī*), “the one with providing hands” (*idān zānināti*), or the “provider of Esangila and Ezida” (*zānin Esagila u Ezida*), which are frequently attested, reveal the importance of the king’s role as the sponsor of the cult.

Neo-Babylonian texts also emphasize the role of the king as the “agent of cultic continuity” (Waerzeggers 2011, 743). While the priests are responsible for knowing the intricate rules for the various sanctuary rituals, the king is obliged to enable the priests to carry out their work by guarding the cult from illegitimate innovations that may violate the sacred traditions. “Bad kings” are typically accused of neglecting this foundational responsibility by introducing ritual changes which violate established practice or by re-directing funds away from the temple. *The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabu-šuma-iškun* is one text which attributes to the king Nabu-šuma-iškun cultic failures such as altering traditional rites, devoting temple resources towards the worship of unauthorized gods, and stripping the temples of Babylon of their properties.³⁷ While the historicity of such an account is open to question (Cole 1994, 220–21; Waerzeggers 2011, 740), the criticisms of Nabu-šuma-iškun expressed in this text attest to the cultural significance of the king’s role as a cultic guardian in evaluations of his success or failure.

Various texts of the HB suggest that Israelite kings played comparable roles in maintaining and protecting the Israelite cult. Second Kings 16 attests to accusations against the Israelite king Ahaz similar to those which leveled against Nabu-šuma-iškun: Ahaz does not “do what was right in the eyes of Yhwh his god” (2 Kgs 16:2) but rather interferes in the cult of Jerusalem, removing traditional cultic objects and introducing a new altar built on the model of the altar in Damascus. By contrast, Ezek 40–48 presents an ideal image of a royal patron. These chapters do not actually refer to a מלך “king” (the term מלך is used only at Ezek 43:7–9 to describe the previous Judean kings), but they assign an important role in the visionary temple to a נשיא “prince.”³⁸ According to Ezek 45:17–46:15, the נשיא serves not only as the sponsor of the cult but also as its guardian who must ensure the correct performance of the sacrificial rites by the Zadokite priests (Block 1998, 671–76; Nihan 2015d, 240). This is especially clear in Ezek 45:17b, which states that the נשיא is responsible for “doing” (עשה) the sacrifices, even though it is the priests who present them on the altar.

³⁷ For an edition and translation, see Cole 1994, 234–36.

³⁸ On the nature of the נשיא as a royal figure, see Duguid 1994, 50–55; Joyce 1998; Bodi 2001; Konkel 2001, 271–73; Block 2010; Nihan 2015d.

Ezek 45:17b

הוא־יעשה את־החטאת ואת־המנחה ואת־העולה ואת־השלמים לכפר בעד בית־ישראל

It is he [the prince] who shall do the sin offering, the cereal offerings, the burnt offerings and the well-being offerings, to make atonement on behalf of the house of Israel.

Ezekiel 46:1–5 also assign an important role to the נשיא during the sacrificial activities on the sabbath and new moon (see further § 5.3.2 below). The נשיא is commanded to enter the inner eastern gate on these festal occasions and to stand at its doorposts while the priests prepare his burnt offerings and well-being offerings. As argued by Daniel Block (1998, 671), this spatial positioning of the נשיא at the doorposts, where he can survey the priests' actions as they carry out the sacrifices, underscores his responsibility for overseeing the cult of the visionary temple.

In contrast to these texts, the P ritual instructions of Lev 1–16, like its account of the construction of wilderness shrine, omit any role for a royal leader. Now it is the responsibility of the community to resource the cult and protect it from malpractice. To fulfill these duties, the Israelites must know the traditional rituals established at the time of the cult's founding and ensure that they are assiduously followed. In addition, they must supply all the livestock and animals, cereals and spices needed for the sacrificial cult, thereby ensuring that it has the material means to continue its operations. To be sure, the community does not have a monopoly on traditional royal roles: some other traditional functions ascribed to royalty seem to be assigned by P to other characters. For instance, the divine voicing of the full set of instructions in Lev 1–16 discussed above seems to attribute to Yhwh the role of royal legislator, thus establishing the god as the overarching cultic authority and the arbitrator of proper cultic practice. Indeed, the episode in Lev 10 illustrates how Yhwh issues direct punishment in cases of priestly malpractice.

This creative reinterpretation of traditional royal roles suggests that P's discourse is again an attempt to find solutions to the problems that faced the proponents of centralization in the post-monarchic period (Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:485; Nihan 2013a, 362). The lack of a royal leader in Yehûd meant that, if the Second Temple in Jerusalem were to survive, its staff would have to draw fully on the resources of the community of Israel. This would have posed significant challenges. As discussed in Chapter One (§ 1.2.1), the city of Jerusalem seems to have been very small in the Persian period. Some estimates put the population at 1,500 and others even lower: perhaps no more than a few hundred people inhabited the city (Finkelstein 2008, 514). The population of Yehûd more generally, too, seems to have been small, as well as impoverished (Lipschits 2003, 364–65). It was therefore probably difficult to find the surplus of resources needed to service the temple of Jerusalem.

However, an issue that has been debated is whether the Persian imperial authorities might have offered assistance to the fledgling Second Temple in Jerusalem. According to the narratives of Ezra 1–8, the lack of a Judean royal sponsor for the Jerusalem temple was compensated by king Cyrus, who commanded the rebuilding of the temple and supplied it with the vessels that had been

forcibly removed by Nebuchadnezzar during the capture or destruction of Jerusalem in the early sixth century BCE (see esp. Ezra 1:7–11; cf. Ezra 5:14). Royal financing of the temple, however, is only said to have been provided in Ezra 6; this recounts how Darius I discovered Cyrus' decree that the Jerusalem temple was to be rebuilt, as well as a new command (not found in Ezra 1) that it be paid for using the finances מן־בית מלכא “from the king's house” (Ezra 6:4b). Ezra 6:8 even says that this funding is to come from מדה עבר נהרה “the tributes of Beyond the River”: that is, from the regular taxes of the region collected by the Persian empire (cf. Ezra 1:4, where the temple is said to be financed by free will offerings from the local population). Finally, imperial support for the temple is again asserted in Ezra 7:15–24, which recounts how, some fifty years after the construction of the temple, Artaxerxes sends Ezra to Jerusalem with the command to transport silver and gold on behalf of the king and his counselors to donate to the temple. Artaxerxes further decrees that the temple staff must not only be exempted from imperial taxation (v. 24) but should receive payments of silver, wheat, wine, oil and salt מן בית גנזי מלכא “from the treasury of the king” to meet its practical needs (v. 20)—a command which is duly fulfilled in Ezra 8:36, when the king's satraps and governors in Beyond the River offer their financial support to בית האלהים ואת העם “the people and the house of god.”

These texts might be read as an indication that the Jerusalem temple was in no worse an economic position in Persian times than it had been during the monarchic period. While it had lost the backing of an indigenous royal leader, it had gained the financial support of the Persian royal authorities. However, there are a number of reasons to doubt this. First, there are strong grounds to question the historicity of the claims in Ezra 1–8 that the Jerusalem temple received financial assistance from the Persian administration. While Persian religious policy varied from region to region, there is little evidence to suggest that the imperial power actively supported local temples in the way Ezra 1–8 depict. Although some scholars have argued that the Persian imperial powers promoted local cults (e.g., Blenkinsopp 1987, 413–14; Fried 2004, 156–233), there is more compelling evidence suggesting that the Persians tolerated local temples but without offering active support. This is attested, for instance, in the Trilingual Stele from Xanthus (inscribed in Aramaic, Greek and Lycian), which preserves the request of the local people to the Persian regime to establish a cult to the god Kdwrš.³⁹ This request is sent to the satrap, not to the king, and does not suggest that the Persian powers were to provide material support for the cult; this is rather to have been procured from the soldiers stationed at Xanthus who were to worship at the sanctuary (Teixidor 1978). In addition, beyond the absence of any evidence of imperial financing of local temples, there are also various indications that local cults were subjected to levies and taxes from the Persian regime (Dandamaev and Lukonin 2004 [1989], 362–66).

³⁹ For a transcription, translation (in French) and discussion of the stele, see Metzger et al. 1979.

This all suggests that the Persian imperial policies towards local cults is very unlikely to have matched the description of Ezra 1–8, in which not one but *three* Persian emperors are said to have intervened to ensure the building of a temple in the marginal region of Yehûd, which is then to be exempt from taxation and granted imperial funds.⁴⁰ While we can assume that the Jerusalem temple would have experienced “indirect royal sponsorship of the temple, in the form of a writ giving authorization” for its rebuilding, it seems unlikely that this would have included “funds and supplies” (Edelman 2005, 118). To quote from Lester L. Grabbe’s insightful analysis (2006, 541),

[w]hile many questions cannot be answered with certainty, nevertheless, we must weigh matters in the light of probability. In the light of present information, it seems likely that the Persians allowed the Jews to carry out their religion, including the building of their temple and the establishment of the priesthood when a petition was made to the appropriate authorities (usually local, not directly to the Persian king). From the evidence available (apart from some admittedly propagandistic passages in later Jewish literature) the Persians would not have provided financial support or other imperial resources or granted tax concessions to the Jerusalem temple.

This all suggests that the witness of Ezra 1–8 cannot be used to reconstruct the role of the Persian administration in supporting and financing the Jerusalem temple. While it is impossible to know whether some of the decrees might contain the kernel of an imperial source text, it is clear that, in their present literary form, the decrees are heavily influenced by Judean concerns to legitimate the Second Temple. Indeed, as argued at length by Dirk Schwiderski (2000), and Grabbe (2006), the language, orthography and epistolary style of the decrees strongly suggest that they are intended to recount the extraordinary origins of the Second Temple, and its significance in the eyes of the Persian imperial powers, rather than to provide an accurate history of the funding of that shrine.

The second reason to doubt that the Jerusalem temple had strong financial backing from the Persian imperial administration is the evidence of other Second Temple traditions which refer to its economic difficulties. For instance, the practical challenges facing the Jerusalem cult in the Persian period are clearly attested in the story of Neh 13:10–14 (Altmann 2016, 291–92): here Nehemiah laments the poor state of the finances of the Jerusalem temple, which he has observed during his second trip to the city. He demands that the officials explain “why has the house of the god been forsaken?” and that they redress the absence of tithes with which its Levitical servants might be paid. This prompts the Judean population to bring new tithes to the temple, and Nehemiah to appoint treasurers to oversee the sanctuary’s finances. While the historicity of this account should not be accepted uncritically (J. Wright 2004, 204–11), it arguably attests to a prevailing memory that the Second Temple faced significant financial challenges in the absence of a royal patron (Bedford 2007; 2015, 9*; Nihan 2013a, 359–60 with n. 113).

⁴⁰ On the specific issue of the possible role of Jerusalem in the imperial taxation system, see the discussion in § 5.4.2.

Hence, we can conclude that P's focusing of the Israelites on their obligations to guard and maintain the centralized cult may be read as a pragmatic response to the challenges of the post-monarchic period. After the downfall of the monarchy, the future of the Jerusalem temple was at risk if community resources were dissipated. It was necessary, then, that P persuade the community of Israel as much as possible to focus their united energies on preserving this, a single shrine, and to take on the financial role of backing the temple in the absence of a king. By construing local diversity, and de-centralized worship, as incompatible with the standard set at Sinai, P directs the Israelites to restrict their worship to the Jerusalem temple alone. It requires that they commit, as a collective, to making donations as often as feasible, thereby compensating for the lack of a royal sponsor. Moreover, through articulating ritual laws in a way that contains no hint that Yhwh ever intended for a royal patron to guard or sponsor his cult, P normalizes the idea that it is the Israelite community that is, and has always been, responsible for fulfilling these roles. P's discourse of ritual standardization, then, may be read as another creative strategy of survival in a complex period in the history of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem.

2.4 Centralized Priestly Competence

A picture is thus emerging of a multifaceted logic of centralization advanced in the Priestly traditions known to H. Two dimensions were the standardization of ritual practice within the Israelite community; and the focusing of that community on its obligations to construct and "meet" at a single sanctuary. To these must be added a third, and equally significant, dimension: namely, P's expectation that the Israelite priesthood should be restricted to a centralized institution, ideally represented by Aaron and his sons.

The nexus between centralization and an exclusive priesthood can be helpfully framed if we again employ the insights of social theorists. As Bourdieu's analysis of the standardization of French language already cited suggests, standardization facilitates the concentration of power in the hands of those who have mastery over the "standard" form of practice: that is, a practice that is standardized accords "social value" (Bourdieu 1991, 54) to those who are the experts in the normal way of acting. The promotion of a standard, such as the ritual laws found in Lev 1–16, is therefore inherently political (Russell 2005, 248), and instrumental in legitimating elites. Those who in any social or cultic situation impose conformity, as the arbiters of normative behavior, thereby consolidate and reinforce their own power base. In that sense, as Elchardus puts it (2011, 19), "a standard is never innocent."

Predictably, then, P's insistence on standardization is complemented by a call to invest cultic leadership in the hands of a centralized priesthood. The P ritual laws consistently stress the exclusive rights of Aaron and his sons to successfully administer the standardized cult required by the deity (Watts 2007a, 2007b). In particular, it positions Aaron as performing unique, and irreplaceable, functions within the centralized cult of manifesting Yhwh to the community and of representing the

unified community before the deity. While this interest in the exclusive rights of Aaron, and those of his sons, is somewhat difficult to relate to cultic realities in ancient Israel, given the highly imaginative nature of Aaron and his family, there are some indications that P here continues its efforts to justify the primacy of the Jerusalem priesthood and its rights to control the Israelite cult.

2.4.1 The Priestly Garments and the Centralized Priesthood

The elevation of Aaron and his sons to this authoritative role is achieved through P's use of a number of discursive devices. Pre-eminent among these is the description in Exod 28 of the ceremonial clothing prepared for Aaron and his sons. In Exod 28:1a Moses is commanded by Yhwh to bring forward "your brother Aaron, and his sons with him (אהרן אחיך ואת־בניו אתו) from the midst of the Israelites, to serve me as priests (לכהנר־לי)." This is followed by a lengthy description of the "holy garments" which must be made for Aaron "for glory and for splendor (לכבוד ולתפארת)" (Exod 28:2). Then follows an elaborate description of how each garment must be manufactured and the materials to be used (vv. 3–39); a shorter account of the garments which must be made for Aaron's sons (v. 40) who are also to serve ולתפארת לכבוד; and finally detailed instructions as to how these men are to be dressed in the garments, anointed and ordained for service as priests (Exod 29; cf. Lev 8).

These passages reflect the critical importance that ceremonial clothing played in establishing roles, status and social hierarchies within the societies of antiquity (Ben Zvi forthcoming; Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming). The detail with which these vestments are described in P suggests that it is employing clothing as a discursive device through which to establish the ritual primacy of Aaron and his sons, their relative positions within the priestly hierarchy and their ascribed privileges and duties. In particular, their ceremonial clothing gives visual form to their monopoly of the sanctuary; it empowers Aaron's mediation between Yhwh and the community; enables him to represent the unity of Israel; and serves as the means whereby the transmission of priestly monopoly from one generation of "Aaronides" to the next is secured.

Monopolizing the Sanctuary

One of the key devices employed by P to invest this cultic authority in Aaron and his sons is its choice of fabrics for their clothing. As has been highlighted by Haran (1978, 158–65) and Philip Jenson (1992, 101–14) among others (e.g., M. George 2009, 121; Imes 2016, 2–8; Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming), the priests' garments form part of the broader classification system that operates throughout the wilderness sanctuary, whereby different materials are reserved for different spaces and their associated objects according to their value and holiness. When the priests officiate within the tent of meeting or approach the altar of burnt offerings, P specifies that they should wear a כתנת "tunic," "sash," מגבעה a "headpiece" (Exod 28:40) as well as מכנסים "undergarments" (Exod 28:43). These garments are made of the same fabric—namely שש (בד "linen" in the case of the מכנסים)—that

is used for the curtains delineating the courtyard of the sanctuary. Four items, to be worn by Aaron alone, are made of more elaborate materials. The חֹשֶׁן “breastpiece,” אֵפוֹד *’ēpôd*,⁴¹ מְעִיל “robe” and צִיץ “diadem” are made both of שֵׁשׁ and the blue, purple and crimson yarns also used in the fabrication of the curtains and the veils of the interior of the sanctuary. Aaron’s clothes are also to include gold, which presumably means that golden threads should be woven into his garments. This inclusion of gold clearly associates Aaron’s clothes with the furniture placed inside the sanctuary, such as the cherubim, the ark, golden table and luminary.

In detailing these fabrics and materials, P specifies not only the roles of Aaron and his sons within the sanctuary but also Aaron’s primacy in the cult (Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming). The use of שֵׁשׁ for the garments worn by Aaron’s sons establishes that their agency will be primarily associated with the outer court, also made of that material. Their role is principally related to the sacrificial rituals which transpire there. While the non-priestly Israelites may bring their sacrificial animals to פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד “the entrance of the tent of meeting,” they are not permitted to move freely within the court or to touch its קֹדֶשׁ קִדְשִׁים “most holy” altar (Exod 29:37). Aaron’s sons, by contrast, are granted access to this holy space, and the exclusive right to undertake all the sacrificial duties which involve the bronze altar (see e.g., Lev 1:5–13; 2:1–3; 3:1–16; 12:6–8; 14:10–32). Dressed in holy garments made of the same fabric as the court, Aaron’s sons are designated as being the only members of the community entitled to officiate in this space. Their sacrificial monopoly is displayed to the community every time they are seen wearing their priestly ceremonial garb, which thereby normalizes the centralization of sacrifice to the descendants of Aaron.

Similarly, the distinctive fabrics used for Aaron’s clothes affirm his exclusive role within the space of the sanctuary, especially its interior. As holy and most holy space, the inner and outer sanctums are completely off-limits to the non-priestly members of the community (see further § 5.2.1 below). By contrast, Aaron is commanded by Yhwh to enter these areas to perform specific ritual practices—a privileged role which is permanently attested to in the clothes that he wears. In Exod 27:20–21 Aaron is charged with the responsibility of entering the outer sanctum every morning and evening to light the sanctuary candelabra. He seems to be assisted by his sons in this task (27:20a), but his primacy in the ritual is affirmed in Exod 30:8 and later Lev 24:2–4 which state that Aaron alone is responsible for ensuring that the light is lit each day (see further § 4.4.1 below). In addition,

⁴¹ The precise nature of the *’ēpôd* is a matter of debate (cf. e.g., Houtman 2000, 475–506; Propp 2006, 435–43; Bender 2008, 211–41). In Exod 28:6–14, this item seems to comprise a band of fabric worn around the waist, which is then connected to two strips of fabrics that went over the shoulders. It then has the breastpiece fastened to it by a series of golden rings and chains (Exod 28:22–28), before being placed upon the מְעִיל הָאֵפוֹד “robe of the *’ēpôd*” (Exod 28:31–35).

Aaron is responsible for offering קטרת סמים “fragrant incense” to Yhwh on the golden altar in the outer sanctum twice per day (Exod 30:7–8).⁴²

By far the most striking of all of Aaron’s ritual duties within the sanctuary interior are those detailed in Lev 16. Here P outlines the only ritual by which a human being might enter the inner sanctum once Yhwh has taken up residence in his sanctuary. This may be performed only by Aaron and, according to Lev 16:29–34, only once a year.⁴³ Curiously, Aaron does not need to wear his ceremonial garments when he enters the inner sanctum to perform the rites of purification laid out in Lev 16. Instead, he wears simple linen clothes (see vv. 3–4; note, however, that he is permitted to wear his headgear). This can perhaps be attributed to the need for humility when entering into the deity’s presence (Milgrom 1991, 1016). It also accords with a number of other HB texts which depict beings in the deity’s presence as clothed in linen (see, e.g., Ezek 9:2–3; 10:2; Dan 10:5; see further Hieke 2014, 2:575).

The purpose of Aaron entering the inner sanctum is to purify both this space and its furniture from the various forms of pollution which may have defiled him and his בית “house,” that is, the priesthood, during the year (Lev 16:6, 11). Incense again plays a key role in the ritual: Aaron is commanded to take קטרת in a censer and produce a ענן “cloud” to cover the *kāpporēt* inside the inner sanctum (16:12–13). This cloud appears to serve a dual function (Gorman 1990, 89; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 216; Nihan 2007a, 376–79). On the one hand, it protects Aaron while he undertakes the highly dangerous operation of applying blood on and before the *kāpporēt* (Milgrom 1991, 1014; Hieke 2014, 2:1921). On the other hand, it also seems to produce the “cloud (ענן) upon the *kāpporēt*” which, in v. 2, is said to be the mode via which Yhwh manifests himself within the inner sanctum (Elliger 1966, 207). As such, Lev 16:12–13 presents Aaron as having the unique capacity to make Yhwh visibly present within his habitation, while at the same time shielding Aaron from the harm which might be caused by being in such close proximity to the god.

Aaron’s ritual agency is especially evident when we consider the importance of Yhwh’s ענן elsewhere in the P sanctuary account. In Exod 24:15–18, a ענן is said to have covered Mount Sinai, followed by Yhwh’s כבוד settling upon the mountain and the deity appearing to the Israelites כאש אכלת “as a devouring fire.” Then, at the conclusion of the construction of the wilderness shrine (Exod 40:34–35), the cloud reappears and descends over the newly constructed tent of meeting, allowing Yhwh’s כבוד to take up residence within the shrine. While this event effectively fulfills Yhwh’s

⁴² A possible third task which Aaron must perform in the outer sanctum is replenishing the display bread on the golden table each week. In Exod 25:30 Yhwh commands Moses “you shall set bread of the presence (להם פנים) continually before me.” In Lev 24:5–9, this is developed by H into a detailed ritual instruction for the weekly preparation of twelve loaves which Aaron must place on the golden table. However, since P does not contain a comparable statement, it is difficult to say whether this task was understood to be performed by Aaron or by his sons.

⁴³ On Lev 16:29–34a, which seem to be a secondary addition to the chapter, see § 3.1 below.

promise to dwell in the sanctuary in the midst of the community, it also raises a new problem: Moses is unable to enter the sanctuary because the עֲנַן and Yhwh's כְּבוֹד have now taken up residence upon and within it (Exod 40:35). The reference to the עֲנַן created by Aaron's incense in 16:12–13 therefore provides a means of resolving this conundrum. As argued by Nihan (2007a, 376–79), it grants Aaron the ritual agency to enter the inner sanctum, performing the rites of purification which are required if the god is to continue to reside there. Moreover, it invests Aaron with the ritual means to recreate every year the same conditions of Yhwh's presence in the sanctuary as those which were present during the inauguration of the cult at Sinai.

Aaron's exclusive right to enter the holiest area of the sanctuary enshrines his socio-cultic pre-eminence. The success of the ritual procedure each year dramatically demonstrates the efficacy of his ritual agency, since he is able to enter the inner sanctum and exit unharmed. In addition, the preservation of the sanctuary is now attributable to Aaron, who purifies its inner sanctum and ensures its suitability as the god's habitation. Since the Israelites cannot observe Aaron entering the inner sanctum and performing the rites of Lev 16, all of this cultic agency is represented in Aaron's clothes, which provide a visual equivalent to the holiest space of the sanctuary for the rest of the community. His robes thereby serve to focus communal attention on this figure of exclusive cultic authority and to legitimate his claim to control the sanctuary interior.

Manifesting the God to the Community

Aaron's garments link to a second dimension of P's discourse of centralized priesthood: the exclusive ability of Aaron, and to a lesser extent of his sons, to manifest the god to the community of Israel. Exodus 28:3 states that the overall purpose of Aaron's garments is to serve לְכָבוֹד וּלְתִפְאֵרֶת “for glory and for splendor.” This statement is repeated at Exod 28:40 in relation to the garments made for Aaron's sons. Elsewhere in P, the term כְּבוֹד is used only when referring to the mode in which Yhwh reveals himself to Moses or to the community (Exod 16:7, 10; 24:16; Lev 9:6, 23), and to Yhwh's form when dwelling inside his sanctuary habitation (Exod 29:43; 40:34). The term תִּפְאֵרֶת does not appear elsewhere in P, but in other passages of the HB it is associated with the divine qualities of Yhwh. Psalm 96:6 is a pertinent illustration of this, since it says of Yhwh הוֹדֵי-וְהַדָּר לְפָנָיו עֹז וְתִפְאֵרֶת “majesty and honor are before him; strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.”

The use of these two terms to describe Aaron and his sons' garments therefore suggests that P understood these vestments to display the attributes of Yhwh to the community at large. Aaron's garments, however, suggest that he has a particular responsibility, beyond those of his sons, of representing the god to the community. As Nihan and I have argued elsewhere (Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming; cf. Nihan 2015a), this aspect of Aaron's cultic agency is particularly associated with his breastpiece. According to Exod 28:15–30, הַשָּׁן מִשְׁפָּט “the breastpiece of judgment” (Exod 28:15, 29, 30) is to hold the Urim (אֲוִרִים) and Thummim (תָּמִים), which seem to constitute oracular instruments

(see e.g., Num 27:21; 1 Sam 14:41 LXX; 28:6).⁴⁴ These instruments seem to provide Aaron with a unique means of consulting the deity on Israel's behalf.

Exodus 28:30

ונתת אליהשן המשפט את־האורים ואת־התמים והיו על־לב אהרן בבאו לפני יהוה ונשא אהרן את־משפט בני־ישראל
על־לבו לפני יהוה תמיד

And you shall put into the breastpiece the Urim and the Thummim, so they shall be upon Aaron's heart in his coming before Yhwh. Thus Aaron shall bear the *mišpaṭ* of the sons of Israel upon his heart before Yhwh continually.

The expression *משפט בני־ישראל* is particularly suggestive. It implies, first, that Aaron is charged with the responsibility of consulting the god on behalf of all Israel and delivering its judgments and decisions to the community.⁴⁵ Second, as Nihan and I have shown (forthcoming), it seems to suggest that Aaron must embody a particular *quality* of the Israelites, namely their righteousness (*משפט*), before the deity.⁴⁶ This suggests, in turn, that the breastpiece, with the Urim and Thummim inside, is the means of ensuring that the Israelites will receive positive oracular decisions from Yhwh because it enables Aaron to present them to him as a righteous people.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ In 1 Sam 14:41 LXX (the Urim and Thummim are not mentioned in MT), Saul's consultation of the Urim and Thummim is described as an act of drawing lots (Kitz 1997, 406–7): the Urim would present a particular answer from the god while Thummim would present another. (In the specific case of 1 Sam 14:41 LXX, the decision concerns whether Saul and his son Jonathan have erred [in which case the god would give the answer "Urim"] or the people of Israel [in which case "Thummim" would be drawn].) It seems probable that the Urim and Thummim constituted stones, especially given the broader context of Exod 28:17–30 which describes the various stones which must be affixed to the breastpiece (Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming). For further discussion of the character of these items, see Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992; Dam 1997; Kitz 1997.

⁴⁵ This oracular agency is dramatically demonstrated in a later text from the book of Numbers (Num 27:21), which recounts how Eleazar, Aaron's heir, used the Urim to consult the deity to determine whether or not Joshua should lead the Israelites out to battle. This episode illustrates the far-reaching powers which the Urim and Thummim bestowed to the high priest, enabling him to not only mediate the god's decisions concerning strictly cultic matters but also to direct the Israelites in matters of military strategy (see further Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming).

⁴⁶ On the ability of *משפט* to mean both "decision/judgment" and "justice" or "righteousness," see, e.g., *HALOT* 2:651–52, *משפט*; Johnson 1998 [1984–1986].

⁴⁷ This image of Aaron's agency is reminiscent of a broader Western Asian motif in which royal leaders are depicted as embodying the behavior of the entire nation before the gods. For instance, Keel has argued (2004; cf. Nihan 2017a) that P's depiction of Aaron bearing the *mišpaṭ* of all Israel recalls Egyptian imagery from the Middle Kingdom of the Pharaoh bearing the *Ma'at* before the gods as a means of upholding cosmic order. While it is unlikely that Aaron's breastpiece was directly modeled on this Egyptian imagery (pace Keel 2004), the similarities between the two images may suggest that the giving of the Urim and Thummim to Aaron was

The Urim and Thummim thus play a key role in establishing Aaron’s centrality in the Israelite cult and community: they provide Aaron with a permanent mechanism through which he might consult the god on the Israelites’ behalf and mediate Yhwh’s decisions to the community. This is especially significant since the Urim and Thummim are the only legitimate means of divination in P; there is no other channel, besides Aaron’s משפט, through which the Israelites might receive a divine oracle from the deity. The command in Exod 28:30 to place these two objects in Aaron’s breastpiece therefore effectively *centralizes* all forms of oracular consultation to this leader and affirms his status as the exclusive mediator for all Israel.

Representing a Unified Israel

Aaron’s centrality, however, derives from more than this responsibility to bear the Urim and Thummim before the god in the sanctuary. He is also charged with maintaining the unity of the Israelite tribes whenever he wears his high priestly vestments. In Exod 28:9–12, P commands that the *’ēpôd* and breastpiece be embroidered with semi-precious stones engraved with the names of the Israelite tribes: two stones on the *’ēpôd* are to be engraved with the names of the tribes (six names per stone) and attached to the shoulder straps of the *’ēpôd* (vv. 9–12), while twelve more engraved stones (one tribal name per stone) must be embroidered on the breastpiece (vv. 17–21). Both sets of stones, P states (see Table 2.2), are to serve as a זכרון “memorial” for the Israelites, which Aaron is to bear (נשא) before Yhwh.

Table 2.2 Comparing Exod 28:12 and 28:29

<i>Exod 28:12</i>	<i>Exod 28:29</i>
<p>ושמת את־שתי האבנים על כתפת האפד אבני זכרון לבני ישראל ונשא אהרן את־שמותם לפני יהוה על־שתי כתפיו לזכרון</p> <p>And you shall set the two stones upon the shoulders of the <i>’ēpôd</i>: these are memorial stones for the sons of Israel, so that Aaron shall bear their names before Yhwh upon his two shoulders as a memorial.</p>	<p>ונשא אהרן את־שמות בני־ישראל בחשן המשפט על־ לבו בבאו אל־הקדש לזכרון לפני־יהוה תמיד</p> <p>[Concerning the stones affixed to the breastpiece:] And Aaron shall bear the names of the Israelites upon his heart in his coming before the sanctuary for a memorial before Yhwh continually.</p>

The use of the term זכרון in these passages is significant given the covenantal connotations of the root זכר elsewhere in P, for example, in Gen 9:15–16; Exod 2:24; 6:5. P’s charge to Aaron to bear the names of the Israelite tribes for a זכרון therefore appears to affirm the essential role which he plays in maintaining the patron-client relationship between Yhwh and Israel (Propp 2006).

Beyond this, the use of the term זכרון when referring to the stones on Aaron’s *’ēpôd* and breastpiece seems also to reflect the character of these stones as sacred donations (Nihan and Rhyder intended by P to establish Aaron as performing a similar role to a king of mediating cosmic justice for the people of Israel (Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming).

forthcoming).⁴⁸ P commands that the stones be included among the donations made by the community to the sanctuary construction project (see Exod 25:7; 35:9). Exodus 35:27 then reports that the tribal נְשֵׂאֵי “chieftains” took it upon themselves to provide these specific items for the sanctuary building works—an action which accords well with the idea that these stones are to be engraved with the names of the twelve tribes. The use of the term זָכָרָן in Exod 28:12 and 29 when referring to the stones thus seems to reflect their technical function of ensuring that Yhwh remembers his client “Israel” favorably by reminding him, every time Aaron wears his garments, of the generous gifts made by the *entire community* to Yhwh’s central sanctuary.

The interpretation resonates with the Western Asian practice of donating engraved stones to sanctuaries. As argued in particular by Nihan (2017a; cf. Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming), the engraving of the high priest’s stones with the names of the twelve tribes corresponds to the practice in Mesopotamia of engraving stones with the names of the individuals who have donated them to the sanctuary. Such donations seem to have served the purpose of soliciting the god’s favor towards those named on the stones. Similarly, we can assume that the engraved stones mentioned in Exod 28 were intended to solicit Yhwh’s favor towards the twelve tribes of Israel. A major difference, however, is that “the precious stones are not simply deposited in the sanctuary, but are fixed to the vestments of Aaron” (“*les pierres précieuses ne sont plus simplement déposées dans le sanctuaire, mais fixées aux vêtements d’Aaron*”; Nihan 2017a, 18–19). In this way, Aaron becomes the essential mediator between the twelve tribes, who have donated the stones, and the national god Yhwh, whose favor they wish to receive, since he alone is charged with the responsibility of bearing them before the god whenever he wears his garments.

The stones of Aaron’s *’ēpôd* and breastpiece thus give expression to a thoroughly centralized logic of high priestly power. Aaron is responsible for ensuring that the god perceives its client, Israel, as a *unified* collective by bearing on his person the names of *all twelve tribes* before the god. To put it another way, Aaron’s *’ēpôd* and breastpiece embody the unity of the Israelite community; and since he alone has the right to wear them, his socio-cultic authority is necessarily exclusive. The stones on Aaron’s *’ēpôd* and breastpiece are thus integral to the social memory promoted by P of *one* central mediator representing *one* unified community inside *one* central sanctuary. Any suggestion that Aaron’s role might be split into two or more high priesthoods in ancient Israel is thus thoroughly incompatible with such an image, since it would essentially entail the division of the communal unity

⁴⁸ The term זָכָרָן is used in other passages of the HB when referring to sacred donations (e.g., Exod 30:16; Num 31:54; Zech 6:14). It also occurs as a technical formula in West-Semitic votive inscriptions from the first millennium BCE—including inscriptions from Mount Gerizim (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 259; de Hemmer Gudme 2013, 91–134; Nihan 2017a). See, e.g., inscriptions no. 147–98 (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 137–71), noting however that the term זָכָרָן is reconstructed in certain cases. “The basic form of this formula is as follows: ... ‘That PN son of PN (from GN) offered for himself, his wife, and his sons for good remembrance before God in this place.’” (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 259).

which is construed through Aaron's exclusive agency. P's vision is rather one of Israel—ideally defined as the twelve tribes—deferring to one high priest as a means of construing their socio-cultic unity before the patron god, Yhwh.

Establishing an "Aaronide" Priesthood

Beyond this, the description of the priestly vestments also establishes Aaron's place as the patriarch of a priestly institution in which only his direct descendants may officiate as priests. At the end of Exod 28, Yhwh commands Moses to dress Aaron and his sons in their garments and *ומשחת אתם ומלאת את-ידיהם* "anoint and ordain them, and consecrate them to serve me as priests." This is then followed, in Exod 29, with detailed instructions for the rites which Moses must perform. He is to bring Aaron and his sons to the sanctuary (Exod 29:4a), wash them with water (v. 4b) put on Aaron his clothes (vv. 5–6) and anoint his head with oil (v. 7), before turning to dress his sons. Exodus 29:9 then concludes the instructions for the investiture of the priests in their robes with the declaration that they have a permanent claim on the Israelite priesthood.

Exod 29:9

והגרת אתם אבנט אהרן ובניו וחבשת להם מגבעת והיתה להם כהנה לחקת עולם ומלאת יד-אהרן ויד-בניו

You shall gird them with a sash, < Aaron and his sons, >⁴⁹ and tie the turbans upon them; theirs will be a priesthood by an eternal statute. You shall ordain Aaron and his sons.

With this statement, P affirms that the priestly garments function as the outward sign of an enduring cultic monopoly of Aaron and his sons. There is no possibility, in P's view, that another family might rival Aaron's sons for the cultic leadership of the community. Once ordained in the garments, Aaron's family acquires the exclusive right to lead the Israelites in the worship of Yhwh and to officiate within his central shrine.

Furthermore, the inheritance of Aaron's garments by only one of his sons ensures that the high priesthood is not fragmented but remains in the hands of a family whose authority is thoroughly centralized. When describing the sacrificial process for the rams to be offered as part of Aaron's ordination sacrifice (Exod 29:22–28, 31–34), Yhwh suddenly turns to the matter of who will have the right to succeed Aaron in the office of high priest, declaring

⁴⁹ This statement is found in MT and SP but not in LXX. It is widely recognized as a gloss which was intended to supply Aaron with a sash, since this item was said in Exod 28:41 to be intended for Aaron as well as his sons (see, e.g., Baentsch 1903, 254; Noth 1962 [1959], 230; Nihan 2007a, 138).

Exod 29:29–30

ובגדי הקדש אשר לאהרן יהיו לבניו אחריו למשחה בהם ולמלאיכם את־ידיכם שבעת ימים ילבשם הכהן תחתיו מבניו
אשר יבא אל־אהל מועד לשרת בקדש

29 The holy garments that are for Aaron shall be for his sons after him, for they shall be anointed in them and ordained in them. 30 Seven days the priest in his place, from his sons, who comes into the tent of meeting to minister in the sanctuary, shall wear them.

These verses are in all probability a secondary addition to the chapter (Holzinger 1900, 143; Noth 1962 [1959], 232–33); not only do they lack any clear link to the rites of ordination which Moses must undertake, but they also interrupt the instructions for the sacrificial rites which would otherwise have flowed from vv. 22–28 to vv. 31–34. Nevertheless, they bring to the fore that which is already implied in the description of the vestments in Exod 28: there is to be only one high priest at any given time, dressed in one set of high priestly garments—just as there is to be only one central sanctuary in which the high priest is to officiate, and one Israelite community whom he is to represent within that sacred space. In turn, they suggest that the legitimacy of the centralized cult is dependent on the presence of “Aaronide priests” officiating within it. Since there are no other members of the community who are authorized to wear the priestly garments, there is no way in which the ritual practice of the central shrine can be dissociated from Aaron’s legacy. The Israelites are therefore permanently required by P to restrict their sacrificial worship to the sanctuary led by the priests who can claim direct descent from Aaron.

Thus P’s centralizing logic is revealed as extending beyond standardized ritual practice and deference towards a single sanctuary to incorporate authoritative personnel. The detailed descriptions of the priestly garments illustrate that the centralized priesthood, with a monopolistic claim to officiate at central sanctuary, and a single high priest, who mediates between the god and the unified tribes, is indispensable to P’s understanding of the centralized cult. The Israelites are thus charged by P with a permanent obligation to accept the authority of a single priestly family, whose high priest is to lead the united community, embodied in his garments.

2.4.2 Aaron’s Legacy and the Centralized Priesthood in Ancient Israel

This conclusion, however, raises some challenging questions of interpretation. As has been reiterated above, P is best understood as a history of origins with a deeply imaginary character. We can be confident in assuming, then, that there was almost certainly a significant gap between P’s discourse about the centralized priesthood and the socio-cultic realities of ancient Israel. That is to say, while P insists that the Israelites should centralize their worship to a sanctuary led by Aaron and his sons, ancient Israel may not have been populated by priests literally descended from a figure named Aaron; nor would priests in Israel have necessarily been dressed in garments which matched those described in Exod 28. How can we reconstruct, with any confidence, who P thought could claim Aaron’s

legacy, and therefore which sanctuary institution was legitimated by P's conception of an Aaronide monopoly?

When addressing this issue we are faced with the notorious difficulties of reconstructing the history and character of the Israelite priesthood. Scholars must rely largely on the literary traditions of the HB when trying to trace the history of Israel's priestly families—a task which raises numerous issues concerning the value of these literary sources as historical evidence, their relative chronology and the interpretive weight that can be placed upon them. These evidential problems have given rise to a multiplicity of theories, some of which are unduly speculative, about who were the Aaronides, and thus whom P had in mind as claimants to their legacy.

References to the “Aaronides” appear irregularly outside the Priestly traditions. As scholars have long noted, Aaron and his sons do not feature in the descriptions of the pre-exilic priesthood found in Samuel and Kings.⁵⁰ These books paint a picture of an assortment of priestly families serving in Israel's sanctuaries—a priesthood which is more diverse and heterogeneous than that depicted in P. Even in the Torah, Aaron's role as a priest is barely attested outside the Priestly traditions.⁵¹ Yet despite the limitations of the evidence about Aaron and his sons, scholars have invested considerable energies over the decades trying to reconstruct possible historical scenarios behind the texts which mention them. One of the more prominent theories is that the narrative of the golden calf (Exod 32; Deut 9) can be read as providing evidence that the Aaronides were originally those priests who officiated in the northern kingdom at the temple at Bethel.⁵² This theory has also been used to explain

⁵⁰ Aaron is mentioned with Moses in 1 Sam 12:6, 8 MT as bringing out the Israelites from Egypt. However, these verses make no reference to his priestly role or to the priestly lineage of his sons. Note also that Aaron is missing from the LXX.

⁵¹ Exodus 4:10–16 introduce Aaron as Moses' brother but say nothing of his priestly role. Moreover, a number of scholars have argued that at least select verses of Exod 4:10–16 are part of a post-Priestly composition which builds on the P account of Exod 7 (see e.g., Valentin 1978, 65–66; Weimar 1980, 353–54; W. Schmidt 1983, 192–96; Otto 1996, 101–11; Schmid 2010 [1999], 182–93; Gertz 2000, 305–27; Blum 2002, 127–30). The value of this text for reconstructing the role of Aaron in the non-P materials is therefore open to question. Exodus 32 and Deut 9 present Aaron as a priest, but criticize him for leading the construction of the golden calf (see further below). Elsewhere in Deuteronomy, Aaron is mentioned only in the context of his death and burial (Deut 10:6; 32:50).

⁵² This view has been proposed in numerous studies over the course of the history of scholarship; for select studies of the past fifty years, see, e.g., besides the commentaries, Gunneweg 1965, 89–95; Aberbach and Smolar 1967; Coats 1968, 189–91; Cody 1969, 148; Cross 1973, 198–200; Moberly 1983, 161–71; Blenkinsopp 1998, 35; Schaper 2000, 172–73, 275–76; tentatively Otto 2001, 410; Achenbach 2003, 116–20. It is mainly based on the echoes of 1 Kgs 12:26–33 in the text of Exod 32 (cf. esp. Exod 32:4 and 1 Kgs 12:28; for this observation see already, e.g., de Wette 1806, 247; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 91–92; Gressmann 1913, 205). The Kings account describes Jeroboam I placing a statue of a golden bull in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan following the division of the Davidic kingdom (cf. Hos 8:5–6, which also refers to the עגל שמרון “calf of

why Judg 20:26–28 reports that “Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron” was ministering before the ark in Bethel. Yet while these hints of a link between Aaron and Bethel are intriguing, they are a fragile base on which to build a historical argument that there was an Aaronide priesthood in the northern kingdom.⁵³ Moreover, even if the premise that the Aaronides were originally priests at Bethel were to be accepted, the challenge remains of explaining how it was that the ancestor of Bethel came to be incorporated in the P history of origins, and thereby accorded the status of the patriarch of the priesthood of all Israel.

This problem has led scholars down the path of postulating a history of conflict and struggles between different priestly groups vying for power in the exilic and post-exilic periods. In particular, scholars have contemplated that P’s promotion of Aaron might have been a discursive device whereby priests outside Jerusalem filled a power vacuum in the aftermath of the collapse of the royal cult. Such theories, in turn, engage with long-standing scholarly debates concerning the connection between the Zadokite priests mentioned in Ezek 44—the priestly family that most scholars argue dominated the Jerusalem priesthood in Second Temple times—and the focus on Aaron in P.⁵⁴ It is beyond the scope

Samaria,” and Hos 10:5–6, which speaks of the עגל בית און “calf of Beth-aven”). This literary overlap has led scholars to argue that Exod 32 contains traces of an early cult legend concerning the bull cult at Bethel; and that Aaron’s prominent role in the golden calf episode reflects the historical dominance of the Aaronides at that northern sanctuary in the pre-exilic period.

⁵³ For one thing, there is no consensus on the literary development of Exod 32 and its place in the growth of the pentateuchal traditions. (For surveys of the literary critical study of the golden calf story, see e.g., Schmid 2001; Konkel 2008, 13–26.) A growing number of scholars question the possibility of retrieving a pre-P core of the account. Yet even if we were to accept, with scholars such as Michael Konkel (2008, 254–65), that a pre-exilic story concerning Aaron and the calf can be retrieved from Exod 32, it is highly speculative to interpret this as historical evidence of an Aaronide priesthood at Bethel. Likewise, although the reference to Phinehas at Bethel in Judg 20:26–28 is curious, it again cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of the Aaronides being at Bethel. This text seems likely to have stemmed from a very late stage in the formation of the HB, which post-dates the description of the Aaronide priestly family in P, as well as the account of golden calf in Exod 32 (Achenbach 2003, 116; Groß 2009, 860). While it might possibly be read as preserving an ancient memory of Aaron’s family being associated with the shrine at Bethel, this is scarcely historical evidence of a pre-exilic history of Aaronides in the northern kingdom.

⁵⁴ According to the books of Samuel and Kings, Zadok rose to occupy a key position in the Jerusalem priesthood during the time of the monarchy (see esp. 2 Sam 8:17; 1 Kgs 4:4). Then, in Ezek 44:4–31, the בני צדוק “sons of Zadok” are granted the exclusive right to officiate at Yhwh’s altar, with the assistance of second-tier cultic personnel: the Levites. The majority view in the scholarship is that the sons of Zadok mentioned in Ezek 40–48 were the Jerusalem priests who were exiled to Babylon; of studies of the past fifty years, see e.g., Gunneweg 1965; Hanson 1979, 227; Zimmerli 1983 [1979], 456–59; Nelson 1993, 6–15; Albertz 1994 [1992], 1:220–21; Nurmela 1998, 73–81; Schaper 2000; Otto 2001; Achenbach 2003, 116–20; Grabbe 2003, 213. The oracle of Ezek 44:4–31 is thus seen as an attempt by these Zadokite priests to reestablish their power in the post-

of this study to comprehensively review the many ways that scholars have reconstructed this struggle and who they think may have been involved.⁵⁵ But to name two prominent examples in recent scholarship, Otto (1997, 36–37; 2001) and Achenbach (1999, 2003) have thrown their weight behind the idea that Zadokites and Aaronides were factions which each were responsible for large swathes of the pentateuchal materials and other HB texts. Gradually, the Zadokites took control of the process by which both the Priestly traditions were redacted (for instance, adding the Priestly ritual materials [Ps] to the Priestly narrative of origins [Pg] as a means of legitimating the Jerusalem sanctuary cult and its Zadokite officiants). As a result, the Zadokites ensured that the Priestly traditions affirmed their socio-cultic monopoly, even though they still referred to the priests using the designator “Aaron and sons.”

However, such theories of Zadokite and Aaronide conflicts and conciliations reconstruct the history of the ancient Israelite priesthood and its priestly families on the basis of limited texts, the historicity of which is far from assured (Hunt 2006; Samuel 2014, 406–8; MacDonald 2015, 143–45). Moreover, they arguably fail to give due credit to the imaginative character of both the Ezekiel and the P materials—a quality which means that the alignment between their discourse and historical events is unlikely to have been exact. In the case of the sons of Zadok especially, the absence of evidence outside Ezek 44:4–31 for their existence suggests that scholars cannot reasonably use this oracle as the basis for reconstructing the history of the priesthood in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods; even less, can they try to incorporate the “sons of Aaron” into this reconstruction.

We should therefore side with the skeptics in resisting the temptation to employ P’s representation of Aaron as a piece in a historical puzzle of priestly feuds. To use it to reconstruct historical conflicts between priestly groups in the Second Temple period involves excessive methodological contortions and misinterprets the character of the P text. Rather we should be open to the possibility that Aaron and sons were never more than a discursive strategy on the part of P—and might be best understood as a site of social memory. That is, what matters is not the possible historical origins of the Aaronides, nor their putative relationships with other priestly groups, but how P uses “the ‘family business of Aaron & Sons’” („*d[as] Familienunternehmen Aaron & Sons*“; Frevel 2014, 291) to present an image of centralized leadership. Put another way, the construction by P of a memory of Aaron can be read as an attempt to invoke an imagined figure of the past in order to generate “mnemonic capital” (Ben Zvi 2017, 77) for the *institution* of the centralized priesthood.

exilic temple cult by blaming the exile on other priestly groups (“the Levites”). Although this theory faces the challenge that Ezek 44 is increasingly agreed to comprise secondary additions to the book of Ezekiel written in the Persian period rather than during the exile (see already Gese 1957, 53–67)—a dating which arguably reduces its capacity to illuminate the struggles between priestly groups during the exile or shortly thereafter—many scholars still maintain that this oracle reveals the bid by the Zadokites to restore their dominance in Jerusalem after the disruption of exile.

⁵⁵ See the histories of research in O’Brien 1990, 1–21; Schaper 2000, 1–9, and note their own historical reconstructions.

While this institution would have changed over time as the influence of different groups waxed and waned, the figure of Aaron provided a discursive anchor to a foundational past and legitimated centralized priestly leadership as indispensable to Israel in all possible scenarios.

From the evidence at our disposal, there are strong grounds for assuming that this centralized institution was the priesthood at Jerusalem. To be sure, this theory itself has speculative elements. P itself never links Aaron to this institution. However, a number of Second Temple traditions attest to a possible linkage between Aaron and the Jerusalem priesthood. Nehemiah 10:38 and 12:47 both describe the priests serving in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah as the בני אהרן “sons of Aaron.” Ezra 7:1–5 meanwhile establishes Ezra’s authority over the newly constructed temple in Jerusalem by tracing his lineage back through Zadok to Phinehas, Eleazar and Aaron. The ideological potential of Aaron for framing the origins of the Jerusalem priesthood can also be seen in the book of Chronicles (Knoppers 2003). In 1 Chr 5:27–41 MT [1 Chr 6:1–15 Eng.], the genealogy of בני לוי “the sons of Levi” (1 Chr 5:27 MT [1 Chr 6:1 Eng]) is traced from the patriarch Levi all the way to Jehozadak, son of Seraiah, who “went out when Yhwh sent Judah and Jerusalem into exile by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.” Crucially, 1 Chr 5:27–41 presents Jehozadak as tracing his own lineage back to the sons of Aaron, specifically Eleazar and his son Phinehas (5:29–30 [6:3–4 Eng.]). In so doing, it traces a line through the priests who served during the time of David, most notably Zadok (5:34 [Eng. 6:8]). However, this monarchic phase in the history of the Jerusalem priesthood is now no longer determinative for the history of that institution: it is simply one stage in the formation of Yhwh’s centralized priesthood, from Levi to Aaron, Zadok to Jehozadak.

Of course later texts, such as those from Ezra-Neh and 1 Chr, do not prove that P itself had any intention of aligning “Aaron & Sons” and the priests who officiated at Jerusalem. However, they do attest how the figure of Aaron was employed by scribes in the Second Temple period as a strategy of negotiating the complexities of the post-monarchic period for securing a viable priesthood in Judah—a strategy which is not dissimilar to P’s reframing of the history of the cult such that it no longer depended on royal authority (see §§ 2.2.2 and 2.3.2). The figure of Aaron effectively provided a means of tracing the lineage of the Jerusalem priesthood to an ancestor who was installed by the god Yhwh during the pre-state period, and thereby was authorized by a source outside the monarchy. The priesthood therefore emerges from P as a permanent institution which predates and can survive the collapse of monarchic powers in Israel, with all the loss of traditional supports which this entailed. In addition, it elevated the high priest as the central leader of the Israelite cult and community who could help fill the void which was left by the breakdown of Judean monarchy.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The precise role of the high priest in Persian period Yehûd is a matter of ongoing debate and cannot be discussed in detail here (cf. Rooke 2000; Fried 2004, 156–233; Nihan 2015a). The fragmentary nature of the evidence attesting to the office of the high priest in the early to mid Persian period makes it very difficult to reconstruct the precise nature of this office. Texts such as Zech 3 and 6 clearly affirm that the high priest was a

This interpretation, however, is open to challenge: in that there are some indications that the Jerusalem priesthood was not alone in claiming the legacy of Aaron. The priesthood at Gerizim may have also considered themselves Aaron's heirs (Magen 2008, 11–13; Knoppers 2013, 2 and *passim*; Watts 2013, 104–5; Dušek 2014, 118–20). To be sure, the evidence for this theory is also speculative; in addition to there being no temple archives from Gerizim, there are no literary traditions from the Persian or Hellenistic periods which might throw light on the imagined genealogy of the Samaritan priesthood. However, there are at least three sources which might suggest that the Samaritan priesthood shared a kinship tie to the priesthood at Jerusalem in the Persian period, and thus may have asserted a claim to Aaron's legacy.

The first source is Josephus' *Antiquities*. Here we find the story (*Ant.* 11.301–20) of a certain Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddua who served in Jerusalem in the late fourth century BCE and then absconded to Samaria. There Manasseh is reported as having overseen the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim during the time of Alexander the Great and inaugurated Gerizim's sanctuary cult (*Ant.* 11.321–25). The historicity of this account is open to question (VanderKam 2004, 69–85); for instance, it is now known that the Gerizim temple was constructed in the early to mid-fifth century rather than during the time of Alexander, as Josephus claims (see further § 1.2.1 above). Moreover, no other historical source reports a trip of Alexander to Jerusalem, which might suggest that Josephus' account constitutes a “historical myth designed to bring the king into direct contact with the Jews” (Tcherikover and Tcherikover 1959, 45), rather than an accurate account of Alexander's movements. Nevertheless, most scholars agree that Josephus preserves the kernel of a historical truth: namely, that the high priesthood at Mount Gerizim shared a familial tie to the high priesthood in Jerusalem (Knoppers 2013, 190–91). This would mean that, if the Jerusalem high priesthood traced its lineage back to Aaron and sons, then the leaders at Gerizim too would have had the right to make such a genealogical claim.

A second source is the Persian period inscriptions at the temple at Gerizim (Dušek 2012; Knoppers 2013, 128–29; Hensel 2016, 58 and *passim*). Some of these inscriptions attest to certain names which are also used by P to refer to the priests: אלעזר “Eleazar” appears on two inscriptions (nos. 1, 32)⁵⁷ and on a square object (possibly a seal; no. 390),⁵⁸ while פינהס “Phinehas” (Eleazar's son

significant figure in the community, while Neh 13 also suggests that this figure had an influence in local politics. However, this does not necessarily mean that the high priest was the leader of a “theocracy” in the Persian period or enjoyed an official position in the imperial administration. See further § 5.4.2 below concerning the likelihood that the Jerusalem temple did not occupy an official position within the Persian imperial administration during the Persian period.

⁵⁷ For no. 1 see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 49; for no. 32, Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 73. The name Eleazar is only fragmentarily preserved on no. 32 (the *aleph* and *lamed* are missing).

⁵⁸ See Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 260. This is a special case since the name Eleazar is not written in full but can be reconstructed from the five letters printed in the five indented triangles on the object's upper face.

in the HB) is attested on multiple inscriptions (nos. 24, 25, 61, 384, 389).⁵⁹ One of these (no. 384) offers fragmentary evidence that a high priest named Phinehas might have officiated at Gerizim. In a fragment representing the upper left-hand corner of a rectangular stone block, the name “[P]hinehas” (l. 1) is followed after a few words by the adjective הגדול “great” (line 3). It is therefore possible that the inscription originally referred to “the high priest Phinehas” (Dušek 2012, 58), although the highly fragmentary nature of the inscription means that this reading remains speculative. It is difficult to determine what these inscriptions might reveal about a possible link between the priesthood at Gerizim and the Aaronide priestly line. In isolation, they are not conclusive (pace Funke 2014, 276). It is possible that the priests at Gerizim used the names פִּינְחָס and אֵלְעָזָר without any knowledge of the priestly figures in the Priestly traditions. It is not even certain that these names described priests as opposed to non-priestly visitors to the Gerizim temple. Nevertheless, the inscriptions suggest a degree of continuity between the descriptions of the priesthood in the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch and the way in which Samaritans referred to themselves. This arguably adds some, albeit indirect, support to the idea there may have been a degree of continuity between the worshippers and priests at Gerizim and the family of Aaron described in the Pentateuch.

A third source suggesting that the priesthood at Gerizim might have traced their lineage to Aaron is the story preserved in Neh 13 where the family of the Samaritan governor is linked by marriage to the Jerusalem high priestly family. This evidence, however, is somewhat weak, since the Samaritan involved is a political figure, the chief political administrator in Samaria, not a priest. In Neh 13:28 we find the brief remark that Nehemiah discovered that ומבני יודע בן־אלישיב הכהן הגדול חתן “one of the sons of Jehoiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite.” This son of Jehoiada is imagined as having deep roots in the Jerusalem temple establishment and the Aaronide family line: according to a series of Second Temple texts, Eliashib was the descendant of Jeshua, who was, in turn the son of Jehozadak. As mentioned above, Jehozadak was the last high priest to serve in the First Temple in Jerusalem (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 6:11; Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; 10:18; 1 Chr 5:41) and is given an Aaronide pedigree, via the line of

“When read from the center and then from the top left corner in a clockwise direction, the letters form the name אֵלְעָזָר (El‘azar)” (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 260).

⁵⁹ For no. 24, see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 67; for no. 25, see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 68; for no. 61, see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 91–92; for no. 384 Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 255; for no. 389 Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 258–59. Note that the name Phinehas is only fragmentarily preserved in nos. 25 and 61 (the *pe* and *nun* are missing in both cases), as well as no. 384 (the *pe* is missing). Inscription no. 389 may refer to “Phinehas the priest.” In l. 1, the name Phinehas is followed by a *kaf*, which on its own would be insufficient to reconstruct the word כהן, but in line 2 the word כהן is clearly attested as part of the expression “their [br]others the priest[s].” It is therefore possible, although speculative, that the *kaf* in line one preserves the first letter of the word כהן, and thus that the inscription originally read “Phinehas the priest”; see further Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004, 259.

Phinehas and Eleazar, in 1 Chr 5:29–41. Hence the mention in Neh 13:28 of the son of Jehoiada becoming the son-in-law of one of the highest Samarian elites—the governor Sanballat—suggests that there were close familial ties between the two provinces (Magen 2008, 9–10; Knoppers 2013, 162; Hensel 2016, 326–27). While the Samarian governor is not a cultic figure, the marriage between his daughter and the grandson of the Judean high priest suggests that the Jerusalem high priesthood was linked by marriage to the leading families of Samaria. If we presume that Jehoiada’s son eventually had children with Sanballat’s daughter, the Nehemiah story also “hints that Samaria housed (or came to house) a family of priests tracing their ancestry all the way back to the original high priest Aaron” (Knoppers 2013, 163–64).

It therefore seems possible that, at one point or another in the Second Temple period, the temple priesthoods at Mount Gerizim and Jerusalem claimed a common priestly pedigree, rooted in the memory of Aaron. What, then, might be the implications of this for our understanding of the discourse of centralized priestly competence which is advanced in the Priestly traditions? According to Watts (2013, 107), it suggests that P should not be read as intending to legitimate the centralization of the cult to the Jerusalem priesthood alone. Instead, the focus on Aaron and his sons in P suggests that the scribes responsible for this document sought to ensure that the priestly families at *both* Gerizim *and* Jerusalem, and perhaps other sanctuaries in the diaspora which were managed by the same priestly family, could consolidate their control over the Israelite cult (see further § 1.2.2 above).

Yet despite Watts’ arguments, it seems unlikely that P sought to legitimate the rise of two central priesthoods at Gerizim and Jerusalem. Such a conclusion is incompatible with the evidence (discussed in § 2.4.1 above) that P promotes an ideal scenario in which all Israel defers to one high priest during the foundational period and Aaron bequeaths *one* set of garments to *one* of his sons. In addition, the image of Aaron as representing the twelve tribes before the deity on his vestments and reminding Yhwh of his obligations towards the unified community suggests that P sought to promote an ideal in which all those who consider themselves part of this ideally-conceived “Israel” would defer to a single high priest, rather than splintering into northern and southern cultic communities.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the literary sources (Josephus and Neh 13:28) that hint at Gerizim’s possible links to the legacy of Aaron both depict the priestly families which officiated there as *deriving their pedigree from their connection to Jerusalem*. To be sure, this could simply be a Judean fiction, aimed at discrediting those in Samaria who claimed the legacy which Judeans wished to monopolize. However, there are good reasons to imagine that the high priesthood at the Second Temple in Jerusalem had already been operating for a number of decades at the time the Gerizim temple was built; while the date of the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple is sometimes contested (see, e.g., Edelman 2005), a date around 520–515 BCE still remains the most probable (see § 1.2.1 above). As a result, it seems fair to surmise that the Gerizim priesthood may have claimed their linkage to Aaron in a secondary phase to that of the priesthood at Jerusalem in a bid to cement their claim to equal (or greater) legitimacy than their southern counterparts.

Such a desire, we might assume, would have grown as the Pentateuch gained in authority and came to be the definitive scriptures of both the Samaritans and Judeans. The right to claim allegiance with the figure of Aaron would have almost certainly served an important function in asserting the authority of the priesthods in these locales to serve as priests before Yhwh. However, this does not necessitate, as we have seen, that P's focus on Aaron and his sons *originated* with the priesthood in Gerizim in mind, or with a concern to legitimate a situation of power sharing between the priestly institutions of Gerizim and Jerusalem. To the contrary, the ideal of centralized priestly competence in P seems more likely to be aimed at legitimating the priesthood at Jerusalem *exclusively*, and affirming the right of the Jerusalem high priest to the allegiance of all "Israel," north and south alike.

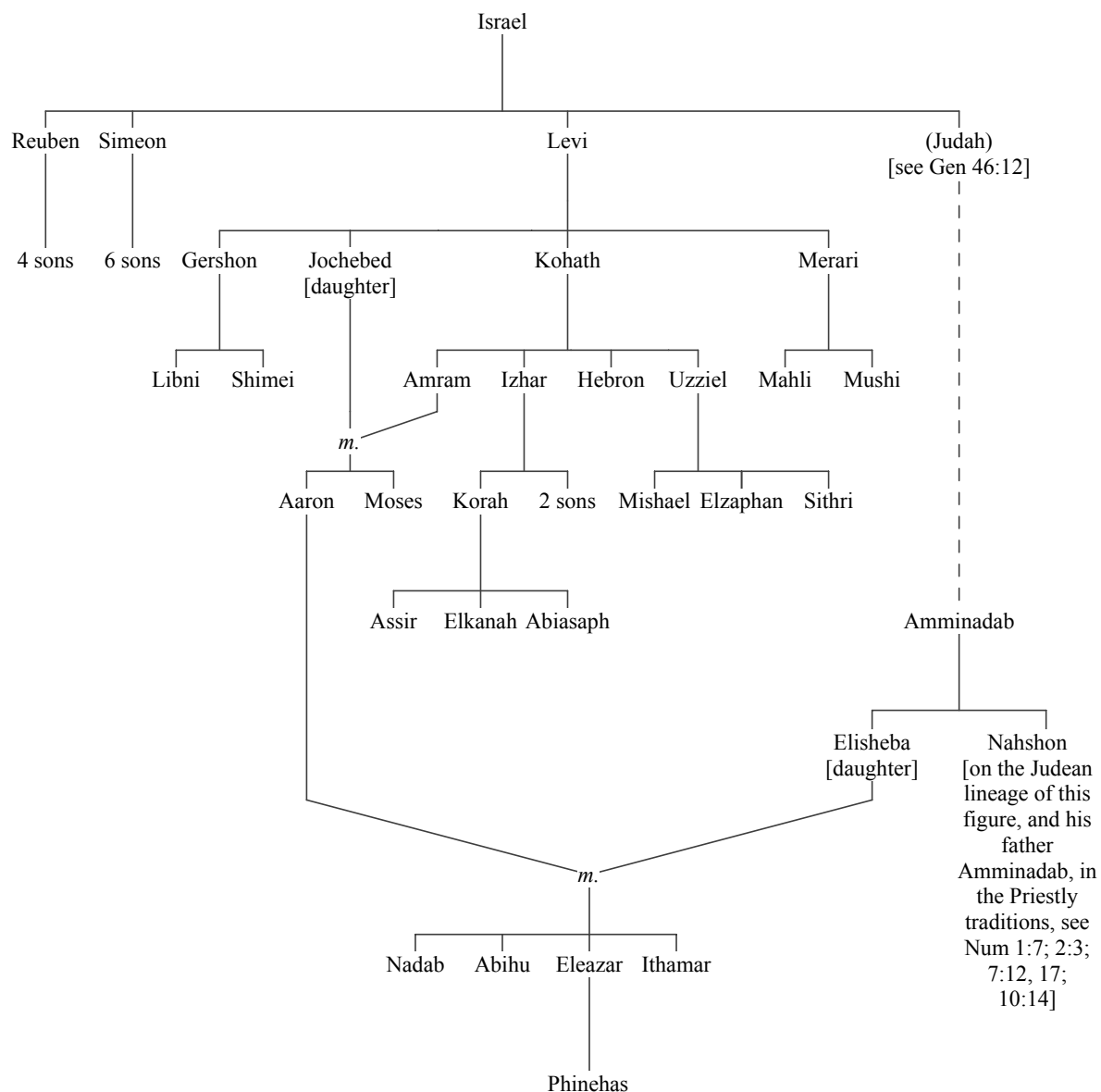
Finally, the theory that the Priestly traditions give equal support to the north and the south in the promotion of the centralized priesthood jars with the evidence of some post-Priestly texts which reveal attempts by priestly scribes to explicitly align the lineage of Aaron with the tribe of Judah. Particularly suggestive is Exod 6:13–27, an important passage which consists of an abridged form of the genealogy of Israel's descendants which has the effect of linking Aaron to Nahshon, the chieftain of Judah in Num 1–10. This text is widely regarded as a late addition to P's account of Yhwh's speech to Moses in Exod 6:2–12.⁶⁰ It clearly interrupts Yhwh's address, which would have otherwise flowed from Exod 6:12, where Moses introduces the problem of his poor oratory skills, to 7:1, where Yhwh supplies Aaron as Moses' prophet. The repetitive resumption of vv. 10–12 in vv. 28–30 appears to have facilitated the introduction of the genealogy. A growing number of scholars suggest that Exod 6:13–27 were added to the Pentateuch when the latter was already in a very advanced state of composition (Weimar 1980, 16–17 n. 3; Propp 1999, 267–69; Achenbach 2003, 110–23; Nihan 2007a, 148–49; Berner 2010, 153–55; Samuel 2014, 263–70). Among other evidence, the clear dependence of vv. 14–17 on the genealogy of the Israelites found in Gen 46:8–27 (Exod 6:14–15 is a near-verbatim repetition of Gen 46:8–11) makes a strong case for a late dating of the Exod 6 genealogy; since the genealogy of Gen 46:8–27 is a non-Priestly text which presupposes a well-developed version of the story of Jacob (Blum 1984, 249–50; Levin 1993, 149), Exod 6:14–17's dependence on it suggests that this text stems from a very late stage in the composition of the Pentateuch.

The genealogy in Exod 6:14–27 differs from Gen 46:8–27 in the extended outline of Levi's family tree which it provides. After listing the sons of Reuben and Simeon (vv. 14–15), the genealogy turns to the various descendants of Levi, with particular attention to the lineage of Aaron's sons and

⁶⁰ For the idea that Exod 6:13–27 are secondary, see, e.g., Kuenen 1886, 71; Kayser 1874, 38–39; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 62; Holzinger 1900, 18–19; Baentsch 1903, 43–44; Elliger 1952, 121; Noth 1962 [1959], 58–59; Childs 1974, 111; Lohfink 1978, 195 n. 51; W. Schmidt 1988, 296–97; Blum 1990, 231; Gertz 2000, 251–52; Kratz 2005 [2000], 242; Thon 2006, 126. On the idea that Exod 6:13–27 constitute a very late addition to the Pentateuch, see the references cited below.

grandson, Phinehas. As can be seen in Figure 2.1 below, the centrality of Phinehas in the genealogy is evident not only in his position as the last member of the genealogy to be mentioned, but also in his uniqueness as the only member of the fourth generation of Levi who is mentioned in the genealogy (v. 25; see further Propp 1999, 280; Achenbach 2003, 114; Thon 2006, 126; Nihan 2007a, 149).

Figure 2.1 The Genealogy of Phinehas in Exod 6:14–27



Legend

m. Marriage

() Not mentioned in Exod 6:14–27

[] Additional information

--- Reconstructed on the basis of the passages in Num 1–10 which mention Nahshon, son of Amminadab

This emphasis on Eleazar and Phinehas strongly suggests that the genealogy was intended to complement the passages in Numbers in which these characters play a key role. In particular, it seems to anticipate Num 25:1–13, where Phinehas is promised ברית כהנת עולם “a covenant of eternal

priesthood” (25:13) because of his zeal in killing the Israelite man and Midianite women who practiced inter-marriage. Additional links between Exod 6:14–27 and the book of Numbers can be observed in the wording of the introduction to the genealogy in v. 14, אלה ראשי בית־אבתם “these are the heads of their ancestral houses.” This statement has long been identified as an echo of the vocabulary of Num 1–10 (see already Dillmann 1897, 68; Baentsch 1903, 49; more recently Achenbach 2003, 111; Johnstone 2014, 152): the same expression בית ראשי אבתם occurs in Num 7:2 and 17:18, while the division of the Israelites into בית אבתם “their ancestral houses” is repeated throughout Num 1–10.⁶¹ Meanwhile, many of the other figures mentioned in Levi’s genealogy, besides Eleazar and Phinehas, prepare for the events which transpire in the book of Numbers; for example, the naming of the sons of Izhar (Korah, Neoheg and Zichri), and of Uzziel (Mishael, Elzaphan and Sithri) prepares for the division of the Levite houses in Num 3:17–20 (see already Baentsch 1903, 49; more recently e.g., Funke 2014) and the revolt against Moses narrated in Num 16 (see already Dillmann 1897, 70; Baentsch 1903, 51; more recently, e.g., Achenbach 2003, 115).

Another important link between Exod 6:14–27 and Num 1–10 is the figure of Nahshon. This character is mentioned in Exod 6:23 in the description of the family of Aaron’s wife, Elisheba.

Exod 6:23

ויקח אהרן את־אלישבע בת־עמינדב אחות נחשון לו לאשה ותלד לו את־נדב ואת־אביהוא את־אלעזר ואת־יתמר

Aaron took Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon, and she bore him Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.

While Elisheba and Nahshon’s tribal lineage is not mentioned in Exod 6:14–27, נחשון בן־עמינדב “Nahshon, son of Amminadab” is clearly identified as a Judean in Num 1–10. In Num 1:7 he is the representative of the tribe of Judah who assists Moses in conducting the first census. Then, in Num 2:3 he is named as the נשיא לבני יהודה “the chieftain of the sons of Judah” who leads the Judean camp as it takes up its place at the east of the wilderness sanctuary. In Num 7:12–17 he serves as the representative of the Judeans who brings the first offering to the wilderness sanctuary at the time of its dedication. Finally, in Num 10:14 he is said to serve as the leader of the march of the Israelites across the wilderness.

There are strong grounds to assume that the author of Exod 6:14–27 knew of Nahshon’s role in Num 1–10, and thus also of his Judean lineage. The manner in which he is included in Exod 6:23 suggests that this figure was considered to be of particular significance to the author(s) of the genealogy. He is not directly implicated in the genealogy, since he is not a descendant of Reuben, Simeon or Levi. Instead he is introduced as the brother of Aaron’s wife, making him the only figure to

⁶¹ See, e.g., Num 1:2, 4, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45; 2:2, 32, 34; 3:15, 20; 4:2, 29, 34, 38, 40, 42, 46; cf. Num 17:17–18, 21 MT [= 17:2–3, 6 LXX]; 18:1; 25:14, 15; 26:2; 34:14. Outside these passages in Numbers the expression בית אבתם does not occur in the Pentateuch.

be included in Exod 6:14–27 on account of his being the sibling of another member of the genealogy. It would be hard to understand why the authors of Exod 6:14–27 were so keen to mention Nahshon if he then played no role in the materials which followed. Furthermore, if we accept that the wording of Exod 6:14 presupposes the materials of Num 1–10 that describe the division of the wilderness camp, then there is little reason to assume that the authors of the genealogy were not also aware of the role which Nahshon plays in these chapters.

We can therefore reasonably assume that the reference to Aaron’s marriage to Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab and the sister of Nahshon, was understood by the authors of Exod 6:14–27 to establish a genealogical connection between Aaron’s sons and the leading family of the tribe of Judah in Num 1–10 (Keil and Delitzsch 1891, 471; Achenbach 2003, 120; Sparks 2008, 107). While Aaron maintains his pure Levite pedigree, all of his sons and grandson Phinehas are related by blood to the chieftain of Judah—a familial association which would seem to explain why, in Num 1–10, the wilderness camp is organized so that Aaron and his sons camp with the tribe of Judah (see Num 2:3; 3:38).

The link between Aaron’s sons and Nahshon the Judean in Exod 6:23 is especially intriguing when read in parallel with the genealogies of king David found in 1 Chr 2:3–17 and Ruth 4:18–20. 1 Chronicles 2:3–55 outline the genealogy of Judah, including the ancestors and descendants of King David. In v. 10a, a certain Amminadab is named as the son of Ram, who is in turn the son of Hezron (v. 9), the son of Perez (v. 5), the son of Judah and Tamar (v. 4). Then, in v. 10b, this Amminadab is said to be *נחשון בןי יהודה* “the father of Nahshon, the chief of the sons of Judah,” using language which clearly echoes Num 2:3 (Knoppers 2004, 305; Klein 2006, 95). The line then continues through Nahshon to Salma, Boaz, Obed to Jesse, and then down to king David (1 Chr 2:11–15). This is the same line of descent that is then found in the genealogy of David at the end of the book of Ruth: in Ruth 4:18–20 we read, “These are the generations of Perez: Perez became the father of Hezron, Hezron of Ram, Ram of Amminadab, Amminadab of Nahshon, Nahshon of Salmon, Salmon of Boaz, Boaz of Obed, Obed of Jesse, and Jesse of David.”

These texts therefore raise the intriguing possibility that the figure of Nahshon was understood to not only link Aaron’s sons to the tribe of Judah, but also to forge a link between the high priesthood and the Davidic royal family. Seeing this possibility, Achenbach (2003, 120–23) has argued that Exod 6:14–27 should be understood as part of the “theocratic revision” („*theokratische Bearbeitung*“) of Numbers in which the high priest is endowed with the power and responsibilities traditionally associated with royalty, and is thereby established as the supreme socio-cultic and political leader in Judah (see further § 1.1.2 above).⁶² While this is certainly an intriguing possibility,

⁶² Achenbach’s analysis is complicated by his theory (2003, 116–20) that Exod 6:14–27 are aimed at *de-legitimizing* the priestly lineage of Phinehas via the marriage of Aaron’s father Amar to his aunt Jochebed. Achenbach argues that this incestuous relationship between Aaron’s forebears was intended to secure the

it remains speculative; since the link between Nahshon and the royal house of David is never mentioned in the text of Exod 6:14–27, and Aaron’s sons are not mentioned in 1 Chr 2:3–55, it remains difficult to establish whether, or not, the marriage between Aaron and Elisheba was understood to have merged the priestly and royal dynasties.

Leaving aside the issue of Nahshon’s possible connection to King David, it is possible to affirm with Achenbach that the marriage between Aaron and Elisheba mentioned in Exod 6:23 is an attempt to align the origins of the high priesthood with the earliest leaders of the tribe of Judah. The genealogy of Exod 6:14–27 and associated texts of Num 1–10 may therefore hint at a similar trend in the late Priestly traditions to that which can be seen in genealogies in Chronicles: it positions Aaron’s sons as the genealogical point of origin for a *Judean priesthood* specifically. It thus adds weight to the argument that P’s discourse of centralization was intended to affirm a Judean monopoly over the priesthood, and in turn, Judean control over the centralized cult in ancient Israel.

Furthermore, the genealogy of Exod 6:14–27 significantly complicates the idea that the focus on “Aaron & Sons” in the Priestly traditions was a strategy of negotiating a compromise between the priestly families of the north and south. It is particularly intriguing that such a pro-Judean passage seems to have been added to the Pentateuch at a very late stage in its composition—a stage which we can reasonably assume post-dated the construction of the temple on Mount Gerizim. This would seem to suggest that attempts were being made to associate Aaron and Judah at the time when, according to Watts, we should have expected a pan-Israelite compromise. Hence the genealogy of Exod 6:14–27 adds major complications to the idea that “Aaron and Sons” was a foil for a priestly dynasty that was split across the sanctuaries of Gerizim and Jerusalem in the Persian period. It rather favors the views that the centralized priesthood promoted by P was primarily understood to legitimate the priesthood of the latter shrine as having a unique claim to control the centralized cult in ancient Israel.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have moved well beyond the traditional approaches that have shaped the study of P and cult centralization. The focus in classical scholarship on P’s alleged acceptance of D’s mandate of

Zadokite priests’ claim to the high priesthood by presenting the Aaronides as incapable of seeding a fruitful priestly line. However, this reading is very difficult to reconcile with the clear signs in Exod 6:14–27 that the genealogy culminates with Phinehas. This suggests that the genealogy is attempting to establish this figure as the *future* of the Aaronides, rather than an attempt to disinherit him! It therefore seems more probable to read the incestuous marriage between Aaron’s father and great aunt as an attempt to provide Moses and Aaron with a pure Levite pedigree, as opposed to a subtle ploy to disinherit the Aaronides of the high priesthood. More generally, Achenbach’s theory struggles to explain why Phinehas is given a *permanent* priestly covenant in Num 25:6–13, especially since Achenbach argues (2003, 442) that this text also belongs to a theocratic revision of Numbers.

centralization has been shown to be distorting, in that it has occluded more nuanced understandings of the centralizing logic of the P ritual materials. In particular, it has focused scholarly attention on the absences in the P ritual legislation, rather than on the positive evidence that P's foundational narrative provides of its own rich centralizing discourse.

This chapter has further explored the three major aspects of this centralizing discourse in the pre-H form of P: first, the requirement that the Israelite community unite in their service of a single sanctuary; second, that they conform to a standardized form of ritual practice; and third, that they defer to an authoritative centralized priesthood. In combination, these three centralizing strategies ensure that the patron-client relationship between the Israelites and their god is maintained, and the unity of the people of Israel assured. P's centralizing discourse, it has been further argued, can be read as a nuanced discursive response to the challenges that the central sanctuary at Jerusalem faced after the collapse of the monarchy. This link between P and Jerusalem has been justified on the basis of: the "Judean bias" identified in P's description of the construction of the wilderness sanctuary (Exod 25–31, 35–40); the consistent concern on P's part to resignify and redistribute traditional royal roles in the central cult (a device that is best read as a response to the downfall of the Judean monarchy); and the hints, albeit in post-Priestly texts, that the Aaronide priesthood was linked to the tribe of Judah. In articulating an idealized form of cult centralization, P provides a memory of a foundational past that speaks to the priorities of the Jerusalem temple at the time of writing. It calls on all Israel to coalesce around a single sanctuary and take on the responsibilities traditionally fulfilled by the Judean monarch, thereby ensuring that the cult can negotiate the difficult transitions of the early Persian period.

P's powerful case for centralization would have been known to H. As a supplement to the P source, H draws heavily on P's description of the wilderness sanctuary, its ritual cult and the Aaronide priesthood. In the three chapters that follow, the thesis turns to consider how H may also have expanded on P in developing new dimensions of cult centralization. It tests this through considering three legislative themes: first, H's concern with regulating the disposal of blood—an issue which accords a new, intensified focus on the community's responsibility to centralize animal slaughter and sacrifice; second, H's interest in imposing compliance across the various communities of Israel with a centralized festal calendar; and finally, its requirement that the Israelites exhibit conformity in all aspects of their lives in order to attain holiness.

Chapter Three

Leviticus 17 and the Centralization of Sacrifice and Slaughter

A key text for understanding H's discourse of centralization is Lev 17. This opening chapter of H arguably presents the most important text in the study of centralization and the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch more generally. Here we find a series of laws in which H prohibits animal slaughter, sacrifice and consumption beyond the central wilderness sanctuary (Lev 17:3–9). In these prohibitions Lev 17 goes further than the earlier Priestly materials, in that it gives an explicit command that the Israelites defer to the wilderness sanctuary in all matters pertaining to the killing of livestock; moreover, it threatens them with harsh sanctions if they do not conform.

Leviticus 17 is also important in the study of centralization because it shares some key linguistic and thematic correspondences with Deut 12. Both chapters include laws which explicitly command that all sacrifices be brought to a single location: in the case of Deut 12, the מקום; in the case of Lev 17:8–9, the אהל מועד. Both chapters also address, in connection with the centralization of sacrifice, the issue of local slaughter. Moreover, in both contexts local slaughter is discussed in connection with the prohibition of consuming blood. The wording employed in discussing the blood prohibition is also sometimes similar (cf. Lev 17:11aα, 14aα; Deut 12:23). These overlaps have therefore played an integral role in the traditional argument that H (and the Priestly traditions more broadly) look to D when conceptualizing the centralized cult (see already, e.g., Kuenen 1886, 266–67; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 150–51; Baentsch 1893, 116–17; 1903, 389–90; see further § 1.2.3 above).

However, the scholarly discussion about Lev 17 and Deut 12 has also noted an important difference between the two texts: in that while H and D seem to agree that there should be only one location for sacrifice, H insists that local butchery too must be conducted only at the central shrine—a position that seems to raise major issues about the practicality of H's command. How might H have expected the Israelites to defer to a single, central sanctuary in all matters related to the killing of animals, both in sacrifice and in butchery? As outlined above (see § 1.2.3), the obvious difficulties of implementing such a command across the various communities of ancient Israel have led some scholars to question whether H promotes a centralized cult, or whether, alternatively, it might presuppose the presence of multiple sanctuaries throughout the land (Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956], 180–84; Douglas 1999, 90–98; Milgrom 2000a, 60–65).

This chapter enters these debates surrounding the interpretation of Lev 17 by offering a thorough review of the import of this chapter for the study of centralization. It begins (§ 3.1) by reviewing and critiquing the relevant scholarship in greater detail than was possible in the history of research in Chapter One; it then offers a close reading of Lev 17—especially its first two laws (vv. 3–7, 8–9) and the key rationale for the blood prohibition (v. 11)—and the means by which H builds a

case for centralized animal slaughter and sacrifice (§§ 3.2 and 3.3). Following this, the chapter turns (§ 3.4) to consider the extent to which this centralizing logic relies on, and develops, other pentateuchal traditions. Despite the traditional dominance of the idea that Lev 17 depends on D in arguing for a centralized cult, this chapter contends that the direct evidence in Lev 17 of dependence on D is much less than traditionally assumed (§ 3.4.1). Rather, H's focus on blood in Lev 17 reveals its orientation as being primarily towards the earlier Priestly traditions. Leviticus 17 affirms the three core aspects of P's discourse of centralization—a central sanctuary, ritual standardization and an Aaronide monopoly (see Chapter Two)—while also expanding upon P's claims about the ritual potency of blood to provide a new, intensified focus on blood sacrifice in conceptualizing the centralized cult. The analysis of Lev 17 will therefore provide further evidence of the ways in which the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch advance their own distinctive case for the centralization of the cult, which cannot be framed as merely “presupposing” centralization in D.

Finally, the chapter responds (§ 3.5) to the issue of practicability with a discussion of how H might have been intended to influence cultic realities in ancient Israel with the laws of Lev 17. It explores the evidence that Lev 17, as ritualized discourse, does not need necessarily to be practicable in order to achieve its purposes: namely, to gain the acceptance of the Israelite community of the need for centralized blood disposal and the cultic hierarchies this ritual enshrined; and to solicit increased donations to the central shrine and normalize its control over livestock. It then considers the possible historical context of Lev 17, and how its discourse of centralized blood disposal might shed light on the strategies by which the implementation of cult centralization was negotiated in Persian times. Following this, a conclusion summarizes the main findings of the chapter and their wider importance for the present study (§ 3.6).

3.1 Scholarly Debates Concerning Lev 17

The study of Lev 17 and centralization has been overwhelmingly concerned with its relationship with Deut 12 and, related to this, the practicability of H's prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter if the tent of meeting is read as representing a central sanctuary. As just mentioned, the vast majority of scholars have read Lev 17 as both a response and an amendment to Deut 12: that is, it upholds D's call to restrict worship to a single location, but refuses to accept D's concession to allow extra-sanctuary slaughter.¹ In this view, H asserts a more radical version of cult centralization than D in which animals intended for butchery as well as sacrifice must be brought to the central sanctuary. A

¹ For this view see, e.g., Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 120; Kuenen 1886, 27 n. 14; Elliger 1966, 226; Cholewiński 1976, 160–65; Kornfeld 1983, 66–67; Blum 1990, 337–38; 2009, 32–33; Otto 1994b, 240–41; 1999b, 142–44; Ruwe 1999, 141; Nihan 2007a, 411–12; Hieke 2014, 2:621–22.

detailed discussion of the arguments made in support of this position, as well as an assessment of their limits, will be developed later in this study (see § 3.4.1 below).

Yet, if many scholars agree that Lev 17 is a response to Deut 12, there is little agreement on why H would have supported D's program of centralization yet rejected the concession in Deut 12—the permission of local butchery—on which this centralization seems to depend. One proposed solution to this puzzle is to conclude that H did not anticipate that the jurisdiction of its law would extend beyond the immediate geographical context of a particular central shrine. This is the position taken by Grünwaldt (among others), who has argued (1999, 381) that the ban on local butchery necessitates that H was written for a small community of Israelites living no more than “30–40 kms from the sanctuary” („30–40 km vom Heiligtum“) in Jerusalem. However, it can be argued that such an interpretation is difficult to reconcile with Lev 17:2, which clearly states that the laws are to be declared without distinction to כל־בני ישראל “all the Israelites.” This suggests that H considers the prohibition of local butchery to apply to all those who considered themselves to be part of the imagined community of Israel, rather than simply to those who lived within the immediate proximity of the Jerusalem temple. Leviticus 17 is most logically read as admitting no exceptions, regardless of where the Israelites might find themselves living in the post-wilderness future.

Another response to the problem of practicability has been to argue that the heavy referencing in Lev 17 of P's wilderness narrative suggests that practicability was not a priority of H. Since Lev 17 couches its prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter within the spaces of the camp and of the tent of meeting, it might be read as construing a sophisticated legal “fiction” (Joosten 1996b, 148 n. 45; B. J. Schwartz 1996c, 40–41; cf. Jürgens 2001, 175); in this case, H may not expect that its prohibition on local slaughter will be literally enforced outside the imagined wilderness context. In contrast, the authors of Deut 12 present their laws as applying to the situation when Israel dwells in the land. One solution, therefore, is to read Lev 17 and Deut 12 as being written with two different periods of Israel's imagined history in mind: Lev 17, relating to Israel's cultic origins at Sinai; Deut 12, to Israel's life in the land. The latter, on account of its position after Lev 17 in the final Pentateuch, provides the ultimate ruling on what the Israelites should do in the case of slaughtering their livestock once they have entered the promised land (Otto 1999b, 142–44; 2016, 1164–65; Rütterswörden 2009, 224–26).

However, it is difficult to argue that we should restrict Lev 17's scope, simply because its setting is in the distant past at the wilderness of Sinai. Since Lev 17:7 concludes the prohibition of extra-sanctuary butchery by stating חקת עולם תהיה־זאת להם לדרתם “this will be an everlasting statute for them throughout their generations,” it is improbable that H intends to limit this ban to the wilderness context alone. In response to this problem, Otto has proposed (2016, 1165) that we should not read חקת עולם תהיה־זאת להם לדרתם as referring to the prohibition of local butchery in vv. 3–4, but rather to the immediately preceding text, in v. 7a, where the Israelites are forbidden from whoring after שׁעִירם

“wild goats”² (cf. Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 237). So long as the Israelites were never tempted to worship שְׁעִירִים, a later law could introduce local butchery (under strict conditions; see Deut 12:20–28) for life in the land. However, such an interpretation fails to convince from the perspective of the syntax of Lev 17:7. Verse 7a, where the worship of שְׁעִירִים is mentioned, does not constitute a prohibition in its own right. Rather, it is part of the result-clause of vv. 5–7a, where H explains the *consequences* of local butchery (B. J. Schwartz 1996c, 20). The sacrifices to the goats in v. 7a are none other than those which were mentioned in v. 5a, when H describes the Israelites’ practice of local butchery in the field; note the identical terminology (זְבַחֵיהֶם “their sacrifices”) in v. 5a, when describing extra-sanctuary slaughter, and v. 7a, when describing the worship of goats. Hence in H’s view it is impossible to avoid offering sacrifices to the שְׁעִירִים without observing the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter (see further § 3.3.1 below). Leviticus 17:7 therefore positions local butchery as an activity that must be permanently outlawed.

A further response to the impracticability of Lev 17 has been to question whether H requires the Israelites to bring their animals to a *single* sanctuary, or whether H presumes multiple sanctuaries in ancient Israel. As mentioned in Chapter One (see § 1.2.3), Douglas (1999, 90–98) and Milgrom (2000a, 60–65) have recently revived the earlier argument of Kaufmann (1960 [1937–1956], 180–84) that H presupposes the existence of multiple local sanctuaries, all of which can be accommodated within the image of a mobile tent of meeting. In this case, slaughter can be conducted legitimately at whichever shrine is accessible to the Israelites within their local context. Milgrom and Douglas disagree about what this de-centralizing impulse might reveal about the probable timeframe within which H was composed—Douglas maintains a Persian period dating of H, while Milgrom follows Kaufmann in treating Lev 17 as proof of H’s origins within the Neo-Assyrian period (see § 1.1.3 above)—but they concur that a de-centralized reading of Lev 17 is preferable because it provides a credible interpretation of how the ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter in vv. 3–7 could have been applied; the law is thus “practicable, and hence mandatory for all time” (Milgrom 2000a, 64).

However, this argument rests in large part on an interpretation of the tent of meeting that Chapter Two has already shown to be misconceived (see § 2.2.1). There is nothing in P’s description of the wilderness sanctuary to suggest that its mobility sets a precedent for multiple, local sanctuaries at a future time. To the contrary, it has been shown that P presents this sanctuary as an ideally centralized space, which serves to unify the entire community in collective service of the national god, Yhwh. In addition, the portability of the shrine does not speak to its de-centralized character but rather to P’s creativity in reconciling a centralizing ideal with the narrative constraints of Israel’s travels through the desert at Sinai. Leviticus 17 does nothing to amend this conception of the wilderness sanctuary in P. On the contrary, the reference to כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in 17:2 strongly suggests that H understands this sanctuary space in much the same way as it is presented in P: namely, as the

² On the translation of שְׁעִירִים, see § 3.3.1 below.

shared site of attention and deference of *all Israel*. Thus there is little to support the view that the tent of meeting in Lev 17 represents a de-centralized cult, simply because it was a mobile space.

Each of the proposed solutions to the “impracticality puzzle,” then, has its limitations. Each is hampered by the interpretive complexities which surround the key verses at Lev 17:3–7: such as their setting in the spaces of the wilderness; the link between the worship of שְׁעִירִם and local butchery; and the difficulty of reconciling the claim in v. 7b that the ban on local butchery is a חֻקַּת עוֹלָם with the law of Deut 12. Beyond this, the question of the practicability of Lev 17 raises broader issues about the relationship between ritual text and ritual practice. In particular, it brings to the fore different scholarly assumptions about how closely the texts of Leviticus should be expected to mirror actual cultic realities in ancient Israel, and thus, how much of an issue “impracticability” is to a centralized reading of Lev 17.

To progress the discussion of Lev 17 and centralization further we need to explore in depth H’s overarching logic for restricting both slaughter and sacrifice to the central sanctuary. In particular, H’s strict approach to local slaughter needs to be read within the context of its claims about the potency of blood and the significance of its ritualized disposal on Yhwh’s central altar for the cohesion of the Israelite cult and community. Such an analysis must also be paired with a discussion of how centralizing discourse, such as is found in Lev 17, has the capacity to displace the pragmatic considerations of cultic practice in favor of the ritualized ideal. Why H might have wished to admit no exceptions in the case of centralized blood disposal speaks to broader questions surrounding how ritual discourse serves to entrench cultic hierarchies and normalize the rights of central spaces and groups to communal deference.

While the practicability of H’s ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter, as well as the evidence of dependence on Deut 12, have remained the dominant issues in the study of Lev 17, recent scholarship has also widened the frame of analysis to consider new approaches to interpreting this chapter. One of these is the growing interest in how Lev 17 depends upon and develops the P earlier materials. In classical scholarship, the references to P in Lev 17, such as its referencing of the spaces of the wilderness fiction and its narrative frame as a speech by Yhwh to Moses, were considered later editorial additions (see, e.g. Baentsch 1893, 13–23; Paton 1897, 34, 39–41; Bertholet 1901, 57–60; Kilian 1963, 4–21). However, with the reversal of the traditional chronology of P and H (see § 1.1.1 above) scholars have reframed these links to P in Lev 17 as intentional echoes of the earlier Priestly account, which develop P’s description of the wilderness sanctuary cult, and especially its focus on the importance of blood disposal.

In particular, scholars have debated how H might have revised P in the course of composing its prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter. Noting the strong parallels between Gen 9:3–7 and Lev 17 (see vv. 3 and 10–14 especially), Ruwe (1999, 141–42), Milgrom (2000b, 1457–58) and Nihan (2007a, 412–13) have argued that Lev 17 builds on this earlier P text to forge a new prohibition of local butchery which might have applied in the period of Israelite history that postdates the building

of the wilderness shrine. To Milgrom and Nihan, Lev 17 is intended by H to admonish P for its willingness to accept the practice of local butchery (on this issue, see further § 2.1 above). To Ruwe, by contrast, the links between Lev 17 and Gen 9:3–7 suggest Lev 17–26 are the progression of P’s argument about the cosmic significance of blood: they therefore reveal the fundamental compatibility between Lev 17 and the P narrative. Ruwe uses this observation to strengthen his argument that Lev 17–26 do not constitute a distinct diachronic unit within Leviticus but are better read as an integral part of P (cf. Blum 1990, 318–32; 2009; Crüsemann 1996 [1992], 277–82; Marx 2011, 10–16; see further § 1.1.1 above).

This scholarly debate about the continuity between Lev 17 and Gen 9:3–7 has been matched by an increased interest in the connections between Lev 17 and Lev 16. In particular, scholars have emphasized the common expressions and motifs employed in the two chapters, as well as their shared interest in blood manipulation (see esp., Zenger 1999, 65–67, 71–73; Jürgens 2001, 126–86; Hieke 2014, 2:557–639). First, both mention blood in connection with its *kippēr* function, with the root כפר and the phrase כפר על featuring in both chapters (cf. esp. 16:19, 34; 17:11). Outside Lev 17, there are only two occurrences of the root כפר in Lev 18–26 (19:22; 23:28), and in neither case do these refer to blood. Second, Lev 16 shares with Lev 17 a particularly strong focus on the wilderness context, with both chapters referencing the אהל מועד (16:7; 17:4, 5, 6, 9), being within the מחנה “camp” (16:26; 17:3) and being outside it (16:27; 17:3). This wilderness emphasis is largely missing from the rest of Lev 18–26, with the אהל מועד being mentioned only at 19:21 and 24:3, and the camp featuring only in the blasphemer narrative of 24:10–23 (see specifically 24:10, 14, 23). This further positions Lev 17 in close proximity to Lev 16 and at a relative distance to the remainder of H, apart from ch. 24. Thirdly, the two chapters also make reference to creatures associated with wilderness and desolate places: עזאזל “Azazel” in 16:8, 10 and 23; שעירים “wild goats” in 17:7 (see further § 3.4.2). Finally, the linguistic connection between the two chapters has been strengthened by a late addition at Lev 16:29–34a, which shares with Lev 17 a reference to the גר “immigrant” and the אזרח “native” (cf. 16:29; 17:15) as well as the expression הגר הגר בתוכם “the immigrant who lives among you” (cf. 16:29; 17:10, 12, 13, 15).³

Noting these linguistic and conceptual parallels between Lev 16 and 17, Erich Zenger (1999), Benedikt Jürgens (2001) and Thomas Hieke (2014, 2:613) have suggested that the two chapters were intended to be read as an integrated unit within the book of Leviticus. However, there are a number of reasons to question this reconstruction. To begin with, much of the detail of the two chapters, such as the ritual actions outlined in Lev 16 or the blood prohibition in Lev 17:10–14, is not mirrored in the other. Hence, while there are certainly a number of striking similarities between the two chapters,

³ The secondary character of Lev 16:29–34a is widely recognized (see, e.g., Baentsch 1903, 380; Elliger 1966, 207; Milgrom 1991, 1064–65; Knohl 1995, 27–28; Körting 1999, 131–34; Nihan 2007a, 346–50). On this see further below.

these do not necessitate that they be read as a structural pair. Second, the two chapters are headed by different speech command formulae, which further emphasize their structural distinctiveness. The introduction at Lev 16:1–2 is unique within the book, while the introduction at Lev 17:1–2a, where Moses is ordered to speak *אל־אהרן ואל־בניו ואל כל־בני ישראל* “to Aaron and to his sons and to all the Israelites,” is found nowhere else in Lev 1–16. It does, however, find a direct equivalent within the book of Leviticus at Lev 22:18a α (and only in this text). This connection between Lev 17:2a α and 22:18a α is especially significant in light of the thematic correspondences between the legal sections that they each introduce (Hans-Peter Mathys 1986, 82): both are concerned with the offering of sacrifices by the Israelite community. In this way, Lev 17:2a α and 22:18a α appear to form an inclusion around chs. 17–22 which gives particular weight to the sacrificial obligations incumbent on the community (Otto 1994a, 77; Ruwe 1999, 82–83). This strongly suggests that Lev 17 should be read as part of a structural unit stretching from Lev 17–22, as opposed to being grouped with Lev 16. This is corroborated by the compliance formula at Lev 16:34b, which also signals a significant break between the material of ch. 16 and that of ch. 17, irrespective of the connection that is fostered by Lev 16:29–34a.

Finally, while the addition at 16:29–34a strengthens the link between Lev 16 and 17, it does not appear to fuse Lev 16 and 17 to form a single unit so much as to foster a connection between Lev 16 and Lev 23. As argued by Immanuel Benzinger in 1889 and affirmed in numerous studies since, Lev 16:2–28 do not prescribe a ritual which was originally intended to be limited to an annual ceremony, but rather an emergency rite which could be performed by Aaron whenever the sanctuary needed to be purified (see esp. Benzinger 1889, 67–68). The addition of an annual date for the day of purification seems to be linked to the introduction of the festal calendar of Lev 23 to the Priestly traditions, where *יום כפרים* is dated to the tenth of the seventh month (23:26–31; see further § 4.2.2 below). The link with H forged by Lev 16:29–34a is therefore not with Lev 17 specifically, but seems rather to anticipate H’s festal calendar in Lev 23.

Yet, if it is overstraining the evidence to view Lev 16 and 17 as an integrated unit, it cannot be denied that there are manifest thematic and linguistic links between the two chapters. Like a “bridge” (Milgrom 2003b, 26) between Lev 1–16 and Lev 18–26, Lev 17 both continues and extends the themes of the P materials of Lev 1–16, especially surrounding the ritual disposal of blood, while also introducing a new unit within Leviticus which will focus on the responsibility of *כל־בני ישראל* “all the Israelites” to abide by Yhwh’s commandments, and in particular to adhere to the god’s sacrificial standards. In this way, Lev 17 arguably serves as a sophisticated introduction to a new diachronic unit within the book of Leviticus—one which maintains strong continuity with the earlier P ritual instructions, but which also looks towards the particular legislative interests of the new compositional unit.

So far, H’s concern in Lev 17 to maintain continuity with the earlier P ritual materials has received virtually no discussion in how H might promote a discourse of centralization in that chapter.

Rather, the study of Lev 17 and centralization has remained largely confined to the inter-textual links between Lev 17 and Deut 12. This stems, in part, from a failure to recognize how important to H's argument for a centralized cult is the focus in Lev 17 on ritualized blood disposal. This is a topic which, as we shall see (§ 4.4.1), shares little resonance with D's centralizing mandate in Deut 12 but is clearly indebted to the earlier P materials. It therefore speaks to the need to reorient the study of Lev 17 and centralization away from a fascination with its potential overlaps and borrowing from Deut 12 to explore how it might respond to, and expand upon, the pentateuchal tradition with which it has the greater affinity: P.

Such an approach to Lev 17 is rare in pentateuchal research, but has an important precedent in the work of Schwartz (1996c; 1999, 97–101).⁴ Building on the approach developed by Haran (see further § 1.2.2 above), Schwartz has argued that the opening chapter of H should be read on its own terms, without focusing on its purported intertextual links with non-Priestly traditions (see further B. J. Schwartz 1991, 1996c, 2013). Rather than building on and developing Deut 12, Schwartz has argued that Lev 17 is an inner-Priestly development which explores the need for restricting Israelite worship to a single shrine—a development which, he has contended, emerged independently of the discourse found in D. Yet while Schwartz's study of Lev 17 is rich in insights, especially as regards the importance of blood as the guiding theme of the chapter, it can be asked whether he succeeds in moving the discussion of Lev 17 and centralization far beyond the conclusions reached by those scholars who have read the chapter through the lens of D. In the end, Schwartz identifies (1999, 97–101) only a few points of discontinuity between the concept of centralization in Lev 17 and that which is found in Deut 12. Most of these relate to their respective rationales for limiting sacrificial worship to a single location: for D, the centralization of the cult to a single place is driven by the fear that the Israelites might imitate the behavior of the Canaanites if they worship in multiple places; for H, it is the need to prevent the worship of other beings—the שְׂעִירִים “goats” mentioned in 17:7—that requires that both slaughter and sacrifice be restricted to Yhwh's central sanctuary. While Schwartz shines a valuable light on these differences, it can be argued that the study of Lev 17 and its distinctive discourse of centralization should be extended to explore other ways in which this chapter differs from Deut 12. In particular, it can be asked to what extent H's focus on blood in this chapter reveals a discursive character that is thoroughly different from Deut 12—one which is stricter on the matter of how the Israelites slaughter their animals, but perhaps more accommodating when it comes to other, non-blood sacrifices in the centralized cult. Further, there is also room to explore, so far as the limited extra-biblical sources allow, the possible historical context within which H's narrowing of focus onto the centralization of blood sacrifice might have emerged, and thus its import for the study of centralization in the Persian period.

⁴ I wish to thank Rotem Meir for assisting me with the Modern Hebrew in Schwartz's 1999 discussion on Lev 17 and centralization, as well as with Alexander Rofé's 1988 monograph cited below (see § 4.4.1).

3.2 The Structure of Lev 17 and the Importance of Blood Disposal

The analysis of Lev 17 that follows begins with a translation of the chapter. While I will note here select differences between the ancient witnesses in translation notes, the more substantial discrepancies between the witnesses, especially in vv. 3–4, will be considered later in the chapter (see § 3.3.1). My translation choices will also be discussed at various points in the following sections when relevant to the overall argument.

Lev 17

1 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 2 “Speak to Aaron < and to his sons >⁵, and to all the sons of Israel, and to them you shall say, ‘This is the word that Yhwh commands:’

3 ‘Anyone from the house of Israel⁶ who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it to Yhwh as an offering before the habitation of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.’ 5 This is so that the Israelites will bring their sacrifices that they are sacrificing in the open field to Yhwh at the entrance of the tent of meeting, to the priest; they shall sacrifice them as well-being sacrifices to Yhwh. 6 The priest shall dash the blood upon the altar of Yhwh at the entrance of the tent of meeting and shall make the fat go up in smoke as a soothing odor to Yhwh. 7 Thus they will no longer offer their sacrifices to wild goats that they whore after. This will be an everlasting statute for them throughout their generations.’⁷ 8 And to them you shall say: ‘Anyone from the house of Israel and from the immigrant who lives among you who offers⁸ burnt offering or sacrifice 9 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to offer it to Yhwh, that person shall be cut off from his people.’

⁵ 11QpaleoLev (11Q1) omits the reference to Aaron’s sons. However, this is most likely a scribal error, possibly due to homoeoteleuton caused by the repetition of ואל (Sun 1990, 64).

⁶ LXX reads בני ישראל here (as well as in the introductions at vv. 8, 10 and 13) in what appears to be an attempt to achieve a smoother text by applying a single descriptor for the Israelites, rather than alternating between בית ישראל and בני ישראל.

⁷ LXX preserves a small variant here: νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἔσται ὑμῖν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν “this shall be an everlasting statute for you and throughout your generations.” This probably reflects the rarity of the formulation חקת עולם ... להם לדרתם in the Pentateuch (cf. Exod 27:21; Lev 7:36) and the greater frequency of the formulation חקת עולם לדרתכם (see, e.g., Lev 3:17; 10:9; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; Num 10:8; 15:15; 18:23).

⁸ MT reads עלה here while SP and LXX read עשה (ποιέω in Greek). The two verbs are more or less equivalent and the alternation does not change the sense of the verse. Commentators have explained the difference in various ways. The critical notes in *BHS* suggest that the reading in SP and LXX may be due to the presence of עשה in v. 9, and therefore constitute a harmonization. It seems more likely, however, that the verb עלה has been replaced by עשה in SP and LXX because it is used exclusively with the עלה sacrifice in all other occurrences of the verb in Leviticus, while here it occurs with reference to אֵי-זִבַּח. Milgrom (2000b, 1466) therefore concludes that the reading of SP and LXX is a facilitating one, and that MT is more likely to be original. Unfortunately, neither 11Q1 nor 4QLev^d (4Q26) attests this part of the verse.

10 'Anyone from the house of Israel and from the immigrant who lives in your midst, who consumes any blood, I shall set my face against the life of the one who consumes the blood and shall cut him off from the midst of the people. 11 For the life of the flesh, it is in the blood; I gave it for you upon the altar to ransom for your lives, for it is the blood that ransoms by means of life.⁹ 12 Therefore I have said to the sons of Israel, all the living among you must not consume blood; and the immigrant who lives in your midst, must not eat blood. 13 Anyone from the Israelites¹⁰ and from the immigrant who lives in your midst, who hunts game, animal or bird, which may be eaten, he shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth. 14 For the life of all flesh, its blood is its life; and I have said to the Israelites: Do not eat the blood of any flesh, for the life of all flesh, it is its blood. All who eat it will be cut off. 15 And any person, either native or immigrant, who eats a carcass, a torn animal, shall wash his clothing and bathe in water; he will be unclean until evening, and then he shall be clean. 16 And if he does not wash his flesh and does not bathe, then he will bear his iniquity.' ”

Leviticus 17 comprises five laws, each of which exhibits a similar structure (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 37–39). In each case, the law consists of a sentence containing two clauses, the first of which begins with the subject in *casus pendens*, that is, standing at the head of the sentence and in a syntactically independent relationship to it. The subject is then followed by אשר and a verb in the imperfect. The second clause commences with a verb (converted imperfect), resumes the *casus pendens* and pronounces the law. A further similarity between the first four laws is that each begins with the formula ישראל־מבני ישראל “anyone from the house of Israel/Israelites.” Moreover, they all contain the כרת-sanction, although by the fourth law this threat is no longer mentioned in the main clause (v. 13) but rather in its motivational section. Yet, if the structure of each of the laws is similar, none is identical; the scribes responsible for the chapter appear to have felt free to develop the basic structure and formulate each particular instruction in its own distinctive way (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 37). The fifth law stands out, since it is headed by a different introductory formula: “any person...either native or immigrant” (v. 15a); it also presents a different threat to that of the previous instructions (ונשא עונו; v. 16b).

Recognizing the literary coherence of the five laws of Lev 17, recent studies have argued strongly for treating the chapter as a unified composition (B. J. Schwartz 1991; 1999, 37–51; Grünwaldt 1999, 24–34; Ruwe 1999, 135–59; Milgrom 2000b, 1449; Nihan 2007a, 403–31; Hieke 2014, 2:620). This is a significant change from the scholarship of much of the twentieth century, in which the compositional integrity of Lev 17 was widely questioned and commentators focused on reconstructing the progressive stages in which the laws comprising the chapter were brought together.¹¹ However, as the work of Schwartz and Nihan particularly has shown, the structural unity of Lev 17 makes such theories of a gradual development of the chapter unnecessary; each of the five laws seems to have been composed with the others in view.

⁹ On the translation of this verse, see the detailed discussion in § 3.3.3 below.

¹⁰ SP reads מבית ישראל in what seems to be an attempt to harmonize the introduction of this law with vv. 3, 8, 10.

¹¹ See already Paton 1897, 32–45; Bertholet 1901, 57–60; see further, e.g., Elliger 1966, 219–25; Cholewiński 1976, 16–31; Brekelmans and Lust 1990, 95–106; cf. Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 235.

Following an introduction in vv. 1–2, the first law in vv. 3–7 declares that any Israelite who *ישחט שור אריכשב ארעז* “slaughters an ox or a lamb or a goat,” either in the camp or outside the camp, and hence does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering, has *שפך דם* “shed blood” and shall be cut off (*כרת* *Niphal*) from the community.¹² By using the idiom *שפך דם* to describe the consequences of extra-sanctuary slaughter, H designates this offense a criminal act of the greatest severity: it is to be equated with murder (Milgrom 1971, 25; B. J. Schwartz 1991, 21–22; Jürgens 2001, 171). With the slaughter of domestic animals away from the sanctuary proscribed, vv. 5–7 then explain what the Israelites should do instead: they are to bring their animals to the sanctuary to be sacrificed (*זבה*) as *זבחי שלמים* “sacrifices of well-being.” While the full ritual complex of the *שלמים* is not described here, v. 6 mentions two specific actions to be undertaken by the priest: he is to take the blood of the well-being offering and dash (*זרק*) it upon the altar; and he is to turn the animal fat into an odor to soothe the deity (v. 6b). The significance of this altar ritual is signaled by the way in which vv. 5 and 7 are carefully built around v. 6, positioning this as the statement of purpose for the law of vv. 3–7 as a whole (Nihan 2007a, 408).

The second law of Lev 17, in vv. 8–9, complements the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter in vv. 3–7 with the command that any Israelite or *גר* who wishes to offer *עלה אריזבה* must do so at the tent of meeting alone. This change in topic from extra-sanctuary slaughter to sacrifice is signaled by the shift from the verb *שחט* “to slaughter” in vv. 3–4 to *עלה* (*Hiphil*) “to offer” in v. 9 (Ruwe 1999, 149; Milgrom 2000b, 1464; Nihan 2007a, 414). It is noteworthy that the law of vv. 8–9 includes the *גר* in its addressees, in contrast to the law of extra-sanctuary slaughter in vv. 3–4 where this figure is excluded.¹³ With this shift, H clarifies that the *גר* is under the same obligation as the native Israelite when wishing to make a sacrifice to Yhwh: he or she must bring his or her livestock to the entrance of the tent of meeting or risk being cut off from the community (Wenham 1979, 244; Grünwaldt 1999, 167; Joosten 1996b, 65–66; Nihan 2011b, 125; Hieke 2014, 2:629). Hence while the

¹² The precise effect of the *כרת*-sanction or banishment formula remains a matter of dispute. The formula occurs in thirty texts in the HB with slight variations. In all but three cases in H (Lev 17:14; 20:17; 22:3), it involves the cutting off of the offender from “the people” (*עם*). The formula therefore seems to imply the exclusion of the offender from the community, but without detailing how this is to be achieved. As argued by Milgrom (2000b, 458), Frank Gorman (1997, 51), Hieke (2014, 1:322–24) and others, it seems most likely that the *כרת*-sanction constitutes a divine penalty, as is stated explicitly in Lev 17:10. While scholars occasionally argue that the sanction results in the premature death of the offender (Wenham 1979, 125, 242; J. Porter 1976, 139; Joosten 1996b, 80; Sklar 2005, 15–20; Jürgens 2001, 180) or the end of his or her lineage (D. Wright 1987, 164 n. 2; Gorman 1997, 51; Milgrom 2000b, 458–60; Hieke 2014, 1:324), it seems more likely to refer to the rejection of the offender from the cultic community. While this could involve premature death and/or childlessness, these do not seem to be its primary effects (Grünwaldt 1999, 149; Nihan 2007a, 407–8 n. 51).

¹³ This distinction between the addressees is not preserved in LXX and 4Q26, which include the immigrant in the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter in v. 3. On this difference see further § 3.3.1 below.

law of vv. 8–9 may at first glance appear to repeat that of vv. 3–7 (Noth 1977 [1965], 131; Sun 1990, 99), it actually expands the scope of H’s centralizing discourse from a situation in which only native Israelites are required to defer to the central sanctuary with their livestock—namely, slaughter (vv. 3–7)—to one in which *all* members of the community, Israelite and non-Israelite, must defer to the tent of meeting—that is, when offering עלה אֵיזֹבַח “burnt offering or sacrifice” (v. 8).¹⁴

The third law of Lev 17, in vv. 10–12, pivots from the issue of where domestic animals must be killed to how they may be eaten; in particular, the requirement that no animal be consumed with its blood. Verse 10 introduces the scenario in which an Israelite or immigrant “eats” (אָכַל) blood and emphatically warns “I [Yhwh] will set my face against the life (נִפֵּשׁ) of the one who consumes the blood and will cut him off (כָּרַת *Hiphil*) from the midst of the people.” The gravity of this crime is clear from the use of the כָּרַת *Hiphil* form (cf. כָּרַת *Niphal* in vv. 4, 9, 14) with Yhwh as the subject, meaning that the god will personally ensure that the offender is cut off from the community (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 40; Milgrom 2000b, 1471). It is also signaled in v. 12 by the paraphrasing of Yhwh’s previous statement in v. 10 forbidding the consumption of blood in v. 12 (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 46; Milgrom 2000b, 1479; Sklar 2005, 165–66; Nihan 2007a, 419).¹⁵ The two prohibitions of vv. 10 and 12 then form a frame around the central motive clause of v. 11, in which H offers an intricate statement on the nature and significance of blood that picks up the reference to the altar found earlier in the chapter at v. 6: “For the life of the flesh, it is in the blood; I gave it for you upon the altar to *kippēr* (כָּרַת *Piel*) for your lives, for it is the blood that ransoms means of life (כִּי־הַדָּם הוּא בְּנִפְשׁ יִכְפֹּר).”¹⁶

The fourth law of Lev 17, in vv. 13–14, extends the prohibition on eating blood in the case of game. The killing of game presents a particular issue of blood disposal, since its blood cannot be applied to the altar. H therefore prescribes an alternative ritual: both Israelites and immigrants alike

¹⁴ On the meaning of the expression עלה אֵיזֹבַח, see § 3.3.2 below.

¹⁵ This is a far simpler reading of v. 12 than to presume that H here quotes a saying found elsewhere, e.g., Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26–27 or even Deut 12:16, 23, as Erhard Gerstenberger (1996 [1993], 238) has tried to argue. It is unnecessary to search for a reference beyond Lev 17 given that the prohibition against ingesting blood is found in the immediate context at v. 10 (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 46 n. 1; Milgrom 2000b, 1479).

¹⁶ On the meaning of *kippēr* (כָּרַת *Piel*) and the translation “ransom” see the discussion in § 3.3.3. Scholars have long debated whether the *beth* in the expression כִּי־הַדָּם הוּא בְּנִפְשׁ יִכְפֹּר is best understood as a *beth instrumenti* (whereby the preposition indicates the instrument or means by which an action is realized), a *beth essentiae* (whereby the preposition marks the capacity in which an actor behaves), or a *beth pretii* (whereby the preposition indicates the instrument or means by which a price is paid). The reading of a *beth instrumenti* in Lev 17:11, however, seems the most probable (Füglister 1977, 145–46; Janowski 1982, 244–45; Kiuchi 1987, 105–6; Milgrom 2000b, 1478–79; Jürgens 2001, 168). Such a reading coheres well with the other occurrences of the adverbial prepositional phrase X-בִּכְפֹּר where the *beth* is almost always one of agency (see e.g., Gen 32:21; Exod 29:33; Lev 5:16; 19:22; see further B. J. Schwartz 1991, 2 n. 2).

must pour out the blood and cover it with earth (v. 13), and be sure never to consume any of its blood with its flesh (v. 14). Finally, a fifth law, at vv. 15–16, addresses the situation in which the Israelites wish to consume נבלה וטרפה “a carcass, a torn animal.” While blood is not mentioned in these verses, this scenario seems to have been mentioned here because of the particular problems which carrion present for blood disposal, given that the blood of an animal which has been dead for some time is at risk of coagulation (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 64–65; Ruwe 1999, 158; Milgrom 2000b, 1484–86; Nihan 2007a, 426). H does not forbid the Israelites or immigrants from consuming carrion (see, however, Lev 22:8 which forbids priests from this practice), but rather prescribes a purification ritual—washing of clothes and ritual bathing—to be performed by the person who eats the carcass and declares that person unclean until evening (v. 15). The chapter closes with a distinctive warning that the one who does not adhere to the law will ונשא עונו “bear his guilt” (v. 16b).

While most scholars now acknowledge the literary unity of the five laws of Lev 17, there is an ongoing debate about the internal structure of the chapter as a whole. The most common scholarly approach is to group the material into two sections. However, the division between the two parts remains a point of disagreement. Following Elliger (1966, 219–23, 226–29), certain scholars identify a major break between vv. 3–7 and 8–9 on account of the brief speech commission formula of v. 8α, in which Moses is instructed again, ואלהם תאמר “and to them you shall say (...)”. According to this interpretation, the chapter consists of a first section comprised of vv. 3–7, and then a longer second section stretching from vv. 8–16 (Brichto 1976, 24–25; Hartley 1992, 264; cf. Jürgens 2001, 143). However, this division fails to recognize that the material of both vv. 3–7 and 8–9 is manifestly concerned with the same issue: illegitimate sacrifice. In addition, the resulting structure is lacking in balance, since there is significantly more material in the second section than the first. Rather than signaling a structural break, then, the speech commission formula in v. 8α is probably attributable to the change of addressees in the following laws (Ruwe 1999, 139–40); while the laws of vv. 8–16 pertain to both the Israelite and the גר, the law concerned with extra-sanctuary slaughter applies only to the Israelites.

Although they recognize the thematic unity of vv. 3–9, Ruwe (1999, 137–40) and Nihan (2007a, 403–31) propose dividing the law into two parts consisting of vv. 3–7, 8–9, on the one hand, and vv. 10–12, 13–14, on the other. The second section (vv. 10–14) is then followed by a complement in vv. 15–16, which deals with the exceptional situation in which an animal is to be eaten but dies before it comes into the possession of the person who is to consume it. Such a structure produces two balanced sections, each comprising two, closely related laws (vv. 3–7, 8–9 // vv. 10–12, 13–14) accompanied by a rationale (vv. 5–7 // vv. 11, 14α).

Irrespective of where the break between the two sections of ch. 17 might be located, the problem remains as to where to situate vv. 10–12 within the structure. These critically important verses, and especially the major rationale of v. 11, face Janus-like towards the preceding material in vv. 3–7, 8–9 and the later vv. 13–14, 15–16 (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 42). In prohibiting the consumption

of blood, vv. 10–12 clearly connect to both vv. 13–14 and 15–16; as mentioned above, while blood is not mentioned in vv. 15–16, carrion seems to have been included because of the risk that the blood might have congealed in the carcass by the time it is found. Yet simultaneously, the reference to the altar in v. 11 links back to the first laws of vv. 3–7, 8–9, since it resumes the focus on sacrifice. Furthermore, as just mentioned, vv. 10 and 12 form a complex frame around v. 11 and thereby emphasize its centrality.

In light of the dual focus of v. 11, a number of scholars have argued that this verse is positioned as the center of the unit vv. 10–12, and, moreover, of the chapter as a whole. Adrian Schenker (1983, 196) was the first to propose that Lev 17 exhibits a concentric structure, in which the principal statement of vv. 10–12 forms the link between vv. 3–7, 8–9 and vv. 13–14, 15–16. This observation was taken up by Schwartz and Milgrom among others, who argue that the chapter is structured as “an inverted V, at the zenith of which stands the absolute prohibition of partaking of blood and its rationale” (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 42–43).¹⁷ Milgrom (2000b, 1449) went on to identify a chiasmic structure in Lev 17 in which the five laws form an A–B–X–B’–A’ pattern.

However, while it is clear that v. 11 offers a very important statement within Lev 17, there are reasons to question whether it forms the center of the chapter as a whole, or even of a unit stretching from vv. 10–12. First, a chiasmic structure of Lev 17 seems unlikely, given that there is no discernible linguistic or conceptual correspondence between the proposed terms A and A’ or B and B’ (Nihan 2007a, 425 n. 118). Second, if we separate vv. 10–12 as a distinct unit within Lev 17, we cannot account for the numerous connections that exist between these verses and the material in vv. 13–14. Verse 11 has its closest parallel not in vv. 10 or 12 but in v. 14, which also cites the identification of blood with life in dealing with the consumption of game. Furthermore, v. 14 cannot be read independently of vv. 10–12, since it refers back to Yhwh’s previous statement in v. 10 (repeated in v. 12) that the blood of all animals must never be consumed. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 3.1 below, the strength of the correspondences between vv. 11 and 14 strongly suggests that vv. 10–12 and vv. 13–14 form a unified section within Lev 17.

¹⁷ For similar views, see Eshel 1995, 4; Gilders 2004, 161; Sklar 2005, 164–65; Marx 2011, 44; Hieke 2014, 2:630–31.

Table 3.1 Correspondences between Lev 17:11 and 17:14

<i>Lev 17:11</i>	<i>Lev 17:14</i>
<p>כי נפש הבשר בדם הוא ואני נתתיו לכם עליהמזבח לכפר על- נפשותיכם כיהדם הוא בנפש יכפר</p> <p>For the life of the flesh, it is in the blood; I gave it for you upon the altar to ransom for your lives, for it is the blood that ransoms by means of life.</p>	<p>כיהנפש כלבשר דמו בנפשו הוא ואמר לבני ישראל דם כלבשר לא תאכלו כי נפש כלבשר דמו הוא כלאכליו יכרת</p> <p>For the life of all flesh, its blood is its life; and I have said to the Israelites: Do not eat the blood of any flesh, for the life of all flesh, it is its blood. All who eat it will be cut off.</p>

Lastly, reading v. 11 as the center of Lev 17 has the effect of positioning the ban on the consumption of blood as the overarching theme of the whole chapter (Schenker 1983, 196-98; Jürgens 2001, 162–69, 80). Such an interpretation overlooks the fact that this issue is entirely absent from vv. 3–7 and 8–9, which deal instead with the need to bring domestic animals to the sanctuary when they are to be slaughtered or sacrificed and fails to mention how they are to be later consumed.

It seems preferable to argue, therefore, that the chapter consists of two major parts: vv. 3–9 and vv. 10–16, which are prefaced with an introduction in vv. 1–2 (see Figure 3.1). While v. 11 offers a central statement on the significance of blood, which has links with both parts of the chapter, on a structural level it belongs with the materials of vv. 10–16 that deal with the blood prohibition.

Figure 3.1 The Structure of Lev 17

Verses 1–2: Introduction

Verses 3–9: The ritual disposal of the blood of sacrificial animals

*vv. 3–7: The prohibition of local slaughter**vv. 8–9: Complementary case—the prohibition of local sacrifice*

Verses 10–16: The non-consumption of blood

*vv. 10–14: The prohibition of the consumption of blood**vv. 15–16: Complementary case—the issue of carrion*

Each of the two major parts of Lev 17 concern a principal legislative issue (vv. 3–4 // vv. 10–14), which is then complemented with an additional case (vv. 8–9 // vv. 15–16), both of which are sandwiched by a rationale (vv. 5–7 // vv. 11–12, 14). While vv. 15–16 are somewhat distinct from the rest of the chapter on account of their different introductory and punishment formulae, these differences do not prevent their inclusion in the same section as vv. 10–14. In fact, these verses are in some ways already prepared by the formulation of vv. 13–14, which differ from the first three laws by including the כרת-sanction only in the motivational section of the law as opposed to its main clause (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 38–39; Nihan 2007a, 405). More importantly, vv. 15–16 are closely connected to vv. 13–14 in terms of their content, since both laws deal with a situation in which animals that die or are killed *outside the sanctuary* may be eaten. They raise the same issue of how to dispose properly

of the blood of such animals, given that an altar ritual is inappropriate. In the case of game, H rules that the blood must be poured on the ground and covered with earth (v. 13); in the case of carrion a different rite is called for, in which the person who consumes the meat must bathe his body and launder his clothes.

The structure of Lev 17 just outlined confirms that the two parts of the chapter are united around the issue of the *proper handling of blood*—an observation first made by Elliger (1966, 218) and later argued in detail by Schwartz (1991, 43), Milgrom (2000b, 1449) and Jay Sklar (2005, 164). The term דם is repeated throughout the chapter, occurring twelve times with the meaning “blood” (17:4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and once with the meaning “bloodguilt” (v. 4ba). To be sure, דם is not found in either the law of vv. 8–9 or 15–16 (Gilders 2004, 165–67). However, since both vv. 8–9 and vv. 15–16 complement laws where the issue of blood disposal is addressed (vv. 3–7, 10–14), the absence of any explicit mention of blood in these verses does not undermine the case for seeing the handling of blood as the overarching topic of the chapter. Furthermore, vv. 8–9 and vv. 15–16 arguably remain topically related to the issue of blood by outlining those cases in which there is a risk that blood might be disposed of improperly: in the case of domestic animals, such a risk is present when the animal is sacrificed away from the altar of Yhwh, since Leviticus acknowledges no other method for disposing of the blood of livestock apart from at this location (vv. 8–9); in the case of the eating of carrion, there is the risk that the blood may not be properly drained on the ground prior to consumption since it may have already coagulated (vv. 15–16).

The issue of blood, then, emerges as a dominant one which needs to be fully integrated into any analysis of Lev 17—including of how this chapter might conceptualize the centralization of the cult. In particular, it needs to be asked how the special qualities of blood are used by H to advance a discourse in favor of restricting slaughter and sacrifice to the central wilderness shrine, and mandating a standardized process of blood disposal which transpires there.

3.3 The Centralizing Discourse of Lev 17

Given the focus of this study, the five laws of Lev 17 need not be studied in equal measure. Rather, my focus is on the three dimensions of Lev 17 which are particularly pertinent to H’s discourse of centralized blood disposal: first, the argument that H builds for centralizing the slaughter of all livestock to the tent of meeting (vv. 3–7); second, the scope of H’s mandate of centralized animal sacrifice (vv. 8–9); and third, the import of H’s key rationale in the blood prohibition of Lev 17:10–12 at v. 11 for restricting the disposal of blood to the one, central altar.

3.3.1 Leviticus 17:3–7 and the Prohibition of Local Slaughter

The opening law of Lev 17, in which the prohibition of local butchery is found, is indiscriminate in its reach and singular in its focus: it commands *anyone* from the house of Israel (אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) who slaughters livestock to defer to a *single site* alone: namely, the tent of meeting. As mentioned above (§ 3.1), the command to Moses in v. 2aα to speak to כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל “all the Israelites” already reveals H’s concern to assert the laws’ normativity throughout the entire community. The expression אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 3aα is similarly inclusive. It condemns anyone who considers him/herself part of the Israelite community yet fails to recognize the wilderness sanctuary’s exclusive claim to offer livestock as well-being sacrifices (see esp. v. 4)

With this law, the wilderness sanctuary is again represented, as it was in P, as a *central space*, in that it demands both deference and resources from all the Israelites. Attempts to read this law as permitting de-centralized slaughter at local shrines in ancient Israel thus already appear difficult to sustain. The law of Lev 17:3–7, like the standardized rituals of Lev 1–16, focuses the attention of the Israelite community on a shared space, with no suggestion that they are ever permitted to defer to multiple sites when slaughtering their animals in a future time period. However, there is a significant difference in how Lev 17:3–7 asserts the centrality of the wilderness shrine when compared to the earlier P legislation. In this law relating to local slaughter, H employs an active prohibition: the Israelite community are now *explicitly forbidden* from any practice that transgresses the right of the central shrine to have a monopolistic claim on the slaughter of livestock. H’s centralizing discourse is thereby invested with additional socio-cultic power by the use of sanctions. If the Israelites do not conform to the law of Lev 17:3–7, and thereby deny the central shrine the deference it deserves, they now face a new threat of being “cut off” from the community (v. 4b). Deferring to a shared central shrine in all matters of animal slaughter is therefore positioned as the behavior by which participation in the Israelite community is assured. Through such discursive strategies, H asserts the exclusivity of the central shrine in an authoritative manner.

This interpretation of vv. 3–7, however, faces a number of interpretive challenges which require explication for the purposes of this analysis. In particular, there is the question of which practice, precisely, vv. 3–4 prohibits the Israelites from undertaking when it uses the term שָׁחַט “slaughter.” The significant textual differences in the witnesses to these verses also warrant attention, since they have been recently read as preserving ancient attempts to tone down the severity of H’s ban by reducing its legislative scope (Rothstein 2010; Teeter 2014, 76–94). Finally, the result clause of vv. 5–7 raises a further challenge for determining H’s motivation for permanently banning local slaughter, in particular H’s concern to abolish the offering of sacrifices to שְׂעִירִים “wild goats” by centralizing all forms of butchery. An analysis of these issues will help illuminate the overarching logic of H’s law prohibiting local slaughter, and thereby lay the foundations for the later reevaluation of the extent of the links between this law and other pentateuchal traditions (§ 3.4).

Issues of Translation and Transmission in vv. 3–4

The foundational issue that must first be considered is precisely which practice H is seeking to prohibit in vv. 3–4. Can we be confident that, in these verses, H intends to rule out local butchery? Or might H have been concerned with other issues, such as the method of killing or the location of sacrifice? These questions rest on the interpretation of the verb שחט. In a debate preserved in b. ḥul. 17a–17b, R. Akiba insists that the Israelites were permitted “in the beginning” (by which he almost certainly meant Lev 17:3–7) to kill animals for their flesh away from the sanctuary so long as these animals were stabbed or bludgeoned to death. In this reading, שחט in Lev 17:3–4 would denote the method of killing—slitting the throat—as opposed to the act of killing in general. It therefore would not constitute a total ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter. However, R. Akiva’s interpretation that the verb שחט means “slit the throat (for slaughter)” is improbable, since שחט is used in P to refer to slaughter that does not necessarily involve the slitting of the throat. For example, Lev 14:5 uses שחט to describe the killing of birds; and while no description is given in that text of the manner in which the bird is to be slaughtered, the ritual of the עלה in Lev 1:15 describes the killing of the offered bird by wringing off its head, as opposed to the slitting of its throat (Eberhart 2002, 26 n. 3). While we cannot assume that the process used in Lev 14:5 is identical to that which is described in Lev 1:15, the latter text arguably suggests that it is too limiting to restrict the meaning of the verb שחט to a particular method of killing the animal.

Certain modern scholars have continued the discussion surrounding the verb שחט in Lev 17:3–4 by arguing that it does not denote slaughter for food, but slaughter for sacrificial purposes alone (see already Paton 1897, 120; more recently Snaith 1975b; Levine 1989, 112–13; Hartley 1992, 271; Grünwaldt 1999, 26–27). While שחט clearly means “slaughter,” when it is found in Priestly texts, it always describes slaughter that is performed in a cultic context (*HALOT* 4:1458, שחט; Clements 1995 [1992–1993], 564). Hence, the use of the term שחט in Lev 17:3–4, so it is alleged, may not apply to local butchery but only the offering of sacrifices away from the central shrine. However, this interpretation has been criticized (Milgrom 2000b, 1452–453; Nihan 2007a, 410) on the grounds that שחט occurs in contexts outside P, where it designates “slaughter” without any sacrificial connotation (Gen 37:31; Num 11:22; Isa 22:13). In addition, Milgrom has argued (1976, 13–15; 2000b, 1452–53) that even when שחט is used in P it refers to the act of slaughtering itself, rather than to the purpose for which the animal is being killed. He has also noted that, if Lev 17:3–4 were limited to sacrificial slaughter only, the chapter would be characterized by redundancy: in that the first two laws (vv. 3–7 and 8–9) would both address the same legislative issue of sacrifices made away from the sanctuary. A preferable reading, therefore, is one that views vv. 3–7 as being concerned with the killing of animals for consumption, while vv. 8–9 more directly address the situation in which sacrifices are made to Yhwh.

However, even if we affirm the standard translation of שחט as “slaughter,” a significant complication remains: namely, the presence of important differences in the ancient witnesses to vv. 3–

4 (see Table 3.2 below). In LXX and one manuscript from Qumran, 4QLev^d (4Q26),¹⁸ 17:3 includes the immigrant among the law's addressees, alongside the native Israelites. Then, in v. 4, LXX, 4Q26 and SP contain a lengthy plus over against the shorter text preserved in MT and another manuscript from Qumran, namely 11QpaleoLev (11Q1). The plus offers a much-expanded description of the offering that should be presented at the entrance of the tent of meeting.

¹⁸ Since 4Q26 will be particularly important to the analysis of the transmission history of vv. 3–4 offered below, a short comment should be made concerning its state of preservation and links to other textual traditions. Unfortunately, 4Q26 is an extremely fragmentary manuscript; its ink is difficult to read and its leather has largely corroded. However, it is possible to discern that it is written in early Herodian script, allowing scholars to date it to around 30 BCE–20 CE (Eshel 1995, 1; Flint 2003, 326). Four passages from Leviticus can be deciphered: Lev 14:27–29 (frgs. 1 and 2), 14:33–36 (frgs. 3–4), 15:20–24 (frg. 5) and 17:2–11 (frg. 6). While it is very difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the provenance or influence of the textual tradition preserved in 4Q26, scholars are in general agreement that 4Q26 seems to stand closer to the pre-Samaritan texts and the presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX than to proto-rabbinic texts of Leviticus (Brooke 2002, 155; cf. Flint 2003, 333). This conclusion is largely based on Lev 17:3–4, since 4Q26 shares with LXX the gloss of v. 3 and with LXX and SP the lengthy plus of v. 4. Esther Eshel (1995) has argued that the textual tradition of 4Q26 may also have been a source text of *TS*. As discussed below, 11Q19 52:13–21 appears to quote the extended version of Lev 17:4 found in 4Q26 (and also LXX and SP) when formulating its law of extra-sanctuary slaughter (Zahn 2011, 193); see esp. its inclusion of the clause לעשות אתו עלה או שלמים. However, it is difficult to say whether this betrays the influence of 4Q26 specifically or a more widely dispersed textual tradition, since the plus is also attested in SP.

Table 3.2 Comparing the Witnesses to Lev 17:3–4

17:3–4 MT
3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או־כשב או־עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה 4 ואל־פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריב קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ההוא דם שפך ונכרת האיש ההוא מקרב עמו
17:3–4 11Q1
3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או־כשב [או עז במחנה]ה או אשר ישחט מחוץ ל[מ]חנה 4 ואל פתח אהל מועד [ל]א הביאו להקריב קרבן ליהוה לפני מש[כנ] יהוה דמ יחשב לאי[ש] ההוא דמ שפכ [ונכרת האיש ההוא מק[רב] עמו
3 ‘Anyone from the house of Israel who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.’
17:3–4 SP
3 איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה 4 ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו לעשות אתו עלה או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם לריח ניחח וישחטו בחוץ ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו להקריבו קרבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ההוא דם שפך ונכרת האיש ההוא מקרב עמיו
3 ‘Anyone from the house of Israel who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to make it a burnt offering or well-being offering to Yhwh for your favor as a soothing aroma, but slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.’
17:3–4 4Q26
3 [איש איש מבית ישראל והגר]גר בישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה 4 [א]ל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו לעשות אתו עלה [או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם לריח ניחח וישחטו בחוץ ואל פתח אהל מו]עד לוא יביאו להקריבו ק[רבן ליהוה לפני משכן יהוה דם יחשב לאיש ה[א]ן דם שפך ונכרת] האיש ההוא מקרב עמו [
3 ‘[Anyone from the house of Israel, and from the immigrant] sojourning in Israel, who slaugh[ters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, or slaugh]ters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it t[o] the entr[ance] of the tent of meeting to make it a burnt offering] or well-being offering to Yhwh for your favor als a soothing aroma, but slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of mee[ting] to present it as an off[er]ing to Yhwh before the habitation of Yhwh, blood will reckon iniquity to] th[at person], for he has shed blood; [he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.]’
17:3–4 LXX
3 ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἂν σφάζῃ μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ αἶγα ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάζῃ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ ὥστε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ἢ σωτήριον κυρίῳ δεκτὸν εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάζῃ ἔξω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ αὐτὸ ὥστε μὴ προσενέγκαι δῶρον κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς κυρίου, καὶ λογισθήσεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ αἷμα· αἷμα ἐξέχεεν, ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἢ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς·
3 ‘Anyone from the sons of Israel, or from the immigrants who dwell among you, who slaughters an ox or a sheep or a goat in the camp, and who slaughters it outside the camp, 4 and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of testimony to make it a burnt offering or well-being offering to the lord for your favor as a soothing aroma, and who slaughters it outside and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of testimony to present it as an offering before the habitation of the lord, bloodguilt shall be reckoned to that person, for he has shed blood; he shall be cut off from the midst of his people.’

According to MT and 11Q1, the person who has committed extra-sanctuary slaughter is charged with the following offense: “he has not brought [the ox, lamb or goat] to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering to Yhwh before Yhwh’s habitation” (v. 4). In contrast, in LXX, 4Q26 and

SP the offense is described as follows: “(...) he has not brought it to the entrance of the tent of meeting *to make it a burnt offering or well-being offering* (עלה או שלמים) *to Yhwh for acceptance on your behalf as a soothing aroma, but slaughters it outside* and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting to present it as an offering to Yhwh before Yhwh’s habitation.”

Scholars have long disagreed on the originality of the plus. Some commentators argue that the longer text of LXX, 4Q26 and SP preserves the earlier version of v. 4 (Bertholet 1901, 59; Freedman 1974, 529; Wevers 1986, 261; Sun 1990, 66–67; Hieke 2014, 2:615). In this case, the shorter form of MT and 11Q1 would be the product of scribal parablepsis, in which the repetition of the phrase “and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting” would have caused the scribe to omit the intervening text. However, it seems more probable that the plus is secondary. Not only is the additional material marked by unnecessary repetition (a characteristic feature of later additions) but its reference to both the עלה and the שלמים is discordant with v. 5, which refers only to the offering of the שלמים upon the altar. This suggests that the formulation of MT and 11Q1, which omits the reference to the עלה, is the more original (Baentsch 1903, 289; Elliger 1966, 219; Milgrom 2000b, 1456; Nihan 2007a, 409 n. 56; Teeter 2014, 77–82). In addition, the inclusion of the עלה in v. 4 creates a high level of redundancy within Lev 17 as a whole. In the law of 17:8–9, the focus shifts from “slaughter” (שחט) to the “sacrifice” (עלה) of “burnt offering or sacrifice” (עלה אר־זבה) at any site other than the entrance of the tent of meeting. There would seem to be no reason for H to include the law of Lev 17:8–9 if, in vv. 3–4, the sacrifice of the עלה away from the central shrine has already been forbidden. Further evidence supporting this conclusion is the exclusion of domesticated birds from the list of animals at v. 3a. This makes little sense if the עלה is original to v. 4, since the offering of birds as whole burnt offerings is permitted in Lev 1:14–17. The ritual for the שלמים described in Lev 3, however, does not permit the offering of birds as well-being sacrifices, which further supports reading MT and 11Q1 as preserving the original version of v. 4.

Despite the secondary character of the plus, the presence of such a major variation among the ancient witnesses to v. 4 is significant. The length of the plus is particularly striking given the high degree of uniformity that usually characterizes the text of Leviticus (see § 2.3.1 above). Furthermore, the potential significance of the plus at 17:4 is amplified when we consider the evidence of its reception in *TS*. 11Q19 52:13–21 offer a harmonization of Lev 17:3–7 and Deut 12:13–28 in which their conflicting laws are combined to form a new, compromise ruling on local butchery (Yadin 1983, 234–35; Zahn 2012, 192–94).

11Q19 52:13–21

13	... לוא תזבח שור ושה ועז טהורים
14	בכול שעריכה קרוב למקדשי דרך שלושת ימים כי אם בתוך
15	מקדשי תזבחנו לעשות אותו עולה או זבח שלמים ואכלתה
16	ושמחתה לפני במקום אשר אבחר לשום שמי עליו. וכול הבהמה
17	הטהורה אשר יש בה מום בשעריכה תואכלנה רחוק ממקדשי
18	סביב שלושים רס. לוא תזבח קרוב למקדשי כי בשר פגול
19	הוא. לוא תואכל בשר שור ושה ועז בתוך עירי אשר אנוכי מקדש
20	לשום שמי בתוכה אשר לוא יבוא לתוך מקדשי וזבחו שמה
21	וזרקו את דמו על יסוד מזבח העולה ואת חלבו יקטירו

13 (...) You shall not slaughter a clean ox, sheep or goat
 14 in any of your towns, near to my temple, within a three-days' journey of my temple. But rather in
 15 my temple you shall slaughter it, making it a burnt offering or a well-being sacrifice; and you shall eat it
 16 and you shall rejoice before me at the place upon which I will choose to put my name.
 Every clean
 17 animal which has a blemish, you shall eat it within your towns, far from my temple,
 18 thirty *ris* surrounding [it]. You shall not slaughter || near my temple, for it is unclean meat.
 19 You shall not eat the meat of an ox, a sheep or a goat within my city, which I consecrate
 20 to put my name there: this shall not come into my temple. They shall slaughter it there
 21 and dash its blood upon the base of the altar of burnt offering; and its fat they shall burn.

In this text, the author of *TS* maintains a limited version of Lev 17:3–7 by insisting that local butchery is not to be practiced by any person who lives within a three-day journey from the temple. But beyond this distance, it is implied that the requirement to travel to the sanctuary to slaughter livestock for food is not binding. This stands in broad agreement with Deut 12:20–28, but concretizes and sets practical limits to the vague permission of local butchery if the central sanctuary is “too far from you” (Deut 12:21). What is especially intriguing is that, when the author of *TS* draws on the text of Lev 17:3–4, he cites a clause which is found only in the plus (Eshel 1995, 9; Zahn 2011, 193; also acknowledged by Rothstein 2010, 199; Teeter 2014, 84–85). In 11Q19 52:13–16 the text reads, “You shall not slaughter a clean ox, sheep or goat in any of your towns, near to my temple, within a three-days’ journey of my temple. But rather in my temple you shall slaughter it, making it a burnt offering or a well-being offering (לעשות אותו עולה או זבח שלמים), and you shall eat and rejoice before me at the place upon which I will choose to put my name.” The clause לעשות אותו עולה או זבח שלמים mirrors the extended description of the offerings to be brought to the shrine that is attested in the longer version of Lev 17:4 preserved in 4Q26, LXX and SP. *TS* thus confirms that the plus is both ancient and authoritative, at least in the eyes of the author of this rewritten scripture composition.

In two recent studies, David Rothstein (2010) and David Andrew Teeter (2014, 76–94) have independently advanced an intriguing thesis concerning the possible purpose of the plus in Lev 17:4. They have suggested that it might constitute an early attempt to offer the kind of harmonized reading

of Lev 17:3–7 and Deut 12:13–28 that we observe in *TS*'s reception of these laws in 11Q19 52. The sacrificial details added to v. 4 may have been intended to reduce the scope of the law to the issue of sacrificial worship alone, and thus to avoid entirely the question of whether or not the Israelites might practice local butchery. In particular, the addition of the עלה to the law blurs the distinction between the slaughter described in v. 3 and the sacrifice described in v. 8. It thereby merges the two laws into “a single commandment” (Teeter 2014, 93) concerned only with the issue of the making of sacrifices away from the sanctuary. Such an amendment, Rothstein and Teeter have argued, could therefore possibly reveal that the scribes who transmitted Lev 17 were aware of the tension resulting from the permission of extra-sanctuary slaughter in Deut 12 and tried to address it by amending the wording of v. 4 so that the two texts refer to the same legislative issue, namely the offering of sacrifices away from the central sanctuary. The issue of extra-sanctuary slaughter is thereby entirely avoided in Lev 17:3–7 (Rothstein 2010, 206). The plus, then, would be of both quantitative and qualitative significance: it would amend Lev 17:3–7 in order to harmonize it with Deut 12:13–28 (albeit without drawing on the wording of the latter text), such that H's law simply confirms, with D, that the Israelites must centralize their sacrificial worship to a single shrine.

However, we might question the conclusion that the plus was intended to reduce the scope of the law of vv. 3–4 to sacrificial slaughter alone. The inclusion of the עלה in v. 4 does not change the nature of the offense described in v. 3: that is, the *slaughter* of an ox, sheep or goat away from the sanctuary. Whatever happens to the animal once it arrives at the sanctuary—whether it is designated as a whole burnt offering or as a well-being sacrifice—the effect of the law remains the same: it abolishes *any* type of extra-sanctuary slaughter. Furthermore, this reading of the plus as leaving unchanged the focus of 17:3–4 on extra-sanctuary slaughter is confirmed by *TS*: the fact that the author of *TS* drew on the plus to institute a limit on the practice of local butchery confirms that the plus was understood in antiquity to be referring to extra-sanctuary slaughter, and to not be restricted to the issue of sacrifice. Indeed, it would make little sense for the author of *TS* to have felt the need to blend Lev 17 and Deut 12 if the plus at v. 4 had already alleviated any conflict between their two rulings on local butchery.¹⁹

Rather than harmonizing Lev 17 and Deut 12, the plus seems to have been intended to expand the type of offering that could be brought when the Israelites slaughtered their animals at the central shrine. It provides a more explicit formulation of the offering that was to be made at the sanctuary. In the shorter formulation in MT and 11Q1, v. 4 includes only the very general statement “to להקריב קרבן

¹⁹ This point is acknowledged by Teeter, who seems on the whole to be sensitive to the difficulties arising from the suggestion that the plus might change the legislative import of the law. He concedes (2014, 91), for example, that “[t]he longer text thus does not *necessarily* restrict the meaning of the verse to sacrificial slaughter.” Nevertheless, Teeter maintains that the plus was likely intended to restrict the import of the law to situations of sacrificial slaughter alone, even though the wording of the plus is so clumsy that in its current formulation it barely achieves this aim.

bring an offering.” The plus clarifies which types of offerings—the עלה and the שלמים—were intended. While the inclusion of the עלה jars with v. 5 (where only the שלמים is mentioned), it was probably inserted because the scribes who were responsible for the plus could not understand why this—“the paradigmatic offering of the Hebrew Bible” (Watts 2007a, 63)—had not been listed as a suitable offering along with the שלמים (Nihan 2007a, 59 n. 56). Such a high regard for the עלה would therefore have seen it added to the law, despite the problems of redundancy that it creates with v. 8.

The plus also clarifies that the act of slaughter is wrongful if it takes place בהוץ “outside” the tent of meeting. At first glance, this comment appears unnecessary, since v. 3 already states that the slaughter occurred “outside the camp” or “inside the camp,” and thus by implication outside the sanctuary. However, in the shorter formulation of v. 4 it is possible to interpret the law as requiring only that the animal carcass or its blood be *subsequently* brought to the tent of meeting. To be sure, we should not overstate the likelihood that ancient readers would have interpreted Lev 17:3–4 in this way, even if some modern scholars have read the law as if this were its legal import (see, e.g., Noth 1977 [1965], 129). The same phrase להקריב קרבן occurs in passages such as Lev 1:2–3 to describe ritual actions that unambiguously involve slaughtering the animal at the entrance of the tent of meeting, meaning that it was unlikely that the wording of v. 4 in MT and 11Q1 was especially unclear to ancient readers. Nevertheless, the fact that the person responsible for the plus saw the need to make such a specification concerning the location of the slaughter suggests that this was viewed as a possible misreading. The plus therefore avoids any possibility of ambiguity by making clear that the offender erred not only when he failed to present the animal as an offering but also when he slaughtered it away from the sanctuary (Kratz 2007a, 59).

While Rothstein and Teeter limited their discussions of the textual variation in Lev 17 to the plus at v. 4, there is also the small gloss preserved in 17:3 in 4Q26 and LXX to consider. The gloss is quantitatively very minor, but there are reasons to believe that this variant matches, or perhaps even exceeds, the qualitative significance of the plus at v. 4; and, moreover, that it provides valuable counter-evidence to Rothstein and Teeter’s thesis that the textual variants in Lev 17 point to an ancient attempt to reduce the scope of H’s opening law.²⁰ According to 17:3 MT, SP and 11Q1, the prohibition of local butchery is binding only for the native Israelites (“anyone from the house of Israel”; v. 3a α). In 4Q26 and LXX, the immigrant is also added to the law’s addressees, although the

²⁰ We should be careful not to conflate the gloss of 17:3 and the plus at 17:4 by imagining that they were added at the same stage or for similar reasons. Since SP attests the plus but lacks the gloss of v. 3, it seems that the two variants were introduced to the text of Lev 17:3–4 in separate stages. Nevertheless, when the two variants are considered side by side, they together point to a different conclusion to that which is reached by Rothstein and Teeter: namely that, far from reducing the relevance of the ban on local butchery, both the gloss and the plus serve to clarify and intensify it.

wording of the gloss differs slightly in the two witnesses.²¹ In LXX the introductory formula of v. 3aα mirrors that of vv. 8aα, 13aα and 10aα, all of which have been standardized to read: “anyone from the sons of Israel, or from the immigrants who dwell among you (...)”.²² In 4Q26, by contrast, the gloss reads: “Anyone from the house of Israel, and from the immigrant sojourning in Israel.” Yet despite their differences in wording, both 4Q26 and LXX have the same effect of widening the audience of the law beyond the native Israelites.

There are a number of indications that the inclusion of the immigrant is a secondary development and that the original law was addressed to native Israelites alone.²³ First, the difference between the addressees of the law of vv. 3–7 and those of vv. 8–9 is essential to understanding why H included two laws forbidding the killing of domestic animals away from the sanctuary, one in the case of animals killed for food (vv. 3–7) and the other for animals killed for sacrifice (vv. 8–9). While it is only the Israelites who must be sure never to practice local butchery, a new introductory formula at v. 8 specifies that *anyone*, either Israelite or alien, who wishes to make a *sacrifice* to Yhwh must bring his or her offering to the tent of meeting exclusively (Wenham 1979, 244; Joosten 1996b, 65–66; Grünwaldt 1999, 167; Nihan 2011b, 124–25). To include the גר in both laws would therefore make vv. 8–9 superfluous, since every slaughter of an animal would have already been “de facto defined as a sacrifice” (Nihan 2011b, 125) for the whole community with the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter (vv. 3–7).

Second, the omission of the גר from the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter is consistent with the distinction maintained throughout Lev 17–26 between the cultic obligations of the native Israelite and the גר. While in earlier scholarship the גר in H was thought to be a convert to the Israelite religion (see e.g., Bertholet 1896, 152–78; Elliger 1966, 227; Kuhn 1968, 729; cf. H.-P. Mathys 1986, 40), this is unlikely since H never obliges the גר to participate in the cult in the same way as native Israelites (Crüsemann 1996 [1992], 185; Joosten 1996b, 63–64; Milgrom 2000b, 1499; Albertz 2011b, 56–63). Leviticus 24:15b may even suggest that the גר was expected to worship other deities (Nihan 2011b, 115). The גר in H is thus simply “a resident alien to whom certain rights have been conceded, and who in turn must observe certain duties” (Joosten 1996b, 64). The exclusion of the גר

²¹ The Göttingen edition does not include the gloss in its reconstructed text but only mentions it in the apparatus. The plus is included, by contrast, in Rahlfs’ edition. Since the gloss is attested in the major codices and numerous other mss (a full list of which is provided by Wevers 1986, 195–96), it very likely represents the Old Greek of Lev 17:3. Between the LXX mss there are minor differences in how the gloss in v. 3aα is formulated. Notably, Codex A and B include a ἦ between τῶν προσηλύτων and τῶν προσκειμένων. This seems to be an error, given that the additional ἦ is absent in the parallel formulas in vv. 8aα, 13aα and 10aα.

²² Leviticus 17:8 contains a minor variation in formulation when compared to the other four laws in LXX, since it includes the preposition ἀπό “from” before the reference to the προσήλυτος.

²³ As argued, e.g., by Bultmann 1992, 193 n. 78; Wevers 1997, 260; Ruwe 1999, 139–40; Grünwaldt 1999, 25 n. 16; Milgrom 2000b, 1453; Nihan 2007a, 415; Hieke 2014, 2:615.

from Lev 17:3 is therefore logical. Only if the גַּל should elect to make a sacrifice to Yhwh would he or she be required to follow the proper cultic procedure (vv. 8–9). By contrast, the גַּל is under no obligation to participate in the cult in matters of everyday slaughter (Wenham 1979, 224; Joosten 1996b, 65–66; Grünwaldt 1999, 167; Milgrom 2000b, 143; Nihan 2011b, 124–25). This supports reading the inclusion of the גַּל in Lev 17:3a LXX and 4Q26 as a later innovation and the formulation of v. 3 in MT, SP and 11Q1 as the original.

However, even if the gloss in v. 3 is a secondary addition, there is still the question of why a later scribe felt the need to include the immigrant in the law. One theory, suggested by Christiana van Houten (1991, 181 with n. 4), is that the immigrant came to be included in v. 3 when the law was translated into Greek. At this time, she argued, the term προσήλυτος referred not simply to an immigrant but to a convert to the Israelite religion.²⁴ This speaks to the long-standing scholarly discussion of the meaning of the word προσήλυτος, which is used by the Greek translators in all instances in which the term גַּל occurs in Leviticus, and moreover in the majority of cases in which גַּל is employed in the HB.²⁵ In this reading, the inclusion of the προσήλυτος in the gloss of 17:3 would be due to the Greek translators' expectation that the גַּל is a convert to the Israelite religion, expected to follow its cultic laws (van Houten 1991, 181 n. 4). The translator therefore glossed the text to include the προσήλυτος because, in his view, the proselyte should be equally accountable to Israelite cultic law as the native Israelite.

However, van Houten built her case without discussing the presence of the gloss in 4Q26. The evidence of this manuscript suggests that the inclusion of προσήλυτος in 17:3 LXX was no innovation on the part of the Greek translators, but was due to the presence of the term גַּל in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. In addition, the idea that προσήλυτος would have meant “convert” when it is used in the LXX is difficult to sustain more generally. As John Lee (1980, 112–13 n. 27), José Ramírez Kidd (1999, 119–23) and others have pointed out, προσήλυτος is employed in a number of texts where the meaning “proselyte” would make little sense, such as Exod 22:20, 23:9, Lev 19:34 and Deut 10:19, where the term denotes the Israelites while they were in Egypt. It is also unclear what would distinguish προσήλυτος from the term γειώρας if the former meant, “proselyte”; γειώρας is

²⁴ The term προσήλυτος does not occur in Classical Greek. It is rather a neologism of the LXX, which seems to be based on the adjective ἐπήλυτος “having arrived from outside” (Muraoka 2009, 263; cf. Harlé and Pralon 1988, 46–47). When this term is used in the New Testament, it clearly designates a person of non-Israelite origins who has converted to Judaism (Bauer 2000, 880; Kuhn 1968, 742–44). Philo invests it with a similar meaning (*Spec. Leg.* 1:51, 52). Scholars have often assumed that προσήλυτος conveys the same meaning “proselyte” when it is used in the LXX (Allen 1894; Kuhn 1968, 731; Loader 1973; Tov 1976, 537–38; van Houten 1991, 179–83).

²⁵ See, however, the eleven instances of πάροικος (Gen 15:13; 23:4; Exod 2:22; 18:3; Deut 14:21; 23:8; 2 Kgdms 1:13; 1 Chr 29:15; Ps 39:12; 119:19; Jer 14:8), the two occurrences of γειώρας (Exod 12:19; Isa 14:1) and the single use of ξένος (Job 31:32).

used on the two occasions in the HB when a non-Israelite participating member of the cult is what seems to be implied (Exod 12:19; Isa 14:1).

It is possible that the גר was introduced to an earlier Hebrew text of Lev 17, of which 4Q26 and LXX are two offshoots, because of a growing interest during the Second Temple period in defining the extent to which foreigners living permanently in Israel were obliged to participate within the Yahwistic cult, and the conditions for their inclusion. This concern can be detected in certain late pentateuchal texts which show a heightened interest in the cultic obligations of the גר living among the Israelites. As shown by Rainer Albertz (2011b), a number of late passages in the book of Numbers show an interest in including the גר in regulations concerning special conditions for celebrating Passover (Num 9:1–14), the cereal and libation offerings that must accompany animal sacrifices (Num 15:1–16), or the punishment for blasphemy (Num 15:30–31). These texts seem to include the immigrant on account of his/her status as a permanent resident in Israel—a status which requires that he/she adhere to the god’s standards for its cultic community. A similar concern can also be detected in the “law of the Passover” in Exod 12:43–49, which details who among the non-native Israelites may participate in the Passover meal (Grünwaldt 1992, 96–103; Olyan 2000, 65–67; Nihan 2007a, 566–67; Wöhrle 2011, 81–84). This law states that foreigners (בְּיָנִי), sojourners (תּוֹשָׁב) and hired workers (שָׂכִיר) who reside among the Israelite community on a temporary basis may not participate in the Passover meal. However, in the case of purchased slaves (עֶבֶד אִישׁ מִקְנֵת־כֶּסֶף) and immigrants (גֵּרִים)—foreigners who reside permanently among the community—sharing in the meal is permitted, so long as they undergo the rite of circumcision (Sarna 1991, 63–64; Meyers 2005, 95; Wöhrle 2011, 81). It is therefore possible that the person responsible for the gloss at Lev 17:3 had similar expectations to those of the authors of these texts in Numbers and Exod 12:43–49 as to the cultic obligations of the גֵּרִים, owing to their living as permanent residents in Israel. The scribe might have amended the text of Lev 17:3 to ensure that the גֵּרִים did not shirk their responsibility to present their animals to the deity at the central shrine whenever they wished to slaughter them.

It is possible too that the גֵּרִים might have been introduced in Lev 17:3 LXX and 4Q26 in response to more pragmatic issues associated with the butchery of livestock in ancient Israel. If immigrants were exempt from the law of Lev 17:3–7, they might have operated butcheries in competition with the central shrine. Those Israelites who engaged the services of immigrant butchers meanwhile might have exploited a potential loophole in the prohibition of Lev 17:3–4: in that, they might have been able to argue that it was not they who were performing the slaughter in a local context but rather the immigrant, acting on their behalf. Such practices would not only have undermined the cultic authority of the prohibition on local slaughter but also drained the central sanctuary’s economic resources: with each זֶבֶח שְׁלָמִים, the priests were entitled to a portion of the animal (namely the right thigh; see Lev 7:32).

Beyond this, there was the further risk that the involvement of immigrants in animal slaughter on the Israelites’ behalf might have implicated the Israelites in the service of other gods. If the גֵּרִים

worshipped gods other than Yhwh (as Lev 24:15 seems to imply), a portion of the animals they slaughtered might have been presented as offerings to these foreign deities. The person responsible for the gloss at 17:3 might therefore have sensed in the exemption of the גרים from the prohibition of local butchery a path by which the Israelites might be inadvertently drawn into transgressive behavior. While this argument is speculative, it is given weight by vv. 5–7 which explicitly state that local slaughter carries the risk of offering sacrifices to שעירים “wild goats.” This is not to say that foreigners in Israel were, in fact, presenting animals to שעירים. As will be argued below (§ 3.3.2), the peculiar nature of these entities suggests that they are unlikely to have been actual objects of veneration in ancient Israel. Rather, the reference in vv. 5–7 to the risk of the Israelites worshipping other entities possibly inspired the author of the plus to associate this risk with immigrants, given that they were likely to engage in the worship of foreign gods. The inclusion of the גרים in the prohibition of local slaughter might therefore have been a strategy to strengthen the overarching purpose of the law to prevent the worship of entities other than Yhwh.

Whatever might have been the reasons for including the immigrant in the law, it is clear that the gloss at Lev 17:3 negates the distinction that H seems to have been intent on establishing between native Israelites who have only one site of butchery, the shrine, and non-natives who can butcher their meat elsewhere. In the earliest version of the text preserved in 11Q1, MT and SP, the ban on local slaughter serves as an ethnic marker that distinguishes native from non-native members of the community. The non-native Israelites are effectively permitted to following local practices for slaughtering their livestock which we can presume might have resembled those outlined in Deut 12:13–19, 20–28 (Nihan 2011b, 124–25). By differentiating between Israelites and גרים in this way, *H positions the centralization of slaughter as a key marker of the Israelites’ unique status before Yhwh*: the slaughter of all domestic animals at the sanctuary is a behavioral signal of the “covenantal and sacral bond” (Nihan 2011b, 115) between the Israelites and their patron deity. The gloss in 17:3 4Q26 and LXX, by contrast, removes this distinction, choosing instead to emphasize the central shrine’s total monopoly over *all* acts of slaughter in Israel, regardless of whether it is a native or immigrant who owns the livestock. While the inclusion of the גר in 17:3 in LXX and 4Q26 introduces redundancy to Lev 17, since now vv. 8–9 basically repeat the law of vv. 3–7, the gloss has the effect of intensifying the sanctuary’s claim to be the sole “butchery” in ancient Israel when compared to the law in its earlier versions. Now there is no one among the permanent residents in Israel who is exempt from the ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter.

The above reading of both the plus and the gloss has a number of implications for how we understand the variation in the witnesses to Lev 17:3–4, and more generally, how we interpret H’s opening law. Despite Rothstein and Teeter’s argument to the contrary, there is no evidence in the wording of the gloss or the plus that the variation in the wording of Lev 17:3–4 points to a scribal attempt to soften H’s ban of local butchery in light of the conflicting ruling of Deut 12. In the case of the plus, its reception in *TS* confirms that the longer formulation of v. 4 did not change the legislative

theme of the law from extra-sanctuary slaughter to sacrifice. While harmonization between Lev 17 and Deut 12 can indeed be observed in 11Q19 52:13–16, where the wording of the two laws is combined to establish a compromise solution on the permissibility of local butchery, there is no evidence that the plus in 17:4 was informed by a similar concern to coordinate H and D’s respective rulings. To the contrary, the attempts to clarify, via the plus, the spatial location of the permitted slaughter, and the sacrifices that might be offered once local slaughter has been outlawed, and to include, in the case of the gloss, immigrants in the ban, only entrench the contrast between the law of Lev 17:3–7 and that of Deut 12:13–19, 20–28.

In sum, Lev 17:3–4 can be rightly interpreted as rejecting the possibility of local butchery for the native Israelites in favor of a centralized system of butchery. The variations in the wording of Lev 17:3–4 affirm that the basic legislative intent of this law, in all its versions, is to restrict animal slaughter to the tent of meeting alone. H insists that the failure of any Israelite to bring his or her domestic quadrupeds to the central sanctuary is an error of the gravest consequences: it results in the “cutting off” (כרת) of the offender from the people and therefore undermines the unity of the community. Hence it must be permanently avoided.

Wild Goats and the Permanent Ban on Local Slaughter in vv. 5–7

However, how do we defend this contention that the ban on local slaughter is *permanent*? The law concludes in v. 7b with a statement that certainly suggests it is so: “this shall be an eternal statute throughout your generations” (Lev 17:7b). But can we be certain that this expression refers to the ban on local butchery, and not merely to the worship of שעירים mentioned in v. 17a, as Otto and others have proposed? This restricted reading of Lev 17:7b, it has already been argued (§ 3.1), has little support in the wording of vv. 5–7, since the reference to שעירים worship does not form its own prohibition but is an integral part of the result clause for vv. 3–4. However, in order to fully appreciate why such a restricted interpretation of vv. 5–7 cannot be justified, it is necessary to provide a closer reading of these key verses—one which focuses on the identity of the שעירים, their relationship with the שדה “open field” mentioned in v. 5, and their combined rhetorical significance in justifying the ban on local butchery.

Verses 5–7 clearly serve the function of providing the rationale for the prohibition of vv. 3–4. This is formally signaled by the use of the conjunction למען “in order” in v. 5aα as a link between the ban, in vv. 3–4, and the motivation, in vv. 5–7. It is also evident in the contrast in vv. 5–7 of the legitimate ritual procedure at the tent of meeting (v. 6) and the errant slaughter which takes place away from this space, in the שדה. The topic of these verses therefore remains firmly on the location of slaughter, and the need to cease all practices that involve the killing of livestock away from the sanctuary. However, an important difference of terminology can be noted in vv. 5–7: unlike vv. 3–4, which use the verb שחט to describe the prohibited slaughter, v. 5 shifts to using the verb זבח

“sacrifice” to denote both the correct procedure, whereby the Israelites offer זבחי שלמים at the tent of meeting, and also the errant slaughter that the Israelites commit when they fail to bring their animals to the sanctuary: “This is so that the Israelites will bring their sacrifices (זבחהם) that they are sacrificing (זבח *Qal* participle) in the open field to Yhwh at the entrance of the tent of meeting, to the priest; they shall sacrifice (זבחה) them as well-being sacrifices (זבחי שלמים) to Yhwh.” The shift here from שחט to זבח has the effect of construing all acts of slaughter as acts of sacrifice, but their legitimacy is determined by their location: that is, when livestock is slaughtered at the entrance of the tent of meeting, it constitutes a זבחי שלמים to Yhwh; when slaughtered outside this sanctuary, it is a sacrifice made to different entities, the שעירים, in the open field.

With this claim, H constructs a complex argument as to the cultic dangers inherent in the slaughter of animals away from the sanctuary. It is a claim that is based on a particular depiction of extra-sanctuary *space*. Here it is worth recalling the theories considered in the Introduction as to the role that space can play in the construction of ideas of center and centralization. As has long been recognized in the social sciences, space is not simply the physical environment in which social interactions take place: it is a—if not *the*—principal means by which these social interactions are imbued with significance. Space embodies culturally determined categories of meaning; it is a “(social) product” to use the famous phrase of Lefebvre (1976, 341); that is, “a product literally filled with ideologies” (cf. Foucault 1986; Cresswell 1996). The manner in which H conceptualizes the spaces of Israel’s cultic past, then, can be appropriately understood as indicating the way in which it imagines the social order of the Israelite community itself, as well as what constitutes the center of that community (cf. Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 10).

The spatial argument in Lev 17:5–7 hinges on the juxtaposition of the פתח אהל מועד “entrance of the tent of meeting” and the שדה “open field.” These spaces are, in turn, associated with two entities: Yhwh and the שעירים. Scholars have long noted the different spatial terms employed in vv. 3–4, on the one hand, and vv. 5–7, on the other. In the former verses, H situates the Israelites’ practice of extra-sanctuary as taking place במחנה “inside the camp” and מחוץ למחנה “outside the camp.” In v. 5, by contrast, the Israelites are said to kill their animals in השדה. What this shift signifies has been debated. Traditionally it has been interpreted as evidence that vv. 3–4 and 5–7 were written in two different stages (see, e.g., Baentsch 1893, 16; Bertholet 1901, 57; Elliger 1966, 222). However, Milgrom (2000b, 1460), Nihan (2007a, 409 n. 58) and others have argued that the shift can be explained without positing multiple compositional phases. They have suggested that the mention of the field constitutes a slippage, so to speak, from the wilderness fiction to the historical setting of the authors of H, which can be occasionally observed elsewhere in Lev 17–26; for example in the reference to עם הארץ “people of the land” at Lev 20:2, 4. Milgrom has argued that H, by directly referencing the reality of the land at 17:5, ensures that extra-sanctuary slaughter is not considered permissible once the Israelites are no longer encamped at Sinai. It is illegitimate in all possible future scenarios as well (cf. Lev 17:7).

While they do not state this explicitly, Milgrom and Nihan's interpretation of v. 5 seems to be predicated on reading the term שדה as a type of space that would not be found in the desert context of Sinai: namely, a cultivated parcel of land. Support for such a reading of שדה can be found in the other occurrences of שדה in Lev 17–26, where it is almost always used with the sense of cultivated land. A number of laws are dedicated to the proper usage (e.g., Lev 19:19; 23:22) and sale (e.g., Lev 25:34) of a שדה, and stress the need to leave the שדה fallow during the sabbatical and jubilee years (e.g., 25:23–34; 12). However, there is a different reading of the term שדה in 17:5 that can better account for its association in v. 7 with negative, even dangerous, behaviors involving the שעירים. In numerous texts in the HB, שדה designates an uncultivated, open area that stands outside the sphere of human control. The uncultivated field is populated by wild animals (literally חית השדה “animals of the field”; see e.g., Lev 26:22; 2 Sam 21:10; Isa 43:20; Ezek 34:5; 39:4; Hos 2:12). These can include fearsome creatures such as jackals (תנים) and the ostrich (יענה; see Isa 43:20). Furthermore, the field is frequently associated with impurity and death. It can be dotted with burial sites (Gen 23:11, 17, 19; 49:29, 30; 50:13), often located in caves, and the exposed corpses of those who died in warfare (Num 19:16). Hence the term שדה has many of the connotations of the term מדבר “wilderness”; and the two spaces are directly paralleled in Josh 8:24; Isa 43:20; Ezek 29:5 (see the specific expression על-פני השדה that also occurs in Lev 17:5) and Joel 1:19–20. Henrike Frey-Anthes (2007, 212) has argued that both terms (שדה and מדבר) share an association with the Akkadian term *ṣēru*, in that they both have overtones of the underworld. She therefore concludes that the field mentioned in Lev 17:7 is a space that signifies “cultic uncleanness” („*kultische Unreinheit*“; 2007, 212).

The context of Lev 17:3–7 strongly supports this more sinister reading of the term שדה in v. 5. First, it is consistent rhetorically with the strength of the prohibition, and the associated sanctions set out in the preceding vv. 3–4, whereby the Israelites must bring their animals to the tent of meeting or risk expulsion from the community. Since Lev 17:5–7 provides the rationale for such a calamitous punishment, to interpret the space of the field as having anything but negative associations would be to dilute the rhetorical power of this critical prohibition. Second, the interpretation of the term שדה as an uncultivated space is consistent with the spatial setting of the wilderness fiction, which is thoroughly presupposed in the wording of Lev 17. As already mentioned, Lev 17 frequently references the tent of meeting and the wilderness camp; and it is noteworthy that these references are predominantly clustered in vv. 3–7. This strong invocation of the imaginary setting of the wilderness camp makes most plausible a reading of שדה in v. 5 as an uncultivated and dangerous space that stands in a continuum with the מדבר. It also removes any need to posit that Lev 17:5 constitutes a slippage from the spaces of the wilderness fiction to those of a later context in the land. The reference to a שדה is instead thoroughly in keeping with the spatial setting of Lev 17 as a whole.

Reading the שדה in v. 5 in this way, the type of discourse that H is construing in vv. 3–7 begins to come into focus. Having equated all acts of local butchery with sacrificial acts by moving from the verb שחט in vv. 3–4 to זבח in vv. 5–7, H now equates any potential site of local butchery with

chaotic, anti-social space. As Frey-Anthes has spied (2007, 213), the topographic opposition between camp and field ensures that the offense of worshipping these foreign gods is “amplified” (,verstärkt“), since extra-slaughter is associated with spaces which are, by definition, non-cultic areas, associated “with the opposite of the holy and pure, and thus with the sphere of death” (Frey-Anthes 2008, 46). The result is a powerful contrast between the tent of meeting, where the ritual handling of animal sacrifice occurs, and the uncultivated and anti-social field, where local butchery transpires.

This interpretation of the rhetorical force of the term שְׂדֵה in v. 5 is confirmed by H’s claim in v. 7 that the שְׂעִירִים are the recipients of the Israelites’ sacrifices when they kill their animals in this space. Scholars have long debated the identity of these creatures as they appear in Lev 17:7. The term שְׂעִיר (singular) occurs frequently in the HB with the meaning “billy-goat” (*HALOT* 3:1341, שְׂעִיר § 2). However, in Lev 17 the שְׂעִירִים are positioned by H not as if they were domestic animals but as if they were foreign gods (Snaith 1975a; Janowski 1993a, 158–59; Nihan 2007a, 411; Frey-Anthes 2007, 212–16; 2008, 46–47; Blair 2009, 79–90; Hieke 2014, 2:626). First, Lev 17:5–7 present the שְׂעִירִים in parallel to Yhwh: when the Israelites bring their offerings to the tent of meeting, זָבַחוּ זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה, “they sacrifice them as well-being sacrifices to Yhwh” (v. 5b); but when the Israelites are sacrificing in the open field לְשִׂעִירֵיהֶם זָבַחוּ...זָבַחוּ לְשִׂעִירֵיהֶם “they sacrifice...their sacrifices to goats” (v. 7a). Second, the Israelites are accused in v. 7 of אָחַר זָנִים “whoring after” these creatures in language that is strongly reminiscent of the terminology of cultic prostitution found elsewhere in the HB. The formula occurs frequently in situations in which the Israelites worship foreign gods.²⁶ This may be why the LXX translates שְׂעִירִים in 17:7 with ματαίους “empty, vain ones” (Harlé and Pralon 1988, 157; Wevers 1997, 265), since this term is found elsewhere in the context of idol worship (see Hos 5:11; Jer 2:5; Amos 2:4; Zech 11:17).

Why might H have claimed in Lev 17:7 that the שְׂעִירִים were creatures approaching the status of gods?²⁷ Commentators have advanced a number of interpretations, ranging from the benign to the

²⁶ See, e.g., Exod 34:15, 16; Lev 20:5–6; Num 15:39; Deut 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:27, 33; 2 Chr 11:15; Hos 1–4, 9; Jer 2; Ezek 16.

²⁷ Leviticus 17:7 is not the only text to accuse the Israelites of worshipping the שְׂעִירִים. In 2 Chr 11:15 king Jeroboam is said to have appointed priests עֲשֵׂה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְבָמֹת וּלְשִׂעִירִים וּלְעִגְלִים “to the high places and to the goats and to the calves that he made.” However, commentators suspect that the שְׂעִירִים are mentioned in this text under the influence of Lev 17:7, and not because the שְׂעִירִים were actually objects of worship in the cult of ancient Israel (Williamson 1987, 244; Japhet 1993, 668; Milgrom 2000b, 1462; Frey-Anthes 2007, 216; Klein 2012, 175). The Chronicler follows 1 Kgs 12 when he charges Jeroboam with establishing high places and fashioning calves (although inverting the order; see 1 Kgs 12:31, 28). However, the reference to שְׂעִירִים is his own addition and is possibly a device whereby Jeroboam’s misdeeds, and also those of northern Israel, are directly aligned with the pentateuchal law. It is therefore difficult to use this verse to advance our understanding of the שְׂעִירִים beyond what we can glean from Lev 17:7, besides noting the comparison in 2 Chr 11:15 to objects of idolatry,

sinister. The majority of scholars identify the שְׁעִירִים in this text as “goat-demons” or more specifically *satyrs*—part-human/part-goat hybrids such as are associated with woodlands in Greek mythology.²⁸ This view is based on two further references to שְׁעִירִים in the book of Isaiah where these creatures appear within an ensemble of sinister and demonic beings. In the oracles of doom against Babylon (Isa 13:19–22) and Edom (Isa 34:9–15), שְׁעִירִים are listed among the creatures that inhabit the ruins and desolate places (although note the singular שְׁעִיר in Isa 34:14). These beings mark such spaces as having been given over to chaos and impurity, and thus as being inhospitable to humanity (Talmon 1966, 43; Angelini 2017; Nihan 2017b). Isaiah 13:19 describes Babylon as being given over to destruction “like Sodom and Gomorrah,”—that is, to total annihilation—and as a location that will no longer be the dwelling place of humans (v. 20) but instead the home of sinister creatures. These include צִיִּים “creatures of the desert” (v. 21a α), the אַחִים, a kind of howling hyena (v. 21a β ; see *HALOT* 1:29, אַח; Driver 1955, 134–35), impure birds such as the יַעֲנָה “ostrich” (v. 21b α), the אֵיִים, another kind of “howler” (v. 22a α ; *BDB* 17, אֵי; *HALOT* 1:38, אֵי), the תַּנִּים “jackals” (v. 22a β), and also the שְׁעִירִים, which are said to “dance” (רָקְדוּ) among the ruins (v. 21b α). Similar inhabitants of the ruins are mentioned in the oracle against Edom in Isa 34:9–17 (תַּנִּים [v. 13b α]; the יַעֲנָה [v. 13b β]; צִיִּים and אֵיִים [v. 14a α]; שְׁעִירִים [v. 14a β]) alongside the demon לִילִית “Lilith” who “finds rest for herself” (34:14b) within the desolate kingdom.²⁹

namely עֲגָלִים “calves.” Georg Hoffmann (1882) also identified 2 Kgs 23:8 as a comparable reference to the veneration of שְׁעִירִים. He argued that the reference to Josiah’s destruction of בְּמֹת הַשְּׁעִירִים “the high places of the gates” should be repointed to בְּמֹת הַשְּׁעִירִים “the high places of the goat-demons” (cf. Elliger 1966, 227; Noth 1977 [1965], 131; Monroe 2011, 40–43). However, there is arguably insufficient evidence to support such a reading. There is no incongruence in the pairing of cultic installations and city gates (Snaith 1975a, 116; Janowski 1993a, 158; Blomquist 1999, 151–63; Frey-Anthes 2007, 215 n. 1220). Furthermore, virtually all of the ancient witnesses to 2 Kgs 23:8 attest the reading “gates” (see, however, the Greek cursives in the Lucianic mss [b, o c₂, e₂ in the Larger Cambridge LXX]).

²⁸ This view is pervasive in modern scholarship. See among others, *HALOT* 3:1341, שְׁעִיר § 3; Noth 1977 [1965], 131; Elliger 1966, 227; Talmon 1966, 43; Kaiser 1973, 20; Brichto 1976, 24; J. Porter 1976, 139; Wenham 1978, 114; 1979, 243; D. Wright 1987, 21–30; Levine 1989, 114; Hartley 1992, 272; Janowski 1999b [1995]; Knohl 1995, 189, 204; B. J. Schwartz 1996c, 23; Grünwaldt 1999, 152–53; Ruwe 1999, 145 n. 31; Gilders 2004, 166; Hieke 2014, 2:626.

²⁹ On the nature of Lilith as a demon, see, e.g., Hutter 1999 [1995]; McDonald 2009. The demonic nature of Lilith is not unanimously acknowledged, with Judith Blair (2009, 63–95) recently reviving an earlier argument of Godfrey Driver (1955) that Lilith is a type of bird. However, it seems most likely that the figure mentioned in Isa 34:14b is the same demon known from other Mesopotamian and Second Temple sources. As has been widely noted, the presence of Lilith among the ruins in Isa 34 closely parallels the Mesopotamian tradition that is preserved in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* (t. 3, l. 35), in which a demon *lilū* dwells in the desert and non-civilized spaces (see further, e.g., Geller 2007, 12, 102, 98). Furthermore, Lilith’s demonic status is attested in the literature from Qumran, notably the list of demons attested in 4Q510–511, in which she is listed first among the demons.

The mention of שְׁעִירִים within such an ensemble has thus long been seen to indicate their demonic nature. Indeed, the LXX translates the term שְׁעִירִים in Isa 13:21 with δαίμονια “demons” and in Isa 34:14 with ὄνοκενταύροις “donkey-centaurs.” Scholars then extrapolate from this that the שְׁעִירִים named as objects of worship in Lev 17:7 were demons. They debate, however, whether such demons were considered by the authors of these texts to be purely legendary (Noth 1977 [1965], 131), or whether they were objects of actual veneration in ancient Israel (Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956], 182; Knohl 1995, 204, 218–19; Milgrom 2000b, 1381).

However, the argument that the שְׁעִירִים were goat-demons has faced some criticism. First, scholars have questioned the specific idea that שְׁעִירִים might be considered *satyrs*. As pointed out by Norman Snaith (1975a), and more recently Frey-Anthes (2007, 202) and Judith Blair (2009, 81), the שְׁעִירִים are never described as hybrids (their physical attributes, in fact, go unmentioned); nor are they associated with woodland environments, as per their usual depiction in classical mythology. Second, other commentators have questioned the more general idea that the presence of the שְׁעִירִים among the ruins in Isa 13 and 34 necessarily indicates that these creatures were demonic. It is clear from their presence in the ruins in Isa 13 and 34 that the שְׁעִירִים are “peripheral and thus eerie creatures” (Frey-Anthes 2008, 46; cf. 2007, 210). However, this does not necessitate that they were considered as goat demons; it is possible that the שְׁעִירִים are “wild” or “savage goats,” hostile to humans and the civilized world but not necessarily demonic beings (Angelini 2017).

Irrespective of whether the שְׁעִירִים are demons or, perhaps more probably, “wild goats,” it is clear that such beings would not have been the usual candidates for sacrificial offerings. Indeed, as pointed out by Blair (2009, 82), “[n]owhere in the ancient Near East were demons worshipped, and nowhere did they receive sacrifice. In fact, this is one of the major characteristics that differentiate gods and demons.” Why, then, might שְׁעִירִים have been mentioned by H as the recipients of the Israelites’ sacrifices when they practiced extra-sanctuary slaughter? Blair has offered a fresh perspective by arguing that the reference to שְׁעִירִים as recipients of worship in Lev 17:7 is “satirical” (2009, 82). As she sees it, the term שְׁעִירִים here designates nothing more than domestic goats, as per the normal usage of שְׁעִיר in the HB. H thus construes those who worship gods other than Yhwh as being as ridiculous as if they worshipped goats. While H positions the שְׁעִירִים in 17:5–7 in opposition to Yhwh—as if they were gods—this is but “an ironic reference to foreign deities worshipped by the Israelites...[which] reflects the authors’ contempt of such practice” (2009, 90). By extension it might be argued that such a reading of the שְׁעִירִים in Lev 17:7 suggests that H sought to lampoon those who practiced local butchery: H construes such slaughter as not only illegitimate but totally absurd, since it causes Israel to make sacrifices to “gods” (aka. goats) that only fools would venerate.

The strength of Blair’s argument is that it recognizes the unusual nature of the claim that the Israelites offered sacrifices to שְׁעִירִים, and the improbability of this reflecting actual cultic trends in ancient Israel (pace Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956]; Knohl 1995; Milgrom 2000b). However, a satirical interpretation of the שְׁעִירִים in Lev 17 arguably overlooks the significance of the שְׁעִירִים being

juxtaposed by H with a specific *space*, namely the open field (v. 5). This strongly suggests that these goats are the peripheral, eerie and inherently threatening creatures that were believed to have populated desolate regions. In this case, Lev 17:5–7 betray a similar conception to that which undergirds the oracles in Isa 13 and 34. Although there is no clear textual dependence and it cannot be argued that H was directly drawing directly on Isa 13 or 34, or vice versa, both texts share the feature of using the שְׁעִירִים as markers of non-structured, anti-social space (Frey-Anthes 2007, 212).

It therefore seems probable that H employs here a rhetorical strategy that is far from satirical. It gives expression to the inherent danger of slaughtering animals away from the sanctuary. The שְׁעִירִים are unsuitable candidates of Israelite worship, as Blair has rightly pointed out, but not because their worship is considered ridiculous but because this involves a total inversion of the proper cultic order and thus risks the integrity of the Israelite sacral community itself. In claiming that שְׁעִירִים receive the Israelite's sacrifices when they slaughter their animals in the open field, H illustrates the catastrophic nature of extra-sanctuary slaughter, since such a practice actively engages the forces of chaos, impurity and death. To treat the inhabitants of the field as if they were gods threatens the boundaries between civilization and chaos and flouts the structure, order and stability of Yhwh's sanctuary.

Furthermore, by employing the field and its attendant שְׁעִירִים in this way, Lev 17:5–7 justifies the prohibition of local butchery by forging a powerful spatial contrast between the *sanctuary*, with its ritualized order, and the chaos that lies beyond this sacred sphere. The sanctuary is the location at which Yhwh should receive the blood and fat presented to him by the priests “as a soothing odor.” The field, by contrast, is the space in which the sacrifices that are due to Yhwh are received by threatening, anti-social beings entirely unsuitable as objects of sacrificial worship. Its depiction as a place unfitting for shedding blood directs the attention of the Israelites towards the sanctuary as the only legitimate place of slaughter and legitimates the centralization of all acts of slaughter to this space alone.

The spatial opposition of Lev 17:5–7 not only affirms the centrality of the shrine; it also reinforces the authority of the priest and the rituals that are performed within this sacred space. The wording of vv. 5–6 makes clear that the Israelites must not only bring their animals to the entrance of the tent of meeting but be sure to give them אֶל-הַכֹּהֵן “to the priest.” The identity of this priest is not made known in vv. 5–6, where he is referenced in a generic way (הַכֹּהֵן); nevertheless the mention of Aaron and his sons in v. 2a suggests that H accepts with P that only a member of this family would be permitted to officiate at the altar. The significance of the priest's role at the central altar is signaled by the privileged position of v. 6 within the structure of vv. 5–7; as mentioned above (§ 3.2), the description of the priest's ritual actions in v. 6 is framed by vv. 5 and 7, which effectively position it as the statement of purpose for the law of vv. 3–7 in its entirety. The priest's ritual agency at Yhwh's altar, manifest in his unique ability to dispose of the animal's blood and fat, is thereby positioned as crucially important to avoiding the chaotic forces associated with extra-sanctuary space, and evading the dangers of blood disposal within such contexts.

The spatial dimensions to H's discourse—with its opposition between illegitimate sacrifices to goats and legitimate offerings at the tent of meeting—thus positions both the sanctuary space and the ritual agency of the priesthood as critical to protecting the socio-cultic order of the centralized cult. There is no reason, therefore, to separate the reference to the שְׁעִירִים in v. 7a from the rest of the prohibition and to conclude that it alone is governed by the expression חַקַּת עוֹלָם תְּהִי־זֹאת לָהֶם לְדֹרֹתָם found in v. 7b. To separate the שְׁעִירִים from the reference to the field in v. 5a, and the overall topic of vv. 3–7 of local butchery, denies coherence to the reference to these creatures in v. 7a. They can only be read as part of the spatial argument for the prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter in Lev 17:3–7; hence, the claim, in v. 7b, “this shall be an eternal statute throughout your generations” can refer to nothing else than the ban on local butchery.

Further, as we shall see below (§ 3.4.2), this reading of the שְׁעִירִים in the prohibition of 17:3–7 gains additional weight when read in tandem with the final chapter of the P ritual materials at Lev 16. In Lev 16, the opposition between the central sanctuary and the ritual actions of Aaron, on the one hand, and the chaotic wilderness space populated by Azazel, on the other, exhibits a number of striking similarities to the discursive device observed in Lev 17:5–7. These echoes between Lev 16 and 17, which have rarely, if ever, been explored in the scholarship on H and centralization, might suggest that H intended, when invoking the שָׂדֵה and the שְׁעִירִים in the prohibition of local slaughter, to develop the motifs in that earlier chapter. They thus have the potential, as I shall argue, to further our understanding of H's reliance on P in developing its logic of centralization.

3.3.2 Leviticus 17:8–9 and the Centralization of Blood Sacrifice

In Lev 17:3–7 it is manifest that H's ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter pertains only to situations in which the Israelites kill their livestock. This focus on animal slaughter is explicitly confirmed in v. 3, with the specification that the law pertains to situations in which the Israelites slaughter שׁוֹר אֹרֶי־כֶשֶׁב אֹרֶי־עֵז “ox or a lamb or a goat,”³⁰ as well as by the multiple references to blood found in vv. 4–6. But when we turn to the second law of Lev 17 at vv. 8–9, a question of scope arises. Do these verses pertain only to animal sacrifices? Or do they have a broader focus which might include other types of offerings as well?

³⁰ Scholars have long disagreed as to whether the triad שׁוֹר אֹרֶי־כֶשֶׁב אֹרֶי־עֵז in v. 3 refers to all domestic animals (Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 150; Bertholet 1901, 58; Cholewiński 1976, 165; Blum 1990, 338; Teeter 2014, 82) or only to quadrupeds deemed fit for sacrifice in P (see Lev 7:23; for this position see, e.g., Noth 1977 [1965], 129–30; Elliger 1966, 226–28; Wenham 1979, 241; Grünwaldt 1999, 26; Ruwe 1999, 141–43). However, such a distinction is ultimately moot since the domestic quadrupeds listed in P as permissible for sacrifice were likely to have been the same as the animals that could be eaten in ancient Israel; this is supported by Deut 14:4, which lists only the שׁוֹר, כֶּשֶׁב, and עֵז as being permissible to eat (Nihan 2007a, 408).

Leviticus 17:8–9 commands that every time the Israelite or *גר* presents *עלה אר־זבה* “burnt offering or sacrifice” to Yhwh, he or she must bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting or else face the same fate as the Israelite who practices local butchery: “that person will be cut off (*כרת*) from his people.” Scholars disagree, however, as to which sacrifices and offerings H understood as being included in the expression *עלה אר־זבה* in v. 8. One view is that the term is limited to those offerings that are explicitly listed: that is, the burnt offering (*עלה*) and the sacrifices designated *זבהים* in P, which includes the *זבה שלמים* and the subsidiary *זבה תודה* “thanksgiving sacrifice,” *נדר* “votive offering” and *נדבה* “freewill offering” (B. J. Schwartz 1999, 99; Ruwe 1999, 149–50). According to such a reading, vv. 8–9 exclude the mandatory sin and reparation offerings (the *חטאת* and *אשם* respectively) on the grounds that the Israelites are only required to centralize the offering of *voluntary* sacrifices to the tent of meeting. To explain why H might have distinguished between voluntary and mandatory offerings, Schwartz (1999, 99) has pointed to the different functions assigned by P to the *חטאת* and *אשם*, on the one hand, and the *עלה* and the *זבה שלמים*, on the other. Only the former are intended to atone for the effects of impurity and sin; this purpose could have been achieved, in Schwartz’s view, without the requirement that the sacrifices be made at the central sanctuary. Ruwe, on the other hand, has argued (1999, 150) that H restricts the centralization of sacrifice to the *עלה* and the *זבה שלמים* because these are the two most important types of sacrifice in P. The centralization of the *חטאת* and *אשם*, and also of the *מנחה* “cereal offering,” is less of a concern to H, although Ruwe stopped short of saying that H permits these offerings to be made at other locations outside the central sanctuary.³¹ Both Schwartz and Ruwe are nonetheless agreed that Lev 17:8–9 promotes a limited form of centralization, which does not preclude the possibility that certain sacrifices can be offered away from the central shrine.

Other scholars have refuted the idea that the expression *עלה אר־זבה* refers to only two types of sacrifice, namely the *עלה* and the *זבה שלמים*. In particular, Milgrom (2000b, 1467) and Nihan (2007a, 415) have highlighted the lack of congruence between the gravity with which H presents the practice of shedding blood outside the sanctuary and the admission that select animal sacrifices can still be offered away from the tent of meeting. Furthermore, Nihan (2007a, 415) has countered the argument that the *חטאת* and *אשם* could have achieved their respective cultic purposes if they were offered away from the central shrine, by highlighting the close connection in P between mandatory offerings and the need to compensate for the pollution of the sanctuary. It is inconceivable, in his view, that the *חטאת* and *אשם* could have been deemed effective if they were offered away from the central sanctuary. Nihan therefore concluded (2007a, 415) that the expression *עלה אר־זבה* in Lev 17:8 is best understood as shorthand for the entire sacrificial cult (cf. Hartley 1992, 273; Grünwaldt 1999, 153). By

³¹ Ruwe’s position on this point is somewhat unclear, since he suggests (1999, 150) that the effect of Lev 17:3–4 would have been to enforce a total ban on slaughter away from the sanctuary; meaning that together the two laws that make up vv. 3–9 would have effectively limited the location of all sacrifices to the tent of meeting alone. He still maintains, however, that H does not offer a generalized call for a centralized cult (1999, 149–50).

employing this expression in Lev 17:8, Nihan has argued (2007a, 415), H makes clear that the law of vv. 8–9 “is meant for absolutely *any* type of offering.” Milgrom, by contrast, offered an alternative reading (1991, 199). He also contended that the expression *עלה אר־זובה* functions as a merism: that is, it is an expression that combines two contrasting words to refer to an entirety. But rather than incorporating all the offerings in the Israelite cult, it refers to the totality of *blood* sacrifices. Vegetal offerings such as the *מנחה* or the *נסך* are therefore excluded from its scope (cf. Brichto 1976, 25 n. 12).

Milgrom’s interpretation raises a broader issue: to what extent was there a precise division between animal and non-animal sacrifices in ancient Israel? Offerings of grain and wine were frequently presented as accompaniments to the burnt offering and well-being sacrifice. Numbers 15:1–10 explicitly commands the Israelites to include the *מנחה* “cereal offering” along with the *נסך* “drink offering” as attendant offerings whenever they present *עלה אר־זובה* “burnt offering or sacrifice” to Yhwh. The positioning of the ritual instructions for the *מנחה* in Lev 2, immediately after the instructions for the *עלה* in Lev 1, strengthens the close association between these two offerings (Marx 1994, 20). The blurring of the boundaries between vegetal and non-vegetal offerings can also be seen in the terminology used to refer to the key vegetal offering in the P sacrificial system: the *מנחה*. According to Lev 2, this term refers to a very specific offering consisting of wheat products mixed with salt, oil, and sometimes frankincense. However, elsewhere in the HB the term *מנחה* is used with the generic sense of “gift” or “tribute” (Anderson 1987, 27–34; Marx 1994, 1–4). When employed in this way, *מנחה* can consist of animals as well as non-animal products (Milgrom 1991, 197). For instance, in Gen 4:3–4 Abel’s offering of sheep is designated a *מנחה*. A similar usage is attested in 1 Sam 2:17, where the attempt by the sons of Eli to seize their portion of the sacrificial meat is described as treating *מנחת יהוה* “the tribute of Yhwh” with contempt.

Yet these ambiguities notwithstanding, there is good reason to adopt the view that the Priestly traditions consider the cereal offering to be a discrete offering; although often presented as a supplement to animal sacrifice, it can also be presented on its own. As Milgrom has pointed out (1991, 196), the placement of the *מנחה* instructions in Lev 2 immediately after the ritual of the burnt offering in Lev 1 need not be read as implying that the two sacrifices must always be offered together. It might rather reflect the status of the cereal offering within P’s “graduated” scale of offerings: that is, the *מנחה* is described immediately following the prescription of the burnt offering of birds (Lev 1:14–17) because it is an affordable offering for those with limited means. The special status of these offerings for those with limited financial means is evident in Lev 5:7–10, 11–13, where it is stated in the context of the *חטאת* that *ואם־לא תגיע ידו די־שה* “if [the offerer] cannot afford a sheep” (v. 7) he can bring a bird instead, followed by the further concession “if he cannot afford two turtledoves or two pigeons, he shall bring as his offering, which is for his wrongdoing, a tenth of an ephah of choice flour for a purification offering” (v. 11a). This suggests that P, recognizing that cereal offerings were less costly, left open the possibility of their being offered separately to the more expensive animal sacrifices.

Furthermore, there is important evidence outside P that in cultic practice there was the flexibility to separate the מנחה and animal offerings. This can be discerned in the correspondence found among the Persian-period papyri recovered from the island of Elephantine in Egypt. As mentioned above (§ 1.2.1), these papyri attest to the presence of a house of Yahô among the Jewish colony of mercenaries stationed on the island at the end of the fifth century BCE. In a letter dating to 407 BCE (*TAD* A4.8) one of the leaders of the colony, Jedaniah, writes to Bagavahya, the Persian governor of Yehûd, seeking permission to rebuild the house of Yahô following its destruction by the priests of Khnum some years earlier. A similar request had reportedly been sent to Yehanan, the high priest in Jerusalem, and to other Judean leaders and nobles. In ll. 24–25, the Elephantine leader asks the governor to permit the rebuilding of the temple so that the Jewish colony may again offer “the cereal offering (מנחה), and the incense offering (לבנה) and the burnt offering (עלה),” as they have done previously.

In another papyrus (*TAD* A4.9), we find a memorandum (זכרון) recounting the ruling of Bagavahya and Delaiah on the Jewish colony’s request: the temple may be rebuilt “as it was formerly and the cereal offering and the incense offering they shall offer upon that altar just as formerly was done.” At first glance, the memorandum seems to declare “business-as-usual.” However, on closer inspection it seems that a significant change has taken place: while vegetal offerings are permissible, there is no mention of the עלה. This suggests that a distinction was being made between the non-animal sacrifices and the burnt offering, with only the former being permissible within the reconstructed sanctuary. This is confirmed in another fragmentary letter (*TAD* A4.10:7–14) in which the leaders at Elephantine discuss the funding for the new temple. Here five of the colony’s leaders implore “our lord” to fund the temple by citing their commitment to ensure that “sheep, ox and goat (as) burnt-offerings are [n]ot made there but (only) incense (and) cereal offering [they offer there]” (ll. 8–11). Why such a distinction between burnt offerings and vegetal offerings should have been made is a question I will discuss further below (§ 4.5.1). The point to be made here is that vegetal offerings were seen as both discrete from animal offerings and an acceptable offering on their own.

It therefore seems justified to assume that the merism עלה אר־זבה could have, in principle, referred to animal sacrifices exclusively; and indeed there are a number of indications that this is the most plausible interpretation. The terms עלה and זבה in the expression עלה אר־זבה, when used individually, refer to animal sacrifices: in the case of the עלה, this designates the whole burnt offering which is taken from the herd or the flock; זבה is a more generic term for the “sacrifice of slaughtered sheep, goat or cattle” (*HALOT* 1:262, זבה), or in the words of George Gray (1925, 6), “simply what is slain” (cf. Snaith 1957, 309; Rendtorff 1967, 149–51). While the text of Num 15:1–10 makes clear that these sacrifices were also frequently offered with accompanying cereals and wine, it also adds powerful evidence to the case that, when עלה and זבה are used together in the merism עלה אר־זבה, *independent* vegetal offerings are not included. Numbers 15:3 and 5 contain the only other occurrences of the precise merism עלה אר־זבה in the HB outside Lev 17:8 (see 15:3, 5). Here the

Israelites are instructed as to how they should supplement their *עלה אר־זבה* with additional offerings of cereal and wine (the *מנחה* and *נסך*). This evidence strongly suggests that the merism *עלה או זבה* did not include vegetal offerings: while it would have caused redundancy to have commanded that the *מנחה* and *נסך* be added to *עלה או זבה*, had such vegetal offerings already been included in the merism, the text of Num 15:1–10 makes perfect sense if *עלה אר־זבה* referred only to animal sacrifices, to which vegetal offerings should be added.

Hence we might conclude that the merism *עלה אר־זבה* in Lev 17:8 is being used as a shorthand for animal sacrifices offered to Yhwh and does not necessarily incorporate independent vegetal offerings. This is a reading, moreover, that is fully consistent with the discursive context within which these verses are found; as mentioned above, the structure of Lev 17 positions the proper disposal of blood as its unifying topic. It is the shedding of blood, an integral part of animal sacrifice, on which its five laws are focused. In effect, these create a hierarchy of issues in H's discourse of centralized cultic practice; among which the proper disposal of blood at the single shrine is paramount and vegetal offerings perhaps less controversial.

To be sure, it would be unwarranted to conclude from this that Lev 17:8–9 explicitly permit vegetal offerings to be made at places other than the central shrine. Its silence on this subject should not be misread as positive evidence of a concession on this matter. The Priestly ritual instructions known to H contain no suggestion that cereal offerings can be presented away from the tent of meeting: since they must be burnt at the altar, they necessarily must be brought to the wilderness shrine. However, the exclusive focus of Lev 17 on blood arguably leaves a degree of ambiguity as to whether H deems illegitimate the offering of cereal, incense, or wine at locations other than the central sanctuary; at the very least, the vegetal offerings lie outside the scope of this particular law at Lev 17:8–9. These are questions to which I will return later when comparing H's command of centralization in Lev 17 and the mandate of Deut 12 (§ 3.4.1). In the latter text, there is no suggestion, in any of its compositional layers, that the focus of the centralization command is restricted to animal sacrifices exclusively. Rather, its call is to centralize both animal and non-animal sacrifices to the place that Yhwh will choose. As will be argued below, this difference between Lev 17 and Deut 12 arguably speaks to an important distinction between them in terms of how they conceptualize cult centralization—a distinction which has important ramifications for the traditional idea that Lev 17 constitutes clear evidence that H is here developing the centralizing mandate of D.

3.3.3 The Blood Prohibition and the Sanctuary's Monopoly on Blood Disposal

The discussion so far has demonstrated that Lev 17:3–7 and 8–9 position blood sacrifices as key to the centralized cult. This conclusion begs a further question as to what invests blood with such potency: that is, how does H construct its discourse in such a way that it justifies the primacy given to ritual blood disposal and legitimizes its mandate that the central altar must have a monopoly over this

practice? The answer to this question may be found in Lev 17:10–12, and in particular the key rationale of v. 11. As mentioned above (§ 3.2), vv. 10–16 shift from considering where the Israelites must bring their animals when they wish to slaughter or sacrifice them (vv. 3–9) to the consumption of meat and the problems this raises for the disposal of blood. Verse 11 offers an intricate statement on the nature and significance of blood, which requires that it never be consumed by either the native Israelite or immigrant. Crucially, this statement picks up the reference to the altar found earlier in the chapter at v. 6 and thereby offers an interpretation of the significance of blood when ritually manipulated: “For the life of the flesh, it is in the blood; I gave it for you upon the altar to *kippēr* (כפר *Piel*) for your lives, for it is the blood that ransoms by means of life.”

Commentators agree that the use of כפר *Piel* (*kippēr*) in this context is especially noteworthy and complex. The root כפר in the *Piel* stem is generally agreed to have the basic meaning “wipe out” (Milgrom 1991, 1079–80). This is based in part on observations of the use of the Akkadian cognate *kapāru* (CAD K, *kapāru* A, 178–80; *AhW*, *kapāru* 442–43), which in its D-stem form (equivalent to the Hebrew *Piel*) *kuppuuru* means “wipe off” (Janowski 1982, 29–60). However, כפר *Piel* can also convey the more abstract meaning of atonement or expiation.³² This is clear from its frequent use to describe the effects of the חטאת and אשם offerings in mitigating the consequences of the Israelites’ wrongdoing and impurity (see, e.g., Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26), as well as from the description of the עלה in Lev 1:4, in which the burnt offering seems to atone for the wrongdoing of the individual offerer.

However, scholars also hear echoes in Lev 17:11 of two other passages in which כפר *Piel* occurs not with the meaning “atone” but that of “ransom.”³³ While X-על-כפר is found frequently in the Priestly traditions, the specific formula used in Lev 17:11 “to *kippēr* for your lives” occurs only in two other contexts in the HB: Exod 30:11–16 and Num 31:48–54. These texts depict censuses in which precious metal is given to Yhwh following a head count—a payment which in Exod 30:12 is called כפר נפש “a ransom for [each Israelite’s] life.” Hence when כפר *Piel* occurs in the formula לְכַפֵּר עַל־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם in Exod 30:16 and also Num 31:50 to describe the effect of the census payments, the parallel with the noun *kopēr* suggests that כפר *Piel* is understood to mean “ransom.”

³² For this view, see e.g., HALOT 2:493–94, כפר; Janowski 1982, 244–45; Levine 1974, 59–60; Milgrom 1991, 1079–84; Gane 2005, 106–43; Sklar 2005, 41–43; Nihan 2007a, 44–46; Feder 2010, 538; cf. “effect removal” Gilders 2004, 29; “mitigate” Watts 2013, 345. In earlier scholarship, כפר *Piel* was often considered to mean “cover,” with the offerings “covering over” the community’s sins and impurities before Yhwh (see, e.g., Stamm 1940, 61–66; Elliger 1966, 71). This was due in part to the Arabic *kafara* “to cover,” from which *kippēr* was thought to be related. However, while כפר can mean “cover” in the *Qal* stem (see Gen 6:14), the parallel with Akk. *kapāru* suggests that this is not the sense with which the verb is used in the Priestly ritual legislation.

³³ See, for instance, Milgrom 1970, 28–31; 1971, 97–98; 1991, 707–8; Levine 1974, 67–69; Brichto 1976, 26–38; Wenham 1979, 115; Kiuchi 1987, 107; B. J. Schwartz 1991, 55; Gilders 2004, 170–77; Sklar 2005, 168; Nihan 2007a, 420–22.

The use of exactly the same formula (לכפר על־נפשתיכם) in Lev 17:11 strongly suggests that כפר *Piel* in this context should also be translated “ransom,” as opposed to “atone.”³⁴ Yet while Exod 30:11–16 and Num 35:31–32 relate to the payment of *kopēr* money and make no reference to the use of sacrificial blood, Lev 17:11 makes the unique claim that *sacrificial blood is itself a ransom for human life* (Milgrom 1971; 2000b, 1474; Levine 1974, 67–68; B. J. Schwartz 1991, 58–60; Jürgens 2001, 167–69; Gilders 2004, 171; Nihan 2007a, 420–22). This *compensatory* function of blood on the altar is made possible, according to H, בנפש “by means of life.” While this statement is somewhat cryptic, it seems to convey the idea that the animals’ blood—which is life—when given to the altar, functions as a ransom for the life of the person who has killed the animal: it thereby constitutes a—somewhat complex—application of the measure-for-measure principle (“life for life”; cf. Gen 9:5–6; Lev 24:18). This reading is supported by the repetition of נפש in v. 11: once, with reference to life in general; a second time, with respect to the lives of the Israelites; and a third time, with reference to the life of the animal whose blood is being offered upon the altar. This heavy use of נפש suggests that H draws equivalence between human life and the life of the animal offered on the altar in order to claim that the animal’s blood compensates for the life of the offerer (Hartley 1992, 276).³⁵

In so doing, H offers a new interpretation of the cultic significance of blood—one which has little equivalent in the earlier P ritual legislation. The use of the verb כפר to describe the disposal of blood on the altar evokes unmistakably the material dealing with sacrifice and impurity in Lev 1–16 (Elliger 1966, 218; Nihan 2007a, 420), where כפר occurs over forty times. But, despite this congruence, there is no precedent in P for H’s idea that blood acts as a ransom when it is applied to the altar. The כפר-action of the blood elsewhere in P is “one of purification, of decontaminating the sancta, not of ransoming life” (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 59; cf. Gilders 2004, 179). There is no notion in P, or elsewhere in the HB, that blood might substitute for human life.

Hence Lev 17:11’s notion that Yhwh designated blood for the altar for the purpose of ransoming the life of the offerer constitutes an entirely new and comprehensive “explanation of how blood accomplishes the effects attributed to it” (Gilders 2004, 22), and thereby effects a sweeping reinterpretation of P’s entire system of blood sacrifice. To cite a frequently-quoted passage by Schwartz (1991, 59–60),

this verse advances a theory unattested elsewhere in P or anywhere else in the Torah: that “atonement,” i.e. כפרה, is not a matter of purifying the sancta from the contamination generated by sin or physical conditions, nor is it a matter of casting off sin and sending it

³⁴ The translation “atone” in Lev 17:11 is traditionally preferred; of the studies published in the past fifty years, see e.g., Elliger 1966, 218; Janowski 1982, 245; Schenker 1983, 198–201; Grünwaldt 1999, 154–56; Ruwe 1999, 136; Watts 2007a, 134; cf. Hieke 2014, 2:614, who reads *kippēr* here as meaning “to achieve reconciliation” („*Versöhnung erwirken*“).

³⁵ “Since the animal’s life has a value analogous to that of the supplicant’s own life,” as John Hartley has argued (1992, 276), “Yahweh accepts the sacrifice as the basis for maintaining the divine-human relationship.”

away, but rather a matter of redeeming oneself from extreme culpability before God: redeeming one's life...The passage is reflective and interpretive: it puts forth a new and unique theory of what sacrificial "atonement" is and how it works, not a theory of why one needs it. It is a case of inner-biblical exegesis, almost midrashic in nature.

A question remains, however, as to whether H means to assign a compensatory function *only* to the blood of those sacrifices which are associated with כפר in Lev 1–16—namely the אשם, חטאת, and עלה (B. J. Schwartz 1991, 58–60)—or to *all* blood sacrifices mentioned in P (Kurtz 1863 [1862], 73–74; Kiuchi 1987, 109). On the face of it, since the topic of Lev 17:10–12 is the ingestion of blood, it seems likely that v. 11 incorporates the שלמים. (This is the only sacrifice which, according to P, may be eaten by the Israelites.) But the waters are muddied by the absence of any association of the word כפר with this particular sacrifice in P. Milgrom has argued (2000b, 1474), however, that the שלמים seems to have been included in the scope of Lev 17:11. The four-time repetition of אכל דם in vv. 10–12 serves to funnel attention to the issue of eating meat, and thereby links this verse to the שלמים sacrifice specifically. Nevertheless, Milgrom overstrained his argument when he concluded that v. 11 would apply *only* to the שלמים (Milgrom 1971, 151; 2000b, 1474–78; cf. Brichto 1976, 27–28). As scholars have routinely pointed out since Milgrom first raised this possibility, the שלמים is never associated with כפר in P, and hence it is implausible to suppose that H would have considered Lev 17:11 to apply to this sacrifice alone.³⁶ Indeed, the merism עלה אר־זבה in v. 8 broadens the focus of these verses from the שלמים—the topic of vv. 3–7—to the ritual treatment of *all* blood sacrifices, making a restrictive interpretation of v. 11 unwarranted (Schenker 1983, 210). Nevertheless, Milgrom and Brichto do make a convincing case that H most likely considers the blood of the שלמים to be included in v. 11, despite there being no precedent in P for associating this sacrifice with כפר (Jürgens 2001, 172–73). Indeed, the comprehensive nature of H's claims about the need to centralize *all* blood disposal (in the case of sacrificial animals) to the altar of Yhwh makes it likely that all animal sacrifices, and thus also the שלמים, are included in this overarching rationale as to why Yhwh has designated blood to be put on the altar. Hence this verse preserves an additional H innovation vis-à-vis Lev 1–16: not only does it provide a new compensatory interpretation of blood sacrifice but it erases any distinction between the שלמים and the אשם, חטאת, and עלה when it comes to effecting *kipper*.

In so doing, H forges a new and powerful rationale as to *why* the central shrine has a monopoly on the disposal of the blood of domestic animals: blood has the power to act as a ransom, and therefore mitigate the effects of the violence that is inherent to the killing of animals. However, blood can only have this effect when it is ritually manipulated at the *central altar*. The rationale of v. 11 thus forms a powerful argument for why the Israelites must be sure to bring their livestock to the central sanctuary for ritual treatment each and every time they wish for them to be slaughtered or

³⁶ This has been argued by a number of scholars; see e.g., Schenker 1983, 207–10; Rendtorff 1985, 245 n. 208; Kiuchi 1987, 102–3; Gorman 1990, 184–87; B. J. Schwartz 1991, 58–60; Hartley 1992, 274–75; Sklar 2005, 174–81; Nihan 2007a, 422 n. 114.

sacrificed. To be sure, v. 11 here does not explicitly state which altar H has in mind. It might therefore be questioned whether it is appropriate to read this verse as specifically affirming the centralization of the ritual disposal of animal blood to a single shrine. However, the surrounding context of v. 11 suggests that the altar mentioned cannot be read as anything other than a thoroughly centralized one: it is none other than the single altar commanded by Yhwh in Exod 27 to be made for him by the community and placed in the central wilderness shrine. H's statement on blood in v. 11 is therefore much more than a meditation on the cultic significance of Yahwistic altars in general: it speaks to the particular significance of the *central* altar of Yhwh's *central* shrine, because of Yhwh's choice that this be the sole location at which the blood of animals be ritually manipulated.

Blood and the central sanctuary are thus in a symbiotic relationship. The almost cosmic significance that H attaches to blood as ransom enhances the importance of the central shrine because it is the only location at which blood might be disposed. In turn, the altar's status as the center of the cult invests the ritual practice of blood disposal, as detailed in Lev 1–16, with a profound cultic significance on account of its capacity to allow blood to act as a ransom. Concurrently, the priests who officiate in this space acquire a powerful and exclusive form of ritual agency. Although the priests are not actually mentioned in v. 11, it is axiomatic that only they are permitted to approach Yhwh's altar and dispose of the blood upon it. Indeed, the mention of the priests in v. 6 in relation to well-being offering confirms such a reading. Thus we can again identify the three core elements of the Priestly discourse of centralization in play: a central sanctuary, prescribed ritual practice and a priesthood which officiates on behalf of the entire community. The difference, however, is that, in Lev 17, H positions blood disposal as providing a key rationale whereby this centralized cult might be legitimized.

In addition, Lev 17:11 attests to a creative link by H between the sanctuary's monopoly on blood disposal and the prohibition on blood consumption. The rationale at v. 11 must also be read in the context of the law within which it is found: namely, the ban on eating blood. While v. 11 points to the importance of the altar, it serves primarily to supply the reason as to why the Israelites cannot eat blood in their day-to-day lives. This is clear from the use of the conjunction כִּי at the beginning of v. 11, which positions this verse as the rationale for the categorical prohibition of blood consumption in v. 10. It is also evident in the repetition of the blood prohibition which follows in v. 12: "Therefore (עַל־כֵּן) I have said to the sons of Israel, 'All the living among you must not consume blood; and the immigrant who lives in your midst must not eat blood.'" It is then even further strengthened in v. 14, which offers a variation of v. 11 in explaining why the Israelites must not consume the blood of game (see § 3.2 above).

In these texts H can be read as positioning the dietary taboo on blood consumption in such a way as to throw into relief Yhwh's intended purpose for the blood of domestic animals: namely, to effect *kippēr* upon the altar. The result is a powerful reinforcement of the rationale for the command that all slaughter for consumption be referred back to the authority of the central sanctuary; every time

the Israelites eat domestic animals, they confront the necessity of disposing of the blood appropriately. They cannot consume it, and hence they must bring the animal to the sanctuary where it can receive the proper ritual treatment, thereby being reminded of blood's cultic significance and the centrality of the shrine. The case of game, described in vv. 13–14, is different. Here the blood of the animal cannot be placed upon the altar, and the blood must be disposed of in another way: namely, it must be poured on the ground and covered with earth (v. 13). Nevertheless, even here H employs a powerful centralizing strategy; by including this law within the same structural unit as that of vv. 10–12 the Israelites are reminded that Yhwh has specific purposes for blood, the most *important* of which is sacrifice on the central altar. The removal of blood from the meat of game, then, reinforces the logic that blood disposal is of crucial significance in the eyes the deity, and thus makes it more likely that the Israelites will recognize the absolute centrality of its proper disposal in all circumstances. H's meditation on the significance of blood, even in the case of non-sacrificial animals, therefore serves as a powerful reinforcement of its discourse of centralization.

3.4 Situating Lev 17 among the Pentateuchal Traditions

It is clear from the discussion thus far that the laws of Lev 17 pertaining to the slaughter, sacrifice and consumption of animals work together to build a complex and multifaceted argument as to why the disposal of the blood of sacrificial animals must be restricted to the central sanctuary alone. On a number of occasions it has been noted that Lev 17 looks to and builds on P: its prescriptions refer to the same narrative context as the earlier P account; and they continue the focus in Lev 1–16 on the ritual significance of blood, while introducing significant innovations in this respect.

As noted earlier in this chapter, these links between Lev 17 and P are acknowledged in the scholarly literature, but they have rarely been considered essential to understanding H's logic of centralization. They have usually been considered to be of secondary importance when compared to the alleged influence of D on Lev 17's prescriptions. This chapter now turns to consider the merit of this orientation towards D. In particular, it reviews the argument that the wording and structure of Lev 17 reveal that this chapter was designed to rebuke D's willingness to concede local butchery in order to make cult centralization practicable. Building on the remarks made in § 3.1 above, it will show that the evidence of dependence on D, while minimally present in Lev 17, cannot justify the classical idea that this chapter is primarily intended as a response to Deut 12. Instead, the claims made in Lev 17 about the centrality of blood, its disposal at the altar and the dangers of local butchery reveal a much stronger dependence on P, and especially the materials of Lev 16, in H's discourse of centralization than has usually been recognized.

3.4.1 Leviticus 17 and Deut 12

The challenge of discerning the relationship between Lev 17 and Deut 12 is made more difficult by the uncertainty which surrounds the diachronic development of the centralization command in Deut 12. That chapter is recognized to be a complex composition that was almost certainly written in multiple stages. While scholars continue to debate the order in which the chapter's components were written, there is general agreement that the chapter contains three distinct statements on the need to centralize the cult to the chosen מקום: vv. 2–7, vv. 8–12 and vv. 13–19(20–28).³⁷ Each of these sections contains a distinct version of the centralization formula.³⁸ They are also marked by differences in number (2ps vs. 2pp address), as well as in emphasis, whether this be the need to destroy alternative places of worship (vv. 2–7), the necessary conditions in the land for the centralized cult to commence (vv. 8–12), or the issue of eating meat (vv. 13–19[20–28]).

The place of vv. 20–28 within the composition of Deut 12 is debated, but most scholars agree that these verses were added to the chapter at a very late stage.³⁹ They do not directly command the centralization of the cult at the chosen מקום but seem to clarify the law in vv. 15–16 that permits the slaughter of meat away from the central place: that is, they present new temporal and spatial limitations to this practice, by explaining that it is permissible only when the Israelites are in the land, when Yhwh has expanded their borders and when select members of the community live “too far” from the chosen place to travel there each time they wish to eat meat.

Deut 12:20–28

20 When Yhwh your god will enlarge your borders, as he has told you, and you say to yourself “I shall eat some meat,” for you have the desire to eat meat, you may eat meat whenever you desire. 21 If the place that Yhwh your god will choose to put his name there will be too far from you, then you shall slaughter from your cattle and from your sheep that

³⁷ This view has been repeated in numerous publications, which cannot be comprehensively cited here. For an overview of earlier studies on the composition of Deut 12, see Reuter 1993, 29–41. For more recent studies that maintain this division of Deut 12, see among others, Kratz 2005 [2000], 119–21; Rütterswörden 2006a; Römer 2004; Altmann 2011, 107–32. On the status of vv. 20–28, see below.

³⁸ Verse 5: המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיכם מכל־שבטיכם לשום את־שמו שם “the place that Yhwh your god will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there.”

Verse 11: המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיכם בו לשכן שמו שם “the place that Yhwh your god will choose as a dwelling for his name.”

Verse 14: במקום אשר יבחר יהוה באחד שבטיך “in the place that Yhwh will choose in one of your tribes.”

Cf. v. 21: המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך לשום שמו שם “the place that Yhwh your god will choose to put his name there.”

³⁹ Among the studies of the past fifty years which have made this argument, see e.g., Rose 1975, 88–90; Cholewiński 1976, 152–53; Braulik 1986, 99–100; Reuter 1993, 106; Kratz 2005 [2000], 121; Nihan 2004a, 93; Römer 2005, 64; Rütterswörden 2009; Altmann 2011, 113–15; Otto 2016, 1162–65. For alternative reconstructions, see, e.g., Levinson 1997, 39–43; Chavel 2011.

Yhwh has given to you, according to that which I have commanded you, and you shall eat in your towns as you desire. 22 Indeed, in the same way that you eat the gazelle and the deer, so you may eat it; the unclean and the clean alike shall eat it. 23 However, remain resolute to not eat the blood, for the blood is the life, and you must not consume the life with the flesh. 24 You shall not eat it; you shall pour it upon the earth like water. 25 You shall not eat it, in order that it may go well for you and for your sons after you, because you do what is right in the eyes of Yhwh.

26 However, the sacred donations that are [due] from you, and your votive gifts, you shall bear and come to the place that Yhwh will choose. 27 You shall offer your burnt offering, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of Yhwh your god; and the blood of your sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of Yhwh of your god, but the flesh you shall consume. 28 Take heed and obey all these words that I am commanding you, in order that it may go well for you and for your sons after you for posterity, for you are doing what is good and right in the eyes of Yhwh your god.

Scholars usually identify the earliest core of Deut 12 as being vv. 13–19.⁴⁰ This conclusion is largely based on the “simpler” form of the centralization formula found in v. 14 when compared with that which is used in vv. 5 and 11. In Deut 12:13–19, the call to centralize sacrifice is paired with the permission of local slaughter (זבח), so long as the blood of the animal is not ingested but is instead spilled (שפך) on the ground “like water.”⁴¹ In order to distinguish between the killing of domestic animals for food and their killing for sacrifice, the authors of vv. 13–19 engage in semantic innovation: they employ the verb זבח to describe the act of slaughtering animals in local contexts for the purposes of providing meat. This usage is a complete anomaly, since the term זבח bears a sacral connotation in virtually every other occurrence in the HB (*HALOT* 1:261, זבח; cf. Milgrom 1976, 1–3).⁴² Yet despite its lack of precedence, the use of זבח in Deut 12:15–16 with the meaning “slaughter” ensures that the act of killing animals for the purposes of food is distanced from that of “offering up” (עלה *Hiphil*; v. 14) burnt offerings to the deity. It is therefore justifiable, from D’s point of view, that these two acts transpire at different locations.

The rationale for the permission of extra-sanctuary slaughter is not given at vv. 15–16, but it seems to be a pragmatic concession on D’s part. As mentioned above (§§ 1.2.3 and 3.1.1), for those Israelites who lived at a distance from the מקום, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to travel to the central place every time they wished to eat meat. This is confirmed more explicitly by Deut 12:20–28, which states that it is only those who live far away from the מקום who may slaughter

⁴⁰ See, among others, Steuernagel 1923, 93–98; Merendino 1969, 12–41; Seitz 1971, 211; Rose 1975, 65–76; Braulik 1986, 93; Reuter 1993, 105–6, 12–13; Kratz 2005 [2000], 119–21; Römer 2004, 169–72; Rütterswörden 2006a, 75–76; Altmann 2011, 118–27. Scholars generally acknowledge, however, that even this earliest core has undergone redactional revisions. In particular, a question mark hangs over v. 19, since this verse turns abruptly to the topic of the treatment of the Levites. For the purposes of the present discussion, the compositional history of these verses can be put to one side.

⁴¹ Domestic animals slaughtered for the purposes of food are therefore to receive the same treatment as game: יאכלנו כצבי וכאיל “they shall eat [the meat] just like they would that of the gazelle or the deer” (12:15b).

⁴² See, e.g., Gen 31:54; 46:1; Exod 8:23; 23:18; 34:15; Isa 66:3; Hos 8:13.

their animals “within your towns as you desire” (vv. 20–21). The rest of the community must always bring their animals to the central מקום both when they wish to offer a sacrifice and to eat meat.

Scholars have long puzzled over what to make of the similarities and differences between what Deut 12 commands with regard to the centralization of the cult and the laws of Lev 17. There is a clear difference of opinion between the chapters as to whether, or not, the Israelites might slaughter their livestock locally. Yet they both seem to share the view that animal sacrifices must be restricted to a single, central location. As has already been mentioned at various points in this study, most scholars have explained this commonality by reading Lev 17 as a critical response by H to Deut 12 with the aim of affirming the need for a centralized cult but rejecting D’s concession on extra-sanctuary slaughter for local butchery. But what are the arguments made in defense of this position?

First, it is common for scholars to suggest that the thematic parallels between Lev 17 and Deut 12:13–19, and especially the order in which they address their shared legislative themes, reveals H’s dependence on D. As highlighted by Blum (1990, 338), Otto (1999b, 142–44; 2016) and Nihan (2004a, 93; 2007a, 411–12), Lev 17 deals with the same issues of extra-sanctuary slaughter, the centralization of sacrifice, and the prohibition of the consumption of blood as are found in Deut 12:13–27. However, while Deut 12 places the issue of the centralization of sacrificial practice at the head of its laws, dealing with extra-sanctuary slaughter as a secondary matter, Lev 17 reverses the order by dealing with extra-sanctuary slaughter as the first legislative issue addressed within the chapter. This, it has been argued, reflects the fact that H mirrors Deut 12 to an extent but refuses to permit local butchery in order to facilitate a centralized cult. *All* acts of slaughter (שחט), in H’s view, constitute acts of sacrifice (זבח) and so must be performed at the central sanctuary alone. H therefore addresses local butchery as its first legislative issue, in order to make clear that it is rejecting D’s innovation.

Second, scholars have highlighted the evidence of shared wording between Lev 17 and Deut 12 as evidence of the former’s dependence on the latter. As already mentioned (§ 3.1.1), the clearest correspondence between the two chapters is the wording of the blood prohibitions of Lev 17:10–14 and Deut 12:23. Both texts cite the connection between blood and life in justifying why blood must never be consumed. There is only one other text that asserts this connection: Gen 9:4 (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 The Blood Prohibitions of Lev 17:11, 14, Gen 9:4 and Deut 12:23

<i>Lev 17:11</i>	<i>Lev 17:14</i>	<i>Gen 9:4</i>	<i>Deut 12:23</i>
<p>כי נפש הבשר בדם הוא ואני נתתיו לכם עלי-המזבח לכפר על-נפשתיכם כי-הדם הוא בנפש יכפר</p> <p>For the life of the flesh, it is in the blood; I gave it for you upon the altar to ransom for your lives, for it is the blood that ransoms by means of life</p>	<p>כי-נפש כל-בשר דמו בנפשו הוא ואמר לבני ישראל דם כל-בשר לא תאכלו כי נפש כל-בשר דמו הוא כל-אכליו יכרת</p> <p>For the life of all flesh, its blood is its life; and I have said to the Israelites: Do not eat the blood of any flesh, for the life of all flesh, it is its blood. All who eat it will be cut off.</p>	<p>אך-בשר בנפשו דמו לא תאכלו</p> <p>Only, you shall not eat flesh with its life, its blood.</p>	<p>רק חזק לבלתי אכל הדם כי הדם הוא הנפש ולא תאכל הנפש עם הבשר</p> <p>However, remain resolute to not eat the blood, for the blood is the life, and you must not consume the life with the flesh</p>

The dominant interpretation is that Lev 17:11 α and 14 α blend the formulae found in Deut 12:23 and in Gen 9:4. Leviticus 17:11 α and 14 α share with Gen 9:4 the juxtaposition of the words *נפש*, *בשר* and *דם*, albeit in a different order. The form *דמו* also occurs in both Lev 17:14 α and Gen 9:4. With Deut 12:23, on the other hand, Lev 17:11 α and 14 α share the use of the conjunction *כי* in introducing the rationale, as well the third-person independent personal pronoun *הוא*—neither of which appear in the corresponding passage in Gen 9:4.

The parallels between Lev 17:11 α , 14 α and Deut 12:23 have long been marshaled as evidence that Lev 17 is drawing on Deut 12 in order to critique it. Commentators such as Cholewiński (1976, 174 and n. 70) and Grünwaldt (1999, 142) have reasoned that H appropriates the wording of Deut 12:23 precisely to show the flaw in D’s logic: for D, local butchery poses no issue if the animal’s blood, which is life, is never consumed; but for H, the link between blood and life is precisely why blood must *always* be returned to the deity on its altar in the form of a sacrificial offering (see further Kornfeld 1983, 67; Blum 1990, 338; Nihan 2007a, 425–26).

Scholars have occasionally identified additional linguistic correspondences in Lev 17 and Deut 12 which, they claim, prove the dependence of the former on the latter. Otto (1999b, 143) and Nihan (2007a, 410–11) have argued that the switch from the verb *שחט* in Lev 17:3–4 to *זבח* in 17:5–7 is evidence of H appropriating D’s language in denouncing extra-sanctuary slaughter. Since the term *זבח* rarely occurs in Lev 1–16 (only once at 9:4),⁴³ but is the precise wording used in Deut 12:15–16 to describe local butchery, Otto and Nihan have concluded that H’s use of this verb in Lev 17:5–7 is a “deliberate device” (Nihan 2007a, 410; cf. Otto 1999b, 143) intended to restore to *זבח* its traditional meaning of “sacrifice” in contradistinction to D’s innovation. The switch between *שחט* in vv. 3–4 to

⁴³ The nominal form, however, is found frequently throughout Leviticus. See, e.g., Lev 3:1, 3, 6, 9; 4:10, 26, 31, 35; 7:11–13, 15–18, 20–21, 29, 32, 34, 37; 9:18; 10:14.

זבח in vv. 5–7 is H’s attempt to demonstrate that there is *no* distinction between the killing of domestic animals for food and their killing for sacrifice, and therefore no grounds for D’s argument that they may transpire at different locations.

Finally, Blum (1990, 338), Otto (1999b, 143) and Nihan (2007a, 426) have argued that H also borrows from Deut 12 when it describes in Lev 17:13 the process for the disposal of the blood of game. With this verse, H permits the pouring (שפך) of the blood of game on the ground, provided that it is covered with earth. This procedure is seen to echo the method of blood disposal that D assigns to extra-sanctuary slaughter, whereby the blood of domestic animals may be poured (שפך) on the ground “like water” in the same way as the Israelites would do if dealing with the blood of gazelle or deer (כצבי וכאיל). H therefore seems to appropriate the procedure which D prescribes to domestic animals and game alike, and assigns it to wild animals exclusively.

On the basis of these links, the consensus in the above literature is that Lev 17 repeals the concession of extra-sanctuary slaughter with the aid of D’s own language. In this interpretation, Lev 17 is characteristic of the legal hermeneutic observed elsewhere in H whereby legal innovation is introduced with reference to earlier legislation, even when the former law is being corrected (Otto 1999b, 142–43; Nihan 2007a, 411–13; cf. Fishbane 1985; Levinson 1997). Otto has even gone so far as to label (1999b, 145) Lev 17 a case of *Fortschreibung* of Deut 12, in which D’s command of centralization is updated by H so as to amend its permission of extra-sanctuary slaughter. The revision of D therefore becomes a major, if not *the* major, legislative interest of Lev 17.

There is a third link between Lev 17 and D that has been used to support the theory that H looks to D in this chapter. This link does not concern Deut 12, but rather the linguistic overlaps between Lev 17:15–16 and law of carrion in Deut 14:21. In the latter text D bans the consumption of כל-נבלה “any carcass” by native Israelites. This prohibition finds a parallel in Exod 22:30, where the Israelites are forbidden to consume בשר בשדה טרפה “meat that is torn in the field.” Both Deut 14:21 and Exod 22:30 cite the Israelites’ holiness as the reason why they cannot eat carrion, although they present different solutions for what should instead be done with the meat; Deut 14:21 permits the Israelites to give it to the גר or sell it to foreigners, while Exod 22:30 commands that it be given to the dogs.

The law of Lev 17:15–16, by contrast, makes no link between the non-consumption of carrion and the holy status of the Israelites (although it is forbidden in Lev 22:8 for priests to consume carrion; on this see § 5.2.2 below). Instead, H permits both citizens and foreigners to eat נבלה וטרפה “a carcass, a torn animal,” so long as ritual bathing takes place after the animal has been eaten. A number of scholars have argued that the expression נבלה וטרפה reveals H’s dependence on both Deut 14:21 and Exod 22:30 (Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1990, 375; Grünwaldt 1999, 171; Otto 1999b, 144; Nihan 2007a, 428; Hieke 2014, 637–39): it appears to combine the two terms for the dead animal which were used in Exod 22:30 (טרפה) and Deut 14:21a (נבלה) respectively. In so doing, Lev 17:15–16 is positioned by H as the definitive ruling on the issue of carrion—a ruling which combines the

two earlier laws while also revising their prescriptions. In particular, H uses the issue of carrion to underscore an important point of difference with the earlier legal codes: whereas in earlier codes the Israelites were deemed holy and hence unable to eat carrion, now H sees no need to prohibit the eating of carrion since the Israelites are not inherently holy in H's view. Hence, by disassociating the issue of the Israelites eating carrion from their status as a holy people, H prepares for the major legislative theme of Lev 18–26: namely, the sanctification of the Israelites via *law observance*. I will discuss this aspect of H in detail in Chapter Five below (see esp. § 5.2.1).

In the light of these arguments the law of Lev 17:15–16 is often considered to provide further evidence that Lev 17 is composed with the laws of D in view. This law is considered emblematic of H's strategy of inner-scriptural exegesis, whereby H draws on the language of D texts, as well as those of the CC, in order to establish new rulings that revise earlier laws. It is therefore held as important additional evidence that Lev 17 was written with the intent of revising the earlier laws of D, and thus further corroborates its interpretation as a response to the law of centralization in Deut 12.⁴⁴

Reviewing the Relationship

For all the scholarly support that the above arguments have attracted over the years, the evidential base on which they rest can be questioned. Some of the evidence is open to alternative interpretations to those which inform the dominant view; and hence it can be reasonably discounted. Other evidence that favors the idea that Lev 17 knows Deut 12, or builds on D more generally, is more robust. However, it is arguably insufficient to sustain the weight of the argument that H's discourse of centralization in Lev 17 can be appropriately described as a development of Deut 12.

By far the strongest evidence on which the dominant view rests is the verbal correspondence between the blood prohibition of Lev 17:11aα and 14aα and that which is found in Deut 12:23. The similarities between these verses do suggest that they share a literary connection. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the dependence is H on D. Blood has already been depicted as the seat of life within the Priestly materials at Gen 9:4. It may be, then, that Lev 17 is simply building on Gen 9:4 when it asserts the connection between blood and life. Similarly, we do not need to posit H's

⁴⁴ Nihan has also identified a further parallel with Deuteronomy, although not Deut 12 specifically, in Lev 17: namely, H's use of the formula X-זנים אהר- in v. 7 to describe the Israelites' worship of the שַׁעִירִים. This formula is never found in P (see, however, Num 15:39). It is rather found in texts which describe cultic prostitution when the Israelites worship foreign gods (see e.g., Exod 34:15, 16; Lev 20:5–6; Num 15:39; Deut 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:27, 33; 2 Chr 11:15). While the formula X-זנים אהר- is not employed in Deut 12 specifically, Nihan notes that it is found in (late) Dtr and post-Dtr texts, such as Deut 31:16. Furthermore, religious idolatry is consistently denounced in D, and is condemned at Deut 12:29–31. Thus Nihan has argued that, by associating extra-sanctuary slaughter with the worship of foreign gods, represented by the שַׁעִירִים, Lev 17:7a takes up the terminology of Deuteronomy in order to associate the innovation of extra-sanctuary slaughter with the very idolatry that D so fervently denounces.

dependence on D to explain those aspects of the wording of Lev 17:11aα and 14aα that diverge from Gen 9:4. For example, the substantiations of laws are frequently introduced by the conjunction כִּי in Lev 17–26 (see esp. Lev 18:10, 13; 19:8 etc.); and while the presence of the independent personal pronoun אִנִּי adds to the somewhat awkward syntax of the rationales, its usage does not require that Lev 17:11aα and 14aα be dependent on Deut 12:23 (Rückl 2009).

It is, in fact, plausible to see the dependence as being not H on D, but the reverse: that is, the authors of Deut 12:23 knew Lev 17:11aα and 14aα and drew upon them in shaping their own rationale for the blood prohibition (Fishbane 1985, 523–24; Rofé 1988, 16–17; 2002, 8–9; Römer 2004, 171; Rückl 2009; Rütterswörden 2009; Altmann 2011, 114–15). Of course, this hypothesis can be critiqued on the grounds that the very logic employed above to argue that Lev 17:11aα and 14aα could simply be developments of Gen 9:4 could be applied also to Deut 12:23: in this case, the blood prohibitions in Lev 11 and Deut 12 would each constitute an independent expansion of the earlier P text. However, it is an improbable scenario to imagine such independent developments in H and D proceeding in such similar ways: with each including the conjunction כִּי in the introduction to the rationale and adding the independent pronoun אִנִּי. In addition, as just mentioned, Deut 12:23 shares fewer parallels with Gen 9:4 than those which can be observed in Lev 17:11aα and 14aα (the latter texts share with Gen 9:4 the juxtaposition of the words בָּשָׂר, נֶפֶשׁ and דָּם). Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was H which built upon P in formulating the expanded rationale for the blood prohibition, and that the author of Deut 12:23 drew directly on Lev 17:11aα and 14aα. More fundamentally, there seems little compelling reason for the authors of Deut 12:20–28 to have looked to the P blood prohibition when articulating their ruling on extra-sanctuary slaughter, especially since the prohibition on consuming blood is already found at Deut 12:16.

A more compelling explanation is that the authors of Deut 12:23 drew on the wording of Lev 17:11aα and 14aα because they were compelled to respond to H's critique of extra-sanctuary slaughter. Crucially, such a theory can explain not only the verbal parallels between Deut 12:23 and Lev 17:11aα and 14aα, but also why Deut 12:20–28 introduce new restrictions on the law of Deut 12:13–19 which seem to be in no way derived from the surrounding context of Deut 12. As mentioned above, vv. 20–28 restrict the permission of extra-sanctuary slaughter given at Deut 12:15–16 to a very select set of circumstances, and in so doing elaborate on the ritual significance of blood in a way which has little counterpart elsewhere in D. Indeed, not only do Deut 12:23–25 repeat three times the command not to eat blood, but v. 27 is the only case in the whole book of Deuteronomy in which the disposal of blood at the altar is mentioned (Rütterswörden 2009, 221–22; Otto 2016, 1163).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ To be sure, there is a reference to the making of sacrifices on the altar in Deut 27:4–8 in the command to erect an altar on Mount Gerizim (cf. Ebel in MT) and “offer up burnt offerings to Yhwh your god, and sacrifices of well-being, and eat them there and rejoice before Yhwh your god” (Deut 27:6–7). Nevertheless, it is striking

Michael Fishbane (1985, 523–24) and Alexander Rofé (1988, 16–17; 2002, 8–9) have therefore suggested that the linguistic parallel between Lev 17:11a α and 14a α and Deut 12:23, when combined with the strong emphasis on blood in vv. 20–28 as a whole, and the concern in these verses to impose new restrictions on extra-sanctuary slaughter, all suggest that Deut 12:20–28 were written as a response to Lev 17. In their view, Deut 12:20–28 repeat the concession of extra-sanctuary slaughter, found already at vv. 15–16, so as to clarify, in the face of H’s criticism, the reasons for allowing local butchery once the Israelites lived in the land, while also imposing new limits to the practice. However, Fishbane and Rofé’s interpretation is complicated by their insistence that *all* of Deut 12, and not just vv. 20–28, was written after Lev 17 (cf. Milgrom 2000b, 1455). Beyond the general problems of assuming that H pre-dates the Deuteronomistic Code (see § 1.1.1), this view makes it difficult to explain why, if the entire chapter was written after H, *only* vv. 20–28 of Deut 12 evince a concern to engage with Lev 17 and its emphasis on ritual blood disposal. It also leaves open the question of why Deut 12:20–28 place new restrictions on the concession of extra-sanctuary slaughter at Deut 12:15–16 in the first place.

A new solution, first proposed by Römer (2004, 171) and developed in detail by Udo Rütterswörden (2009; cf. Rückl 2009; Altmann 2011, 114–15), is that the seeming desire to limit the concession of local butchery in Deut 12:20–28 is best read as an attempt to steer a middle course between the untrammled permission for extra-sanctuary slaughter in Deut 12:13–19, and the ban on local slaughter in Lev 17. This addition (vv. 20–28) would have been made in a very late stage in the composition of Deut 12 when scribes saw the need to respond to the critique in Lev 17 by limiting local butchery to certain, pragmatic circumstances. This idea has been taken even further by Otto in his 2016 commentary. Otto has suggested (2016, 1163–65) that the literary parallels between Deut 12:20–28 and the laws of Lev 17 (especially H’s blood prohibition in vv. 11 and 14) reveal that both sets of material stem from the same redactional layer of the Pentateuch. In this case, the scribes who composed Lev 17 as a response to Deut 12:13–19 also directly modified the text of Deut 12, so as to introduce new restrictions for the practice of local butchery for life in the land.

The theory that Lev 17 and Deut 12:20–28 were penned by the same scribes seems difficult to sustain. It is hard to imagine scribes who, in Lev 17:7, state that the ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter was an eternal statute, crafting an addition to Deut 12 in which such slaughter was deemed permissible in certain circumstances. As mentioned above, Otto has tried to avoid this problem by arguing (2016, 1165) that the expression *חַקַּת עוֹלָם תְּהִי־זוֹאת לָהֶם לְדֹרֹתָם* in v. 7b refers only to the prohibition of whoring after *שְׁעִירִים*, and therefore leaves open the possibility that a later law (namely, Deut 12:20–38) would overturn the ban on local butchery in favor of a mediated position. However, this view has been shown above (§ 3.3.1) to constitute a misreading of v. 7 and the role of the *שְׁעִירִים*

that Deut 27:4–8 do not contain any statement comparable to Deut 12:27 that would highlight the need to dispose of *blood* on the altar.

in explaining the need for a total ban on extra-sanctuary slaughter. There is no way, in H's view, for the Israelites to avoid worshipping שְׁעִירִים without *permanently* outlawing local butchery.⁴⁶

The more plausible scenario is that Deut 12:20–28 post-date Lev 17 and respond to its criticisms of local butchery, as Römer and Rüterwörden have suggested. The unusual focus on blood in these verses supports the view that their author perceives a need to respond to H's claim that extra-sanctuary slaughter results in the mishandling of blood and must therefore be permanently banned. By echoing Lev 17:11aα and 14aα in the wording of its blood prohibition, Deut 12:23 concedes that the link between blood and life is the ultimate rationale for the ban of the consumption of blood. Yet at the same time, by simultaneously affirming H's claim that there is a connection between blood and life *and* allowing local slaughter in limited circumstances, it employs H's logic against it: that is, it qualifies H's assertion that a total ban on local butchery is necessary by reminding the Israelites that the link between blood and life is not violated so long as blood is *never consumed*.⁴⁷ If the Israelites abstain from consuming the blood of their butchered animals, the practice of local slaughter can be permitted for those who live at a distance from the central place.

A similar device of echoing Lev 17 might explain the insertion of the reference to the altar ritual in Deut 12:27. Here the author acknowledges the importance of this ritual, stressed by H (and the Priestly traditions more generally), by including a reference to the disposal of the blood of the *sacrifices* presented at the central place. In so doing, the author of Deut 12:20–28 subtly asserts that there is no inherent contradiction between permitting extra-sanctuary slaughter and affirming the supremacy of ritual manipulation of blood at the altar. The Israelites must still ensure that they contribute sacrifices to the central place even if, in select circumstances, they are permitted to butcher their livestock within their towns. The acknowledgement of the importance of the central altar in Deut 12:27 might therefore be a further attempt to assert that local butchery does not detract from the importance of blood disposal in the centralized cult, and thus constitute an effort to counteract the critique of Lev 17:3–7.

While this study affirms with Römer and Rüterwörden that Deut 12:20–28 are appropriately read as a late addition to Deut 12:13–19 which draws on Lev 17 in shaping its prescriptions, it also suggests that these scholars might have underestimated the significance of their own argument: neither of these scholars explored what the reversal of the dependence of Deut 12:20–28 and Lev 17

⁴⁶ Perhaps in sensing this problem, Otto left open the possibility (2016, 1163–65) that not all of Lev 17 was written in the same redactional layer as Deut 12:20–28 but that only Lev 17:11 and 14—the verses which share the strongest correspondences with Deut 12:20–28—were added to Lev 17 at the time vv. 20–28 were added to Deut 12. However, it is difficult to extract these two verses from Lev 17 as late additions, given their critical importance to the structure of vv. 10–14; note, for instance, that removing v. 11 makes it impossible to explain why v. 12 repeats the blood prohibition of v. 10, since it leaves these two verses standing side by side.

⁴⁷ Rofé (1988, 17) made a similar argument but insisted that all references to the blood prohibition in Deut 12 are due to the influence of Lev 17, given that he considers the entire chapter to post-date H.

means for the traditional idea that the latter text is a response to Deut 12. But if it is accepted that Deut 12:20–28 post-date H, the argument for the dependence of Lev 17 on Deut 12 faces a significant challenge: it is Deut 12:23 which has traditionally provided the most important evidence of the linguistic parallels between Lev 17 and the language and concepts of D. In this case, the argument of H's dependence on Deut 12 must therefore rely on the evidence of linguistic overlaps and thematic congruence between Lev 17 and Deut 12:13–19 exclusively; but here I suggest that we encounter significant evidential weaknesses.

To consider the possible linguistic overlaps first: these range in their persuasive power. The least convincing of these arguments relates to the purported links between Lev 17:13 and Deut 12:16. These two verses share the verb שָׁפַךְ, but the details of the rites of blood disposal differ: in Lev 17:13, the blood of game must be poured on the ground and also covered with earth; in Deut 12:16, the blood needs only to be poured on the ground “like water.” Furthermore, the terminology used for the game itself differs; Lev 17:13 refers to the killing of צִיד “game” and עוֹף “birds,” whereas Deut 12:15 speaks of צְבִי “gazelle” and אֵיל “deer.” There is little here to suggest strong linguistic correspondence.

Perhaps more convincing is the alternation between שָׁחַט and זָבַח in Lev 17:3–7. As mentioned above, the verb זָבַח is significant in Deut 12:13–19 but generally absent from P texts. It is possible, then, that the presence of this verb in Lev 17:5–7 shows the influence of D on H's thinking. However, given that the term is frequently employed outside Deut 12, especially in the Former and Latter Prophets, it also cannot be ruled out that H's use of the term reflects the influence of traditions other than D: that is, we do not need to posit a connection with Deut 12 to explain the presence of this verb in Lev 17. To be sure, the topical connection between Lev 17 and Deut 12 concerning extra-sanctuary slaughter arguably strengthens the case that H chose to employ the term זָבַח because of its significance in D's permission of local butchery. The switch from שָׁחַט to זָבַח in Lev 17:3–7 could thus perhaps signal, as Otto and Nihan have proposed, that H is motivated to “rehabilitate the exclusively *sacrificial* connotation” (Nihan 2007a, 411) of the verb זָבַח against D's innovation.

Yet even if this is accepted, it could be asked whether the extent of borrowing from Deut 12:13–19 in Lev 17:3–7 is sufficient to prove that H's aim is to offer a critical response to its Deuteronomistic counterpart. The switch from שָׁחַט to זָבַח is very subtle in its critique of Deut 12:13–19, if indeed it can be definitively attributed to H's dependence on D. It is difficult to explain why H does not include more direct references to the language of Deut 12:15–16 in Lev 17:3–7, if its primary concern in these verses is to reject D's permission of local butchery. This is all the more peculiar given that other passages of Lev 17–26 evince heavy borrowings from the language and phraseology of D when they articulate legal rulings that revise or update D laws. In the absence of other evidence of lexical or syntactical equivalences between Lev 17 and Deut 12, beyond the switch from שָׁחַט to זָבַח, the positive evidence of H's concern to respond to D in Lev 17:3–7 remains thin.

A stronger case can perhaps be made for the argument that Lev 17:15–16 conflate the language of Deut 14:21 and Exod 22:30. Given that the combination of the two terms נְבֵלָה and טְרֵפָה in

Lev 17:15 results in a somewhat overloaded description of the dead animal, the theory that H has merged the wording of these two laws is appealing. However, what this evidence says about H's dependence on Deut 12 is debatable. It certainly corroborates the theory that Lev 17–26 are characterized by a concern to coordinate the earlier laws of D and the CC in formulating their laws (see further § 1.1.1). It also adds weight to the case that Lev 17 was written with the non-Priestly legal traditions in mind. However, it adds no direct evidence of H's dependence on Deut 12 specifically. Moreover, it cannot substantiate the claim that H's borrowing from D in Lev 17:15–16 stemmed from a desire to build on D's claims about the *centralized cult*. Instead, it seems to reveal H's concern to prepare the groundwork for the re-definition of Israelite holiness in the chapters to follow (see further § 5.2.1 below).

The argument that Lev 17 is a response to Deut 12 therefore appears to rest not so much on clear linguistic correspondences as on the topical similarity of the two chapters. There does appear to be a strong case for viewing the shared legislative themes of the two chapters—namely, local butchery, centralized sacrifice and the blood prohibition—as more than coincidental. The observation of Blum, Otto and Nihan that H's decision to first address local butchery (Lev 17:3–7), and then the issue of centralized sacrifice (Lev 17:8–9), is an attempt to reverse the order of these issues in Deut 12:13–19 is intriguing. Possibly, then, H is motivated to address the issue of extra-sanctuary slaughter at the head of Lev 17 in order to set the record straight: despite D's claim to the contrary, all acts of slaughter are, by definition, sacrificial acts (זבחה) and therefore must be centralized.

Yet even if we accept the thematic correspondences between H and D as possible proof that Lev 17 seeks to overturn Deut 12:15–16, a key issue remains unresolved: do these correspondences show that, in addition to rejecting D's permission of local butchery, H *actively adopts* D's mandate of centralized cultic practice? The core thematic preoccupation of Lev 17 suggests otherwise. As this chapter has shown, in Lev 17 H is focused wholly on blood and the cultic requirements for its proper disposal: blood is core, then, to H's centralizing logic. In addition, the verses which deal most directly with the centralization of sacrifice (vv. 8–9), as shown, do not command the Israelites to bring *all* of their offerings to the central shrine, but rather apply a more restricted focus on centralizing blood sacrifice (see § 3.3.2 above). There is little evidence that this legislative interest in centralized blood disposal is taken over from D. Indeed, Deut 12 does not view centralization through the paradigmatic lens of blood. Rather, it articulates a notion of centralized sacrifice which does not give primacy to blood disposal but which incorporates both animal and non-animal sacrifices. This can be seen in the four lists in Deut 12:6, 11b, 17 and 26 where D itemizes what must be brought to the chosen מקום (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Items to Be Brought to the מקום according to Deut 12:6, 11b, 17, 26

<i>Deut 12:6</i>	<i>Deut 12:11b</i>	<i>Deut 12:17</i>	<i>Deut 12:26</i>
והבאתם שמה עלתיכם וזבחיכם ואת מעשרתיכם ואת תרומת ידכם ונדריכם ונדבתיכם ובכרת בקרכם וצאנכם	שם שמה תביאו את כל־אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם עולתיכם וזבחיכם מעשרתיכם ותרמת ידכם וכל מבחר נדריכם אשר תדרו ליהוה	לא־תוכל לאכל בשעריך מעשר דגנך ותירשך ויצהרך ובכרת בקרך וצאנך וכל־נדריך אשר תדר ונדבתיך ותרומת ידך	רק קדשיך אשר־יהיו לך ונדריך תשא ובאת אל־ המקום אשר־יבחר יהוה
You shall bring there your burnt offerings, your sacrifices, your tithes and your donations, your votive gifts and your freewill offerings and the firstborn of your herds and flocks.	(...) there you shall bring all that I have commanded you: your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and offerings, your votive gifts that you vow to Yhwh.	You may not eat in your towns the tithe of your grain, your wine, and your oil, the firstborn of your herds and your flocks, and your votive offerings that you vow, your freewill offerings, or your donations.	However, the sacred donations that are [due] from you, and your votive gifts, you shall bear and come to the place that Yhwh will choose

In these verses non-animal sacrifices are represented in the mention of tithes (מעשר; vv. 6 and 11), tithes of grain (מעשר דגנך; v. 17), wine and oil (תירשך dan יצהר; v. 17), more general “donations” (תרומה; vv. 6 and 17) and “holy things” (קדשים; v. 26). None of the compositional strata that make up Deut 12 restrict centralized sacrifice to animal sacrifices alone. To the contrary, the essence of centralization in Deut 12 is that Yhwh will establish a single מקום in the land as the sole locus of *all* facets of Israelite worship.

Leviticus 17, by contrast, anchors its centralizing discourse on the properties of the *blood* of domestic animals. While H never explicitly permits the Israelites to present other offerings to Yhwh at any other site, the purview of Lev 17 does not extend to include offerings that do not involve blood disposal. This key conceptual difference suggests that H, although knowing Deut 12, develops its own argument in favor of centralization—one which is grounded in its ritualized claims about the significance of blood and its disposal upon Yhwh’s central altar. This does not necessarily conflict with the command of centralization found in D. But it is inappropriate to suggest that H derives its centralizing logic from the claims made in Deut 12.

The tendency to read Lev 17 through the lens of D when seeking to understand its approach to centralization should therefore be abandoned. Once Deut 12:20–28 are bracketed as a post-H supplement to D, the classical arguments for why Lev 17 should be viewed as a response to Deut 12 lose their compelling logic. Such a conclusion, it must be stressed, does not require that we revisit old debates concerning the chronological priority of D over H; there is ample evidence that H drew on D elsewhere in Lev 17–26, such that the limited engagement with Deut 12 in Lev 17 should not be considered determinative in how we view the relationship between H and D. We can therefore assume

that H knew that its ban on local butchery would effectively reverse the concession of Deut 12:15–16; the switch from שחט to זבח in Lev 17:3–7 might also be tentatively classified as an attempt by H to reject D’s innovation. Nevertheless, the very minimal nature of the echoes of Deut 12 in Lev 17 suggests that it is unwarranted to read the latter chapter as if its primary purpose was to respond to Deut 12. In addition, there is no evidence to support the frequent assumption that H modeled its concept of centralized animal sacrifice on Deut 12. We should instead return to the question of what might have been the alternate influences shaping H’s approach to cult centralization and distinctive interest in restricting blood disposal to Yhwh’s central shrine. In particular, we should examine how these concerns expand upon and develop earlier claims found in the pre-H form of P.

3.4.2 Leviticus 17 and the P Account

We have already established (see Chapter Two) that P advances a sophisticated discourse of centralization, in which little evidence of dependence on D can be detected. This Priestly approach to centralization integrates a number of key dimensions: the importance of central sanctuary space in maintaining the relationship between Yhwh and a unified Israel; the collective obligations of the Israelite community to sponsor and protect that single sanctuary; the standardized ritual processes to which the Israelites are obliged to conform; and the authoritative status of the Aaronide priesthood. In many senses, Lev 17 affirms these core elements of P’s discourse. It directs the Israelites’ attention again to the central wilderness sanctuary and its Aaronide priests; reminds them of their communal obligations to contribute resources to the central sanctuary; and alerts them to the threats that face them if they fail to adhere to Yhwh’s ritual standard.

This development in Lev 17 of P is especially clear in the echoes of Lev 16 within the chapter. As flagged above (see § 3.1.2), a number of the terms and motifs in Lev 17, such as the word דם, the root כפר and phrase על כפר are particularly reminiscent of the ritual instructions of Lev 16. Even though, as argued, it seems unlikely that Lev 16 and 17 form a single unit within the book of Leviticus (pace Zenger 1999; Zenger and Frevel 2008; Jürgens 2001; Hieke 2014), it is clear that H looks to Lev 16 on the question as to the role of blood as a purifying agent in the Israelite cult, and positions its claims about centralized blood disposal as the natural extension of the significance of blood in that chapter.

Leviticus 16:11–19 describe a series of blood rites performed by Aaron to effect *kippēr* for himself and the priesthood (ביתו “his house”; v. 11), as well as for the inner sanctum (referred to in Lev 16 as שֶׁקֶד) and the altar.⁴⁸ As argued in Chapter Two (see § 2.4.1), these rites are the most dangerous, and the most significant, of all Aaron’s ritual responsibilities. He must risk death (vv. 2, 13) to apply blood upon and before the *kāpporēt* and thereby purge the inner sanctum of the Israelites’

⁴⁸ On the reference to the inner-sanctum as הקדש in Lev 16 (cf. מקדש הקדש in 16:33), see further, e.g., Baentsch 1903, 383; Elliger 1966, 203–5; Milgrom 1991, 1063; Nihan 2007a, 369.

ritual impurities (טמאָת; 16:16, 19), transgressions (פֿשעִים; 16:16) and sins (חטאָת; 16:16). In so doing, he ensures that the tent of meeting may continue to dwell (שָׁכַן) with the Israelites “in the midst of their impurities” (v. 19). The ceremony described in Lev 16 can therefore be understood as the “climax” („*Höhepunkt*“; Jürgens 2001, 142; cf. Nihan 2007a, 380) of the sacrificial legislation of Lev 1–15, and even of the P narrative of origins more broadly. It provides the permanent means by which the “controlled environment” (J. Z. Smith 1982, 63; cf. Gilders 2004, 140) of the sanctuary may be preserved, such that the deity may continue to reside among the Israelites.

Leviticus 16 also provides the clearest articulation in P of the link between blood manipulation and the exclusive ritual agency of Aaron. As high priest he is the only figure who may enter the inner-sanctum to perform blood rites; thus he is clearly distinguished from the rest of the priesthood, and the community (Gilders 2004, 139–41). The centrality and mutual interdependence of the office of the high priest and the ritual procedures of blood manipulation are thereby reinforced: Aaron is affirmed as the community’s central ritual agent because he alone can manipulate blood within the inner-sanctuary and purify it; blood is indexed as a “singularly important cultic material, and its manipulation as a singularly important cultic act” (Gilders 2004, 140) because it is the only substance that Aaron applies to the *kāpporēt* when he enters the inner sanctum.

Leviticus 17 maintains a comparable focus on the ritual potency of blood which serves as a sophisticated supplement to Lev 16. While Lev 16 crystalizes the role of blood as a purifying agent, Lev 17:11 provides an overarching explanation as to what blood, acting as a ransom, achieves for the lives of the individual offerer. In addition, while Lev 16 emphasizes the link between blood manipulation and the ritual agency of Aaron within the inner sanctuary, Lev 17 stresses the obligations of all Israel to ensure that they never mishandle blood in matters of slaughter, sacrifice or meat consumption. Together, then, Lev 16 and 17 form a powerful meditation on the importance of blood disposal, and of the priestly agency of Aaronide priests in its ritualized disposal, for the centralized cult. They each affirm that restricting the ritual manipulation of blood to the central sanctuary and Aaronide priesthood is essential in the eyes of the deity. They provide dramatic illustrations of its benefits for the Israelite community—in Lev 16, its roles in maintaining the shrine and guarding it against pollution; in Lev 17, its ability to ransom the lives of the Israelites—while also stressing the dangers of its misuse.

However, Lev 17 moves beyond Lev 16 to spell out much more clearly the implications of ritualized blood disposal for the conduct of the Israelites in *everyday life*. Here the focus is no longer on the ritual actions of Aaron at the central shrine in times of ritual emergency (or on the day of purifications, according to Lev 16:29–34a), but rather on the *communal obligations* of all the Israelites to ensure that the blood of sacrificial animals is never disposed of away from the central sanctuary, or in a manner which by-passes Yhwh’s prescribed ritual process or the Aaronide priesthood. In addition, by introducing harsh sanctions for non-compliance, whereby the offending individual is cut off from the community, H positions centralized blood disposal as essential to

maintaining the communal integrity of the Israelites before their patron god, Yhwh. In this, Lev 17 extends the ideas of Lev 16 concerning the pivotal importance of blood disposal in the centralized cult and community to normalize the monopoly of the central shrine in the matters of slaughter and sacrifice of livestock.

Beyond developing P's interest in centralized blood disposal, there is a further significant way in which Lev 17 builds on and extends Lev 16 in arguing for centralized slaughter: namely, by invoking peripheral beings—the שַׁעִירִים “wild goats”—in justifying the prohibition of local butchery. It has already been suggested above (§ 3.3.1) that the mention in 17:5–7 of the open field and שַׁעִירִים serves as a sophisticated literary device which forges a spatial contrast between the central shrine and the forces of chaos—a contrast which strongly echoes the ritual materials of Lev 16. Alongside the ritual for the purgation of the sanctuary in Lev 16, P prescribes a peculiar rite through which Aaron rids the Israelites of their wrongs (עוֹנֹת), transgressions (פְּשָׁעִים) and sins (חַטָּאת). In Lev 16:7–10 Aaron is instructed to take two goats from the congregation and bring them before Yhwh at the entrance of the tent of meeting. Lots are to be cast over them, גּוֹרֵל אֶחָד לַיהוָה וְגּוֹרֵל אֶחָד לְעִזָּאזֵל, “one lot for Yhwh and one lot for Azazel.” Yhwh's goat is then to be offered as a חַטָּאת and its blood applied, along with that of a bull, to the *kāpporēt* (v. 15) and to the four horns of the altar (v. 18). The other goat is to be presented by Aaron before Yhwh, he is to *kippēr* over it (לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו) and then send it לְעִזָּאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה “to Azazel, the wilderness.” Then, according to vv. 20–22, Aaron must lay his hands on the head of the goat, confess the wrongs, transgressions and sins of the community on the goat for Azazel in an act of transference (Péter 1977, 54–55; Janowski 1982, 209–11; Gorman 1990, 96; Milgrom 1991; Nihan 2007a, 352; Hieke 2014, 2:587) before releasing it into a אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה “cut-off region.”

The meaning of the term עִזָּאזֵל and its significance for the rite in Lev 16:7–10, 20–22 has been the subject of intense scrutiny. While it has sometimes been suggested that עִזָּאזֵל refers to the region to which the goat must be sent (Driver 1956, 97–98; J. Porter 1976, 127; Strobel 1987, 141–68; cf. D. Hoffmann 1905; Wenham 1979, 235) or to the goat itself (Snaith 1967, 112–13; Douglas 2003), most scholars agree that the term designates some kind of demonic being that inhabits deserted regions.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ This interpretation is supported, first, by the wording of Lev 16:8b, which consists of two parallel clauses that contrast Azazel with Yhwh (גּוֹרֵל אֶחָד לַיהוָה וְגּוֹרֵל אֶחָד לְעִזָּאזֵל) and strongly suggest that Azazel is an entity in some way comparable to Yhwh, as opposed to a place or the second goat. Second, Azazel's association in v. 10 with the מִדְבָּר and in v. 22 with a cut-off region suggests that this figure constitutes a peripheral being, associated with anti-social spaces and forces (Frey-Anthes 2007, 240–41; 2008, 48). Third, other Second Temple texts clearly describe this figure as a demon; 1 Enoch lists Azazel among the fallen angels, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* mentions this figure as the leader of the demons (see 1 Enoch 8:1; 9:6; 10:4–8; 13:1; 54:5–6; 55:4; 69:2; Apoc. Ab. 13:6–14; 14:4–6; 20:5–7; 22:5; 23:11; 29:6–7; 31:5; on these texts see further Grabbe 1987, 153–58). Lastly, while the etymology of the term עִזָּאזֵל is far from clear, it is possibly the result of a consonantal metathesis of עִז and אֵל “fierce god” (Tawil 1980, 58–59; D. P. Wright 1987, 21–22; Gorman 1990, 99; Janowski 1999a [1995], 128; Nihan 2007a, 352–53). This finds support in the SP, which reads in 16:10 עִזָּאזֵל as

The sending of a goat to Azazel is therefore appropriately understood as a rite of elimination through which the Israelites' impurities are sent back to their imagined point of origin (Gane 2005, 261–65). By transferring the community's wrongdoings to the goat for Azazel and sending the animal into the wilderness, Aaron effects atonement for the Israelites' offenses by removing them to “the realm of chaos” (Gorman 1990, 99): to Azazel, the demon of the wilderness. The significance of this act is enhanced by the spatial contrast between the fate of the two goats: while that for Azazel is expelled to the wilderness, Yhwh's goat is offered as a *חטאת* and its blood brought into the holiest part of the sanctuary where it purges this space of the Israelites' offenses. As argued especially by Gorman (1990, 80–81), Jenson (1992, 200–4) and Jürgens (2001, 81), the rite of the two goats engages the “two extreme poles” (Jenson 1992, 202) of chaotic and sacred space: the demonic force of the wilderness, on the one hand, and the *kāpporēt* at the heart of Yhwh's sanctuary, on the other (see further Nihan 2007a, 374; Frey-Anthes 2008, 47–48; Hundley 2011, 169). Thus, the spatial divisions that underpin the sacrificial system of Lev 1–15 as a whole are thrown into relief: the sanctuary of Yhwh is the epicenter of cultic order and social cohesion; the wilderness associated with Azazel is a spatial extreme, a peripheral zone of disorder, social deterioration, chaos and death (Whitekettle 1991, 40–41).

Crucially, H seems to build a similar opposition to that which can be observed in Lev 16 in the law of Lev 17:3–7—an opposition between a realm of chaos, associated with peripheral beings, and the socio-cultic order of the central sanctuary. What is more, there are a number of precise correspondences between H's references to the wild goats in Lev 17:5–7 and P's description of Azazel in Lev 16. Both the *שעיר* and Azazel occur with the preposition ל and in contrast with Yhwh (cf. Lev 16:8–10; 17:5, 7). They are beings that receive something which is similar, but not identical, to that which is given ליהוה: in Lev 16, Azazel receives one of two goats presented before Yhwh by Aaron, although Yhwh's goat is offered as a *חטאת* while Azazel's one is presented alive;⁵⁰ in Lev

opposed to עוזאל (although SP agrees with MT in the other occurrences of the term). The form עוזאל is also preserved in 11Q19 26:13 and 4Q180 1:8. This could indicate that this figure was originally considered a divine being, but was downgraded by later scribes to a demon (עוזאל) out of reverence to Yhwh. On Azazel as a demon, see further, e.g., Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956], 114–15; Talmon 1966, 44; de Vaux 1973, 2:509; Tawil 1980, 58–59; Janowski 1982, 268 n. 447; D. P. Wright 1987, 21–30; Gorman 1990, 97–98; Péter-Contesse 1993, 253; Milgrom 1991, 1020–21; Jenson 1992, 202; Nihan 2007a, 351–53.

⁵⁰ It is interesting, however, that Lev 16:5 describes both goats as being ל*חטאת* “for a sin offering.” This does not mean that the goat offered to Azazel is to be killed and offered as a sacrifice, since it would be impossible for the goat for Azazel to be sent into the wilderness if it has already been slain. Moreover, the goat for Azazel is specifically called השעיר החי “the live goat” in v. 21, in contrast to the one that had been killed for Yhwh as a *חטאת*. The claim in v. 5 that both goats are ל*חטאת* may therefore reflect their mutual association with effecting *kippēr* and purifying the sanctuary and the community respectively (Gorman 1990, 97; Milgrom 1991, 1018; Nihan 2007a, 359).

17:5–7, the Israelites are said to have given זבחיםם “their sacrifices” to the שעירים instead of offering זבחי שלמים to Yhwh. In addition, a particularly curious overlap concerns the term שעירים itself. While H employs this term in Lev 17:7 to refer to wild goats, the same term is used in Lev 16 to refer to the two goats that are to be given to Yhwh and Azazel (see vv. 5, 7, 8). It is difficult to know what to make of this, since the two goats involved in the rite of Lev 16 are clearly domestic goats as opposed to wild creatures associated with deserted regions. All the same, it is intriguing that Lev 16:5, 7, 8 and 17:7 constitute the *only* occurrences of the plural form שעירים in the whole of Leviticus, and four of only nine occurrences of the plural שעירים in the HB.⁵¹ Moreover, while the שעירים in Lev 16 may not constitute inherently peripheral or threatening creatures, they are certainly involved in a rite that deals with impure and chaotic forces. Not only is one of the goats to be sent to the wilderness to Azazel, but it must also “bear” (נשא) the offenses of the people away from civilization into this inaccessible region. It therefore comes to embody “[t]he sins of the nation, understood as the chief cause of chaos” (Gorman 1990, 99).

The correspondences between Lev 16 and Lev 17 in relation to Azazel and the שעירים, it must be said, are not complete. Although Azazel and the שעירים may be contrasted with Yhwh in syntactically parallel clauses, the two creatures are unlikely to be identical; Azazel is probably not a goat and the שעירים are not necessarily demonic (see § 3.3.1).⁵² There are also differences in what is given to Azazel and to the שעירים, and the legitimacy of this act of giving; while the שעירים are explicitly said in Lev 17:7 to receive sacrifices from the Israelites, who “whore after them,” Azazel does not receive a sacrifice in the rite of riddance described in Lev 16. The goat for Azazel is instead sent alive into the wilderness by “someone designated for the task” (v. 21). Meanwhile, in Lev 16 the sending of the goat for Azazel forms part of an elaborate ritual in which Aaron is commanded to expel the community’s offenses into the wilderness via the two goats. In Lev 17, on the other hand, there is no legitimate way in which the Israelites or the priesthood might ever engage with the שעירים. These creatures are mentioned only in the context of prohibited action, namely the slaughter of animals away from the sanctuary.

However, these differences in the depiction of Azazel in Lev 16 and the שעירים in Lev 17 do not undermine the argument that H appears to be intentionally echoing the spatial dynamics of this earlier P text when it describes the dangers of local butchery. The strength of the similarities between the depictions of Azazel and the שעירים and their associations with chaotic, non-cultic space suggest that H is again developing the core ideas and oppositions of Lev 16 in order to enhance its case for the

⁵¹ Cf. Num 7:87; Deut 32:2; Isa 13:21; 2 Chr 11:15; 29:23.

⁵² It has sometimes been suggested that Azazel was a goat or *satyr* (Levine 1989, 102, 251; Milgrom 1991, 1021). This is based not only on the mention of the שעירים in Lev 17:7 but also the idea that עזאזל is derived from עז and אל “mighty goat.” However, this seems less likely than the reconstructed etymology mentioned above, given the evidence of SP, TS and 4Q180.

centralization of animal slaughter. The echoes with Lev 16 in Lev 17:5–7 give an additional layer of context to H's claims about the *danger* of local butchery. They subtly position extra-sanctuary slaughter as threatening the very socio-cultic order which, in Lev 16, Aaron's ritual actions have been committed to preserving; while in Lev 16 Aaron maintains the strict separation of chaotic and sacred space when he follows Yhwh's ritual instructions, Lev 17 accuses the Israelites of flouting that order when they fail to bring their animals to the sanctuary for ritual treatment. In this case, H might have chosen to use the specific term שְׁעִירָם in Lev 17:7 because it reinforces this impression that the Israelites engage with the forces of chaos, impurity and death associated with the rites of Lev 16 whenever they butcher their animals away from the sanctuary.

Such resonances with Lev 16 in Lev 17 reveal H's strategy to couch its discourse of centralization in the language and propositions of the earlier P materials; and in so doing, to make its discourse appear as the natural extension of P's own claims about the nature of the Israelite community, the space it inhabits and the role of the Aaronide priesthood in maintaining it. Leviticus 17 continues P's focus on the special properties of blood and the resultant need to dispose of it with care, while also developing P's concern, most clearly articulated in Lev 16, with the void between cultic center and chaotic periphery. It thereby presents centralized slaughter and sacrifice as essential to maintaining the socio-cultic order so carefully established, maintained and restored in the P account. The introduction of harsh new sanctions for those who deny the central shrine's exclusive claim to the blood of the Israelites' livestock therefore appear entirely justified.

Furthermore, the echoes of Lev 16 in Lev 17 do more than simply repeat P's logic of centralization: they also facilitate a notable innovation on H's part. By banning local butchery, H arguably develops a more expansive logic of centralization than that which is found in the P ritual materials: in that it articulates far more explicitly than does P the critical link between the bringing of *all* livestock to the sanctuary and the maintenance of Yhwh's centralized cult. The P materials, as explained above (§ 2.1), do not contain a law that explicitly restricts animal sacrifice to the tent of meeting. P simply frames its ritual laws on the assumption that all sacrifices will be focused on the single sanctuary. Furthermore, P does not contain a law which requires the Israelites to restrict their butchery practices to the central shrine. Admittedly, Lev 3 and 7:11–34 do provide a ritualized means whereby the Israelites can present their animals as well-being sacrifices and eat a remaining portion (so long as the priests also receive their rightful share). However, as discussed above (§ 2.1), P does not include, either in these texts or elsewhere, any clarification as to whether the Israelites must offer a well-being sacrifice *every* time they slaughter livestock, or only when they desire to present such a sacrifice to the god. There is thus a degree of ambiguity as to whether the cultic slaughter of livestock is voluntary or mandated.

H fills this silence by explicitly stating in Lev 17:3–7 that local butchery is illegitimate. Every act of slaughter is positioned by H as an offering of well-being. Yet, although this is an innovation, it is significant that Lev 17 draws on P's own language concerning the central significance of blood in

order to position its prohibition as a necessary progression of P. The heavy referencing of the language of Lev 16 in Lev 17 presents extra-sanctuary slaughter as fundamentally incompatible with the centralized cultic order which is promoted by P, and thus as needing to be permanently outlawed.

Beyond this, H appears to draw on the language of other P texts when arguing the case that local butchery can never be permitted. As mentioned above (§ 3.1), scholars have detected traces of Gen 9:3–6 in the wording of H's explanation of the consequences of local butchery. Genesis 9:3–6 provide the first permission to eat animals, which is given to all humanity. The god stresses that there is a fundamental difference between the killing of human beings, which imputes bloodguilt, and the taking of animal life, which is permissible so long as the blood is never consumed.

Gen 9:3–6

3 כל־רמש אשר הוא־חי לכם יהיה לאכלה כִּירק עֵשֶׂב נָתַתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל 4 אֶךְ־בֶּשֶׂר בִּנְפֹשׁוֹ דָמוֹ לֹא תֹאכְלוּ 5 וְאֵךְ אֶת־דַּמְכֶם לִנְפֹשֹׁתֵיכֶם אֲדַרְשׁ מִיַּד כָּל־חַיָּה אֲדַרְשֶׁנּוּ וּמִיַּד הָאָדָם מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו אֲדַרְשׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁ הָאָדָם 6 שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָךְ כִּי בְצַלֵּם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֶת־הָאָדָם

3 Every creeping thing that lives shall be to you to eat; just as [I gave you] the green plants, I give you everything. 4 Only, you shall not eat flesh with its life, its blood. 5 And for your lifeblood I will require a reckoning; from all animals I will require it and from all human beings; from each one for his fellows I will require a reckoning for human life. 6 He who sheds blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed. For in the image of god he made man.

This divine oracle again cannot be understood to actively permit extra-sanctuary slaughter, since such a category is not yet operational; it relates to a narrative context which pre-dates the creation of the sanctuary cult, a time when all slaughter is by definition non-cultic. However, the distinction it draws between homicide and the killing of animals establishes a clear hierarchy between these issues—one which H seems intent on reversing. In addition to building on the blood prohibition of Gen 9:4 in Lev 17:11aα and 14aα (see § 4.2.1 above), H's claim, in Lev 17:3–4, that the shedding of blood imputes bloodguilt (דָּם יִהְיֶה) to the offender echoes Gen 9:5–6, where similar language is used to describe the effects of homicide (although using slightly different terminology to that of Lev 17:3–4; וְאֵךְ אֶת־דַּמְכֶם לִנְפֹשֹׁתֵיכֶם אֲדַרְשׁ). By referring to local butchery as an activity which imputes bloodguilt, H effectively eliminates the critical distinction in Gen 9 between the killing of humans and animals away: as H sees it, killing animals away from the sanctuary is a comparable crime to the killing of human beings (Reventlow 1961, 42; Milgrom 1971; B. J. Schwartz 1996c, 21–22; Nihan 2007a, 412).

This is a radical conception on H's part: it effectively restores a way of life for the Israelites that is much closer to the vegetarian ideal of the pre-flood era, since they must now mitigate the effects of violence by offering the animal back to the deity as a *שלמים* sacrifice (vv. 5–6). By bringing domestic animals to the central altar, where their blood may be offered back to Yhwh, and thus compensate for the life of the offerer, the community can avoid incurring bloodguilt on account of the taking of animal life (Lev 17:11; see further § 4.3.3 above). The *גרים*, by contrast, may continue to

abide by the norm laid out in Gen 9:2–6a: they may slaughter their animals in non-cultic contexts, so long as the blood is never consumed.

Hence it seems that Lev 17 not only affirms the discourse of centralization articulated by P; it charts new discursive and legislative pathways with the aid of P's own language. For the first time in the Priestly traditions, the obligations of the Israelite community to defer to the central sanctuary are explicitly widened to include not just animal sacrifices but also animal slaughter. With this intensified cultic requirement the role of the central priesthood is also enhanced, in that the scope of sacrificial practices over which they have a monopoly is extended (see esp. 17:5–6). Moreover, H introduces into the Priestly ritual legislation the first explicit sanctions for behaviors which violate its norm of centralizing both animal sacrifice and slaughter at the sanctuary. H's enhanced discourse—which combines heightened cultic expectations with regard to the butchery of animals at the sanctuary with dire penalties for those who neglect or violate these obligations—has the effect of directing the attention of the Israelite community to the cultic center in a new and more demanding manner. Deferring to the sanctuary in *all* matters relating to the killing of animals is positioned by H as a matter of paradigmatic significance in the centralized cult.

3.5 Discourse and Practice

All of this, it must be stressed, relates to H's *discourse* of centralization. As already noted, H's legislative mandates are set within the imaginary spaces of the Sinai narrative developed by P: the Israelite camp and the wilderness sanctuary, to which the Israelites are obliged to defer. Yet, this narrative setting notwithstanding, it seems clear that H has the expectation that the laws it articulates in Lev 17 will apply not only to this imaginary past, but will also be relevant to all future time periods: not only is its ban on local butchery described as an “eternal statute throughout your generations” (Lev 17:7a), but the strength of its sanctions also convey the laws' normativity. Hence, we should turn now to consider what might have been H's aspirations in Lev 17 to shape the actual practice of sacrifice and butchery in ancient Israel. How might its discourse of centralization have related to the socio-cultic structures and ritual practices in the Persian period?

This confronts us immediately with the issue that has dominated so much of past scholarship: practicability. As explained above (§ 3.1.1), all of the scholarly efforts to resolve this issue have their limitations. Ultimately, it seems only possible to resolve it if we acknowledge that Lev 17 served a multiplicity of purposes; codifying practice in a “realistic” way may have been only one of H's objectives. More important perhaps was its strategic intent to reinforce the importance of the centralized cult and the hierarchies it enshrined.

3.5.1 Ritual Text and Ritual Practice

In arguing thus, we must consider the more general issue of the relationship between ritual text and ritual practice. Scholars like Kaufmann, Douglas and Milgrom have defended the idea that a ritual text like Lev 17 must have offered a more or less realistic description of the rituals that were practiced in the ancient Israelite cult. We should therefore search, in their view, for the most probable historical timeframe in which its laws could have been “realistically” applied. This approach speaks to a wider trend in traditional scholarship whereby the ritual texts of Leviticus, and the Priestly materials more generally, are read as a priestly “handbook” or “manual” (see further § 2.3.1 above). Such a view of Leviticus presumes that the gap between what the text prescribes and the rituals performed in a major sanctuary, like the temple at Jerusalem, would have been small. Even if the text might have contained certain details that could not always be followed—for instance, prescribing the use of expensive materials that might not have been available—the *intent* of the Priestly scribes was to describe rituals in a way that envisaged an accurate reproduction.

However, such approaches to the ritual texts of Leviticus raise a number of interpretive difficulties. As discussed above (§ 2.3.1), reading Leviticus in such a “realistic” way overlooks the manner in which its rituals are embedded in a literary context that has a very different character to a priestly manual. On a more general level, however, ritual theories and ethnographic studies of rituals suggest that we should not expect that a text like Leviticus would mirror historic ritual practices in ancient Israel, or codify laws in the expectation of their precise fulfillment. In the study of contemporary societies, ethnographers have revealed that there are often substantial discrepancies between the rituals preserved in texts that a social group considers authoritative and the rituals that that group actually practices. For instance, Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw (1994) observed during their fieldwork among the modern Jains of Jaipur that ritual participants affirmed the authority of ritual texts in shaping their ritual practice, but had virtually no knowledge of the semantic content of those texts. Ritual texts, Humphrey and Laidlaw therefore surmised, were “only theoretically authoritative and do not inform actual performance of the rite” (1994, 200). To be sure, other ritual contexts manifest a closer connection between what a text prescribes and what is practiced. However, even when ritual texts are directly employed in ritual practice, the iconic value of such texts can extend far beyond their practical content. For example, Kristofer Schipper observed (1985, 138) in his study of Taoist ritual practice in Taiwan that ritual masters used ritual texts “almost like props”; while they gave the impression of reading them as part of ritual prayers, and even turned the pages, they actually recited prayers that they had memorized previously.

It may seem inappropriate to project these later ethnographic descriptions onto ancient realities like those of ancient Israel. Yet there seems to be no compelling reason to assume that the relationship between text and ritual would have been significantly less fluid in that ancient context than in the contemporary ritual communities described by ethnographers. Indeed, it seems to be in the very nature of ritual texts that they prioritize ritualized ideals to the exclusion of alternatives. As Bell

has suggested (1992, 136–40), the distance between what ritual texts prescribe and what is practiced in actuality speaks to the very different character of a “written ritual” and a ritual performance. Written rituals appear stabilized and unified in ways that can only rarely be achieved in actual ritual practice; even though such practice may be characterized by repetition and fixity, it is also subject to contestation and variation. Ritual texts have therefore been described by Bell (1992, 137) as producing “a written ideal quite alienated from what is in fact being done in common practice.”

The insights from anthropology and ritual studies have therefore led a growing number of pentateuchal scholars to hypothesize that there was a significant gap between the prescriptions of the Priestly traditions and actual ritual practice in ancient Israel (Gilders 2004, 8–11 and *passim*; Bergen 2005, 2–9 and *passim*; Watts 2007a, 27–32; Bibb 2009, 34–69; Nihan 2015f, 127–30). So far, however, there is little consensus on what functions the Priestly ritual laws might have served if they did not codify actual ritual practice. The work of Watts stands out, in that he has combined rhetorical analysis with the insights of ritual theorists to examine the persuasive power of the Leviticus rituals (cf. § 2.3.1). He has suggested that these were written with the intention of their being read aloud; they probably functioned to publicize the rituals that were performed within sanctuary complexes and thus were usually hidden from the observation of lay people. Such a practice, he has argued, would have validated the accuracy of the priests’ performance and confirmed the paramount importance of the community’s regularly offering sacrifices (Watts 2013, 24–28).

The merit of Watts’ approach is that it shines a valuable light on the manner in which the ritual texts of Leviticus might have increased the likelihood that the Israelites would defer to ritual authorities and commit to materially supporting the shrine (although it is debatable whether we can know for sure that the text of Leviticus was read aloud in public recitations already in Persian times). Yet despite the insights of his approach, even Watts appears to assume a fairly direct relationship between the description of the rituals in the narrative of Leviticus and the way in which they were actually performed in the major sanctuaries of ancient Israel—an approach, which, in the case of a text like Lev 17, remains somewhat problematic.

A productive way of re-conceptualizing a text like Lev 17 is to read its laws on slaughter and sacrifice as both describing rituals as they were to be ideally performed, and also providing a text by which ancient audiences could internalize ritual hierarchies. Irrespective of whether the law concerning extra-sanctuary slaughter could be literally applied in all situations, the hierarchies identified within the text would have been affirmed by the idealized discourse as having exclusive rights over the manipulation of blood. In arguing thus, I draw on the insights of recent scholarship in ritual studies. Prior to the “ritual turn” of the late 1970s, ritual was frequently interpreted in a symbolic way: ritual action was seen as dramatically enacting the concepts or meanings that underpin society’s most basic foundations, such as its belief systems and myths of origin (see, e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1940, 1956; Turner 1967; Leach 1977 [1954]; Geertz 1973). However, ritual theorists have increasingly questioned whether the capacity of ritual to choreograph key cultural symbols means that

ritual itself is inherently symbolic. Bell, in particular, has argued (1992) that ritual action is not primarily geared towards communicating “meaning”—even though its participants frequently assign meanings to their ritual actions. Instead it is a situational and strategic activity that can only be recognized in relation to other activities. What Bell terms “ritualization” serves the primary purpose of creating contrasts, which direct attention to ritual actions, personnel, spaces and objects, giving shape to all of society and culture. This is a circular process—a “nearly infinite chain of associations”—whereby usually binary oppositions, such as inside/outside, left/right, male/female, priest/laity, sanctuary/extra-sanctuary, center/periphery, are organized into hierarchical schemes in which “some oppositions quietly dominate others” (Bell 1992, 140). Social actors who participate in ritual practice internalize this hierarchy, with the result that their experience of reality is conceptually structured so as to privilege those elements that are most dominant in the ritual.

The focus of Bell’s theories is on ritual practice, but textual descriptions of ritual actions can effect a similar internalization in the minds of readers, or those who hear or memorize these texts. Even if ritual texts do not overtly justify, or even explain, these hierarchies, they present particular spaces, personnel and processes—such as the central altar, Aaronide priests and ritualized blood manipulation—as self-evidently necessary to the ritual being described. The elevation of these texts to the status of authoritative law or tradition then shapes not only the audiences’ expectations about how rituals are to be enacted, but their acceptance of the nominated hierarchies as essential to this ritual practice.

Moreover, as Smith has argued (1982, 54), these hierarchies and oppositions serve as a “focusing lens” through which the broader social sphere is viewed and interpreted. They direct attention to, and mark, particular acts, objects, gestures and personnel as being of special significance. The processes and hierarchies that are so powerfully affirmed in the ritual thereby come to inform, and even dominate, how mundane, non-ritualized activities are described and perceived. In developing his theoretical approach, Smith (1982) drew on his observations of indigenous Siberian hunting practices. When indigenous Siberians talked about everyday hunting practices, they mandated that the killing of the animal conform to a detailed set of rules that ensured no disruption of the balance between animals and humanity. Yet in the actual performance of the hunt, the safety of the hunter took precedence over these more normative considerations: the bears were entrapped and killed in ways that were most expedient and that caused minimum harm to the hunter. Most interestingly, the only context in which the prescribed rules were actually honored was during *ritual hunts* performed as part of annual festivals. In these more stylized settings, all of the variables that were usually present in hunting could be carefully controlled and no risk was posed to those who slew the animal. “Ritual,” Smith concludes, “is a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled, course of things” (1982, 63).

So, it might be argued, is the case with Lev 17. H constructs an ideally configured, “ritualized” past, which cannot be replicated in everyday reality, or at least not in its entirety. Framing its narrative in the imaginative setting at Sinai, H repeatedly invokes a time of “ritualized perfection” at Sinai, in which all areas of Israel’s life were perfectly centralized around the sanctuary and directed by ritual considerations, when hierarchies and oppositions such as priest/laity, sanctuary/extra-sanctuary space, altar/field, center/periphery were established by Yhwh and lived out among an idealized, ritualized wilderness generation. The invocation of this memory, which may have been in “conscious tension” with reality, acted to ensure that all interactions with blood were viewed through a ritual lens, and the ideal of centralized blood disposal normalized and entrenched. On account of its divine voicing, association with the memory of Sinai, and formulation as a series of prohibitions with dire sanctions, Lev 17 privileges blood manipulation at the central sanctuary over any alternative practices of blood disposal. It does so by validating the foundational hierarchies which justify centralized spaces, personnel and activities dominating their non-centralized counterparts.

A text like Lev 17 thus clearly aspires to shape perceptions of the legitimacy of the centralized processes and cultic hierarchies it enshrines; and, as is the case with any ritualized discourse, to mobilize consent and influence how people behave. But it does not need to be “practicable” to achieve this aim. Even in contexts where Lev 17’s requirements concerning blood disposal could not have been applied precisely, the normative hold of its centralizing discourse remained potent, because it reinforced the essential hierarchies on which the centralized cult depends.

3.5.2 Leviticus 17 and Its Possible Context

That said, it is very difficult to verify how various members of the Israelite community might have modified their behavior in response to this discourse. Audience reception of ancient discourses is always difficult to ascertain; and certainly we have almost no historical evidence from the Persian period that provides any information as to how Lev 17 might have been understood or implemented. We are also hampered by the absence of evidence of how widely Lev 17 was disseminated in Persian times, which prevents us from reconstructing its audience and reach. In the absence of such evidence, we can only surmise that responses to the mandates of Lev 17, should they have been made known to the public, might have ranged from compliance to various forms of adaptation and compromise.

Clear evidence of compliance is especially lacking. This was no doubt the response that the authors of Lev 17 aimed to generate. If their insistence on deference to cultic hierarchies and centralized animal slaughter had been heeded, then significant benefits would have accrued to the central temple that could claim the legacy of the wilderness sanctuary. H gives few hints in Lev 17 as to which temple cult it thought would continue the centralized slaughter and sacrifice established at the tent of meeting. However, its strong continuity with P suggests that it was probably written by priests with similar socio-cultic aims. We might therefore be justified in surmising that it had a similar

orientation towards the centralized cult of Judah as that which, as argued above (§ 2.2.2 and 2.4.2), can be detected in P's description of the wilderness sanctuary and Aaronide priesthood. Indeed, the presence of a "Judean bias" in late materials, like Exod 6:14–27 and Num 1–10, that describe Aaron's lineage or the social hierarchies associated with the wilderness shrine, suggest that it is reasonable to assume that a post-Priestly tradition like H remained concerned to legitimate the centralized cult in Judah; in this case, by consolidating animal slaughter and sacrifice to the central shrine in Jerusalem.

The monopoly on animal sacrifice and slaughter promoted in Lev 17 might have served not only the ideological purpose of legitimating Jerusalem's claim as the only center of Yahwistic sacrifice; it might also have been a pragmatic bid to provide it with sorely needed economic resources. For every animal brought for sacrifice and slaughter the temple staff was assured a portion of the animal, in accordance with the Priestly ritual legislation (see specifically Lev 7). We can therefore assume that, had the Israelites been persuaded by Lev 17 to bring their animals to the central shrine every time they needed to butcher them, the Jerusalem temple would have been guaranteed—to the exclusion of rival sites of animal slaughter—a continual supply of an important commodity in antiquity: animal meat. As the text of Lev 17 gained authority with the passage of the Second Temple period, this might have played a key role in concentrating the resource of animal livestock in Jerusalem's hands.

A second response, which can be more directly verified, might have been adaptation. Many Israelites, even though unable to observe the letter of the law, might nevertheless have adapted their practices surrounding the killing of animals in a way that benefited Jerusalem. This may not have resulted in exact conformity with what Lev 17 prescribed but, when accommodations were made, the decision as to what solutions might be acceptable would have been shaped by the centralizing discourse of Leviticus. As we saw in the post-H addition to D in Deut 12:20–28, the knowledge of Lev 17 positioned local butchery in an inferior position to ritualized blood sacrifice, and thereby ensured that the need to prioritize travel to the central place and the offering of sacrifices was promoted as often as was feasible. This conclusion seems also to be confirmed by *TS*, which preserves one of the earliest receptions of the laws of Lev 17 and Deut 12. As mentioned above (§ 3.3.1), 11Q19 52:13–16 preserves an ancient attempt to harmonize these two texts to form a single commandant in which extra-sanctuary slaughter is strictly prohibited for any person who lives within a three-day journey from the temple, but beyond this distance, the requirement to travel to the sanctuary to slaughter livestock for food seems not to be binding. While far from a historical account of how Lev 17 was actually applied—11Q19 52:13–16 could be a purely intellectual exercise of harmonizing two contrasting laws—this text suggests that even if Lev 17 was interpreted in such a way that modified its "eternal" ban, it was not discarded entirely. Slaughter and sacrifice performed at a central sanctuary were always to be preferred to local butchery, even if the need for concessions took precedence under certain, well-defined conditions.

One final possibility needs to be considered: one that relates less to how we imagine the law of Lev 17 directly influencing Israelite interactions with the central temple at Jerusalem, but rather speaks to the question as to how Lev 17 might reflect strategies of negotiation between central authorities and the cultic periphery in the Persian period. It has already been mentioned in the discussion of Lev 17:8–9 (§ 3.3.2) that the focus on blood disposal in Lev 17, and the related disinterest in that chapter in vegetal offerings, might resonate with the evidence to be found in the Elephantine correspondence. This correspondence, which surrounds the rebuilding of the temple of Yahô on the island, reveals that the Judeans stationed there were permitted to offer vegetal sacrifices at the rebuilt sanctuary, but the burnt offering seems to have been excluded.

Considerable debate surrounds the question as to why this exclusion might have been introduced. The most common explanation is that it reveals a concern on the part of the cultic leaders in Israel, especially the Jerusalem priesthood represented by the figure of Yehanan, to centralize animal sacrifice (see, e.g., Kraeling 1953, 107; Porten and Yardeni 1986, 148; Frey 1999, 176–80; Knowles 2006, 40–43). In this case, it would attest to a strategy of compromise; in that the Judeans stationed at Elephantine were permitted to have their own temple and a functioning cult, but with significant limitations: animal sacrifice was sectioned off as an inherently centralized practice which is not permissible in such a peripheral location.

This interpretation, however, is not without its critics. One alternative interpretation suggests that the ban on animal sacrifice was intended to appease the Egyptian priests of Khnum, whose worship of this ram god made burnt offerings of sheep on the island of Elephantine distasteful (Smend 1907, 708; Vincent 1937, 254–55). Another possibility is that this correspondence reflects Persian imperial policy, which did not permit new sacrificial cults on account of their general aversion to blood sacrifice (Kottsieper 2002, 172–75). This interpretation gives particular weight to the involvement of the Persian governors Bagavahya and Delaiah in replying to the Judean's request to rebuild the temple, which might suggest that ceasing animal sacrifice at that site was required by official imperial policy.

The incomplete nature of the evidence makes it very difficult to be conclusive about whether the ban on blood offerings can be attributed to cult centralization or some other cause. The idea that the burnt offering was to be avoided on account of the sensibilities of the priests of Khnum seems the least likely option. There is little evidence to suggest that burnt offerings to foreign gods were considered problematic in ancient Egypt (Kottsieper 2002, 172). If the issue was specifically the inclusion of rams within such offerings, it is unclear why the Judeans at Elephantine also committed (A4 10.10) to cease sacrificing oxen at the rebuilt temple and not simply sheep (Granerød 2016, 142–43). Regarding the theory that the veto on burnt offerings reflects Persian imperial interests, such a possibility cannot be definitively ruled out. However, since the temple to Yahô at Elephantine had been practicing animal sacrifice prior to its destruction, it is difficult to understand why the Persian

powers would have disallowed such practices once the temple had been reestablished (Kratz 2006, 262).

It therefore seems that it should not be excluded that the cessation of the burnt offering is linked, in one way or another, to the concern to restrict animal sacrifice to Jerusalem which is reflected in Persian period biblical traditions (Knowles 2006, 43). The reference to the high priest Yehanan clearly attests to the involvement of the Jerusalem cultic leadership in negotiating the rebuilding of the temple at Elephantine, meaning that it is not improbable to imagine their involvement in vetoing on animal sacrifice at the rebuilt shrine. In this case, the Elephantine evidence might attest, albeit in a hazy way, to the function that differentiating animal and vegetal offerings might have served in negotiations between the center at Jerusalem and the periphery at Elephantine.

It might be ventured that each of Lev 17 and the Elephantine correspondence indicates a narrowing of cult centralization onto animal sacrifice; the Judeans at Elephantine could continue to practice the cult in their local sanctuary, so long as they deferred to the center in matters of animal sacrifice. H's intense focus on issues of blood disposal and uncompromising stance in Lev 17 might therefore reflect how, by the end of the fifth century BCE, animal sacrifice had been positioned at the heart of the centralization of the cult, with non-animal sacrifices considered less controversial. The nature of the surviving evidence means that this hypothesis necessarily remains speculative. However, together the Elephantine correspondence and Lev 17 might point to the rising importance of centralized animal sacrifice in the Yahwistic cultic practice of the Persian period.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the laws of Lev 17 pertaining to the slaughter, sacrifice and consumption of livestock work together to build a powerful argument as to why the disposal of the blood of sacrificial animals must be restricted to the central sanctuary. This argument rests on claims about the potential for blood, when shed incorrectly, to have devastating consequences for Yhwh's sacral community: blood, shed away from the sanctuary, is a source of guilt (vv. 3–4); threatens the boundary between social and anti-social spaces and forces (vv. 5–7); and results in the offender being expelled from the community (v. 4b; 9b). Blood that is applied to the central altar, on the other hand, has the capacity to mitigate the effects of the cosmological problem of violence: in that it enables the life of the animal to compensate for the life of the offerer by providing a ransom to the deity (v. 11).

In all this, there is little to support the idea that H is primarily responding to D's program of centralization in the laws of Lev 17. This is not because it predates Deut 12, the exception being Deut 12:20–28, but because it has a different discursive character. Leviticus 17's focus on blood disposal has little resonance with Deut 12's program of centralization; and the evidence of verbal and conceptual borrowings from Deut 12 in Lev 17 is too scant to establish the former as the key source of inspiration for H's centralizing mandate.

The internal dynamics of Lev 17, as well as its numerous linguistic and thematic continuities with the earlier P materials, confirm that the dependence of H's discourse is on P rather than D. In Lev 17 H continues P's three-pronged discourse of centralization: a single central sanctuary, ritual standards and monopolistic priestly competence. However, it also moves beyond P by explicitly forbidding extra-sanctuary slaughter and sacrifice, and introducing harsh sanctions for those Israelites who fail to defer to the central shrine and its monopolistic priesthood. Hence, while scholars have often lacked a sense of what H's discourse of centralization might be if it were not derivative of D, this chapter has shown that the H materials are perfectly capable of advancing their own discourse of centralization, looking to the P materials while also extending them.

Reading H in this way requires us to adopt a sophisticated understanding of the character and purposes of ritualized discourses and their centralizing potential. They not only aim, through their persuasive power, to realistically prescribe actual behavior; but more importantly, they articulate an ideal through which ritual hierarchies and authoritative cultic leaders are affirmed. Thus, even if, in the case of Lev 17, its ideal of centralized slaughter cannot always be achieved in actual cultic practice, the normative value of its legislation continues to hold sway. The concentration of all animal sacrifice and slaughter at the one sanctuary is established as the cultic norm; and with this, the right of the central sanctuary and its priests to receive donations of livestock, as often as is feasible, is entrenched. At the same time, such a strong emphasis on animal slaughter and sacrifice might have positioned other cultic practices, such as vegetal offerings, as less controversial in the centralized cult, as we see at Elephantine.

This chapter has therefore demonstrated the ways in which H's imagining of ritual process relating to animal sacrifice is core to its distinctive discourse of centralization. In the chapter to follow, the analysis of centralization in H will be extended to incorporate H's unique conception of centralized time—its similarities and differences to earlier texts in P, D and other HB traditions, and its unique emphasis on negotiating a calendar for a dispersed community of Israel.

Chapter Four

Temporal Symmetry: Centralized Time in H's Festal Calendar and Laws for Regular Offerings

The focus in Lev 17 on the importance of centralized blood disposal, as Chapter Three has shown, forms one, critically important, element of H's centralizing discourse. A further element must now be incorporated into our understanding of H and centralization: that is, the manner in which, in Lev 23, H creates a fixed festal calendar and, in Lev 24:1–9, prescribes regular rituals at the central shrine. In both these texts, H exhibits a distinctive interest in establishing a standardized experience of time. In the festal calendar, H organizes the year into discrete, repeated periods during which the Israelites must undertake prescribed festal rites or avoid particular activities. H refers to these days as מועדי יהוה “the fixed times of Yhwh” and ascribes to them set dates which must be observed year in, year out by the entire community, irrespective of location. In the “appendix” to the calendar in Lev 24:1–9, H then articulates two laws that deal with regular rituals at the central sanctuary: the lighting of the sanctuary candelabra every day (vv. 2–4); and the display of twelve loaves on the sanctuary table every sabbath (vv. 5–9).

Leviticus 24:1–9 have received virtually no attention in the study of H and centralization. The festal calendar of Lev 23, by contrast, has been a topic of interest, although substantially less than the laws of slaughter and sacrifice in Lev 17 (see § 1.2.3 above). Past research on the calendar has tended to assume that in this, as in much else, H inherits its understanding of centralization largely from D. Evidence of H's dependence in Lev 23 on D's phraseology and festal concepts has long been considered proof that H establishes its calendar on the basis of D's program of centralized festal worship outlined in Deut 16:1–17 (see further § 4.1 below). However, a minority of scholars has questioned this view (Milgrom 1997; 2001, 2054–56; Ulfsgard 1998, 81; Weyde 2004, 73; Brett 2012, 59). Not only does Lev 23 lack any explicit statement requiring the Israelites to bring their festal donations to a single place, as D's centralizing logic requires, but it also places a new emphasis on the activities that transpire בכל מושבתיכם “in all your settlements” during select celebrations.

This chapter enters these debates surrounding the interpretation of H's calendar by offering a thorough review of Lev 23, its centralizing logic, its relationship with other calendars of the HB and with the laws of Lev 24:1–9. It argues (§ 4.1) that past scholarship on the significance of the festal calendar for the study of H and centralization has been framed too narrowly. Drawing on social science theories and historical analyses of calendars in antiquity, I argue that any analysis of H's festal calendar needs to take into account how time reckoning can be an exercise in consolidating power, and the authority of those whose interest cultic conformity serves. An analysis of the themes, structure and composition of Lev 23 then follows (§§ 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), in which I show how H devises

a fixed, immutable program of the Israelite festal year that is singular in its normativity and authority. By combining two different concepts of the Israelite year, known from other calendars in the Pentateuch (Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–23; Deut 16:1–17) and the book of Ezekiel (Ezek 45:17–25), H produces a new type of calendar—one which manifests a creative use of standardized time that moves far beyond that of other calendars in the HB.

The chapter then considers (§ 4.2.3) how this concept of centralized festal time in Lev 23 accords with, and moves beyond, P’s discourse of ritual standardization described in Chapter Two (§ 2.3). Reviewing the evidence that the pre-H form of P did not include a festal calendar, I argue that Lev 23 shows H’s creativity in developing new arguments in favor a centralized cult when compared to its Priestly predecessor. I then turn to consider (§ 4.3) how H’s distinctive interest in regulating the timing of the activities of the Israelites in the settlements; far from conceding de-centralized practices, the expression *מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם בְּכָל* reflects a concern on H’s part to centralize cultic practice across geographical distance. By assigning to the local settlements new domestic activities that can be performed without requiring a shrine, H’s festal calendar has the effect of denying the need for such local sanctuaries, and disallowing the de-centralized worship and splintering that such sites will entail.

This reading is corroborated (§ 4.4.1) by a consideration of the appendix to the festal calendar in Lev 24:1–9. When Lev 23 and 24:1–9 are considered together, the laws for regular rituals at the central wilderness shrine reveal a sophisticated attempt on H’s part to link temporal centralization with the centralization of worship to a single temple and Aaronide priesthood. This nexus between centralized time and sanctuary cult is then brought into sharper relief (§ 4.4.2) through an analysis of a fragment of one of the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts (4Q365 23); this supplements Lev 23:1–24:9 with instructions for two new festivals—the festival of wood offering and the festival of new oil—to be observed by the Israelites at a new central sanctuary—*בְּאֶרֶץ לִי* “[the te]mple which you will build for me in the land” (l. 6). As I will show, these new festivals confirm the link between shared festal time and shared obligations to the central shrine in Lev 23:1–24:9. Meanwhile, their setting at a future temple provides rare evidence of how ancient scribes interpreted Priestly texts that described the wilderness cult as setting a precedent for centralized worship in future scenarios.

Finally, this chapter explores (§ 4.5) the possible historical context within which Lev 23 might have emerged. Here the argument builds especially on the work of Sacha Stern (2001b, 2003, 2012; 2015)—a preeminent scholar not only of the Jewish calendar of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, but also of the broader history of fixed calendars in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. I argue that H’s interest in fixed time can be read as a strategy to achieve “temporal symmetry” (Zerubavel 1981, 64) across a geographically dispersed community of Israel, and in so doing to negotiate the effects of cult centralization for the diaspora. The evidence of the Elephantine correspondence is again considered (§ 4.5.1), although with a focus on different evidence to that discussed in Chapter Three. In particular, it examines the evidence of attempts made in the fifth century BCE to impose a standardized date for at least one festival—that of unleavened bread—

among the Jews living in the Egyptian diaspora (A4.1; cf. D7.6:8–10). While such evidence may not necessarily betray the direct influence of H's calendar (pace Arnold 1912, 29–30; Grelot 1955; Porten and Yardeni 1999, 125–26), it suggests that H's interest in standardized time might have formed part of a broader matrix of attempts made by socio-cultic authorities in the Persian period to assert control over when the Israelite festivals were celebrated “in all your settlements.” After exploring this possibility, a conclusion (§ 4.6) will then summarize the main findings of the chapter and their significance for this study.

4.1 Research on H's Festal Calendar and Cult Centralization

Calendars, such as that preserved in Lev 23, are recognized by social theorists, anthropologists and historians alike to serve more than a utilitarian function. They are structures that divide time into discrete, recurrent periods; but they also provide a system whereby time is organized and appropriated for socio-religious, administrative and political purposes. Calendars, then, are “social instruments” (Hannah 2005, 2) that express the rhythm of collective activities, while at the same time ensuring that these activities are performed at agreed intervals (cf. Durkheim 1995 [1912], 10–11; Zerubavel 1981, 9 and *passim*). They punctuate time with dates and events that play an integral role in shaping collective behavior and memory. As Eviatar Zerubavel puts it, calendars are like “temporal map[s]” (1981, 9; cf. Gell 1992); they structure the way groups conceive and evaluate periodical events such as feasts, ceremonies, holidays and religious rites.

Calendars can therefore function as social “centers,” in so far as they play a crucial role in the integration of society (Bataille 1985, 175; Greenfeld and Martin 1988, ix; Shils 1988). The sharing of a calendar across a community is integral to the construction and maintenance of group identity and social cohesion. Since it also reinforces a sense of difference from those who reckon the time in different ways, a calendar can express and embody the perceived bond of shared values, common history and religious identity that underpins a sense of collectivity.

However, if a calendar is to perform this integrative function, the members of a given group must acknowledge its relevance to their own reckoning of the time. Calendars are thus “eminently political: they only function in response to communal agreement” (Drucker-Brown 1999, 9). That being said, calendrical programs are rarely democratic. The control of calendars affords rulers a means of regulating economic activities, state administration, religious cults and, in some cases, the tenures of the rulers themselves. Historically, then, official calendars have been instigated and regulated by socio-political leaders, often in conjunction with religious and cultural elites. In the Western Asian world, the control over the calendar was usually a royal prerogative. The king had the power to determine the precise length of months and years, since he had the authority to ratify the rulings of astrologists on the sighting of the new moon or on other astrological events of significance

(S. Stern 2012, 2–4, 14–15). This discretion gave the royal leader considerable control over economic and state administration, as well as the precise timing of religious activities.

Biblical scholars have long recognized the socio-cultic significance of calendars in ancient Israel. In Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, his analysis of the calendars of the HB shaped his conclusions concerning the socio-religious history of ancient Israel. Comparing the different calendars in the Torah and the book of Ezekiel, Wellhausen proposed an evolutionary model in which each of the calendars of the HB reflected a different phase in Israel's religion. While the earliest calendars were determined by seasonal rhythms and agricultural processes, and permitted the Israelites to celebrate the three great feasts of the year in their local context, the centralization of the cult saw the festivals become increasingly standardized, such that they were held at only one place and on set dates. The Priestly calendars of Lev 23 and Num 28–29 were the last step in this development, whereby the festive occasions were stripped of all spontaneity and reduced to occasions on which the community had to pay set dues to the priests at the central sanctuary (Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 64–67). For Wellhausen, the watershed of this process was the festal calendar of Deut 16:1–17, which introduced for the first time the requirement that the Israelites must make a pilgrimage to a single location to celebrate the feasts, and thereby began to articulate a more controlled way of organizing the festivals.

Wellhausen's analysis had an enormous impact on the study of the calendars of ancient Israel and, since he assigned each of the calendars to a distinct source (J, E, D and P/H), on the study of the literary history of the Pentateuch itself. Yet progressively scholars have come to question the assumption that a linear development can be traced in the calendars of the HB, from spontaneous worship to rigid rites, with D as the watershed. When studying the complex history of the festal calendars, scholars have become increasingly aware that at least the non-Priestly calendars were composed in multiple and potentially overlapping stages; thus they cannot be so easily used to reconstruct specific periods in the development of ancient Israelite religion. Furthermore, Wellhausen's negative assessment of the Priestly calendars, in which Israelite religion is said to have "degenerated" from natural and authentic festal worship "into mere prescribed religious forms" (1957 [1878], 66), has been widely criticized as being inappropriate to the study of ancient Israelite religion. The fact that most scholars now consider the earliest calendar in Wellhausen's model, namely Exod 34:18–23, to be one the latest of the festal lists further highlights the deficiency in his evolutionary model (see, e.g., Bar-On [Gesundheit] 1998; 2012, 12–43 and the literature cited there).

Yet for all this, there remains an important insight in Wellhausen's analysis of the potential links between the calendar of Lev 23 and cult centralization. He noticed not only that Lev 23's concern with fixed time differentiated this calendar from the non-Priestly festal lists, especially those in Exod 23:14–17 and 34:18–23, but also that this could be linked to the Priestly conviction that there was only one centralized cult for the entire community. "Centralisation," he remarked (1957 [1878], 66), "is synonymous with generalization and fixity, and these are the external features by which the festivals of the Priestly Code are distinguished from those which preceded them." Yet as Wellhausen

saw it, H sought to fix the dates because it had inherited the concept of centralization that was established with the book of Deuteronomy. Once the cult had been limited to a single place by D, the authors of H sought to standardize the calendrical festivals to better accommodate the availability of only one site of worship for the whole community. The fixed calendrical program was thus a *by-product* of cult centralization, and the standardization of Israelite worship that this entailed. There was no sense in Wellhausen's work, or subsequent studies, that a fixed calendrical program could itself have been a means by which a centralized cult and community was established.

The idea that H “rests upon” (Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 67) D's program of centralization in its festal prescriptions has persisted in pentateuchal scholarship, even as commentators have rejected Wellhausen's developmental model for the calendars of the Torah and the sources they were assigned to. Scholars such as Elliger (1966, 304–12), Cholewiński (1976, 82–94), Otto (1994b, 240; 1999b, 153–61), Grünwaldt (1999, 76–89), Baruch Levine (2000, 407–22) and Nihan (2007a, 500–2; 2008b, 186–95) have devoted much of their analyses of Lev 23 to the task of identifying evidence that H knew and drew upon the earlier festal calendar in Deut 16:1–17 when shaping its instructions for Israel's annual rites. They find such evidence in H's command that Passover and the festival of unleavened bread be held in quick succession (Lev 23:5–8)—a directive which has a precedent in Deut 16:1–8; the command that the Israelites should count seven weeks as part of the celebration of the harvest (23:15–21), which is also found in Deut 16:9–10; and the wording of certain phrases in Lev 23, most notably the command in 23:10 that the Israelites offer the firstfruits of the barley harvest *כִּי־תבאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי נֹתֵן לָכֶם* “when you will come to the land that I am giving to you”; the last has a clear parallel in D's instructions for the offering of the firstfruits in Deut 26:1. This dependence of Lev 23 on D's phraseology and festal concepts is seen to confirm that H draws on that source when crafting the new calendar and is thus influenced by its program of centralization. While H's calendrical program departs from Deut 16:1–16 in some ways, especially in its depiction of the celebration of the firstfruits (Lev 23:9–22), it never challenges D's idea that the Israelites are to bring their sacrifices and donations to a single central location. This has been seen to confirm H's willingness to adopt and adapt D's program for centralized worship.

However, the argument that Lev 23 is informed by the assumptions about centralization that pervade D is difficult to reconcile with the silence in H about the location at which these annual festivals should be celebrated. Leviticus 23 lacks any equivalent statement to D's command that the Israelites deposit their festal offerings *בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה* “at the place that Yhwh will choose” (Deut 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16). Even the *אהל מועד* “tent of meeting” goes entirely unmentioned in Lev 23. While the Israelites are commanded in Lev 23:11 to bring the first sheaf of their harvest *אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן* “to the priest,” who shall wave it *לִפְנֵי יְהוָה* “before Yhwh” (v. 11), the setting of the priest is unspecified, both here and at v. 20 where the priest is again mentioned as *הַנִּיף* “waving” offerings of new wheat before Yhwh on the Israelites' behalf. H's silence about the sanctuary may be associated with the shift of focus in Lev 23:10–22 from the wilderness to a future setting in the land. H may consider it ill

fitting to mention the wilderness shrine when discussing such a context, since this itinerant tent shrine is never said by P to be the intended location of the cult in the land. But since neither P nor H ever describes an alternative sanctuary in the post-wilderness future, the festal calendar of Lev 23 is characterized by a peculiar ambiguity as to the location of the celebrations it mandates.

The majority of scholars argue that, this ambiguity notwithstanding, it is most likely that Lev 23 presupposes a centralized sanctuary in the land (see, e.g., Cholewiński 1976, 209; Ruwe 1999, 320–21; Nihan 2007a, 501). Since the entire Holiness legislation is headed by the law of Lev 17:3–9 requiring the Israelites to bring their sacrifices to the tent of meeting alone, it is usually considered improbable that Lev 23 would now permit de-centralized worship. Furthermore, most scholars remain guided by the classical assumption, pervasive since Wellhausen, that there was probably no need for H to explicitly command the Israelites to celebrate the festivals at a single shrine in the land because centralization was already so well established by Deuteronomy that it could simply be taken for granted.

However, there is a body of scholarship that suggests the alternative: namely, that the lack of any explicit statement in Lev 23 affirming a central shrine suggests that H presupposes a *de-centralized* cult; and that this calls for a reassessment of whether Lev 17–26 as a whole might not support a local approach to sacrificial worship. More than a century ago, Samuel Kellogg (1891, 453) made the passing comment that Lev 23 seems to assume “local gatherings for purposes of worship” during the Israelites’ annual festivals. A century later Erhard Gerstenberger in his 1996 [1994] commentary hinted that the repetitive reference to *משבתיכם* “your settlements” in Lev 23 (vv. 3, 14, 17, 21, 31) might be read as suggesting that H considered the festivals to be primarily local rites (Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 353–54). Håkan Ulfsgard went further in his 1998 analysis of the Festival of Booths, arguing that there is no positive evidence of a centralized view of Israelite worship in the festal regulations of Lev 23, and that this distinguishes H’s calendar from the festal materials of Numbers and Deuteronomy (Ulfsgard 1998, 81). However, he did not go as far as to claim that Lev 23 actively permits the Israelites to worship in multiple, regional sanctuaries.

This was the argument posed by Milgrom in his 1997 article on the instructions in Lev 23:9–22 for the offering of the firstfruits of grain, and later in his Leviticus commentary (Milgrom 2001, 2054–56). Milgrom contended that the firstfruits rites in H reflect three distinct stages of composition (H₁, H₂, H₃), at least the first two of which presuppose an abundance of local shrines. In H₁ Israelite farmers are instructed to bring their offerings to their local sanctuary whenever the grain ripens, “a day that differs from one region to another and as much as a month over the entire country” (Milgrom 1997, 84). With this regional variation, the keeping of the feasts of the firstfruits is a local affair, held at the sanctuary closest to the individual farmer. This base instruction is then supplemented by an interpolator (H₂), who seeks to introduce a further degree of regulation to the celebration of the firstfruits of the harvest. Instructions in vv. 11*, 15* and 16* turn the barley offering into a “mini-*hag*...at the local sanctuary” (1997, 86)—a rite that is always to be held on the day after the sabbath

following the beginning of the barley harvest. Finally, H₃—“the true H” (1997, 89)—gives up on the idea that Israelite farmers should be required to travel to their sanctuary, no matter how local, because of the practical difficulties this raises for farmers trying to harvest their barley. Instead, H permits the farmers to stay on the land by commanding in vv. 12–13 and 18–21* that communal offerings can be made on their behalf at “Jerusalem, the main regional sanctuary” (1997, 89). The culmination of these three stages, Milgrom concluded, is the final text of Lev 23:9–22 which preserves the traces of a purely local celebration of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest at multiple sanctuaries, but also includes a conciliatory strand allowing the cultic hub at Jerusalem to be a location at which communal offerings could be made on behalf of those farmers unable to travel to their local shrine during a busy time of the year.

Milgrom’s reading of Lev 23 was expanded by Weyde who argued (2004, 73) that further evidence for H’s presupposing “the existence of multiple sanctuaries throughout the land” could be found in the expression *חַקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכָל מִשְׁבְּחֵיכֶם* “an eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements” in v. 14 and the similar statement in v. 21 (see § 1.2.3 above). According to Weyde’s reading of vv. 9–22, these two commands retrospectively govern the entire list of festal rites in vv. 10–14 and vv. 15–21. Since these rites include not only non-sacrificial activities (such as abstaining from work) but also sacrifices offered up by *הַכֹּהֵן* “the priest” (see vv. 11–13, 18–20), sanctuaries must have been located within the local settlements, at which the Israelites were required to congregate during the offering of the first sheaf of barley and of the new wheat. Hence, according to H in Lev 23:9–22, “wherever people live in the land YHWH gave to them...they shall come together at the local sanctuary to hold a holy convocation” (Weyde 2004, 73).

Mark Brett reached a similar conclusion in 2012 about H permitting the Israelites to practice the festal rites at local sanctuaries. However, arguing that we should look at other Holiness School texts beyond Lev 23, he based this conclusion not on the occurrence of the expression *בְּכָל־מִשְׁבְּחֵיכֶם* in Lev 23 but on the regulations in Exod 12:1–20 for the celebration of Passover and Unleavened Bread. Brett built on the work of Knohl (1995, 19–21, 52) to argue that the instruction in Exod 12:20, “you shall not eat any leaven in all your settlements (*בְּכָל־מִשְׁבְּחֵיכֶם*),” reveals at least this verse to be the work of the same scribal school—the HS—which was responsible for the festal instructions of Lev 23. Since the expression in v. 20 comes at the conclusion of the Priestly prescriptions for Passover and unleavened bread, Brett concluded that the HS expected that all the rites involved in this festival, including the sacrifice of animals, were to take place in the settlements. This is something which would have been possible only if “multiple cultic sites” (Brett 2012, 59) were available to the Israelites in these local settings. He thus concluded, like Weyde, that H has no penchant for cult centralization, but is instead willing to make room for local diversity in the practice of sacrifice, and for the legitimacy of Yahwistic shrines in regional contexts.

In arguing for a de-centralized reading of H’s festal regulations Milgrom, Weyde and Brett each assume that there is a centrifugal tendency in the prescribed rites; H directs attention towards the

local context of the Israelites and permits them to observe the festal rites within that setting. Even in Milgrom's alleged third H stratum in Lev 23, the command to offer communal sacrifices at the central sanctuary of Jerusalem arises from the pragmatic concern that farmers should be able to follow the law during the busy time of harvest, not from any concern to centralize worship. This interpretation accords with Milgrom's general conviction that the laws of H, and the book of Leviticus as a whole, aim to prescribe practicable rituals (see §§ 1.2.3 and 3.1.1 above).

However, the readings offered by these three scholars, and also by Kellogg, Gerstenberger and Ulfgard before them, fail to acknowledge that at the very time H seems to be focusing on local settlements, it is also advocating a calendar in which local communities are left no discretion as to the reckoning of festal time; the festivals are fixed to specific dates of the year, which must be honored regardless of where the Israelites live. None of these scholars engage with Wellhausen's argument that H's claim in Lev 23 to present the fixed times of Yhwh for the entire community betrays its centralizing impulse: it asserts an unqualified authority for how the entire community must reckon the time, in a manner that is normative across geographical distance, and which leaves no room for local variation. This part of Wellhausen's argument, in my view, remains convincing, regardless of the relationship between Lev 23 and Deut 16. While H does indeed emphasize the activities of the cultic periphery, it arguably does so with the intention of standardizing those activities in accordance with a central authority: the festal calendar revealed to Moses at Sinai.

Thus the present study enters the scholarly debate just summarized by developing the argument that the calendar of Lev 23 is best read as a device for centralizing the cult and community. By fixing the festivals to set dates, and asserting the normativity of the calendar throughout the settlements, Lev 23 creates what we might call, adapting Zerubavel's term, "*temporal symmetry*" (1981, 64, emphasis original). If the Israelites accept the need to perform the same rites at the same prescribed times, and in accord with a standardized calendar, they are effectively integrated into a united community, in which the discretion of local communities is silenced in favor of conformity and orientation towards shared centers. Here I also follow the lead of Stern, who has explored the relationship between fixed and stabilized calendars and "the development, expansion, and increasing centralization of the great empires of late Antiquity" (S. Stern 2012, 5, 227 and passim). He has argued that fixed calendrical schemes were critical tools for consolidating socio-political power in empires as diverse as those of Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome. In each of these contexts, the calendar played a major role in imposing economic and administrative regularity across often-vast geographical distances (2012, 3). By promoting fixed calendars in which future dates could be predicted "well in advance, and could thus be circulated in good time across the Empire" (2012, 94), imperial authorities standardized the reckoning of time. This served more than just a practical function: it provided a sense of political unity and cultural cohesion across the empire and affirmed the authority of the imperial center to reckon time for all its imperial subjects (2012, 425–29). The standardization and fixation of the calendar thus contributed to the formation of a sense of unity in an

otherwise fractured and geographically dispersed imperial context, and thus to the construction of a shared sense of a temporal center within the empire.

Importantly, Stern argues that, even in contexts in which imperial power was not the driving force of calendrical reform, geographical expansion may explain why fixed and standardized calendars emerged in other contexts in antiquity. In his analysis of the ancient Jewish calendars of late antiquity to the Middle Ages, Stern notes (2001, vi) a similar trend towards the standardization of time reckoning. As rabbinic Judaism expanded to Babylon, Egypt, North Africa and southern and western Europe, a fixed calendar, which regulated the annual Jewish festal rites in accordance with an agreed method of time reckoning, proved essential to ensuring solidarity, cohesion, and unity among the various dispersed rabbinic communities (2001, 211–56).

The insights provided by Stern, together with Wellhausen's classical observation about the peculiar interest of Lev 23 in fixed time, allow us to develop new understandings of Lev 23's strategy when promoting a calendar of מועדי יהוה "fixed times" for all Israel. It suggests that the temporal standardization evident in Lev 23 is a device intended to direct the attention of the periphery towards centralized cultic authorities in ancient Israel. While the calendar never mentions the central shrine, its logic of a unified community conforming to a fixed set of festal times presumes a central source of cultic authority, the source that sets the standards. The calendar thereby operates according to a similar logic to other texts which affirm explicitly the community's need to defer to the spaces, processes and authorities of the centralized cult; and as we will see, the decision to place the laws of Lev 24:1–9 as the appendix to the calendar can be interpreted as a sophisticated discursive device which interweaves the requirement to have a single calendar with that of deferring a central shrine and priesthood, these dimensions to centralization in H being mutually reinforcing and both contributing to the cultic center.

It is also possible that, as the community of Israel spread across areas that were geographically dispersed, Lev 23 formed part of a strategy to promote a calendrical standard which provided temporal symmetry across distance. This argument rests not on the kind of data Stern uses (e.g., documents attesting to the official promotion of fixed calendrical schemes), although the Elephantine correspondence provides rare and important evidence of attempts to impose standardized dates for at least one festival in the Judean diaspora. The focus of the following sections will primarily rest on the discursive strategies that H employs when prescribing the festal events that constitute its calendar, and how it imagines these playing out across the various "settlements" in which the Israelites find themselves in the post-wilderness future.

4.2 Centralized Time in the Festal Calendar of Lev 23

Leviticus 23 consists of a series of divine speeches of Yhwh to Moses addressing important occasions within the Israelite community. It begins with the sabbath (23:3) and then proceeds to outline a "festal

calendar”—a liturgical program of ceremonies to be observed on fixed dates each year (23:4–43). This interest in time continues in the two chapters that follow Lev 23 but moves in new directions. In Lev 24:1–9, H introduces the topic of regular donations to the sanctuary, in the form of two communal offerings to be made at daily or weekly intervals. The first of these is oil for the sanctuary candelabra (24:2–4), while the second is the twelve loaves to be displayed on the golden table in the sanctuary (24:5–9). Since both oil and bread are perishable items, the Israelites and the priests must regularly replenish them if they are to be continually available at the sanctuary. Leviticus 25, for its part, addresses time and the land, commanding, first, a year of rest for the land every seventh year (שבת שבתון יהיה לארץ “it shall be a sabbath of total cessation for the land,” 25:4; see further vv. 1–7), and, then, a jubilee every seventh sabbath year (vv. 8–55). The jubilee is both a fallow year for the land (25:11) and also the time when Israelite bound servants must be freed (25:40–41) and all Israelites permitted to return to their traditional land holdings (25:10, 13). It thus forms a major regulating device in the exchange of land and persons, with the sale of property and slaves being relative to the fifty-year cycle (see further § 5.4.2 below).

This common concern with time has led the vast majority of scholars to view Lev 23–25 as a discrete organizational unit within the wider literary design of Lev 17–26.¹ They recognize that the episode of the blasphemer in Lev 24:10–23 is dissonant with this, since its narrative engages with blasphemy of the divine name, not issues of time. Yet this divergence from the general theme of chs. 23–25 strongly hints that this material did not originally form part of this section of H but was introduced to the legislation at a later stage.² Furthermore, other narratives in which Moses cannot solve a legal problem on the basis of existing laws and needs divine insight are all found within very late Priestly passages (e.g., Num 9:6–15; 15:32–36; 27:1–11; Achenbach 2003, 443–45; see, however, Chavel 2014, 261–63 and *passim*), which supports the conclusion that Lev 24:10–23 constitutes a late addition to H (Nihan 2007a, 511). In this case, the argument that time is the integrating trope of Lev 23–25 can be sustained.

¹ See, e.g., V. Wagner 1974, 314–15; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 334; Otto 1994b, 242–43; Zenger 1999, 65–70; Nihan 2007a, 98–99; Trevaskis 2009; Marx 2011, 141; Watts 2013, 18–20; Hieke 2014, 2:871–73; Stackert 2015.

² On the secondary nature of Lev 24:10–23, see e.g., Kuenen 1886, 90; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 163–64; Bertholet 1901, 84–85; Elliger 1966, 329–35; V. Wagner 1974, 314–15; Cholewiński 1976, 98–100; Sun 1990, 436–38; Grünwaldt 1999, 92–94; Otto 1999b, 75; Ruwe 1999, 56–57, 70–71; Achenbach 2003, 168–71; Nihan 2007a, 99, 512–13. Yet even if Lev 24:10–23 probably did not form part of the original H materials, the placement of the episode at this point in Leviticus is not without logic. As spied by Nihan (2007a, 99, 513), the major topic of Lev 24:10–23 is blasphemy of the divine name; “and *the divine Name is, with the sabbath, the only major sanctum outside the sanctuary and its belongings which can be desecrated by the Sons of Israel*” (2007a, 99, *emphasis original*).

Within this unit of H concerned with sacred times, Lev 23 is the only chapter to offer an annual calendrical program of festivals. Notwithstanding this distinctive focus, scholars have noted that H's festal calendar shares a large number of linguistic and conceptual parallels with the regular rites laid out in Lev 24:1–9. First, both texts concern ceremonies that take place at fixed intervals. The intervals, however, differ, with Lev 23 prescribing annual festivals, and Lev 24 detailing daily (24:2–4) and weekly rites (24:5–9; see further Grünwaldt 1999, 91; Ruwe 1999, 298; Nihan 2007a, 511).³ A second correspondence between the two texts is their shared descriptions of particular cereal offerings required of the Israelites. As will be discussed in greater detail below (§ 4.4.1), the ingredients of the display bread in Lev 24:5–9 are very similar to those of the two cereal offerings that must be brought during the celebration of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest in Lev 23:10–21 (Marx 2011, 165). A third parallel between Lev 23 and 24:1–9 is the inclusion of the refrain *חַקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם* “an eternal statute throughout your generations” in Lev 23:14, 21, 31, 41 and Lev 24:3 (see also the related expression *חַק עוֹלָם* in 24:9). This refrain occurs in H only in these verses of Lev 23 and 24, and on one other occasion in Lev 17:7. The use of this formula in the two chapters, as well as the related form *חַקַּת עוֹלָם* in 24:9, therefore creates a strong connection between the calendrical prescriptions of Lev 23 and sanctuary rites of Lev 24:1–9.⁴

These commonalities between Lev 23 and Lev 24:1–9 raise the question as to whether the prescriptions of Lev 23 should be viewed in isolation. Should we not, as Ruwe suggests (1999, 298) conclude that Lev 23:1–24:9 must be read as a single section within the larger unit of chs. 23–25? This seems unwarranted. The two chapters are headed by different speech command formulae, with the introduction at 24:1–2aβ (in which Yhwh instructs Moses to *צוּ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* “command the Israelites”) being unique within Lev 17–26. Furthermore, the compliance formula at Lev 23:44 (“Moses declared to the Israelites the fixed times of Yhwh”) signals a significant break between the festal calendar and the material of Lev 24:1–9. On balance, then, the calendar of Lev 23 should not be seen as fully integrated with Lev 24:1–9. The latter is better imagined as an “appendix” to the

³ To be sure, Lev 23:3 includes an instruction for the weekly sabbath. However, as will be discussed below (§ 4.2.1), the awkward place of the sabbath in H's calendar is a likely indicator of its secondary status within Lev 23.

⁴ It is significant, however, that Lev 24:1–9 never repeats the longer version of the formula in Lev 23, which includes the command to honor the statutes “in all your settlements” (*חַקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכָל מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם*). By avoiding any mention of the settlements in Lev 24:1–9, H may have sought to avoid the suggestion that sanctuary rites, which in 24:3 are said to take place at the *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, are to be performed in the settlements. This already suggests that the references to settlements in Lev 23 does not relate to the location of the sanctuary but rather has a different function in prescribing the Israelite festal celebrations (see further § 4.3 below).

calendar that “deals with a sub-theme of Lev 23” (Nihan 2007a, 509): namely, sacred occasions which occur at regular intervals.⁵

4.2.1 Yhwh’s Fixed Times

I begin the analysis of the festal calendar with a translation of Lev 23. A translation of the appendix at Lev 24:1–9 will follow below (§ 4.4.1). Where differences between the ancient witnesses are relevant to the discussion of the calendar I will address them in translation notes or in the main text; an extended discussion of the lengthy addition found in 4Q365 23 will follow below (§ 4.4.2).

Lev 23

1 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 2 “Speak to the Israelites and say to them, ‘[These are] the fixed times of Yhwh that you shall proclaim as such; these are my holy days, my fixed times.’ 3 Six days one may work, but on the seventh day, it is a sabbath of total cessation, a holy day. You shall not do any work; it is a sabbath to Yhwh in all your settlements. 4 These are the fixed times of Yhwh, holy days which you shall proclaim as such in their fixed time.’

5 ‘In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover to Yhwh. 6 Then on the fifteenth day of this month it shall be a festival of unleavened bread to Yhwh; seven days you shall eat unleavened bread. 7 On the first day, it shall be a holy day to you; you shall not do any ordinary work. 8 For seven days you shall present food offerings to Yhwh. On the seventh day, it shall be a holy day; you shall not do any ordinary work.’”

9 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 10 “Speak to the Israelites and say to them, ‘When you will come to the land that I am giving to you and you reap its harvest, you shall bring the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest. 11 He shall wave the sheaf before Yhwh for your favor. From the morning of the sabbath the priest shall wave it.’⁶ 12 And on the day you wave the sheaf you shall offer an unblemished lamb a year old, as a burnt offering to Yhwh. 13 And its cereal offering shall be two tenths of flour, mixed with the oil; a food offering to Yhwh, a soothing odor; the drink offering of wine shall be one fourth of a hin. 14 You shall not eat bread or roasted grain or fresh ears of grain until that very day that you have brought the offering of your god; it is an eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements.’

⁵ The use of the term “appendix” should not be taken to mean that Lev 24:1–9 constitutes a secondary addition to Lev 17–26 (pace Elliger 1966, 324–29; V. Wagner 1974, 314 n. 29; Otto 1994b, 240; 1999b, 75). See further § 4.4.1 below.

⁶ LXX reads τῆ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης ἀνοίσει αὐτὸ ὁ ἱερεὺς “on the day after the first the priest shall raise it up.” This seems to suggest that the elevation offering is to be made on the day after the first day of unleavened bread. However, a date during Passover or unleavened bread seems strange, since there is no connection between the bringing of the firstfruits of barley and these celebrations in the description of the עמר rite in vv. 10–14. The timing of this offering is instead dependent on the timing of the harvest, as v. 10 makes explicit, making it more likely that the sabbath in question is that which occurs immediately after the ripening of the grain (as argued, e.g., by Elliger 1966, 314–15; Cholewiński 1976, 194–96, 98–99; Milgrom 1997, 81–84; Grünwaldt 1999, 82; Ruwe 1999, 309–10; Weyde 2004, 81–82; Wagenaar 2005, 135–36; Nihan 2007a, 506 n. 433). The LXX’s rendering is therefore probably a secondary attempt to make sense of the ambiguous expression מִמְחַרַת הַשַּׁבָּת (Sun 1990, 367),

15 ‘You shall count for yourselves from the day after the sabbath, from the day of your bringing of the first sheaf of the elevation offering, seven sabbaths; they shall be complete. 16 You shall count until the day after the seventh week, fifty days, and you shall offer a fresh cereal offering to Yhwh. 17 From your settlements you shall bring bread to be waved, two loaves; each made of two-tenths of an ephah. They shall be of choice flour, baked [with] leaven: firstfruits for Yhwh. 18 You shall offer with the bread seven one-year-old lambs without blemish, and one young bull and two rams; they shall be a burnt offering to Yhwh, along with their cereal offerings and their drink offerings, a food offering, a soothing odor to Yhwh. 19 You shall make one male goat for a sin offering, and two male lambs a year old, for well-being sacrifices. 20 Then the priest shall wave them together over the bread of the firstfruits: it is an elevation offering before Yhwh. Together with two lambs, they shall be holy to Yhwh, for the priest. 21 And on that same day you shall make a proclamation: it shall be a holy day for you; you shall not do any ordinary work. It is an eternal statute in all your settlements throughout your generations. 22 When you reap the harvest of your land you shall not reap to the very edges of your field, or gather the gleanings of your harvest. You shall leave them for the poor and for the immigrant: I am Yhwh your god.’ ”

23 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 24 “Speak to the Israelites as follows: ‘In the seventh month, on the first of the month, it shall be for you a solemn rest, a memorial shout, a holy day. 25 You shall not do any ordinary work; you shall bring a food offering to Yhwh.’ ”

26 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 27 “Now on the tenth of this the seventh month it shall be the day of purifications. It shall be a holy day to you; you shall deny yourselves and bring food offerings to Yhwh. 28 You shall not do any work on that very day, for it is a day of purifications, to atone for you before Yhwh. 29 For any living thing that does not deny itself on that very day will be cut off from the people. 30 Any living thing that does any work on that very day, I shall destroy such a living thing from the midst of the people. 31 You shall not do any work. This is an eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements. 32 It shall be a sabbath of total cessation; and you shall deny yourselves. On the ninth day of the month in the evening, from evening to evening, you shall keep your sabbath.”

33 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 34 “Speak to the Israelites as follows: ‘On the fifteenth day of this seventh month, it shall be a festival of booths, lasting seven days, for Yhwh. 35 On the first it shall be a holy day; you shall not do any ordinary work. 36 Seven days you shall bring food offerings to Yhwh. On the eighth day, it shall be a holy day to you. You shall offer food offerings to Yhwh: it shall be an assembly. You shall not do any ordinary work.’

37 ‘These are the fixed times of Yhwh that you shall proclaim as such; holy days for presenting food offerings for Yhwh—the burnt offering and the cereal offering, sacrifice and drink offerings, each on its proper day—38 apart from the sabbaths of Yhwh, and apart from your cereal-offerings and apart from all your votive offerings and apart from all your freewill offerings that you give to Yhwh.’

39 ‘Now, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when you have gathered the harvest of the land, you shall celebrate a festival of Yhwh seven days, a solemn rest on the first day, and a solemn rest on the eighth day. 40 On the first day, you shall take the fruit of majestic trees, branches of palm and branches of leafy trees and willows of the brook, and you shall rejoice before Yhwh your god seven days. 41 < Seven days in the year you shall celebrate it as a festival for Yhwh. >⁷ This is an eternal statute throughout your generations: in the seventh month you shall celebrate it. 42 You shall live in booths seven days. All the natives in Israel shall live in booths. 43 This is in order that your generations may know that I made the Israelites dwell in booths when I took them out from the land of Egypt: I am Yhwh your god.’ ”

44 Moses declared to the Israelites the fixed times of Yhwh.

⁷ The LXX omits *בשנה ימים שבעת ימים* in what appears to have been a case of haplography caused by the presence of *בשנה ימים* at the conclusion of v. 40 (Sun 1990, 375).

Structure and Theme

The chapter opens in v. 1 with a familiar introduction, which establishes the material that follows as a divine speech to Moses. However, v. 2a α introduces a slight change from the speeches found in the two previous chapters. While in Lev 21–22 Moses is instructed to speak to Aaron (21:16–23), to Aaron and his sons (21:1–15; 22:1–16) or “to Aaron and to his sons and to all the Israelites” (22:18–23), Lev 23 contains no mention of the priesthood in its speech command formulae. Instead, Moses is commanded only to speak to בני ישראל “the Israelites” (23:2a α , 10a α , 24a α 34a α). More strikingly, *all* the speech commission formulae found in chs. 23–25, and not just those in the calendar, are directed towards the Israelite community with no mention of the Aaronide priesthood (Lev 23:2, 10, 24, 34; 24:2, 15; 25:2; cf. Lev 18:2; 19:2).⁸ This is a further indication of the character of Lev 23–25 as a unit within Lev 17–26 (Otto 1999b, 153; Hieke 2014, 2:890). It also suggests that H’s discursive intent may have been to concentrate the responsibility for observing Yhwh’s sacred times onto the community as a whole, rather than treating it as the exclusive responsibility of the priests: it is primarily the Israelites who have the obligation to recognize the authority of Yhwh’s revelation to Moses and structure their experience of time accordingly (Milgrom 2001, 1951).

Furthermore, the laws of Lev 23–25 are always addressed to the native Israelites alone, with no mention of the גר “immigrant” among the audience. This is in contrast to the laws concerning sacrifice and blood consumption in Lev 17:8–16 discussed above (cf. 22:18–25), which apply to Israelites and immigrants alike. It is also in contrast to other laws in Lev 17–26, such as those regulating sexual unions (Lev 18:26) and Molech worship (Lev 20:2–5), in which the גר is included. To be sure, Lev 23–25 do contain laws in which the גר is mentioned: Lev 23:22 commands the Israelites to leave the gleanings of the harvest לעני ולגר “for the poor and immigrant” (cf. 19:9–10); the narrative of Lev 24:10–23 addresses a case of blasphemy of the divine name by a person of mixed Israelite heritage; and Lev 25:45–55 deals with the situation in which the immigrant has amassed wealth and acquired Israelite indentured servants who require manumission during the jubilee. However, there is no sense in Lev 23–25 that the obligation to set the time in accordance with Yhwh’s revelation to Moses extends beyond the native Israelites. This would seem to confirm the importance of a shared sense of time in the construction and maintenance of group identity and social cohesion: H is here describing a specifically *Israelite* sense of time, which will reinforce their distinctive constitution as the chosen clients of their patron deity Yhwh.

⁸ That being said, not all of Yhwh’s speeches in Lev 23–25 are followed by speech command formulae. On two occasions Yhwh does not instruct Moses to convey the instructions to the Israelites: namely, when commanding the celebration of יום כפרים “the day of purifications” in 23:26–32, and when commanding that the blasphemer be stoned in 24:13–14. There is also no clear statement in Lev 24:5–9 (the instructions for the display bread) that the Israelites are the intended addressees. However, this constitutes a somewhat complex case since the introduction at vv. 1–2a α seems to introduce both sets of instructions at vv. 2a β –4 and 5–9, even though Moses seems to be the active subject of v. 5 (see further § 4.4.1).

Following the introduction in vv. 1–2aα, H proceeds to outline the program of festive times that must be honored by the Israelites. The entire list is bookended by super- and subscriptions, in vv. 2aβ/4 and vv. 37–38 respectively, in which the expression מועדי יהוה “fixed times of Yhwh” is used to characterize the calendar as a whole (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 The Expression מועדי יהוה in Lev 23:2aβ–b, 4, 37

<i>Lev 23:2aβ–b</i>	<i>Lev 23:4</i>	<i>Lev 23:37</i>
מועדי יהוה אשר־תקראו אתם מקראי קדש אלה הם מועדי	אלה מועדי יהוה מקראי קדש אשר־ תקראו אתם במועדם	אלה מועדי יהוה אשר תקראו אתם מקראי קדש להקריב אשה ליהוה עלה ומנחה זבח ונסכים דבר יום ביומו
[These are] the fixed times of Yhwh that you shall proclaim as such; these are my holy days, my fixed times.	These are the fixed times of Yhwh, holy days which you shall proclaim as such in their fixed time.	These are the fixed times of Yhwh that you shall proclaim as such; holy days for presenting food offerings for Yhwh—the burnt offering and the cereal offering, sacrifice and drink offerings, each on its proper day.

As mentioned in the discussion of the מועד “tent of meeting” in Chapter Two (see § 2.2.1), the noun מועד is derived from the verb יעד “designate” and refers to a meeting point in either time or space (Koch 1997 [1983–1984], 168; Levine 1989, 154; B. J. Schwartz 2013, 15; Hieke 2014, 2:877).⁹ According to Schwartz, such meeting-points in their temporal sense could be “encountered as one moves along the time-line—around a circle perhaps—and re-encountered each year as the time-line or time-circle repeats itself.” The מועדים would thus be similar to what we today call “dates”: that is, “points-in-time, moments of onset, met as the year progresses from month to month” (B. J. Schwartz 2013, 15).

This description of the festivals as מועדים is noteworthy because it distinguishes Lev 23 from the non-Priestly calendars of the Torah in Exod 23:14–17, 34:18–23 and Deut 16:1–17 (B. J. Schwartz 2013, 13); although the term מועד does occur very occasionally in these calendars when they refer to the time in which a given festival should be held, the feasts themselves are never said to constitute מועדים.¹⁰ It is only in Lev 23, and also in the list of festal sacrifices in Num 28–29 (see 28:2;

⁹ In the case of the meaning “fixed time,” מועד is used for divinely appointed time, such as the fall of Judah to the Babylonians (Lam 1:4, 15; 2:6–8, 22), the natural course of events, such as pregnancy (Gen 18:14), bird migration (Jer 8:7) or the ripening of fruit (Hos 2:11, 13), and also for times set by human agents, such as Pharaoh in Exod 8:5. The term can also be used to describe cultic meals, such as the Passover in Exod 13:10, or Saul’s eating of the cultic meal set before him by Samuel in 1 Sam 9:24.

¹⁰ The term מועד occurs at two points in the non-Priestly festal calendars: in Exod 23:15 the Israelites are commanded to observe the festival of unleavened bread “at the fixed time (מועד) of the month of Abib, for in it

29:39), that the annual liturgy is categorized as a list of Yhwh's מועדים.¹¹ (I will have more to say about the relationship between these two texts later; see § 4.2.3.)

The claim of the super- and subscriptions that אלה מועדי יהוה “these are the fixed times of Yhwh” also has an important rhetorical effect in establishing the authority of the laws that follow. Not only does it establish the calendar as the revelation of the deity—these are the times which Yhwh himself has singled out—but the use of the demonstrative pronoun אלה may position the festal list as supplanting any alternate, competing conception of the Israelite year. In this regard, the statement אלה מועדי יהוה might have had a similar rhetorical effect as the refrain זה התורה “this is the law,” which recurs several times in the superscriptions and subscriptions to the ritual laws of the books of Leviticus and Numbers (see above § 2.3.1). It would assert the calendar's authority over and against any alternative instruction for how the Israelites are to reckon festal time: *these*, and no other festal dates, constitute Yhwh's chosen dates for his annual festivals (cf. Watts 2007a, 59).

This claim to unique authority may also be enhanced by the choice of the expression מועדי יהוה in the super- and subscriptions of the calendar. The term מועד plays an important role in P's creation account in Gen 1, and in particular the creation of the time-telling מארת “lights.” In Gen 1:14 these lights are said by P to have been created by Yhwh for the purpose of setting מועדים “fixed times,” with Yhwh declaring “let there be lights in the expanse of the heavens for separating between the day and the night; and let them be for signs and for *fixed times* (מועדים) and for days and years.” Outside this text the noun מועד occurs very rarely in P with the meaning “fixed time,” and never in ritual contexts (see Gen 17:21; 21:1, where the term occurs in reference to Sarah's pregnancy). The use of this term in Lev 23 might therefore have been intended to hark back to this foundational statement of the P document about the deity's plans for how time is to be structured and organized within its created universe. H's decision to label the calendar of Lev 23 מועדי יהוה gives this calendar the unassailable imprimatur of an association with the order of creation. It makes the calendar appear natural and organic, since the fixed times prescribed there have been foreshadowed by the deity with the origin of “time” itself.

In addition, H's use of the expression מועדי יהוה in Lev 23:2, 4 and 36 may also have created a subtle parallel between the festal calendar and the אהל מועד. While the noun מועד occurs very rarely in P with the meaning “fixed time,” it is found with extraordinary frequency throughout the P document in describing the central shrine that was established by the deity at Sinai. The presence of the same noun in H's description of the festal calendar could be a coincidence; since the noun מועד is used in the HB to refer to both fixed times and fixed meeting places, it is possible that the overlap occurred

you came out from Egypt”; and in Deut 16:6 the Israelites are instructed to “sacrifice the Passover in the evening at sunset, the precise time (מועד) you came out from Egypt.”

¹¹ Other texts that refer to the festivals as מועדים include Num 10:10; 15:3; 28:2; 29:39; 2 Chr 8:13; Isa 1:14; Lam 1:4; 2:7, 22; Ezek 36:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:9, 11; Hos 9:5; Zeph 3:18; Zech 8:19; cf. Deut 31:10.

unintentionally. Nevertheless, the fact that the same term מועד refers both to the P wilderness shrine and to the festal times outlined in Lev 23 could suggest that H considered the fixed times of Yhwh to perform a similar function for the community in the land to that of the אהל מועד in the wilderness. While the tent of meeting provided a central place around which the entire community gathered at Sinai, the calendar provides a fixed time schedule during which all Israel must show reverence to the deity by offering up festal gifts and avoiding certain work activities.

The first of the מועדי יהוה listed in Lev 23 is the sabbath (v. 3), a day of rest from all occupations on the seventh day of each week. This time stands out from those in the rest of the list since, as mentioned above, it constitutes a weekly rather than an annual event. In the festal list proper, beginning in v. 5, the first two annual times are the פסח “Passover” (v. 5) and חג המצות “the festival of unleavened bread” (vv. 6–8), to be held on the fourteenth and the fifteenth days of the first month respectively. These are then followed by ceremonies celebrating the firstfruits of the wheat harvest (vv. 9–22): specifically the offering of the עמר “first sheaf” of barley (vv. 9–14) on the sabbath after the beginning of the harvest, and the offering of מנחה חדשה “fresh wheat” seven weeks later (vv. 15–22); the זכרון תרועה “memorial shout” (LXX μνημόστυνον σαλπύγγων “memorial of trumpets”; vv. 23–25) to be held on the first day of the seventh month; יום כפרים “the day of purification” (vv. 26–32) on the tenth day of the seventh month; and חג הסוכות “the festival of booths” (vv. 34–36, 39–43) scheduled to begin on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. All of these festivals begin with the same formula introducing a new speech of Yhwh to Moses (וידבר יהוה אל־משה לאמר) “Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows”), and thus provide the calendar with a distinctive structure (cf. Milgrom 2001, 1950–51; Nihan 2007a, 496–98; Grund 2011, 291; Hieke 2014, 2:884–85).

Figure 4.1 The Structure of Lev 23

- vv. 1–2α: Introduction—speech report and commission formulae
- v. 2α–β: First superscription
- v. 3: Sabbath
- v. 4: Second superscription
- vv. 5–8: Passover and festival of unleavened bread
- vv. 9–22: Celebration of firstfruits
 - vv. 9–14: *Offering of the first sheaf of barley*
 - vv. 15–22: *Offering of new wheat*
- vv. 23–25: Memorial shout
- vv. 26–32: Day of purifications
- vv. 33–36: Festival of booths
- vv. 37–38: Subscription
- vv. 39–43: Additional instructions for the festival of booths
- v. 44: Conclusion—compliance report

Almost all of these festive occasions must be proclaimed by the Israelites as *מקראי קדש* “holy days” (vv. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37). This phrase is again absent from the non-Priestly calendars but is found in both Lev 23 and Num 28–29. Traditionally, the expression *מקראי קדש* has been translated “holy convocation”; since *מקרא* is derived from the verb *קרא* (I) “call, proclaim” (*HALOT* 2:629, *קרא* § 1), many scholars have concluded that the festal times listed in Lev 23 are occasions on which “the community congregated at the Sanctuary, after being summoned there” (Levine 2000, 382; cf. *BDB* 896, *מקרא*; *DCH* 5:470–74, *מקרא*; Elliger 1966, 313; Wenham 1979, 301; Hartley 1992, 371; Weyde 2004, 72–73; Babcock 2014, 80; Granerød 2016, 171). Levine even suggests (2000, 381–82) that the term *קדש* in the expression *מקראי קדש* could be the noun “sanctuary” rather than the adjective “holy,” in which case the expression should be translated “sanctuary convocations.” However, there is no indication in Lev 23 that an assembly at the shrine must necessarily be called on the occasions that are designated a *מקראי קדש*.¹² Nor is this the distinctive feature of the days proclaimed as *מקראי קדש*. This is particularly clear in the case of the sabbath, which is designated a *מקראי קדש* in v. 3 but which almost certainly did not involve a mandatory congregation of the entire Israelite community at the sanctuary (Grund 2011, 292–93).

The expression *מקראי קדש* seems instead to be used in the sense of “proclaiming a special day/holiday” (Kutsch 1953, 248–49; Wagenaar 2005, 192), that is, a “sanctum...on which no labor is to be done” (B. J. Schwartz 2013, 15). Indeed, the command in vv. 2, 4, 21 and 37 to “proclaim” (*קרא* *Qal*) the *מקראי קדש* strongly supports the idea that the term *מקראי קדש* refers to the festal dates, which must be proclaimed as holy, rather than a command to convene an assembly (B. J. Schwartz 2013, 17). All of these holy days are accompanied by a command to cease either *כל־מלאכה* “all work” or *מלאכת עבודה* “ordinary work” (see vv. 3, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 35, 36; cf. Exod 12:16; Num 28:18, 25, 26; 29:1, 7, 12). It therefore seems that the expression *מקראי קדש* refers primarily to the type of day which must be proclaimed by the Israelites: namely, one which must be free from labor (Kutsch 1953, 248; D. Wright 1999, 361; B. J. Schwartz 2013, 17; Wagenaar 2005, 192; Nihan 2008b, 179 n. 9).

This does not mean, however, that Lev 23 did not consider any of the festal celebrations to involve an obligation for the Israelites to gather as an assembly at the central shrine. Rather, Lev 23 seems to employ different terms to refer to different types of festivals which, in turn, involve different obligations. The expression *מקראי קדש* does not, of necessity, require the Israelites to travel to the sanctuary on the festal occasions. By contrast, the lexeme *הג*, employed by H in referring to two of the annual festivals (unleavened bread and booths), implies a much stronger duty to travel to the shrine.

¹² This has been argued, e.g., by Kutsch 1953, 248–49; Noth 1977 [1965], 168–69; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 343; Ruwe 1999, 303; Milgrom 2001, 1957; Wagenaar 2005, 192; Nihan 2008b, 179 n. 9; Grund 2011, 292; B. J. Schwartz 2013, 17.

Scholars widely agree that *הג* is best translated “pilgrims’ feast” or “pilgrimage festival.”¹³ HB references to *הגים* occur in the context of festal rejoicing and celebration which involve the gathering of large numbers of people at a sacred site (see, e.g., Deut 16:14–15; Isa 30:29; Amos 5:21–23; 8:10). This is the sense with which it is employed in H’s calendar, as can be seen from the command, in Lev 23:36, that the Israelites convene an *עצרה* “assembly” on the eighth day of *הג הסכות* “the festival of booths.”¹⁴ This command supports the view that H envisages the Israelites meeting as a congregation, with a shared purpose, and at a single site, during the two annual *הגים*.

Hence while Lev 23 does not include an explicit command to “appear before Yhwh” (see further § 4.2.2 below) or an explicit command to visit the central shrine, the inclusion of the term *הג* in reference to unleavened bread and booths strongly suggests that H envisaged these festivals as involving a collective pilgrimage to a central sanctuary. A pilgrimage, after all, inherently involves traveling to a destination invested with sacral significance. The calendar of Lev 23 thereby presents not only a system of organizing the year according to Yhwh’s decree that certain dates be recognized as sacred times; it also implies that the Israelites must commit to traveling to a sanctuary to display their communal unity before the god at fixed intervals each year.

Such a process of pilgrimage can be framed as engaging what the anthropologist Victor Turner calls “the center out there” (1973). Turner has studied how processes of pilgrimage have an intrinsic connection to the creation of centers: in that the act of undertaking a pilgrimage consolidates the connection that the pilgrims themselves feel towards a sacred space or site and their sense of obligation to defer to it. This center is almost invariably located away from the everyday, local sphere, yet requires the attention and deference of the wider social group—deference which is manifested through the ritualized processes of traveling to it at set times each year. The presence of the term *הג* in Lev 23:6, 34, 39, 41, together with the use of the term *עצרה* in 23:26, strongly suggests that H had just such a sacred center in mind as the Israelites’ destination for their pilgrimage festivals. To be sure, H, like P, never gives away precisely *where* this center is to be located once the Israelites live in the land. Nevertheless, the command to undertake pilgrimage rites on fixed days each year ensures that the Israelites understand that convening at this unspecified central site is important to displaying their collective unity and obedience.

¹³ Cf. the Arabic terms *ḥaġġ* “pilgrimage” and *ḥiġġat* “pilgrimage”; see further *BDB* 290, § *הג*; *HALOT* 1:289–90, *הג*; Keder-Kofstein 1980 [1975–1977], 205; Haran 1978, 290.

¹⁴ The translation of *עצרה* is debated. Since the verb *עצר* has the primary meaning “to hold back, restrain” (*HALOT* 2:870, *עצר*), it has sometimes been proposed that *עצרה* is “a special technical term” for a day of rest (Noth 1977 [1965], 174; cf. Cholewiński 1976, 188 n. 35; Weyde 2004, 113–15). However, it seems much more likely that the term, as it is employed in Lev 23:26, means “assembly” (Milgrom 2001, 2029–31; Nihan 2007a, 508 n. 438). A cultic assembly is clearly implied in texts such as 2 Kgs 10:20–21; Joel 1:14; 2:16–18; Neh 8:18. The term is also used in D’s calendar at Deut 16:18 with a similar meaning.

Despite the preoccupation with fixed festal time and collective pilgrimage in Lev 23, it is curious that H fails to provide any explicit instructions as to how the Israelites were to reckon the month or individual days within it. Like other calendrical texts of the HB, it is not concerned with time reckoning as an independent exercise: it speaks of time only in relation to the dates of specific celebrations.¹⁵ In the most likely scenario in Second Temple Judaism, that of a lunar-solar time-reckoning system (Ulfgard 1998, 37–54; S. Stern 2001, 1–21), the length and timing of the months would probably have varied from year to year. Such a system reckons twelve months of between twenty-nine and thirty days each, with an intercalary lunar month added every two or three years to coordinate the lunar cycles with the longer solar year. It is therefore likely that the festivals prescribed by Lev 23 would not have fallen on precisely the same *days* each year. Yet, regardless of how the Israelites might have calculated months in any given year, H seeks to establish, as far as is possible, a standardized calendar for organizing and sequencing the festivals across the year.

Questions of Coherence in the Festal Calendar

That said, there remain some issues of coherence in the calendar of Lev 23. First, the opening instruction of the calendar in v. 3 concerns not an annual but a weekly rite: the sabbath (v. 3). Its inclusion within the calendar is surprising, given that the subscription of vv. 37–38 explicitly states that the sabbath is one of the times that are *not* included among the *מועדי יהוה*! This discrepancy arguably hints at the secondary nature of v. 3.¹⁶ The command to count the sabbath among the *מועדי יהוה* was possibly added to the chapter in an attempt to position sabbath observance as the “main commandment” („*Hauptgebot*“; Otto 1994b, 240; cf. Ruwe 1999, 303; Grund 2011, 290) of the festal calendar as a whole owing to the special significance of this sacred time. To facilitate its introduction, a second superscription was added in v. 2aβ–b in a classic case of repetitive resumption (*Wiederaufnahme*)—a device used to bracket an interpolation by repeating one or two clauses from the surrounding text into which the new material has been inserted (see esp. Levinson 1997, 20).¹⁷

The second instance of editorial reworking in the calendar seems to be the supplementary rites for the festival of booths in vv. 39–43. The first set of rites for this celebration, in vv. 33–36,

¹⁵ By contrast, texts from the third century BCE and later reveal a growing concern with time-reckoning among emerging Jewish communities, as well as major debates as to how the Israelite year should be calculated. See further VanderKam 1992, 1998; S. Stern 2012, 359–79; Ben-Dov 2014.

¹⁶ For this idea, see e.g., Graf 1866, 78; Baentsch 1893, 49–50; 1903, 413; Kilian 1963, 104; Laaf 1970, 59; Noth 1977 [1965], 166, 178; Robinson 1988, 256; Levine 1989, 154; Hartley 1992, 372; Grabbe 1993, 88; 2001, 145; Knohl 1995, 14–19; Grünwaldt 1992, 207–8; 1999, 77; Milgrom 2001, 1953; Weyde 2004, 12; Wagenaar 2005, 75–76; Nihan 2007a, 498; 2008b, 188; Hieke 2014, 2:880.

¹⁷ Note, however, that Levinson (1997, 19–20) parts with the classical reading by arguing that v. 2aβ, and not v. 4, is the original superscription. This reading is ultimately unconvincing, since the strength of the parallel between vv. 4 and 37b strongly suggests that this constitutes the original pair of super- and subscriptions.

commands the Israelites to observe an eight-day festival of booths, starting on the fifteenth of the seventh month and lasting eight days in total. The second, beginning after the superscription in vv. 37–38 and in v. 39, prescribes a *חג יהוה* to commence on the fifteenth of the seventh month and requires the Israelites to live *בסכת* “in booths” for the festival’s duration. The presence of two sets of commands for this festival suggests multiple compositional stages, with the location of the second set of instructions *after* the superscription of vv. 37–38 strongly suggesting that these verses are secondary.¹⁸ They were most likely added by a scribe who accepted the date set for this festival in v. 34 but sought to provide new details for the celebration, such as the command to dwell in the booths for seven days, as well as a new motivation for the festival that ties the celebration to the exodus from Egypt. In addition, the new instructions in vv. 39–43 clarify that it is only *כל־האזרח בישראל* “all the natives in Israel” (v. 42) who must live in booths for the eight days of the festival. This confirms the argument made above, namely that the scribes who composed and edited the festal calendar of Lev 23 were particularly concerned to emphasize the distinctly Israelite character of the annual program of festal celebrations.

A more complicated issue is raised by the description of the firstfruit ceremonies in vv. 9–22. First, the description does not follow the same standardized formula used by H in vv. 5–9 and 23–36 (Laaf 1970, 63; Grünwaldt 1999, 285; Nihan 2007a, 497). For all other festivals H follows a pattern: mandating a date in the year on which the festivals must be observed (vv. 5/6, 24, 27, 34); ascribing a specific festal name to the celebration (vv. 5/6, 24, 27, 34); and designating the day a *מקרא־קדש*. A list is then provided of the sacrifices that must be offered as part of the festivities (vv. 8, 12–13, 16–20, 25, 27, 36). The firstfruit celebrations, however, do not conform to this pattern. They are not given fixed dates or even specific festal names. Moreover, the instructions for the offering of the *עמר* in vv. 10–14 do not describe this offering as a *מקרא־קדש*; nor do they include a ban on work. Instead the instructions, both here and also for the wheat offering in vv. 15–21, focus on the offerings and accompanying sacrifices which must be offered to the deity during these celebrations.

A second major difference evident in vv. 9–22 is the manner in which the time of the firstfruit celebrations is determined. Whereas the celebrations detailed in vv. 5–9 and 23–36 all fall on fixed dates in the first or seventh month of the year, the firstfruits celebrations are set in relation to the time of the harvest (v. 10). The day on which the *עמר* is to be presented to the deity is said in v. 11 to be “the morning of the sabbath,” which most likely refers to the sabbath that directly follows the first harvest of barley (see the translation note above). The offering of fresh wheat is then to follow fifty

¹⁸ For this conclusion see, e.g., J. F. L. George 1835, 143–44; Graf 1866, 78; Noth 1977 [1965], 175; Elliger 1966, 304–6; Cholewiński 1976, 92; Hartley 1992, 372–73; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 348; Ulfgard 1998, 82–83; Grünwaldt 1999, 77–78; Körting 1999, 99–101; Milgrom 2001, 2036; 2003a, 742; Nihan 2007a, 499; 2008b, 187–88.

days later. The Israelites are to count “seven sabbaths” from the day on which they offer the first sheaf, and then present their new wheat on the day that follows the seventh sabbath (vv. 15–16).

How do we account for H’s more flexible treatment of the timing of the firstfruits? One answer may be simply pragmatic: the offering of the עמר and fresh wheat is dependent on the appearance of the new crop and the successful harvest of wheat in the weeks that follow. The timing of the harvest would have varied from year to year, and also from region to region within Israel (Milgrom 1997, 84). Nevertheless, the question remains as to why H would include in Lev 23 festive rites that seem to sit somewhat uneasily with the overall theme of the calendar of *fixed* dates, and why it would depart from the standardized formula employed in vv. 5–9 and 23–36 when describing them.

Many scholars have argued that the differences in vv. 9–22 reveal the complex literary history of the festal calendar. The trend of classical scholarship has been to consider these verses as the original core of the calendar, written at the same stage as the instructions for the festival of booths in vv. 39–43* and then later supplemented with the festal instructions that comprise vv. 1–8 and 23–38.¹⁹ However, as Nihan has noted (2007a, 500), this explanation has always faced the problem that the festivals described in vv. 9–22 and 39–43, if standing alone, constitute a very limited calendar. Furthermore, the treatment of the firstfruits in vv. 9–22 shows numerous parallels with the rest of the materials in Lev 23 (Noth 1977 [1965], 166), and also with the allegedly later P materials (Nihan 2007a, 500). In particular, the rite for the offering of the עמר in 23:10–14 shares strong links with P’s instructions in Lev 2:14–16 for the bringing of מנחת בכורים “cereal offerings of firstfruits” (Milgrom 1991, 193; Nihan 2008b, 223–25). Noting this, and still other parallels with the P legislation, those scholars who traditionally read vv. 9–22 and 39–43 as the earliest materials of Lev 23 have been forced to argue that at least the firstfruit regulations were heavily redacted by a later P editor, or that the sacrificial regulations were themselves supplementary (see, e.g., Baentsch 1893, 46–47, 49–50; Bertholet 1901, 78; Kilian 1963, 105; Kornfeld 1983, 92; Levine 1989, 159–60).

An alternative reading, first suggested by Elliger (1966, 304–12), proposes that vv. 9–22* and 39–43* are *later* additions to an earlier calendar, rather than its original core. While these additions were probably modeled on pre-existing festal instructions, it was reshaped and inserted into the calendar in Lev 23 by a later redactor (Ph⁴), who was also responsible for vv. 2aβ–3 and 39–43, as well as vv. 28–31 (cf. Cholewiński 1976, 82–94; Sun 1990, 399–401; Hartley 1992, 372–74; Körting 1999, 95–105; Wagenaar 2005, 78–90). More recently, Knohl has proposed (1987; 1995, 1–45) a similar two-stage reconstruction of the literary history of Lev 23 but has suggested that the earliest materials originally constituted a P calendar that was later reworked by HS (cf. Ulfsgard 1998, 81). In his view, the new rites added by H in vv. 2aβ–3, 9–22*, 28aβ–31* and 39–43 manifest a more

¹⁹ For this view see, e.g., J. F. L. George 1835, 120–44; Kuenen 1886, 90, 282; Paton 1899, 35–37; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 159–63; Baentsch 1903, 45–50; Bertholet 1901, 78; Morgenstern 1937, 29–31; Kilian 1963, 108–9.

agricultural and populist focus than the earlier PT materials, and thus confirm the “priestly-popular outlook” (Knohl 1995, 45) that characterizes H as a whole.

The proposal for viewing vv. 9–22* and 39–43* as later additions, however, has its own limitations. As Grünwaldt (1999, 76–89), Milgrom (2001) and Nihan (2007a, 500–2; 2008b, 186–95) have argued, it is difficult to identify any thread uniting the verses singled out by Elliger, Knohl and others as forming a late redactional layer. The features that supposedly distinguish one set of verses as a later addition are not always shared by the other texts said to belong to the same layer. For example, Elliger and Knohl argue that the absence of a fixed festal date for the celebration of the firstfruits in vv. 9–22 is a key indicator of the secondary nature of these verses. But in vv. 39–43—which contain instructions that are supposed to exhibit similar features to vv. 9–22—the festival of booths is given the fixed date of the fifteenth day of the seventh month (v. 39; cf. v. 34). Finally, it is difficult to imagine how the “original” calendar that remains once scholars have removed vv. 2aβ–3, 9–22, 28–31*, 39–43 could have constituted a complete festal program. Why would this earlier calendar have lacked prescriptions for the bringing of firstfruits, especially since this is commanded in all the other pentateuchal calendars (see Exod 23:16; 34:22; Deut 16:10, 16; cf. Num 28:26–31)?

It therefore seems that attempts to explain the awkward place of vv. 9–22 in the structure of Lev 23 by reconstructing a complex literary growth of the chapter raise more problems than they solve. There is insufficient evidence to suggest that Lev 23:4–38 contain blocks of non-H material, whether these be the later supplements identified in vv. 9–22 and 39–43 by classical scholars, or a pre-existing calendar in vv. 2aβ–3, 28–31 and 39–43 as per the model proposed by Elliger and in a modified form by Knohl. A third option has been proposed by Milgrom (2001, 2056), who argued that while “Lev 23 is totally the product of the H source,” multiple H scribes had a hand in writing the firstfruits regulations of Lev 23:9–22. As described above (§ 4.1), Milgrom proposed a three-stage evolution of these verses whereby the final redactor “converts the hitherto individual grain offerings into public sacrifices operated by Jerusalem, the main regional sanctuary” (1997, 89). The result is a final text that presents a somewhat conflicted and awkward description of the firstfruits rites. Yet such a reconstruction of the history of vv. 9–22 is ultimately unconvincing. The division between the three scribal hands is frequently asserted without justification; and those explanations which Milgrom did provide are highly subjective: for instance, the idea that the expression *ממחרת השבת* in v. 11b following the statement *יהיה לרצונכם* must be a late interpolation because “the term *liršōnēkem* in H always begins the apodosis (for example, Lev 19:5, 22:9).”

Hence, if we are to account for the uneasy place of vv. 9–22 in the calendar, we need a different kind of explanation. In his seminal commentary Noth (1977 [1965], 165–76) was the first to provide this by suggesting that in Lev 23 H was trying to combine two distinct festal traditions into a single, unified calendar. The first of these traditions, known from the non-Priestly calendars of Exod 23:14–17, 34:18–23 and Deut 16:1–17, divides the year according to three *הגים*, one of which is the offering of the firstfruits. The second tradition, known from Ezek 45:17–25, divides the year into two

equal halves, with festivals being clustered in the first and seventh months and there being no provision for the offering of firstfruits. Leviticus 23, Noth argues, was attempting to unite these two concepts of the Israelite year to form a synthesized, unified calendrical program, but with the result that the structure of the calendar becomes complex. This idea was subsequently taken up and expanded by Grünwaldt (1999, 76–89) and Nihan (2007a, 502–7; 2008b, 186–95), and in a modified form by Wagenaar (2005, 124–39). The merit of this interpretation is that it sees the awkwardness of vv. 9–22 in Lev 23 not as a dilution of H’s attempt to provide a fixed calendar of all the festal times to be observed by the Israelite community. Rather, as I will argue below, its inclusion can be read as an integral element of an ongoing process of centralizing the rituals of the Israelite community.

4.2.2 Leviticus 23 and the Standardization of the Israelite Festal Year

As part of this process of centralizing the ritual calendar—and thus producing a new authoritative synthesis—H appears to have engaged with other, non-Priestly texts. The major festive occasions described in Lev 23 share some striking similarities with the three feasts identified in the non-Priestly calendars: namely, *חג המצות* “the festival of unleavened bread”; *חג הקציר* “the festival of harvest” (Exod 23:16), which is called *חג שבועות* “the festival of weeks” in Exod 34:22 and Deut 16:10; and *חג האסוף* “the festival of the ingathering” (Exod 23:16; 34:22), which is termed *חג הסוכות* “the festival of booths” in Deut 16:13. Beyond this, as mentioned, H’s festal calendar often shows strong resemblances to the festal regulations of Deuteronomy, and directly parallels its wording at points.²⁰ These echoes are clearest in the introduction to the firstfruits in Lev 23:10: *כִּי־תבאו אל־הארץ אשר אני נתן לָכֶם וקצרתם את־קצירה והבאתם את־עמר ראשית קצירכם אל־הכהן* “when you will come to the land that I am giving to you and you reap its harvest you shall bring the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest.” While similar language concerning the entry into the land appears occasionally in Leviticus (14:34; 19:23; see further 25:2), the strongest echo is undeniably with the introduction to law of the firstfruits in Deut 26:1–3aa (Grünwaldt 1999, 287–88; Körting 1999, 107–8; Weyde 2004, 70–72). Not only does this text include a comparable reference to the entry into the land, it also contains a very similar, if more detailed, command to the Israelites to bring the firstfruits *אל־הכהן* “to the priest.”

²⁰ This has been observed in numerous studies. See, e.g., Horst 1881, 63–64; Cholewiński 1976, 179–216; Grünwaldt 1999, 287–88; Otto 2003 [1988–1989], 1–24; 1999b, 153–61; Nihan 2004a, 88–91; 2007a, 505–9; 2008b, 212–19; Weyde 2004, 70–72.

Deut 26:1–3aa

והיה כִּי־תבוא אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ נַחֲלָה וּיְרַשְׁתָּהּ וּיִשְׁבַּת בָּהּ וּלְקַחַת מִרְאֵשִׁית כָּל־פְּרֵי הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר תְּבִיא מֵאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ וְשַׂמְתָּ בְּטֶנָא וְהֵלַכְתָּ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשֹׁכֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם וּבָאת אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בַיָּמִים הַהֵם

When you come into the land that Yhwh your god has given to you as an inheritance, and you possess it and dwell in it, you shall take some of the firstfruits of all the fruit of the ground that you gather in from your land that Yhwh your god is giving to you, and you shall put them in a basket and go to the place that Yhwh your god will choose for his name to dwell there and you shall go to the priest who will be there in those days (...)

Further resonance with Deuteronomy can be found in H’s description in vv. 15–21 of a seven-week interval between the first harvest and the festal celebration. This has a clear parallel in the instructions of Deut 16:9–12, where this festival is named *הַג שִׁבְעָה* “the festival of *weeks*” owing to its association with a seven-week count (Wagenaar 2005, 136; Nihan 2007a, 505). Since Lev 23:15–21 and Deut 16:9–12 are the only two texts in the HB to refer to such a count of seven weeks during harvest time, the argument that they share a direct relationship gains considerable weight (Wagenaar 2005, 136; Nihan 2007a, 505; Ben-Dov 2012, 107).

In the case of the other two festivals, of unleavened bread and booths, there is less evidence of H’s direct dependence on the non-Priestly festal calendars, although there are still hints that H is influenced by Deut 16:1–17. Scholars frequently note that Lev 23:5–8 shares with Deut 16:1–8 the idea that the celebration of unleavened bread is connected to that of Passover, although the texts differ as to whether these are to constitute a single unified festival (D) or two, successive celebrations (H). Since the juxtaposition of Passover with the festival of unleavened bread is not found in P’s account of Passover in Exod 12:1–13, it is possible that H inherited the idea from D (Cholewiński 1976, 189–94; Grünwaldt 1992, 104–5; Nihan 2007a, 505; 2008b, 214). However, given that Ezek 45:21 also commands the Israelites to eat unleavened bread for seven days during Passover, we cannot rule out the possibility that H was influenced in writing Lev 23:5–8 by a broadly-diffused tradition that linked these two celebrations, but which has only been preserved in select texts of the HB (Choi 2010, 80–81).²¹ A final case of H’s possible dependence on D concerns the prescriptions for the festival of booths in Lev 23:33–36. The expression *הַג הַסִּכּוֹת* again hints at H’s knowledge of D’s festal list, since in the Torah it is only Deut 16:13–15 that describes the final festival of the year using this

²¹ The question of H’s dependence on Deut 16:1–8 is complicated by the evidence that the latter underwent a process of complex literary growth, and that the connection asserted there between Passover and unleavened bread may be secondary. For different theories on the literary history of Deut 16:1–8, see Merendino 1969, 125–49; Laaf 1970, 69–86; Seitz 1971, 196–98; Halbe 1975; Cholewiński 1976, 179–81; Veijola 1996, 54–55; 2004, 330–33; Gertz 1996, 66–67; Levinson 1997, 81–89; Körting 1999, 42–43; Otto 1999a, 328–29; Weyde 2004, 32–39; 2005, 58–65; Kratz 2005 [2000], 122; Altmann 2011, 192–95; Gesundheit 2012, 96–133.

expression.²² However, again we cannot rule out the possibility that this was a widely used term for this festival by the time Lev 23 was composed.

Whatever the extent of the direct verbal correspondences between Lev 23 and the non-Priestly festal calendars, clearly H shares the same basic assumption as Deut 16:1–17, and also Exod 23:14–17 and 34:18–23, that the Israelite year is to be punctuated by three major festal times consisting of unleavened bread, firstfruits and booths. The clear verbal parallel between Lev 23:10 and Deut 26:1–3aα further strengthens the idea that Lev 23 not only post-dates the D festal materials but that H drew on these materials when composing the new calendar. Yet at the same time, Lev 23 diverges from the non-Priestly conception of the Israelite year in two important respects. First, H's idea that the festivals should be assigned particular dates in the year according to ordinal numbers is an innovation vis-à-vis the non-Priestly festal traditions. In Exod 23:14–17, 34:18–23 and Deut 16:1–17 the annual feasts are timed according to major agricultural events as opposed to being given fixed dates in ordinally registered months (Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 64–67; Kellogg 1891, 448; Goudoever 1961, 3; Nihan 2007a, 509; 2008b, 213). Even the command in Exod 23:15, 34:18 and Deut 16:1 to hold unleavened bread (Passover/unleavened bread in the case of Deut 16:1–8) in חֹדֶשׁ אֲבִיב “the month of Abib” most likely refers to an agricultural event—“the time of ingathering”—rather than a month of the year, as Jan Wagenaar has convincingly demonstrated (2005, 139–41). Leviticus 23, by contrast, seeks a greater degree of conformity in the timing of the festivals from year to year. It reduces the discretion of setting festival times with reference to local agricultural cycles and asserts a more fixed schedule of the festivals which must be honored every year. For the majority of festivals, there is no explicit connection to agriculture in setting the dates of the celebrations. Rather the timing of the ceremonies is prescribed by Yhwh as binding—a provision which denies the possibility of any contestation or variation. This goes hand in hand with the use of the distinctive terminology of מועדי יהוה “fixed times” in H's calendar, which reiterates the need for the festivals to be honored at fixed, regular intervals.

Second, Lev 23 does not echo the requirement found in Exod 23:17; 34:23 and Deut 16:16 that יִרְאוּ אֶת-יְהוָה שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יִרְאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹר אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאֵדֶן יְהוָה “three times in the year all your males shall appear before the lord Yhwh.” Instead, H limits the number of חַגִּים “pilgrimage festivals” to *two*: the seven-day חַג הַמַּצוֹת לֵיהוָה “festival of unleavened bread” beginning on the fifteenth day of the first month (23:6–9); and חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת “the festival of booths” beginning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month and lasting a total of eight days. This limit is set by H's avoiding any suggestion in Lev 23 that the firstfruits celebrations constitute a חַג. While H prescribes a seven-week count as part of the celebrations of firstfruits, it does not adopt D's expression חַג שִׁבְעַת “festival of weeks” for this

²² In Exod 23:16 and 34:22 the alternative term חַג הָאֶסֶף “the festival of ingathering” is found, while P contains no reference to this festival by either term. All other occurrences of חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת in the HB are in late texts: see 2 Chr 8:13; Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:14; Zech 14:16, 18–19.

occasion. Nor does it apply the (presumably earlier) expression *הג הקציר* “festival of the harvest” found in Exod 23:16. Instead, H avoids any suggestion that the celebration of firstfruits necessitates communal pilgrimages to the deity’s residence. Such pilgrimages are instead to be limited to the first and seventh months alone.

This division of the year has an important parallel in the list of festal sacrifices in Ezek 45:18–25. In Ezek 45:18–20 the year begins with rites for the purification of the temple (*חטא Piel*) on the first and the seventh days of the month in order to atone (*כפר*) for Yhwh’s sanctuary. Then on the fourteenth day of the first month the Israelites are to celebrate a combined festival of Passover and unleavened bread lasting seven days, during which the royal figure (*נשא*) must present offerings on behalf of the community. These rites are balanced by an unnamed festival on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, during which the *נשא* “prince” must again present offerings for seven days. Wagenaar (2005, 108–39) raises the intriguing possibility that this conception of the Israelite festal year in Ezek 45:18–25 reflects the influence of Babylonian New Year rites (namely the *akītu*-festivals). These took place twice a year exactly six months apart: once in the month of Nisan, the first month, and the other in Tashritu, the seventh month (van der Toorn 1991, 332; Cohen 1993, 437; Wagenaar 2005, 108–39).²³ The purification of the temple also played a major part in the festivities, as too did the royal leader (Cohen 1993, 437–46; Wagenaar 2005, 108–39).

Regardless of its origins, the conception of the year found in Ezek 45:18–25 shares a number of striking parallels with Lev 23. First, both calendars attest to the idea that the Israelites must observe only two *הגים* per year, in the first and seventh months. Second, both presume the same date for the Passover (the fourteenth day of the first month) and also the same date for the second and final *הג* of the year (the fifteenth day of the seventh month). Third, they share the notion that Passover and unleavened bread must be held together, although they disagree on whether they constitute a single festival (Ezek 45:21) or two distinct celebrations (Lev 23:5–8). Finally, both calendars prescribe purification ceremonies with the purpose of achieving *כפר* “atonement”; in Ezek 45:18–20 the purification of the temple is explicitly commanded, while the prescriptions for *יום הכפרים* in Lev 23:26–32 seem to presuppose the purification rites outlined in Lev 16.

There are, however, two major differences between the two calendars. The first concerns the place of the royal leader in the celebration of the annual festivals. While Ezek 45:18–20 clearly reserves a role for the prince in the presentation of the festal sacrifices (see further § 2.3.2 above), Lev 23 speaks only of *הכהן* “the priest” as receiving the Israelites’ donations and presenting them to the

²³ For an edition of the texts from first millennium Uruk attesting to the *akītu*-festivals (namely AO. 6459, 6465; 6461; VAT. 7849), see Thureau-Dangin 1921, 86–111. Less is known about the *akītu*-festival of the seventh month than that which was held in the first month of the year. The ceremony in the seventh month is nonetheless attested in a letter to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon dating to 670 BCE (Parpola 1983, 186–87; van der Toorn 1991, 332 n. 4; Wagenaar 2005, 119).

deity. Indeed, the presence of the אֱלֹהִים in Ezekiel's calendar distinguishes this festal program from all those which are found in the Pentateuch, since none of these calendars describe a royal functionary administering the festal rites. I will return to explore the significance of this difference in understanding the type of calendrical authority which is established in a calendar like Lev 23 below.

A second major difference resides in their treatment of the firstfruits celebrations. Ezekiel 45:18–25 fails to mention this celebration. In fact, its calendar is devoid of agricultural connection, making no mention of the time of ingathering (תְּשׁוּבָה; cf. Exod 23:16; 34:22; Lev 23:39; Deut 16:13) or any other seasonal event.²⁴ Lev 23, on the other hand, retains the offering of firstfruits as an intrinsic part of the Israelite festal year. While the firstfruits of the harvest are no longer a pilgrimage festival, the Israelites are nonetheless required to recognize this time as one among Yhwh's fixed times of the year and celebrate it accordingly.

In order to accommodate the firstfruits within its semi-annual structuring of the year, H fashions a new, two-part celebration which can apparently be made without convening a מִלְּחָמָה. As spied by Ruwe (1999, 308) and Milgrom (2001, 1992), the number of animal sacrifices specified by vv. 18–19 strongly suggests that H imagines the offerings of firstfruits to be made by communal representatives, rather than individual families. The sheer quantity of the required sacrifices implies this: two loaves made of choice flour and baked with leaven (v. 17), seven one-year-old lambs without blemish, one young bull and two rams as a burnt offering, cereal offerings, drink offerings, a purification offering, and two male lambs for well-being sacrifices (vv. 18–19). These are surely beyond the capacity of a single family to provide. Yet if individual family units are not to be obliged to travel to the sanctuary to personally present the prescribed offerings, they are nonetheless required to ensure that offerings are brought on their behalf, presumably by select representatives, at the appropriate time. Thus, the firstfruits remain a part of H's calendar, as per the festal tradition reflected in the non-Priestly calendars, but without requiring that a third pilgrimage festival be held each year. The Israelites are required only to travel to the sanctuary in the first and seventh months of the year, as per the calendrical tradition preserved in Ezek 45:18–25.

It is possible that H's compromise solution had practical benefits for Israelite farmers. As Milgrom suggests (1997, 87), it might have ensured that farmers were not required to interrupt the busiest time of the agricultural year by undertaking a trip to the sanctuary. They could have instead

²⁴ The expression חַג שְׁבֻעֹת יָמִים does occur in Ezek 45:21 MT: בְּרֵאשׁוֹן בָּאֲרֵבָעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַפֶּסַח חַג שְׁבֻעֹת יָמִים. However, the reference to a festival of weeks at this point of the calendar clearly interrupts the regulations for the Passover and the accompanying stipulation to eat unleavened bread. The LXX reads ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄζυμα ἔδεσθε, which may suggest that the Hebrew originally read מצות יאכל "seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten." The reading שְׁבֻעֹת יָמִים could possibly have been added by a scribe who considered it problematic that the firstfruits went entirely unmentioned in Ezek 45:18–25 and sought to fill this lacuna (Gese 1957, 75 n. 3; Kutsch 1958, 18 n. 3; Laaf 1970, 101; Zimmerli 1983 [1979], 1158–59; Wagenaar 2004, 256 n. 27).

remained at home, secure in the knowledge that communal offerings were being made on their behalf at the sanctuary. If they wished to make voluntary offerings of the firstfruits at other times of the year, they were free to do so. Indeed, instructions for such offerings are already present in the earlier P instructions of Lev 2:14–16, which outline the procedure by which individual Israelites (the “you” [sg.] of vv. 4–5aα) are to bring מנחת בכורים “cereal offerings of firstfruits.” But as far as H is concerned, there is no obligation on the Israelites to undertake a communal pilgrimage to the sanctuary during the wheat harvest.

The calendar of Lev 23 thus appears to be a combination of two, originally distinct types of calendars: one in which the Israelites must celebrate three festivals each year, including a celebration of the firstfruits; the other in which the year is divided into two equal parts, introduced by festivals in the first and seventh months. H bridges these different traditions to form a new, integrated program of reckoning the festal year. Reading the calendar in this light, there is no need to assume that vv. 9–22 were written in a different stage to the rest of the calendar. The somewhat awkward place of these laws in H’s calendar rather points to the difficulties that came from an attempt to integrate this feast into a semi-annual calendrical tradition that did not include a harvest festival. With the exception of the interpolations of vv. 2aβ–3 and 39–43, Lev 23 can be read as a unified composition that was intended to combine different conceptions of the Israelite festal year into a single, standardized scheme.

Standardization and Centralization in H’s Festal Calendar

H’s attempt in Lev 23 to fuse two types of calendars has been noted before (Noth 1977 [1965], 165–76; Grünwaldt 1999, 76–89; Wagenaar 2005, 124–39; Nihan 2008b, 186–95). However, the question as to how this feature of the calendar shapes our understanding of H and centralization has thus far been given little scholarly attention. The sophisticated manner in which Lev 23 combines various calendars to form a new synthesis suggests that it is too limiting to assume that, so far as the centralization of the festivals is concerned, D provides the determinative logic for H’s calendar. It cannot be denied that Lev 23 does betray knowledge of D’s calendar of Deut 16; and indeed the engagement with D in this chapter of H is arguably stronger than that which was observed in the analysis of Lev 17 above. However, the key statements in Deut 16:1–17 that explicitly command the centralization of the festivals, especially the references to Yhwh’s chosen מקום in the land, seem to have been avoided by H in the wording of Lev 23. This affirms the theory developed so far that H develops its own distinctive argument for centralization, rather than inheriting that of D.

Integral to H’s centralizing impulse in Lev 23 is a distinctive focus on the standardization of time. By unifying a variety of early calendrical traditions, Lev 23 seems designed to produce a calendar that is singular in its normativity and authority. The very process of accommodating different calendrical traditions infuses Lev 23 with a heightened sense of legitimacy—a kind of “hyper-agency”—since H’s calendar appears as the culmination of *all* the earlier Israelite festal programs. Its

standardized calendar effectively renders all other festal programs unnecessary. “*These* are the fixed times of Yhwh,” declares the deity (23:4, 37), implying that “this, and not anything else, is the authoritative regulation” for the Israelite festal year. The refrain “Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows” that is repeated throughout the calendar (vv. 1, 5, 9, 23, 26, 33) also ensures that the readers’ and hearers’ attention is continuously brought back to the divine authority that sanctions Lev 23, and thus reinforces the calendar’s claim to present the deity’s authorized program for the Israelite year.

Having combined and supplanted the previous calendars, H calls on the entire community to defer to *one* calendar—that of Lev 23—if they are to offer the deity the unified festal worship it requires. The possibility of their negotiating the dates on which they hold their festivals is excluded. The timing of all the festal occasions of the Israelite year are now set in accordance with a centralized authority—the calendar of Lev 23—with little room for variability according to local agricultural cycles. Even the timing of the firstfruits celebrations is standardized as far as this is possible given its nature as a harvest celebration, with H using the weekly sabbath to regulate the start date of the festivities (Ben-Dov 2012, 107). *All* of Yhwh’s festal occasions are to be considered מועדי יהוה “fixed times,” and thus unable to be moved in accordance with local needs or customs.

In many ways, then, this reading affirms Wellhausen’s insight that Lev 23’s penchant for fixity betrays its centralizing assumptions. Yet contrary to Wellhausen, there is no indication that Lev 23 is teasing out the “yet unsuspected consequences” (1957 [1878], 67) of Deuteronomy’s program of centralization when it promotes its festal calendar. Leviticus 23 has a different discursive character, which is focused primarily on the use of ritual standardization as a means of centralization. In this, Lev 23 shows considerable resonance with the ritual instructions of the earlier P materials. Just as standardized ritual practice is essential to the centralizing logic of Lev 1–16 (see § 2.3.1), so is temporal standardization used to a similar effect in Lev 23: that is, it obliges Israelites to acknowledge that Yhwh has an aversion to diversity and divergence in cultic practice and instead demands conformity to a central ritual standard. The standardized calendar of Lev 23 therefore continues to integrate the Israelites within a cultic system in which local cults, with all the variation and divergence which they entail, are eschewed in favor of centrally-mediated norms and cultic practice.

When viewed from this perspective, H’s decision to address the community as a whole when fixing its festal calendar (Lev 23:2aα, 10aα, 24aα 34aα) takes on new significance. It suggests that H is again employing a similar strategy to that of P (see § 2.3.1) whereby it incorporates the whole community into a shared responsibility for cultic conformity; it thereby not only solicits communal consent to standardized ritual programs but also funnels the community’s attention and resources towards the authorities that stand behind these programs. In the case of Lev 23, the authority towards which the Israelites must defer, gathering there at set times each year and directing their resources in the form of donations, seems almost certainly to be the central shrine, so strongly affirmed in the opening laws of Lev 17. The command that the Israelites commit to undertaking annual pilgrimages (עצרה), where they might display their communal unity to Yhwh by gathering as an assembly (הגגים),

on at least one day per year, hints at the community's rallying around a single sanctuary. Yet even if the need to gather at a single shrine is left unsaid in Lev 23, the standardizing impulse of the calendar arguably works in concert with the call to have a single location of festal worship, since it normalizes the idea that the Israelites will not all have their own de-centralized festal celebrations, performed in their own timing and the place of their choosing. To the contrary, H imagines in Lev 23 a thoroughly centralized cult, directed by one calendar of fixed festal dates, and oriented towards a single sanctuary, shared by all Israel.

4.2.3 Supplementing P

This centralizing logic of Lev 23, as we have just seen, shares with the earlier Priestly materials a concern with the standardization of ritual processes. However, we should not assume from this similarity that H is merely teasing out the consequences of P's legislation, any more than it is addressing the "unsuspected consequences" of D. H introduces a major innovation in Lev 23 when compared with the earlier Priestly material. It offers the first Priestly festal calendar in the Torah, in which Yhwh outlines the celebrations which are to punctuate the year. In so doing, H moves in a direction which has little precedent in the pre-H form of P, in that it takes a much stronger focus on the need for standardization in the *timing* of the Israelites' visits to Yhwh's sacred center to present him with offerings than is present in the earlier P ritual instructions.

The contention that the pre-H form of P does not include a calendar, it must be said, is not undisputed. Scholars continue to debate the place of Num 28–29 within the Priestly materials, and whether these chapters which outline the annual festal donations might have been included in the P materials which was known to H. There are clear verbal parallels between Lev 23 and Num 28–29: both refer to the festal occasions as מועדי יהוה (Lev 23:2, 4, 37, 44; Num 28:2; 29:39) and also as מקראי קדש (Lev 23:2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37; Num 28:18, 25–26; 29:1, 7, 12); the two lists share the same pattern of festivals, as well as many of the same dates for the festive occasions (for example, the three celebrations dated to the first, tenth and fifteenth of the seventh month); and certain laws (such as the regulations for Passover and unleavened bread in Lev 23:5–8 and Num 28:16–25) are formulated in near-identical ways in both calendars. The major difference between the two lists is that Num 28–29 provides much more detailed instructions for the various offerings and sacrifices which must be made during the festivals, and also includes regular offerings among the מועדים (28:3–15).

Among classical scholars there was widespread agreement that Num 28–29 represented the later of the two texts (see, e.g., Graf 1866, 91; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 161; Gray 1903, 403; Baentsch 1903, 640–41). These two chapters of Numbers were seen to supplement H's calendar with more specific details about the offerings to be made during the festal celebrations. This interpretation not only explained why longer sacrificial prescriptions are found in Num 28–29 as opposed to those contained in Lev 23; it also accorded with the assumed compositional history of the Priestly traditions

of the Pentateuch prevalent at the time: since H was considered a pre-P composition, it could be safely assumed that the calendar of Num 28–29 was written in full knowledge of the earlier H instructions in Lev 23.

Now that scholars have all but universally reversed the direction of dependence between H and P, the place of Num 28–29 among the Priestly traditions has become a matter of renewed debate. Most commentators maintain the classical reading that Num 28–29 is a late attempt to fashion a more complete set of instructions for the festal sacrifices. They now simply assign that attempt to a late phase in the composition of the Priestly traditions that post-dates the composition of the original P document as well as the H materials of Lev 23 (e.g., Achenbach 2003, 602–4; Wagenaar 2005, 146–55; Nihan 2008b, 195–212; Hieke 2014, 2:887). In this case, Num 28–29 was most likely intended to fill a lacuna in the Priestly traditions (including both P and H) concerning the precise nature of the sacrifices that were to be made during the annual festivals. This reading, however, has been challenged by Knohl (1987; 1995, 8–45), Milgrom (2001, 1950–2053) and Weyde (2004, 27–29, 79–84) who argue that Num 28–29 was part of the P document known to the authors of Lev 23. According to their reading, Lev 23 is a complement to P’s earlier calendar that was intended by H to unify and consolidate P’s festal instructions of Num 28–29. In fashioning the new calendar of Lev 23, H omitted the details of the various sacrifices to be made during the festivals because these were already specified in the earlier calendar of Num 28–29.

However, the idea that Num 28–29 predates H raises more problems than it solves. As has been argued in detail by Grünwaldt (1999, 297), Achenbach (2003, 602–4), Wagenaar (2005, 146–55) and Nihan (2008b, 195–212) it is difficult to explain why, if H had known and relied on Num 28–29, Lev 23 would have omitted the details for the daily burnt offering and the new moon found in Num 28:3–15. It is also unclear, if H presupposes the festal sacrifices detailed in Numbers, why the summary in Lev 23:37b of the offerings to be presented during the festivals says nothing of the הטאת of one goat that is repeatedly mentioned in Num 28–29.²⁵

Furthermore, there are numerous problems with attempting to extract from Num 28–29 a version of the calendar which evinces no knowledge of Lev 23. For instance, Num 28:26 commands the Israelites to bring a מנחה חדשה “*new cereal offering*”—an instruction which makes little sense in this context given that Num 28 contains no earlier command to bring a cereal offering. To explain why P would have employed the expression מנחה חדשה, Knohl suggests that P envisaged that individual Israelites would bring private cereal offerings *before* bringing the communal gift of new wheat to the deity. However, this is entirely speculative since such a command was never made explicit in the text of Num 28 (as conceded by Knohl 1995, 24; cf. Milgrom 2001, 1992–93). A more logical explanation is that the author of Num 28:26 spoke of a new cereal offering because this is the formulation used in Lev 23:16 when describing the offering that is to be made seven sabbaths after

²⁵ The הטאת of one goat is commanded in Num 28:15, 22, 30; 29:5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38.

the appearance of the first sheaf (Wagenaar 2005, 146–47). This and yet other examples (Grünwaldt 1999, 297; Achenbach 2003, 602–4; Wagenaar 2005, 146–55; Nihan 2008b, 195–212) strongly suggest that Num 28–29 comprises a post-priestly list of festal sacrifices that was intended to build on and complement the earlier calendar of Lev 23.

Leviticus 23 can therefore be rightly understood as the first Priestly text of the Pentateuch to provide a calendrical program of festal dates to be honored by the Israelite community. Yet while it articulates this new formulation of an annual calendar, it continues to look to earlier P texts when relevant, referencing them in its creation of a new synthesis. The most striking illustration of this can be found in H's description of the Passover in Lev 23:5. In this verse H dates the Passover to the fourteenth day of the first month בין הערבים “at twilight.” This date is not presupposed in Deut 16:1–8, which instead command that the feast be held in חדש האביב “the month of Abib” (Deut 16:1). It is, however, prescribed by P in Exod 12:6 in its account of the first Passover in Egypt (Exod 12:1–13). In adopting this date, H references the only P instruction for an annual feast and ensures that this stands at the head of its own festal program, investing it with the authority of the earlier tradition. It is also possible that we can attribute the brevity of the description of the Passover in Lev 23—this important feast gets the shortest treatment of any of the festivals, being described in only one short verse, Lev 23:5—to H's acceptance of the earlier P instructions for this celebration as normative (Milgrom 2001, 1971). Presumably H presupposes that its audience would have been familiar with the detailed descriptions of the rites of the Passover in Exod 12:1–13 and so feels no need to repeat them.

One difficulty with this reading, however, is that the description of the rites for the Passover in P leaves some ambiguity surrounding the permissibility of domestic slaughter: in that the Passover lamb is slaughtered in individual homes with no command concerning future celebrations at a central shrine (see further § 2.1 above). This ambiguity in P surrounding the slaughter of the Passover lamb sits in stark contrast to the law of Lev 17:3–7, which mandates that all domestic quadrupeds, including lambs (17:3a), be slaughtered at the central sanctuary exclusively. If H has such a commitment to prohibiting local butchery, why then does it not provide in Lev 23:5 an explicit correction to P's Passover narrative, and thereby eliminate any ambiguity as to where the Passover lamb must be slaughtered? This question is difficult to answer definitively. One possibility is that H did indeed find a way to challenge the domesticity of P, not by explicitly correcting it, but by adjoining a new festival to the annual celebration of Passover. Leviticus 23:6–8 introduce an entirely new command that has no counterpart in Exod 12:1–13, but which is attested in a modified form in Deut 16:1–8 and Ezek 45:21–24: the Israelites must celebrate a seven-day חג commencing the very morning after the Passover has finished (Lev 23:6–8).²⁶ It is unclear how the Israelites will manage to eat the Passover in households the night before traveling to the sanctuary in time to start the festival of unleavened bread on the fifteenth; so perhaps Lev 23:5–8 in this way offers a subtle challenge to P's

²⁶ On Exod 12:14–20, which mention the festival of unleavened bread, see § 4.3.2 below.

prescriptions for a domestic Passover (Cholewiński 1976, 189–91). H pairs the Passover and unleavened bread with the aim of positioning the Passover meal as the introduction to a seven-day collective rite. In addition, H now incorporates this feast into a yearlong program of systematized, calendrical festivals to be observed as a unified collective, and as argued above at a central shrine. H therefore places the communal nature of the feast front and center, while remaining silent on the role of the meal within the home.

In a similar manner H incorporates P's instructions in Lev 2:14–16 for the offering of firstfruits into its calendrical prescriptions for the communal celebration of the wheat harvest. The instructions for the offering of the first sheaf in Lev 23:10–14 strongly resemble the instructions in Lev 2:14–16 for the bringing of individual offerings of fresh ears of grain (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Comparing Lev 2:14–16 and Lev 23:10aβ–b, 13–14a

<i>Lev 2:14–16</i>	<i>Lev 23:10aβ–b, 13–14a</i>
<p>14 ואם־תקריב מנחת בכורים ליהוה אביב קלוי באש גרש כרמל תקריב את מנחת בכוריך 15 ונתת עליה שמן ושמת עליה לבנה מנחה הוא 16 והקטיר הכהן את־אזכרתה מגרשה ומשמנה על כל־לבנתה אשה ליהוה</p> <p>14 If you bring a cereal offering of firstfruits to Yhwh, you shall bring fresh ears, parched with fire, crushed fresh grain as a cereal offering of your first fruits. 15 You shall add oil to it and lay frankincense on it: a cereal offering. 16 And the priest shall turn its memorial portion into smoke: some of its grain and its oil along with all its frankincense, as a food gift to Yhwh.</p>	<p>10 (...) כִּי־תבאו אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי נֹתֵן לָכֶם וּקְצַרְתֶּם אֹתָהּ קְצִירָהּ וְהִבַּאתֶם אֶת־עֲמֹר רֵאשִׁית קְצִירְכֶם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן (...) 13 וּמִנְחָתוֹ שְׁנֵי עֲשָׂרִים סֹלֶת בְּלוּלָה בְּשֶׁמֶן אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה רֵיחַ נִיחַח וְנִסְכָּה יַיִן רְבִיעִת הֵהִין 14 וְלֶחֶם וּקְלִי וְכַרְמֶל לֹא תֹאכְלוּ עַד־עֲצֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַד הִבִּיאֲכֶם אֶת־קֶרְבֶּן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם</p> <p>10 (...) When you will come to the land that I am giving to you and you reap its harvest, you shall bring the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest (...) 13 And its cereal offering shall be two tenths of flour, mixed with the oil; a food offering to Yhwh, a soothing odor; the drink offering of wine shall be one fourth of a hin. 14 You shall not eat bread or roasted grain or fresh ears of grain until that very day that you have brought the offering of your god.</p>

These correspondences include the occurrence of the term כרמל “fresh ears of grain” and the reference to “parched” (קלה *Qal* passive participle) cereal;²⁷ and the expression אשה ליהוה ריח ניחח “a food gift to Yhwh, a soothing odor”²⁸ which occurs both in Lev 2:2:2, 9 and in Lev 23:13 and 18. As noted by

²⁷ This term occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch besides these two texts. Outside Lev 2 and 23 it is found only once more in the entire HB: namely in 2 Kgs 4:42 in describing the gift of firstfruits of the man from Baal-shalishah, which is used by Elisha to feed one hundred men.

²⁸ The meaning of the term אשה is disputed. Traditionally, אשה was thought to be derived from אש “fire” and was therefore rendered “fire offering.” However, few scholars today consider this to be the primary etymology of אשה: the term is used in the HB to describe offerings that do not come into contact with fire, such as the loaves and frankincense displayed on the sanctuary table in Lev 24:7, 9, or the נסך “drink offering” of wine listed in Num 15:10 (Gray 1925, 9; Milgrom 1991, 161; Nihan 2007a, 151–52 n. 208). The majority of scholars now link

Nihan (2008b, 223), all other occurrences of *אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה* in Lev 23 (see vv. 8, 25, 27, 36) omit the additional expression *רִיחַ נִיחָה*. Its presence in Lev 23:13 and 18 thus seems to confirm that H was building on the earlier P legislation of Lev 2 when composing the rites of the firstfruits.²⁹ Milgrom also argues (2001, 1985) that H's dependence on Lev 2:14–16 can be detected not only in the similar phraseology of the two texts but also in the absence of any description in Lev 23:10–14 of the ritual for the presentation of the firstfruits of the barley. This, he suggests, is indicative of H's knowledge of the earlier instructions for this rite in Lev 2:14–16, “another indication that H takes P's texts for granted and, therefore must be chronologically later” (Milgrom 2001, 1985).

Yet for all these correspondences, H's instructions for the offering of firstfruits move in a new discursive direction when compared to the earlier P instructions of Lev 2. First, while the latter imagines individual farmers making their voluntary offering of firstfruits whenever they please, H prescribes a “*communal* event taking place at a specific date in the year—namely, the day after the first sabbath following the beginning of the barley harvest” (Nihan 2008b, 225). Second, this collective ritual performance by the entire community must be performed *at the same time* and *on the fixed days* that Yhwh has prescribed for them. Thus the instructions for the celebrations of firstfruits—indeed, the festal calendar as a whole—can be read as introducing to the Priestly traditions a new emphasis on temporal symmetry. The Israelites must undertake the same rites, in accordance with a shared ritual standard, at the same time—to worship “in sync” (Zerubavel 1981, 65) in accordance with a shared festal calendar. Although a concern for temporal symmetry was present in P to some extent, notably in the provision of a date for the Passover in Exod 12:1–13, H's calendar takes this to a new level by punctuating the *entire year* with occasions on which the Israelites must offer collective homage to the deity. The calendar enables them to conceive the year as being

אִשָּׁה to the Ugaritic term *'itt* “gift” (Hoftijzer 1967, 133), and therefore propose the translation “(food) gift” (see, e.g., Rendtorff 1985, 63–65; Milgrom 1991, 162; Gane 2005, 8 n. 22). However, it remains nonetheless possible that in the cases when *אִשָּׁה* denotes offerings that were burnt upon the altar, the term retained a close connection with *אֵשׁ* (Gray 1925, 12). In the case of Lev 23:8, for example, the Greek translator renders the term *אִשָּׁה* with *όλοκαυτώματα* “burnt offerings,” while in the context of the display bread the translator uses the participle of the more general verb *θυσιάζω* (Eberhart 2002, 43–47; Nihan 2007a, 151–52 n. 208).

²⁹ This does not mean that H felt unable to introduce prescriptions that revised certain elements of the earlier P instruction for firstfruits. In particular, the command in Lev 23:17 to bring two loaves of leavened bread in celebration of the new wheat contravenes the ban in Lev 2:11 on offering leaven on Yhwh's altar (pace Milgrom 2001, 1985). In this verse P explicitly states *כִּלְהִמְנַחֵה אֲשֶׁר תִּקְרִיבוּ לַיהוָה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה חֶמֶץ כִּי כִלְי־שֶׂאֵר וּכְלִי־דֶבֶשׁ לֹא־תִקְטִירוּ* “any cereal offering that you shall present to Yhwh must not be prepared with leaven; and no leaven or any honey shall be made to go up in smoke as a food offering for Yhwh.” Such a blatant disagreement on the permissibility of leavened offerings with the *מִנְחָה* is compelling evidence that the laws of the firstfruits in Lev 23 were written in a subsequent stage to those of Lev 2, and most likely sought to revise certain aspects of them (Nihan 2008b, 224).

structured by the same cultically significant collective events, which in turn enables them to worship the deity in the unified way that it requires.

As part of this innovation of Lev 23, when compared to P, H introduces to the Priestly traditions the notion of collective pilgrimages. It is striking that the earlier P materials never employ the term π (Nihan 2008b, 226). Leviticus 23 is the first time it occurs in the Priestly traditions, where it is now used to provide a new structure for the year in which the Israelites must undertake pilgrimages in the first and seventh month respectively. By introducing the term π to the Priestly traditions, H extends P's concept of standardized ritual practice so as to further funnel to attention towards the central shrine. As argued above (§ 4.2.1), the π require that the Israelites (or at least its male members; Exod 23:17, 34:23, and Deut 16:16 restrict the obligation to undertake the annual pilgrimages to males alone) ritually enact their communal unity by assembling on specific days of the year at a shared shrine in order to present Yhwh his required festal donations. The introduction of the idea of annual pilgrimage to the Priestly traditions thus provides an important mechanism of amplifying the centrality of the shrine. It allocates at least two periods in the year when the Israelites must engage with the sacred center and display their loyalty to the god in the form of offerings. Such an innovation therefore not only ensures that the Israelites will travel to the central shrine; it also provides greater clarity about the frequency and predictability of the Israelites' donations towards it.

The festal calendar of Lev 23 therefore attests to H's innovation in supplementing P, as well as the other calendrical traditions discussed above, in offering a more expansive discourse of centralization. The calendar continues P's interest in the nexus between ritual standardization and the centralization of the cult and community, and in this way moves beyond the model of centralization provided by Deut 16:1–17. However, Lev 23 also extends the discourse of centralization in the Priestly traditions by introducing a much stronger focus on how temporal symmetry is integral to the centralized worship that Yhwh requires. By directing the Israelites to acknowledge only one, standardized festal program, and calling on them to commit to pilgrimaging to the shrine twice per year, the festal calendar of Lev 23 adds a new dimension to the Israelites' deference towards the sacred center. In sum, the Israelites have been given by H a common way of conceiving the sacred events of the year, which in turn eliminates the possibility that they would conduct their festal worship in accordance with local, de-centralized norms and customs.

4.3 A Shared Calendar in “All Your Settlements”

Integral to this discourse of centralized time is H's claim that the calendar must be honored and adhered to בכל משבתיכם “in all your settlements”: that is, H's assertion of the normativity of this calendar for all Israelites regardless of where they live. At first glance this claim may seem difficult to reconcile with a logic of centralization. Does not the mention of settlements suggest, as Weyde and

Brett have argued, that H is permitting a *local* approach to festal worship? To argue the contrary—that H’s reference to settlements is integral to its discursive strategy of centralization—requires, first, that I provide an alternative reading of the references to the מושבת in Lev 23, one that demonstrates that the term does not signal the presence of multiple sanctuaries in ancient Israel.

4.3.1 References to the Settlements in Lev 23

The interest in settlements is a distinctive feature of H’s calendar. No other festal list of the HB includes the term מושב within its prescriptions. The reference to the settlements also differentiates the calendar of Lev 23 from the rest of Lev 17–26. The term מושב only occurs once in H outside Lev 23 in referring to the sale of a עיר חומה בית-מושב “dwelling in a walled city” in Lev 25:9. The specific expression בכל-מושבתכם, however, occurs nowhere else in Lev 17–26 besides the calendar.

The precise meaning of מושבת in Lev 23 is open to interpretation. The noun מושב is derived from the verb ישב “sit, dwell” and is used in the HB to designate a seat, the site of a city, a dwelling place or home, or the territory of a given group (*BDB* 444, מושב; *HALOT* 2:561–62, מושב). In Lev 23 the term מושב seems to be used as a generic descriptor of Israelite domestic space—it refers simply to the place where the Israelites dwell—although scholars debate whether it strictly refers to domestic contexts within the land of Israel (Joosten 1996b, 163; Milgrom 2001), or to settlements outside the land, such as those in the diaspora (Grelot 1956, 178–79; Elliger 1966, 313). Most likely the term מושבת accommodates both settings; since H never reveals the location or precise character of the place where the Israelites will live once they have left the wilderness, we cannot rule out that H had in mind sites both within and outside the land.

The settlements are mentioned five times in H’s festal calendar. These occurrences are never in the context of the annual pilgrimage festivals to be held in the first and seventh months. Rather, they are always in reference to non-pilgrimage celebrations, namely sabbath (v. 3), the offering of the firstfruits (vv. 14, 17, 21) and the day of purifications (v. 31). As can be seen in Table 4.3 below, four of these five occurrences of the term מושב form part of the expression בכל-מושבתכם “in all your settlements” (vv. 3, 14, 21, 31), while a fifth occurrence is part of a command to bring the offering of new wheat ממושבתכם “from your settlements” (v. 17).

Table 4.3 References to the Settlements in Lev 23

Lev 23:3	Lev 23:14	Lev 23:17	Lev 23:21	Lev 23:31
ששת ימים תעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי שבת שבתון מקרא־קדש כל־מלאכה לא תעשו שבת הוא ליהוה בכל מושבת־יכם	ולחם וקלי וקרמל לא תאכלו עד־עצם היום הזה עד הביאכם את־ קרבן אלהיכם חקת עולם לדרת־יכם בכל מושבת־יכם:	ממושבת־יכם תביאו לחם תנופה שתיים שני עשרנים סלת תהינה חמץ תאפינה בכורים ליהוה	וקראתם בעצם היום הזה מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו חקת עולם בכל־ מושבת־יכם לדרת־יכם	כל־מלאכה לא תעשו חקת עולם לדרת־יכם בכל מושבת־יכם
Six days one may work, but on the seventh day, it is a sabbath of total cessation, a holy day. You shall not do any work; it is a sabbath to Yhwh in all your settlements.	You shall not eat bread or roasted grain or fresh ears of grain until that very day that you have brought the offering of your god; it is an eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements.	From your settle- ments you shall bring bread to be waved, two loaves. They shall be of choice flour, baked [with] leaven: first- fruits for Yhwh.	And on that very day you shall make a proclamation: it shall be a holy day for you; you shall not do any ordinary work. It is an eternal statute in all your settlements throughout your generations.	You shall not do any work. This is an eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements.

Notably, H employs the expression *בכל־מושבת־יכם* only when discussing *domestic activities*. In the case of the weekly sabbath (v. 3) and the day of purifications (v. 31), H commands that the Israelites observe a ban on all types of work “in all your settlements.” A similar but less restrictive ban on ordinary work is also to be observed *בכל מושבת־יכם* on the day when the priest waves the firstfruits of the wheat harvest before Yhwh (v. 21): that is, fifty days after the offering of the עמר. Finally, in v. 14 the Israelites are prohibited from eating the new grain crop *בכל מושבת־יכם* until the first sheaf of the harvest has been offered to Yhwh. None of these activities constitute sacrificial rites that would have required a priest, altar or shrine (Levine 1989, 155; 2000, 419). They could instead be honored within the sphere of individual households.

Yet while the expression *בכל מושבת־יכם* always occurs in Lev 23 in the context of domestic prescriptions, Weyde suggests that the settlements have significance beyond the four specific verses in the calendar where this expression occurs. (Weyde overlooks the expression *ממושבת־יכם* in v. 17—a point on which I shall say more below.) He bases this reading on the position of the expression *בכל מושבת־יכם* at the end of the two sets of instructions for the offering of firstfruits in vv. 14 and 21: specifically, at the end of the instructions for the offering of the first sheaf (vv. 10–14) and at the end of the prescriptions for the offering of the new wheat (vv. 15–21). In both cases the settlements are mentioned within a longer formulation that asserts the normativity of the law for subsequent generations of Israelites. Weyde argues that these formulae in vv. 14 and 21 pertain not only to the

rites mentioned just prior—the restriction on eating the first sheaf and on ordinary work during the offering of new wheat—but to the entire list of festal prescriptions that precede them. H thus requires the Israelites to undertake *all* the rites involved in the celebration of the firstfruits, including the making of sacrifices, within their local context. In order for such a command to have been feasible, Weyde reasons that there must have been local sanctuaries available to farming communities within their settlements, at which they could congregate during the feast to offer the firstfruits to the deity.

However, there are a number of reasons to question whether vv. 14b and 21b serve as summary statements for the laws of vv. 10–14 and vv. 15–21 in their entirety. In the case of v. 14b, the reference to settlements occurs after the instructions for the bringing of the new sheaf and its accompanying offerings have already concluded in v. 13. In v. 14a H introduces an entirely new rite which is to take place *before* the sacrificial rites stated in vv. 11–13 have been completed: the Israelites must abstain from eating of the new grain *היום הזה* “until that very day,” that is, the day when the priest will elevate their offerings before the deity. With this change of timing in v. 14 also comes a change of topic from sacrificial to non-sacrificial rites. While vv. 11–13 catalogue the rites that must be performed by the priest as he offers the required sacrifices, v. 14a is entirely concerned with what the Israelites eat (or *do not* eat) between the time of harvesting and the delivery of the first sheaf to the priest. It is therefore erroneous to view vv. 10–14 as a single set of commands, governed by the concluding refrain *בכל־מושבתיכם לדרתיכם* in v. 14b. It seems more probable that this formula pertains only to the rites prescribed in v. 14a alone: the Israelites are prohibited to eat of the new crop “in all your settlements” until it has been presented to the deity.

Likewise, it is untenable to read the reference to settlements in v. 21b as governing the full set of rites for the offering of the new wheat outlined in vv. 15–20. The sacrificial instructions have already concluded in v. 20. Verse 21 then adds a new instruction for practices that are to be observed at the same time as the communal sacrifices are presented to the deity. Again, these practices do not involve the making of sacrifices. Rather, the Israelites must proclaim this day as a holiday and observe a ban on regular activities of work. It therefore makes little sense to read the concluding refrain of v. 21b, *בכל־מושבתיכם לדרתיכם*, as referring to the command of v. 15 to bring an elevation offering. It seems to relate only to those domestic rites which can be carried out wherever the Israelites may find themselves on the day when the firstfruits are presented to the deity.

A further indication that the sacrificial rites of vv. 15–20 do not need to be performed “in all your settlements” is the wording of v. 17—a verse which, as mentioned above, is overlooked by Weyde but is clearly important for the discussion of the settlements in Lev 23. Here the Israelites are commanded to bring two loaves of bread *ממושבתיכם* “from your settlements” which will then be waved by the priest and offered to the deity. The use of the preposition *מן* is significant: it shows that H considers the settlements to be the *origin* of the offering of new wheat, not its *destination*. This not only challenges Weyde’s idea that the Israelites were to offer the firstfruits of wheat within the settlements themselves. It supports a contrary reading: namely, that H required the local Israelite

communities to bring their offerings out of the settlements because the festal sacrifices were to be made at the *central shrine*. The command in v. 17 to bring the firstfruits “from your settlements” therefore hints at the centralized nature of the sacrificial rites prescribed by H in Lev 23: the Israelites must not offer their festal gifts within their local context, but must instead send them through communal representatives to the priest officiating at “the center out there.”

This reading is consistent with H’s avoidance of the designation אָן when describing the celebrations of the firstfruits.³⁰ As mentioned above, Milgrom has made a convincing case that the prescribing of a collective offering of firstfruits may have been motivated by a desire to alleviate the practical burden on farmers of presenting offerings during the busy time of harvest. Yet Milgrom has failed to take this point to its logical conclusion. If local sanctuaries were readily available to Israelite farming communities, as he has suggested (Milgrom 1997, 84), why would it have been impractical to expect farmers to deposit their firstfruits at the local shrine? It seems more likely that this rite became impractical during the harvest because H insists that the Israelites restrict their worship to a single central shrine, which may be located a lengthy distance from local farming communities (Cholewiński 1976, 209; Ruwe 1999, 308; Levine 2000, 419).

Indeed, the impracticality of the wheat harvest festival in a centralized cult was already acknowledged by the authors of Deut 16:9–12. Here D maintains that the Israelites must undertake a אָן in celebration of the wheat harvest. But, in order to give farmers enough time to harvest their crops and travel to the central place, D delays the pilgrimage festival until seven weeks after the beginning of the wheat harvest. H takes the different approach of removing entirely the requirement that the Israelites undertake a pilgrimage during the harvest. Now the Israelites are to send communal offerings of barley, wheat and accompanying sacrifices, but may spend the actual day of the celebration within their local settlements. However, this does not exempt them from the obligation to actively participate in the celebration. They must practice a form of temporal symmetry by undertaking non-sacrificial rites within their settlements while their communal offering of new wheat is presented at the central sanctuary.

Hence, far from being permissive about local cultic installations, H’s command to undertake non-sacrificial rites “in all your settlements” forms an integral part of its strategy for integrating the community into a centralized cult. By specifying non-sacrificial activities which can be performed at

³⁰ This point seems to have been missed by Weyde (2004, 72–73), who argued that H must surely have required the Israelites to undertake a pilgrimage during the harvest because this is the status of the feast in the non-Priestly festal calendars. However, Weyde did not explain why H avoids the term אָן when describing this celebration if H assumes that the firstfruits are to be offered as part of a pilgrimage festival. The absence of this term from Lev 23 is especially striking precisely because it occurs in *all* the non-Priestly festal calendars as a descriptor for the offering of the firstfruits (see Exod 23:16; 34:22; Deut 16:10). Such an omission strongly supports the idea that H no longer requires the Israelites to undertake a collective pilgrimage to the sanctuary but instead permits them to send a communal offering on behalf of the settlements.

home, H ensures that the whole community, including those unable to physically participate in ritual practice at the central altar, remains obliged to participate in festal worship at the same fixed times. When, in the case of two pilgrimage festivals, H makes no provision for rites to be performed in the settlements, it presumably does so because it envisages the majority of the community undertaking a pilgrimage to the central shrine during these sacred times. For those celebrations during which most of the community remained at home, however, H provides dual instructions for rites to be held at the cultic center and in the local settlements. Thus H's references to the settlements do not signal decentralized, local sanctuaries in ancient Israel. Rather they form part of a design for ensuring that all members of the Israelite community, by sharing festal time, can remain focused on the cultic center, irrespective of their physical location.

4.3.2 The Settlements outside Lev 23

What of the other occurrences of the expression “in all your settlements” in the Priestly traditions? Do these present new evidence of a de-centralized approach to the festivals by the scribes who were responsible for Lev 17–26? This question raises a larger methodological issue, discussed in the Introduction, concerning the identification of HS material in the Pentateuch and the extent to which the study of H and centralization should include texts outside Lev 17–26. To Brett and others, a text like Lev 23 should not be read in isolation but rather as part of a constellation of HS passages in the Priestly traditions—passages which can be identified on account of their linguistic, stylistic, thematic or ideological affinity with Lev 17–26 and other HS texts in the Torah (see § 1.1.1). But is the expression *בכל מושבתכם* a marker of HS editorial activity? And does it follow that its usage in texts outside Lev 17–26 reveals H's “inclusive” stance towards local shrines and local worship “in all your settlements,” as Brett has contended?

The expression *בכל מושבתכם* is found five times in the Pentateuch outside Lev 23, and always in the context of Priestly texts (see Table 4.4 below).³¹ Only one of these texts deals with the topic of festal worship: in Exod 12:20 Yhwh commands the Israelites to abstain from eating leaven “in all your settlements” during the festival of unleavened bread. The other occurrences of the expression are in the context of the prohibition of kindling a fire on sabbath (Exod 35:3), the prohibition of ingesting blood (Lev 7:26) or blood and fat (Lev 3:17), and the conditions in which a murderer may be put to death (Num 35:29).

³¹ It also occurs twice in the book of Ezekiel; see Ezek 6:6, 14.

Table 4.4 Occurrences of the Expression בכל מושבתיכם outside Lev 23

<i>Exod 12:20</i>	<i>Exod 35:3</i>	<i>Lev 3:17</i>	<i>Lev 7:26</i>	<i>Num 35:29</i>
כל־מחמצת לא תאכלו בכל מושבתיכם תאכלו מצות You shall not eat any leaven in all your settlements; you shall eat unleavened bread.	לא־תבערו אֵשׁ בכל מושבתיכם ביום השבת You shall not kindle a fire in all your settlements on the day of the sabbath.	חקת עולם לדרת־יכם בכל מושבתיכם כל־חלב וכל־דם לא תאכלו An eternal statute throughout your generations in all your settlements: you shall not eat any fat or any blood.	וכל־דם לא תאכלו בכל מושבתיכם לעוף ולבהמה You shall not eat any blood in all your settlements, from either the bird or from the quadruped.	והיו אלה לכם לחקת משפט לדרת־יכם בכל מושבתיכם These [laws in the case of homicide] shall be for you an eternal ordinance throughout your generations in all your settlements.

It is again striking that all of these occurrences of the expression בכל מושבתיכם are in the immediate context of instructions for *non-sacrificial rites*, just as they are in Lev 23:3, 14, 21 and 31. Four of the five occurrences refer to ritual prohibitions in the domestic sphere, such as dietary restrictions or limitations on what kind of work may be done during certain sacred times. Numbers 35:29 is unusual insofar as it concerns a public adjudication of the appropriate punishment for those guilty of homicide rather than a household practice. However, as with all the other passages in which the expression occurs, there is no connection in Num 35:29 to the sanctuary or its ritual cult. Rather it relates to local, civic affairs (Nihan 2015b).

All five verses in which the expression בכל מושבתיכם is found evince an affinity, to a greater or lesser degree, with the language and legislative interests of Lev 17–26. The formulation of Num 35:29 is strikingly similar to that of Lev 23:14, 21 and 31. It contains a very close equivalent to the חקת עולם בכל־מושבתיכם formula, but it substitutes משפט for עולם and omits H’s standard reference to “your generations.” In the case of Lev 3:17 and 7:26, there are clear linguistic and ideological links between these two texts and the prohibition in Lev 17:10–14 of the consumption of blood (see further § 2.1 above). Exodus 35:3, for its part, is paired with a command in 35:2 to keep the sabbath that is virtually identical to that of Lev 23:3. However, the Exodus law adds the command that anyone who violates the work ban on this holy day must be put to death, which includes anyone who kindles a fire on sabbath “in all your settlements” (35:3; see further the Excursus in Chapter Five).

The verse of particular relevance to this study, Exod 12:20, comes at the end of a set of ritual prescriptions that share particularly striking correspondences with Lev 17–26. As is widely agreed among scholars, Exod 12:14–20 seem almost certainly to constitute (a) secondary addition(s) to P’s description in vv. 1–13 of the first Passover in Egypt, which provide(s) new ritual prescriptions for the

celebration of the festival of unleavened bread.³² This is based, first, on the observation that Exod 12:13 forms a clear conclusion to the preceding account of Yhwh’s instructions for how the Israelites are to celebrate the first Passover; the materials which follow in Exod 12:14–20 thus have the appearance of forming a later supplement to pre-existing instructions. Second, the style, language and themes of Exod 12:14–20 differ markedly from those of Exod 12:1–13, and seem to be heavily influenced by the H materials of Lev 17–26. The new regulations begin in v. 14 with a formulation that takes up H’s description of unleavened bread in Lev 23:6a as a festival ליהוה “for Yhwh” and combines this with the formula קת עול לדרתים “an eternal statute throughout your generations” known from Lev 23:14, 21, 31, 41. We then find in v. 16 a virtual quotation of the description in Lev 23:7–8 of the special status of the first and seventh day of the festival of unleavened bread (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Similar Language in Exod 12:16 and Lev 23:7–8

<i>Exod 12:16</i>	<i>Lev 23:7–8</i>
<p>וביום הראשון מקרא־קדש וביום השביעי מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכה לא יעשה בהם אך אשר יאכל לכל־נפש הוא לבדו יעשה לכם</p> <p>On the first day, it shall be a holy day, also on the seventh day, it shall be a holy day to you; on them you shall not do any work. Only what each person is to eat shall be prepared for you.</p>	<p>7 ביום הראשון מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו 8 והקרבתם אשה ליהוה שבעת ימים ביום השביעי מקרא־קדש כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו</p> <p>7 On the first day, it shall be a holy day to you; you shall not do any ordinary work. 8 For seven days you shall present food offerings to Yhwh. On the seventh day, it shall be a holy day; you shall not do any ordinary work.</p>

This is followed in v. 19 with a command that leaven should not be found in the homes of either בגר ובאזרח הארץ “immigrant or the native in the land” that is reminiscent of H texts such Lev 17:15, 18:26, 19:34; 24:16 and 22 which state that certain laws are to apply to אזרח and גר alike (Grelot 1956, 177; Nihan 2013b, 116). Finally, the supplement concludes with the specification in Exod 12:20 that nothing leavened is to be eaten בכל מושבתים “in all your settlements”—a formula which echoes passages such as Lev 23:3, 14, 21 and 31 discussed above.

However, while Exod 12:14–20 share strong similarities with the H materials of Lev 17–26, and especially Lev 23:5–8, there are also important differences between them. Most notable of which is the date they each assign to the celebration of unleavened bread. While Lev 23:5–8 insist that

³² On the secondary nature of Exod 12:14–20, see among recent studies, e.g., Grünwaldt 1992, 90–96; Bar-On (Gesundheit) 1995, 25–26; Gesundheit 2012, 76–89; Gertz 2000, 31–37; Wagenaar 2005, 93–96; Nihan 2013b, 114. Scholars disagree as to whether Exod 12:14–20 was written in one stage or two, with scholars such as Grünwaldt (1992, 90–96), Jan Christian Gertz (2000, 31–37), Otto (2003 [1988–1989], 17–19) and Gesundheit (2012, 79–89) arguing that vv. 14–17 stem from a different hand to vv. 18–20. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, this issue can be put to one side.

unleavened bread is to commence on the fifteenth day of the first month—that is, one day after the celebration of Passover—Exod 12:14–20 present the two feasts as sharing the same start date: “in the first (month), on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, you shall eat unleavened bread, until the twenty-first day of the month, in the evening” (cf. Exod 12:14). This change of date may reflect a broader change in how ancient Israelites determined the beginning and end of a given day, in which a single day was thought to last from sunset to sunset rather than from sunrise to sunrise (Wagenaar 2004, 262–66; 2005, 94–96; Nihan 2013b, 117).

The overlaps with H in Exod 12:14–20, and also those in Exod 35:1–3, Lev 3:17, 7:26–27 and Num 35:29, were identified by Knohl as evidence that they were all written by the HS (see further § 1.1.1 above).³³ Building on Knohl’s theory, Brett argued that the reference to the settlements in Exod 12:14–20 reveals a willingness on the HS’s part to accommodate local worship at multiple sanctuaries. Unlike other occurrences of the phrase in Lev 23, and elsewhere in the Pentateuch, the author of Exod 12:20 employs this expression at the conclusion of the prescriptions for the seven-day אֶת of unleavened bread. Since such a festival would have almost certainly involved a gathering at a sanctuary and the making of sacrifices, Brett reasoned that if the HS was willing to mention the settlements in this context, then it must have been permissible to hold the festival in its entirety within individual communities. Such openness to “cultic diversity” (Brett 2012, 59) strongly suggests, in Brett’s view, that the HS did not support a centralized approach to Israelite worship, but rather expected that the Israelites would gather at local sanctuaries when celebrating Yhwh’s festivals.

However, there are reasons to doubt, first, that Exod 12:20 betrays a de-centralized approach to festal worship, and, second, that the verbal correspondences with H in Exod 12:14–20 require us to resort to the theory of a Holiness School (Achenbach 2008; Nihan 2013b; cf. Otto 2009, 139–44). As already mentioned in Chapter One (§ 1.1.1), there is arguably insufficient evidence to validate the argument that a scribal institution, or “school,” stands behind those texts outside Lev 17–26 that evince H-like terms, expressions and ideas. To be sure, it cannot be denied that texts like Exod 12:14–20, or Lev 3:17 and 7:26, have linguistic, stylistic, or thematic correspondences with Lev 17–26—correspondences which require an explanation. However, can we only account for such literary linkages by positing a historical institution, namely, a scribal school? Surely it was possible for scribes writing after H to imitate the language or borrow from the ideas of the earlier texts at their disposal, without requiring that they be part of the same school that was originally responsible for writing those texts.

³³ Knohl argued (1995, 19–21, 52) that not only vv. 14–20 but *all* of the regulations of Exod 12:1–20 concerning Passover and unleavened bread stem from the hand of the HS. Milgrom similarly suggested (2003a, 33) that the original P instruction for Passover consisted only of Exod 12:1–6, which was then supplemented with vv. 7–20 by the “Holiness Redactor” (H_R). Neither scholar could explain, however, why vv. 1–13 evince virtually no correspondence with Lev 17–26, except for the date for the celebration of Passover (cf. Exod 12:2–6; Lev 23:5), if the HS was responsible for all or most of the prescriptions of Exod 12:1–20.

Indeed, there are a number of reasons to think that the H-like terms and ideas in the specific text of Exod 12:14–20 can be simply explained as an attempt to align the earlier P Passover law with Lev 17–26 so as to achieve greater continuity throughout the Priestly legal materials. By introducing regulations for unleavened bread after P’s Passover account, the authors of Exod 12:14–20 ensure that these two festivals are already conceptualized as a duo in the Priestly account of the first Passover, and not only with the arrival of the calendar of Lev 23 (Gertz 2000, 36; Wagenaar 2005, 94–96; Nihan 2013b, 116–17). At the same time, the adoption of the language of earlier H texts in this new ritual supplement seems to also be aimed at critically revising certain aspects of the H festal prescriptions in favor of a slightly modified conception of the timing of Passover and unleavened bread. As mentioned above, Exod 12:14–20 depart from Lev 23:5–8 when they merge the start date of these two celebrations, so that unleavened bread commences on the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth of the first month. With this change of date, the supplement in Exod 12:14–20 creates a stronger link between Passover and unleavened bread than that which is found in H’s calendar, where the two feasts are simply juxtaposed. A further point of difference between the two texts concerns the nature of the work ban that is to be implemented on the first and seventh days of the festival. According to Exod 12:16 the Israelites are prohibited from doing כל-מלאכה “any work” besides food preparation on these days, while Lev 23:7 prohibits the Israelites only from undertaking מלאכה עבודה “ordinary work.”

Beyond the question of authorship, the reference to settlements in Exod 12:20 need not be read, as has Brett argued, as imputing a de-centralized approach to festal worship. Certainly it is curious that the settlements are mentioned in 12:20 in the context of instructions for a הַג, given that in Lev 23 the settlements are only mentioned in the context of non-pilgrimage festivals. But the expression “‘in all your settlements’ implies that the people are at home, not at the sanctuary” (Milgrom 2001, 1991). Likewise, although the presence of the term הַג in v. 14 implies that the Israelites must travel to the sanctuary to celebrate the feast, the actual content of the supplement in vv. 14–20 concerns only the domestic rites that the Israelites must undertake during the seven days of the feast: namely, abstaining from eating leaven for the full seven days, and avoiding work activities on the first and seventh days. Hence there is no need to suppose that the reference to the settlements in Exod 12:20 signals the authors’ willingness to permit local worship at multiple sanctuaries in ancient Israel. The expression בכל מושבתיכם in Exod 12:20 seems instead to reinforce the total ban on eating leaven during the festival by asserting its normativity for those Israelites who have stayed at home during the festival. Since only male members of the community were probably required to appear before Yhwh during the annual הַגים, it is likely that the rest of the community—presumably women, children and possibly the aged—would have remained in the “settlements” during a festival like the seven-days of unleavened bread. By including the additional command in v. 20, the authors of this supplement ensure that those members of the community who had not convened for the הַג still participate in its most important rite: abstaining from eating leaven.

Thus we might conclude that the references to settlements in Lev 23, like those in other Priestly texts, do not betray a centrifugal tendency and expectation on H's part of de-centralized worship. On the contrary, they are perhaps H's most explicit statement in favor of a centralized temporal system for the entire community. In order to ensure that all Israel keeps to a single calendar, H specifies non-sacrificial rites that can be practiced by those members of the community who are not present at the sanctuary when the deity receives its festal offerings and sacrifices. These local rites do not compromise the exclusive claim of the central sanctuary to blood sacrifice (see Lev 17:3–9). Far from it: their non-sacrificial character highlights the *absence* of local options for sacrificial worship during the annual festivals. The Israelites, having sent their festal offerings out of the settlements (23:17), are obliged to observe only work bans and dietary restrictions within their local settings.

By emphasizing the normativity of the calendar “in all your settlements,” H asserts the community's obligation to remain temporally synchronized in their worship of Yhwh even in the potentially fractured and geographically dispersed context of the post-wilderness future. Once the Israelites are no longer encamped at Sinai, but instead live in various settlements, the shared calendar of Lev 23 will remain normative in setting the time of their collective worship each year. The calendar of Lev 23 thereby serves as far more than a practical device for organizing the Israelite year. As Stern's analysis of the function of fixed calendars suggests, Lev 23 serves the strategic purpose of structuring the way the Israelites are to conceive of themselves as a community. A fixed calendrical scheme, with dates set by a single central authority, directs attention towards the cultic center. It reduces local discretion to convene the festivals according to the needs of individual communities, whether these are their own agricultural rhythm or other socio-cultic customs. Instead it affirms centralized authority, in that H insists that, as far as it is possible, the Israelites are to celebrate the same festivals at the same time in accordance with Yhwh's revelation to Moses. In so doing, the Israelite community will maintain the centralized ideal established by the deity at the tent of meeting at Sinai: a united community with one standardized ritual cult, integral to which is a fixed calendar.

4.4 Shared Time and Ritual Service of the Central Sanctuary

The above discussion has shown that H's centralized calendar forms part of a wider discursive strategy of directing the attention of the Israelite community to central ritual authorities. Yet one of the key interpretive difficulties in reading Lev 23 is its lack of specificity as to who were the central authorities associated with this calendar. Already in our analysis of Lev 17 (Chapter Three), and of centralization in P (Chapter Two), we encountered the challenges of relating the imaginative spaces and personnel of the wilderness fiction to possible historical realities in ancient Israel. But in the case of Lev 23, even those imaginative dimensions of the Priestly traditions have receded into the background. As already mentioned, Lev 23 does not explicitly reference the sanctuary; although this,

as explained, does not necessarily diminish its orientation towards such a center. Nor does this chapter speak about the Aaronide priesthood, referring only to “the priest” in nondescript terms.

However, the appendix to the calendar at Lev 24:1–9 brings the focus strongly back to the familiar spaces, processes and personnel found elsewhere in the P account and H materials. These verses have a much stronger orientation towards the imaginary wilderness cult at Sinai than is the case with Lev 23: they refer to the אהל מועד and reference particular items within it (e.g., the פרכת העדות “curtain of the testimony” [v. 3]; the golden table before Yhwh [v. 6]), while also focusing heavily on the ritual actions of Aaron within the sanctuary. Leviticus 24:1–9 also share a number of precise correspondences with earlier P instructions, especially the references to the sanctuary lamp and display bread in the sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40.

The significance of the appendix of Lev 24:1–9 is their integration of the concept of centralized calendrical time, found in Lev 23, with other centralizing motifs elsewhere in H and P: namely, the promotion of communal obligations to the central sanctuary at fixed intervals, and deference to the Aaronide priesthood who undertake such rites. In so doing, H reminds the Israelites, immediately after presenting the calendar, of the ritualized rhythm of the central shrine, and thereby forges a sophisticated link between its concept of temporal symmetry achieved via the annual festivals and the communal obligation to defer to, and maintain, a centralized sanctuary.

4.4.1 Sanctuary Time and Ritual Centralization in Lev 24:1–9

To confirm this reading we need first to review the content of Lev 24:1–9 and the place of these verses within Lev 23–25 (cf. § 4.2 above). These verses comprise an introduction (v. 1) to divine speech, followed by two laws for offerings of oil (vv. 2–4) and bread (vv. 5–9) to be put to use within the interior of the wilderness sanctuary.

Leviticus 24:1–9

1 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: 2 Command the Israelites: they shall bring to you pure oil of beaten olives for the light to kindle a flame regularly. 3 Aaron³⁴ shall arrange it outside the curtain of the testimony in the tent of meeting, from evening until morning before Yhwh

³⁴ SP and LXX read אהרן ובניו “Aaron and his sons.” However, MT’s reading, which attributes this task to Aaron alone, should be preferred. The inclusion of Aaron’s sons in v. 3 LXX and SP seems to be a secondary attempt at harmonizing the texts of Lev 24:2–4 and Exod 27:20–21, since in the latter this task is assigned to Aaron and his sons (Hartley 1992, 395; on the parallels between these two texts, see below). In v. 4 the SP follows MT and 4Q24:20 by using a 3ms verbal form יעריך “he shall arrange,” which only makes sense if the subject of v. 3 was originally Aaron alone. The LXX of 24:4 attests a plural verb, but it is a 2pp form (καύσατε “you shall burn”) which agrees with neither the subject of v. 2 (the Israelites) nor that of v. 3 (Aaron and his sons). This all suggests that the change to plurals with the introduction of Aaron’s sons in v. 3 led to some confusion in coordinating the commands in these verses.

regularly; it is an eternal statute throughout your generations. 4 He shall arrange the flames upon the pure [gold] lamp before Yhwh regularly.³⁵

5 You shall take choice flour and bake twelve loaves; two-tenths shall be [in] each loaf. 6 You shall place them in two rows, six in a row, on the table of pure [gold] before Yhwh. 7 You shall put pure frankincense upon the rows; it shall be for the bread as a memorial food offering for Yhwh. 8 Every sabbath day he shall arrange them before Yhwh regularly, as an everlasting covenant with the Israelites. 9 They shall be for Aaron and for his sons; they shall eat them in a holy place, for they are holy portions for him from the food offerings of Yhwh: it is a perpetual due.

These two laws of Lev 24:1–9 have rarely been treated by scholars as an integral part of H's discursive strategy. This is due, in the main, to their strong links with P: in that they heavily reference the wilderness setting at the tent of meeting and draw on specific P instructions concerning regular rites at the sanctuary. These associations have traditionally been considered evidence that these verses did not stem from H's hand but were written by a later scribe who sought to align the earlier Holiness Code and the P legislation.³⁶ Even scholars who no longer read H as a pre-P composition frequently maintain that Lev 24:1–9 is a late insert into Lev 17–26, owing to these verses' close proximity to the late narrative of 24:10–23, and their unusual focus on Priestly legislative interests when compared to the rest of H (Elliger 1966, 324–29; V. Wagner 1974, 314 n. 29; Otto 1994b, 240; 1999b, 75; more tentatively, Milgrom 2001, 2085–86).

Yet while the secondary character of Lev 24:10–23 is clear, there are grounds for arguing that Lev 24:1–9 were written by H. Of course such an assertion is difficult to prove definitively. However, it seems on balance that the continuity between Lev 24:1–9 and Lev 23, 25 outweighs the arguments for separating Lev 24:1–9 as secondary. As argued in detail above (§ 4.2), these chapters share strong thematic ties on account of their shared focus on sacred time; the instructions for regular offerings in 24:1–9 thus form a logical component of the second half of H.³⁷ In contrast, Lev 24:1–9 share very few correspondences with the secondary material of Lev 24:10–23. Of particular significance to the present study are the precise correspondences between the calendar in Lev 23 and the laws of 24:1–9; beyond their common focus on ritual actions performed at fixed intervals, they share a number of precise correspondences (such as the similar ingredients prescribed for the offering of new wheat, in 23:9–22, and for the display bread, in 24:5) and vocabulary (such as the *חֲמִידָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם* formula; see further § 4.2 above). Hence, while these verses do contain various echoes of the P materials, they are very much embedded within their present context.

³⁵ SP and LXX read *עַד בֹּקֶר* “until morning” rather than *חֲמִידָה* “regularly.” However, this makes little sense in this context, since it is unclear how Aaron could be expected to arrange the lamp until morning. It seems therefore to reflect the influence of v. 3, where *עַד בֹּקֶר* is found (Sun 1990, 410).

³⁶ For this view see, e.g., Graf 1866, 79; Dillmann 1897, 651; Paton 1897, 44; Driver 1956 [1897], 56; Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 163–64; Kuenen 1886, 89–90; Noth 1977 [1965], 176–77; Hartley 1992, 396.

³⁷ As argued, e.g., by Knohl 1995, 119–21; Gerstenberger 1996 [1993]; Grünwaldt 1999; Ruwe 1999, 298; Trevaskis 2009; Luciani 2010; Hieke 2014, 2:871–73, 939.

Also, the links to P in Lev 24:1–9 might be read, not so much as indicating that these verses are a secondary intrusion to H, but rather as a discursive strategy on H's part when conceptualizing the festal calendar. H integrates its innovative focus on calendrical time, articulated in Lev 23, with two interests of the earlier P materials: on the one hand, the timing of תמיד "regular" rites at the central sanctuary, and on the other, the ritual agency of Aaron to תמיד "continually" represent the Israelites before the god.³⁸ In so doing, it articulates the continuity between its new emphasis on centralized time and the key facets of P's discourse of centralization.

The command in Lev 24:2–4 for the Israelites to bring oil for the sanctuary light shares a number of correspondences with P texts concerned with daily rites at the central shrine. Its clearest parallel is in Exod 27:20–21, where Yhwh commands the same donation during the construction of the wilderness sanctuary. The two texts share nearly identical descriptions of Aaron's ritual actions in arranging the light in the outer sanctum every morning and evening (cf. Exod 27:21; Lev 24:3). These ritual details are presupposed in Exod 30:7–8, when Yhwh instructs Aaron to present a תמיד "regular" incense offering on the golden altar at the same time as he "dresses (יטב *Hiphil*) the lamps" each morning and evening. Notably, while Lev 24:2–4 and Exod 27:20–21 share very strong correspondences in their phrasing, the H commandment contains an additional instruction which has no equivalent in the Exodus text: namely, the statement in Lev 24:4 that Aaron shall arrange the lamp upon the מנרה "candelabra" regularly. The presence of this additional detail arguably reveals Lev 24:2–4 as the later of the two instructions which adds a new point of clarification: namely, that the נר mentioned in Exod 27:20 // Lev 24:2 refers not to a single lamp but rather to the seven-branched candelabrum known from Exod 25:37 (Hartley 1992, 399; Grünwaldt 1999, 91; Ruwe 1999, 324; Nihan 2007a, 511 n. 450; Hieke 2014, 2:942–42).

In addition to Exod 27:20–21, Lev 24:2–4 also evince a number of correspondences with the תורת העלה "torah of the burnt offering" in Lev 6:1–6 [Eng. 8–13], which describes the תמיד "continual" fire that must be kept burning upon the altar. Leviticus 6:1–6 and 24:2–4 share the distinctive introduction (found nowhere else in Leviticus), in which the imperative form of the verb צוה "command" is used immediately after the phrase יהוה אל־משה לאמר "and Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows."³⁹ The two laws also share the thematic overlap of commanding the provision of a perishable item—wood, in the case of Lev 6:1–6, oil in the case of Lev 24:2–4—which must be תמיד "regularly" replenished in order to ensure the daily maintenance of the altar fire. The major difference between the two texts is that Lev 6:5–6 [Eng. 6:12–13] holds the priests responsible for providing wood for the

³⁸ On the use of תמיד as both an adjective and an adverb, see *HALOT* 4:1774, תמיד §§1 and 2.

³⁹ Cf. Lev 6:1–2aα [Eng. 8–9aα]; יהוה אל־משה לאמר צו את־אהרן ואת־בניו לאמר "Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: Command Aaron and his sons as follows [...]."

Lev 24:1–2a: יהוה אל־משה לאמר צו את־בני ישראל "Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: Command the Israelites [...]."

altar fire, while Lev 24:2–4 emphasizes the communal responsibility to maintain the sanctuary’s stocks of oil. This is consistent with the distinctive focus of Lev 23:1–24:9 as a whole on “[t]he responsibility of the *people* to maintain the *public* cult” (Milgrom 2001, 2082, emphasis original)—a point to which I will return below. A final parallel between these two chapters may also be observed later in Lev 6, at v. 13 [Eng. v. 20], in the timing of the תמיד cereal offering that is to be offered by Aaron and his sons at their ordination: in that it must be completed twice per day, once in the morning and once in the evening, just as is the case with the lighting of the lamps.

Additional parallels with earlier P texts can be observed at Lev 24:5–9, in the description of the weekly display of twelve loaves on the golden table. Here H builds on the short statement in Exod 25:30 ונתת עליה שלחן לחם פנים לפני תמיד “you shall set the bread of the presence before me regularly” (Gerstenberger 1996 [1993], 358; Marx 2011, 163 n. 13; Hieke 2014, 2:941; Nihan 2007a) to provide new instructions for how the ritual should be performed: namely, how the bread should be prepared, displayed by Aaron on the golden table, replenished each sabbath and subsequently distributed among the priests.⁴⁰ In so doing, H adds a much stronger emphasis on the temporal aspect of the rites; while Exod 25:30 spoke only of the need to place the display bread before Yhwh תמיד “regularly,” H now sets a fixed, regular time for this rite to be performed each and every sabbath. This new detail is entirely in keeping with the focus in the festal calendar of Lev 23 on establishing clear, repeatable patterns for the timing of the Israelites’ worship, although the focus in Lev 24:5–9 is now on those rites that transpire on a more frequent basis.

In particular, Lev 24:5–9 seem to develop H’s interest in Lev 23 with the link between fixed time and communal unity. In much the same way that the festal calendar ensures that the Israelites synchronize their worship, and therefore present themselves before the god as a communal unity, so too does the weekly rite in Lev 24:5–9 of the display bread ensure that the god perceives the Israelites as a unified, centralized collective. A particularly important detail added by H to the bread rite, which is not found in Exod 25:30, is the number of loaves which must be displayed on the golden table: in Lev 24:5–6 Moses is commanded to bake twelve loaves, which are then to be displayed before Yhwh in two rows of six loaves each.⁴¹ Scholars have long suspected that the twelve loaves of bread

⁴⁰ Aaron is not explicitly mentioned in Lev 24:5–8. However, he is mentioned in v. 9 in the context of the removal and distribution of the discarded loaves. In addition, MT, SP and LXX all use a 3ms verbal form in v. 8 when describing the arrangement of the display bread (עָרַךְ *Qal* MT; עָרַךְ *Hiphil* SP; προτίθημι 3ms future mid. LXX), which strongly suggests that Aaron was the one who was to display the bread before the deity each sabbath.

⁴¹ The use of 2ms verbs in MT and SP (לקחת, “you shall take” in v. 5; שמת, “you shall put” in v. 6), suggests that Moses was the one who was expected to prepare the twelve loaves, which were then displayed by Aaron on the golden table (Noth 1977 [1965], 177; Ruwe 1999, 323; Milgrom 2001, 2095; Trevaskis 2009, 303; Luciani 2010, 597–98; Marx 2011, 163). In LXX, however, we find 2mp verbs for both actions (λήμψεσθε, “you shall

represent the twelve tribes of Israel.⁴² The use of twelve objects to represent the tribes is observed in a number of other passages in the HB (e.g., Exod 24:4; 28:9–12, 21; Josh 4:1–7; 1 Kgs 18:31). Furthermore, such an interpretation of the loaves in Lev 24:5–6 would explain why the laying out (עֲרֵךְ *Qal*) of the loaves each sabbath is associated with the establishment of a ברית עולם “eternal covenant” between Yhwh and the בני ישראל (v. 8): the bread itself will be a continual reminder of the community before the deity.

This reading is supported by the occurrence of the root זכר in Lev 24:7: “you shall put pure frankincense upon the rows; it shall be for the bread as a memorial (אֲזָכְרָה) food offering for Yhwh.” This term אֲזָכְרָה is used by P to describe the special capacity of the portion of the מִנְחָה, consisting of a handful of flour mixed with oil with frankincense added, to ensure that the deity is favorably disposed towards the offerer (cf. the term רִיחַ נִיחָה in Lev 2:2; 9; 6:15). The root זכר elsewhere in the Priestly traditions has strong covenantal connotations, with Yhwh being said to have “remembered” his covenantal obligations (see, e.g., Gen 9:15–16; Exod 2:24; 6:5; cf. Jer 14:21; Ezek 16:60; Amos 1:9; Ps 106:46). Its occurrence in Lev 24:7 therefore suggests that the twelve loaves must not only be displayed before Yhwh as part of their permanent obligation towards the deity, but also as a prompt for the deity to remember its עולם ברית with them.

Such a claim in Lev 24:5–9 is significant. It explicitly associates the regular rites at the central sanctuary with establishing a ברית עולם between Yhwh and the Israelites. As flagged above (see § 2.2.1), the term ברית עולם plays a key role in P’s account of the foundations of Israel. It is first used to describe the deity’s permanent commitment to never again destroy the human race following the flood. It then reoccurs in Gen 17:7 when Yhwh announces to Abraham that he will be the ancestor of a nation with whom the deity will enter into a permanent covenantal relationship: ברית עולם להיות לך “an everlasting covenant, to be god to you and to your seed after you.” Later, this promise is alluded to in Yhwh’s statement to Moses, in Exod 6:2–8, that he has remembered his people in Egypt and will deliver them, so that יהייתי לכם לאלהים “I will be god to you” (6:7). As discussed above (§ 2.2.1), this is developed further in Exod 29:45, when Yhwh declares following the description of the wilderness shrine that the purpose of the exodus was that ושכנתי בתוך בני ישראל והייתי להם לאלהים “I will dwell among the Israelites, and I will be their god”—a statement which presents the construction of the wilderness sanctuary as the final step in the establishment of the patron-client relationship between Yhwh and Israel.

take”; ἐπιθήσειε “you shall lay them”), which would seem to suggest that the priests were intended to undertake the task of preparing and displaying the loaves.

⁴² For this view, see, e.g., Dillmann 1897, 653; de Vaux 1973, 422; Gane 1992; Ruwe 1999, 326; Milgrom 2001, 2095; Trevaskis 2009; Marx 2011, 163 with n. 17; Hieke 2014, 2:871, 947.

In Lev 24:8, H takes this revelation of Yhwh's ברית עולם one step further: it links the ברית עולם with the regular ritual cult of the central sanctuary.⁴³ In addition, it associates this covenant with the ritual agency of the Aaronide priesthood in a way which has little precedent in the earlier P materials. This is clear not only from the role assigned to Aaron of displaying the loaves before the god; the wording of vv. 8–9 also suggests a symmetry between the permanence of Yhwh's covenantal commitment and the permanence of Aaron and his sons' right to receive the discarded loaves as a prebend. The statement in v. 8b that the display of twelve loaves is a ברית עולם with the Israelites parallels the command in v. 9b that the loaves be withdrawn each sabbath and given to the priest as a חק-עולם “perpetual due”; it also links back to the חק עולם formula in v. 3 concerning Aaron's role in regularly displaying the candelabra. Leviticus 24:5–9 thus places new emphasis on the *permanent* importance of the Aaronide priests, and the regular rites which they perform within the sanctuary, for the Israelites' patron-client relationship with Yhwh.

The emphasis on priestly agency in Lev 24:5–9 is strengthened by a number of important echoes of Exod 28—the description of Aaron's vestments—within the wording of the display bread rite. The command to Aaron to regularly (תמיד) arrange the twelve loaves for a אזכרה creates a curious allusion to the description of Aaron's 'ēpôd and breastpiece. In Exod 28:12, 29, Aaron is said to wear semi-precious stones—one on each shoulder of the 'ēpôd, and twelve in four rows on the breastpiece—which are to be engraved with the names of the twelve tribes. As already outlined (see § 2.4.1 above), these stones play a crucial role in construing the high priest as the authorized agent of the entire community, since he literally embodies the twelve tribes in the clothes that he wears. Of particular note in the present context is the wording of Exod 28:29. Here Aaron is said to bear the names of the Israelites לפני יהוה תמיד “for a memorial before Yhwh continually.” This language is very similar to that of Lev 24:7–8, which describes the frankincense of the twelve loaves of display bread as a אזכרה (v. 7), and then also states that the loaves must be arranged by Aaron לפני יהוה תמיד. The focus in these texts on the numeral twelve, the adverb תמיד, the root זכר, and the ritual agency of the high priest to represent the community לפני יהוה all suggest that the display bread is seen by H to perform a similar function to that of the semi-precious stones in Exod 28: it affirms Aaron's unique ability to display before Yhwh a unified Israel—expressed in the ideal of the twelve tribes—to ensure that the god remains favorably disposed towards them.

A major difference between the display bread and the stones on Aaron's garments is that the former is a *perishable* item which requires weekly renewal, rather than a permanent fixture of the high priest's garb; this means that it must be regularly replenished if it is to fulfill its ritual role within the central shrine. The weekly display bread might therefore also serve as a subtle reminder of the Israelites' core duty as Yhwh's client to provide the *material resources* needed by the central shrine if

⁴³ The term ברית also occurs in Lev 2:13 in referring to the “salt of the covenant” which must be added to the cereal offering (cf. Num 18:19). However, P does not employ the term ברית עולם in that context.

it is to continue the regular rituals at the god's stated intervals—a responsibility which was already emphasized in Lev 24:2–4 in the instruction for the regular donation of oil. Indeed, Marx has suggested (2011, 165) that this aspect of the display bread rite might be underscored by H's description of the ingredients for the bread in Lev 24:5. As mentioned above, there are a number of striking parallels between the ingredients for the display bread and those which are prescribed in Lev 23:9–22 for the offering of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest. Of all the cereal offerings described in the book of Leviticus, the firstfruit offerings and the display bread are the only ones to consist of *שני עשרנים סלת* “two tenths of choice flour.” Moreover, the display bread and the two loaves of new wheat (Lev 23:15–21) are the only two cereal offerings that are baked without oil (Marx 2011, 165). To be sure, the cereal offerings prescribed in Lev 23 and 24:5–9 are not identical. None of the loaves in Lev 23 are offered along with frankincense, while Lev 24:7 states explicitly that frankincense must be added to the display bread. Furthermore, the two loaves to be waved in Lev 23:15–21 must be baked with leaven—a unique quality when compared to all the offerings in Leviticus, including the display bread of Lev 24:5–9. Nevertheless, Marx's insight that the similarities between the two sets of instructions suggest that the display bread was intended by H to resemble a firstfruit offering is compelling.

Such an offering of weekly loaves, he concludes (Marx 2011, 165), would not have been considered an offering of the firstfruits of the harvest, which was by nature an annual event. It was rather “the firstfruits of the daily food of Israel” (*“des prémices de la nourriture consommée quotidiennement par Israël”*). The act of arranging the twelve loaves of display bread is thus a way of ensuring that the deity receives its weekly portion of the food which represents the basis of the Israelite diet. It therefore serves as a continual reminder of the Israelites' obligation to donate a portion of their harvested crop to the god at its central sanctuary.

Beyond the twelve loaves being perishable, a further difference between them and the stones embroidered on Aaron's garments is *where* they are to be displayed. Unlike the engraved stones, which must always be worn by Aaron or his descendants (see Exod 29:29–30; further § 2.4.1 above), the twelve loaves are to be housed on the golden table in the outer sanctum, where they are to be regularly displayed before Yhwh. While Aaron plays an important role in arranging the display bread on the table, it is ultimately the space of the sanctuary itself which enables these donations to represent the unified community of Israel before Yhwh, and thus to remind him of his *ברית עולם* with the Israelites. In this way, the rite of Lev 24:5–9 speaks to the emphasis in H, as in P before it, on the crucial importance of the Israelites deferring to a single, central sanctuary, in which *all the tribes* are represented, if they are to maintain their patron-client relationship with the national god, Yhwh.

Hence Lev 24:5–9, together with the oil rites in 24:1–4, provide an intricate portrayal of the importance of the regular ritual cult in advancing H's discourse of centralization. The heavy referencing of P in these verses attests to H's concern to affirm the core facets of P's centralizing logic—the need for a single shrine, standardized ritual cult, and central priesthood—while also

bringing to the fore the critical importance of fixed time in the centralized cult and community. H positions the standardized rhythm of regular rites at the central shrine as essential to maintaining the partnership between Yhwh and his chosen clients, the Israelites, by reminding the deity of its covenantal obligations. The placement of these ritual instructions immediately after the festal calendar of Lev 23 is therefore highly significant: it confirms that the Israelites' duty to observe Yhwh's holy days, according to a calendar of fixed times, could never negate their obligation to defer to a centralized sanctuary cult. To the contrary, H underscores the *complementarity* between the annual fixed festal rites and the more frequent rhythm of the daily and weekly rituals at the central sanctuary, under the leadership of the Aaronide priesthood.

When read in tandem, Lev 23 and Lev 24:1–9 therefore bring to the fore the manner in which H uses time to reinforce and enhance its discourse about the centrality of the sanctuary and priestly authority. In these materials H provides a “temporal map” (Zerubavel 1981, 9) for the way the Israelites should conceive and evaluate their place within the cultic order and their cultic environment. This map punctuates every year, week and day with the obligations of deferring to central spaces, processes and authorities—deference which almost invariably involves sacrifices and donations from the Israelites. In the festal calendar, these include the donations which the Israelites must bring to the shrine when they undertake unified pilgrimages; but they also include the contributions which they must send from their settlements via communal representatives (see esp. Lev 23:17). In Lev 24:1–9, these include raw materials such as oil by which the regular ritual cult of the central shrine might be sustained, as well as cereals and grains from which the display loaves might be made. While there is no suggestion in Lev 24:1–9 that the Israelites are required to travel to the sanctuary every day with gifts of oil, or every week with cereal, H underscores the community's responsibility to internalize the timing of the regular rites performed by Aaron as a means of emphasizing their collective responsibility for maintaining the ritual cult. In so doing, H construes the obligation for the regular cult as essentially shared between the priesthood and the community, the former being responsible for undertaking the rites, while the latter must bring the raw materials to the sanctuary to ensure that these can be performed.

Finally, Lev 24:5–9 show how H's discourse of time entrenches the permanent rights of the Aaronide priests to handle, and in turn profit from the Israelites' donations to the sanctuary. By concluding the regular rites at the sanctuary with the statement that the priests have a permanent right to the display bread—it is a חק־עולם “perpetual due”—H construes the priests' rights to economic benefit from ritual cultic practice as timeless, and unquestionable. It also makes clear that the expectation to maintain the priesthood with regular donations does not end in the foundational past but remains binding for subsequent generations. Together, then, the ritual instructions of Lev 23 and 24:1–9 provide a vivid demonstration of how discourses about time serve to entrench the privileges of central powers (Gell 1992, 300–13; S. Stern 2012, 1–2). By controlling the mechanisms by which

time is reckoned, central elites are given a valuable tool for structuring the way groups conceive and evaluate the distribution of rights and privileges, in ways which favor the concentration of authority.

4.4.2 New Insights from 4QReworked Pentateuch C 23

This reading of the complementarity of Lev 23 and Lev 24:1–9 in H’s discourse of centralization gains weight when we consider a lengthy ritual supplement which is preserved in a fragment of 4QReworkedPentateuch 23 (4Q365).⁴⁴ This supplement brings to the fore the close connection between H’s concept of centralized time and its expectation that the Israelites have a duty to maintain the centralized cult of a single sanctuary. Moreover, it offers rare evidence of how scribes in the Second Temple period understood the centralizing ideals of the foundational past at Sinai to justify the building of a single temple in the land, around which all twelve tribes were to rally in unified ritual service.

4Q365 is a mid-first century BCE pentateuchal copy of a “harmonistic/expansionist” text type (White Crawford 2011, 126; cf. Brooke 2001) that exhibits a tendency to rearrange, paraphrase and add to earlier versions of the Pentateuch. It was originally published as a “parabiblical” text (Tov and White 1994, 187–351), owing to the extensive manner in which it reworks the Torah when compared to other manuscripts. However, scholars now widely agree that this is a misclassification, and that the manuscript was probably intended to be received as a copy of the Pentateuch rather than as a new composition (Ulrich 1998, 8; Segal 2000; Brooke 2001, 222–27; Tov 2010, 79–81, reversing Tov and White 1994, 187–351; Zahn 2011, 98–121). Much of its extant material reproduces the known Pentateuch without major variation; and even when additional material is introduced, it is inserted in such a way as to be in keeping with the surrounding material. Moreover, the rationale behind making such additions seems to have been exegetical: they alleviate potential contradictions or seeming omissions within the known Pentateuch (Tov 1992, 49–52; Brooke 1994).

Fragment 23 preserves a new set of ritual instructions at Lev 24:2aβ–9. The substantial nature of the addition, adding multiple lines of new text, is particularly striking given the relative stability of Leviticus in most other ancient witnesses (see further § 2.3.2 above).⁴⁵ However, the addition is noteworthy for another reason: it concerns the bringing of offerings of wood and oil to a *new* sanctuary: “the temple which you will build for me in the land” (l. 6).

⁴⁴ Portions of the below analysis of 4Q365 appeared in Rhyder 2017.

⁴⁵ 4Q366 and 4Q367 constitute two other RP mss that include Leviticus materials and reveal scribal approaches to this book that were more expansionist than other ancient versions. For example, in 4Q366 2:1–3 the text of Lev 24:20–22 is followed, after a blank, with the text of Lev 25:39–43, with no indication as to what happened to the intervening material; and in 4Q367, the law of Lev 20:13 condemning male homosexual unions is combined with the text of Lev 27:30–34.

4Q365 23:4–12

4	וידבר יהוה אל מושה לאמור צו את בני ישראל לאמור בבואכמה אל הארץ אשר
5	[א]נזכי נותן לכמה לנחלה וישבתם עליה לבטח תקריבו עשׂים לעולה ולכול מלאכ[ת]
6	[הב]ית אשר תבנו לי בארץ לערוך אותם על מזבח העולה [ו]את העגל[י]ם
7]ם [לפסחים ולשלמים ולתודות ולנדבות ולעולות דבר יום
8] ל [ל []ם [ומים ולד[ל]תות ולכול מלאכת הבית יקר[בו]
9] מ [ועד היצהר יקריבו את העצים שנים
10] י [המקריבים ביום הריש[ו]ן לוי []
11] ר [או]בן ושמעון [וב]יום הרב[יעי]
12] ל []

4 Yhwh spoke to Moses as follows: Command the Israelites as follows: when you come into the land that

5 I am giving to you for an inheritance, and you dwell upon it securely, you shall bring wood for a burnt offering and for all the wor[k of

6 the tem]ple which you will build for me in the land, to arrange them upon the altar of burnt offering, [and] the calv[es

7]m for Passover sacrifices and for sacrifices of well-being and for thanksgiving offerings and for free-will offerings and for burnt offerings, daily [

8] and for the doors and for all the work of the temple the[y] will bri[ng]

9] the [fe]stival of new oil. They will bring the wood, two [

10] the ones who bring on the fir[st] day: Levi [

11 Reu]ben and Simeon [and on t]he fou[th] day

12]/[

The addition begins in ll. 1–3 at the conclusion of the instructions for the celebration of the festival of booths found at Lev 23:42–44. Line 4 then commences with the distinctive introduction formula of Lev 24:2aa: “command [וה] *Piel* imperative] the Israelites (...).” However, where we would normally find the material concerning the bringing of oil for the sanctuary candelabra (Lev 24:2aβ–9), 4Q365 23 describes the bringing of wood by the twelve tribes to אשר תבנו לי בארץ “[the tem]ple which you will build for me in the land” (l. 6). While the first reference to the בית “temple” in l. 6 is partly reconstructed, it is confirmed by the second mention of the בית in l. 8, where the word is preserved in full. This offering of wood is to be brought to the temple by the tribes on set days in conjunction with מועד היצהר “the festival of new oil” (l. 9).

While these offerings of wood and new oil are not mentioned in the Pentateuch outside this fragment, there are strong indications that they had an established place in the ritual cult of the Second Temple period.⁴⁶ 11Q19 23 mentions a festival of oil (referred to as יצהר and also שמן חדש) as the last of the firstfruit celebrations, which is to take place fifty days after the festival of the firstfruits of wine (another celebration that lacks an equivalent in the biblical calendars). Immediately after this

⁴⁶ An offering of wood is attested in Josephus (*War* 2.425) as well as early rabbinic sources and other Second Temple documents (e.g., *Aramaic Levi Document* 31; 11QTemple^a [= 11Q19] 23; 43:3–4; very likely 11QTemple^b [= 11Q20] 6:11–18, on this see further below). For the festival of new oil see 4QCalendrical Document E^b 5 and 11Q19 21–22.

description of the festival of new oil, we find the reference to another festival, the name of which has not been preserved, during which the twelve tribes are to bring their offerings on set days over a six-day period. While there is no mention of a wood offering in the extant material of 11Q19, the evidence of another fragment (currently classified as belonging to a different *TS* manuscript [11Q20]) could provide the missing link. This text explicitly mentions wood (11Q20 6:11–18) in the context of a brief list specifying which tribes were to present an offering on which day. Molly Zahn suggests (2012, 105–6; cf. Yadin 1983, 1:222–24) that this small fragment could fit into the lacuna at the top of 11Q19 23, in which case the complete section would have introduced the wood offering and discussed the bringing of wood day-by-day to the temple by the tribes.

4Q365 23 evinces a number of striking overlaps with the description of the wood offering and festival of new oil found in these *TS* mss. Not only do they seem to command that the offerings of new oil and wood be brought to the temple during a joint festal celebration; they also prescribe that the tribes present the wood at the temple, and, most importantly, in the same order. We can deduce this from 11Q19 24—the extended list of offerings to be brought during the festival of new oil—where Reuben and Simeon appear in fifth and sixth position respectively. This order is attested in no other passage apart from 11Q19 24 and 4Q365 23 (Zahn 2012, 150).

These correspondences make it quite probable that there is a literary relationship between *TS* and 4Q365. As a result, even though 4Q365 is a mid-first century BCE manuscript it could point to a much earlier Torah tradition, known to the author of *TS* and received as authoritative scripture (Strugnell, quoted in Wacholder 1983, 205–6; Brooke 2002, 33; Lange 2011, 296; Zahn 2012).⁴⁷ Given that scholars generally agree that *TS* was most likely written sometime during the middle of the second century BCE (García Martínez 2000, 931–32; Elledge 2004, 37–45; Paganini 2009, 265–71), this means that, if 4Q365 preserved traces of a source text for *TS*, a version of Leviticus that already included the additional festivals in fragment 23 might have been in circulation by the early second or perhaps even late third century BCE.

Relevant evidence in this regard is Neh 13:31. This text briefly references a קרבן העצים “wood offering” as having been provided, along with the firstfruits, “at appointed times.” Furthermore, Neh 10:35 lists this same קרבן העצים as part of a broader description of the offerings and gifts brought by the community to the Jerusalem temple. However, this text moves beyond the reference to the wood offering in Neh 13:31 by claiming that this offering was performed בתורה “as it is written in the law.” This mention of a law of the wood offering has provoked considerable debate. Scholars disagree as to whether Neh 10:35 betrays the authors’ knowledge of a version of the Torah which included ritual instructions for the wood offering; and, if so, whether 4Q365 23 might preserve the textual tradition on which their assertion was based (Lange 2011). Nehemiah 10:35 might alternatively

⁴⁷ On why the reverse direction of dependence—that it was 4Q365 which knew and reworked *TS*—is unlikely, see Zahn 2012, 152.

constitute a pseudonymous attribution of ritual innovation to Mosaic Torah, rather than a citation of an extant law. In this case, 4Q365 23 might be a response to Neh 10:35, which aimed at providing the legislative basis on which Nehemiah could rightfully claim that the offering was presented ככתוב בתורה (Zahn 2011; Werman 2010; cf. White Crawford and C. Hoffmann 2008).

However, as I have argued elsewhere (Rhyder 2017), the arguments in favor of a direct literary relationship between Neh 10:35 and 4Q365 23 struggle to explain the absence of shared wording between the two texts.⁴⁸ There are also significant differences in their respective depictions of the manner in which the wood offering is to be performed.⁴⁹ The debate about the relationship between these two texts might therefore be more suitably resolved if we view them as constituting independent witnesses to a version of the Pentateuch in which a law of the wood offering was already included. In such a case, a version of the Torah that included the wood offering would have been in circulation by the time both 4Q365 and Neh 10:35 were written. Determining a probable timeframe is complicated by the likelihood that Neh 10:35 constitutes a late addition to Neh 10, which itself may be a relatively late chapter within the book of Nehemiah (Reinmuth 2001, 315). Nevertheless, it might be assumed that such a version of the Pentateuch would have probably been in circulation at least by the middle of the third century BCE (if not the century before), if it were to be known to the person responsible for Neh 10:35.

What might have been the purpose of the ritual addition at 4Q365 23? The evidence of the *TS* calendar, in addition to the very mention of a מועד “fixed time” in 4Q365 23:9, strongly suggests that the ritual supplement in frg. 23 was intended to introduce two new festivals as a supplement to the festal calendar of Lev 23. This conclusion finds additional support in the wording of the introduction to the ritual supplement in 4Q365 23:5–6. Here, following Yhwh’s instruction to Moses to “command the Israelites,” the fragment attests the following description of the entry into the land: “when you come into the land that I am giving to you for an inheritance, and you dwell upon it securely, you shall bring wood (...).” This statement is strongly reminiscent of the introduction to the firstfruit laws in Lev 23:10: “when you will come to the land that I am giving to you and you reap your harvest, you shall bring the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest.”⁵⁰ This link to Lev 23:10 may reflect the

⁴⁸ Note, for instance, that 4Q365 23 does not make use of the key term קרבן העצים used in Neh 10:35 to describe the wood offering. Instead, it uses the general term קרבן in referencing the offering—a choice that is difficult to reconcile with the theory that the author of 4Q365 23 modeled the addition directly on Neh 10:35.

⁴⁹ For instance, Neh 10:35 seems unaware of 4Q365 23’s idea that the wood offering was associated with the festival of new oil. The two texts assign different communal representatives to the task of bringing the wood; while 4Q365 23 attributes this role to the tribes, Neh 10:35 assigns it to families following a decision discerned by lots.

⁵⁰ It also looks forward to the introduction to the law of the sabbath for the land in Lev 25:2ba, where the entry into the land is again described using similar language (כי תבאו אל-הארץ אשר אני נתן לכם). In addition, it evinces

perceived continuity between the offering of new oil and of wood and celebrations of firstfruits: in *TS*, the festival of new oil is listed as a firstfruits festival to take place after the festival of new wine (see 11Q19 21–22); and in Neh 13:31 the wood offering is said to have been provided at the same time as firstfruits. The decision to introduce the offerings of new oil and wood with similar wording to that of Lev 23:10 might therefore be an attempt to position these festivals as legitimate extensions of the earlier firstfruit instructions, and thus as a fitting addition to the festal calendar.

However, it is noteworthy that the addition is not inserted directly into the festal calendar of Lev 23, but rather follows the introduction at Lev 24:1–2a α . To explain this curious placement of the addition, Milgrom has suggested (1994, 454) that the scribe responsible for 4Q365 23 might have perceived a common focus in the new rituals and in Lev 24:2a β –9 on communal offerings to the sanctuary.⁵¹ Indeed, despite its fragmentary description, the purpose of the wood offering is clear: it supplies the materials required for the sanctuary's upkeep: specifically for מלאכת הבית “the work of the temple” (ll. 5–6, 8) and re-stocking the altar (l. 6). A similar focus on the service of the sanctuary is evident in Lev 24:2a β –4 which, as discussed above (§ 4.4.1), instruct the Israelites to bring an offering of pure beaten olive oil “pure beaten olive oil” שמן זית זך כתייה to the tent of meeting so that Aaron might keep the sanctuary candelabra continually burning. The fragment admittedly differs from Lev 24:2a β –4 by including wood in its offering; but its combination of wood with oil still provides an intriguing echo with the focus of the original materials in Lev 24:2a β –4 on the Israelites' duty to make a regular donation of oil to the sanctuary (Zahn 2011, 108). Furthermore, there are phraseological connections between the two texts, with the same verb being used, in Lev 24:3, to describe Aaron's action of arranging (ערך) the candelabra before the sanctuary curtain and, in 4Q365 23:6, the arranging (ערך) of the wood offering upon the altar. It therefore appears that the person responsible for the addition perceived a common focus between the new rituals and the earlier materials of Lev 24:2a β –4: both texts deal with the Israelites' duty to service the sanctuary with communal donations, especially those of oil.

In addition, the person responsible for 4Q365 23 may have considered Lev 24:5–9 to set a precedent for the supplement's focus on all twelve tribes contributing to the maintenance of the central temple via their donations of wood. As argued above (§ 4.4.1), the display of twelve loaves on the golden table was most likely intended to represent the twelve tribes within the space of the

parallels with the introduction to the offering of firstfruits in Deut 26:1. On this link, as well as other borrowings from non-Priestly texts in 4Q365 23, see Rhyder 2017.

⁵¹ The fragmentary nature of 4Q365 makes it difficult to know whether the earlier materials at Lev 24:2a β –9 were replaced by the offerings of wood and oil, or whether they were retained at a later point, and if so, how they were rearranged. I am inclined to suppose that the offerings described in Lev 24:2a β –9 were not removed entirely but rather displaced and taken up again at a later point. However, the topical connection between the new material and Lev 24:1–9 could mean that these new festivals constitute a rewriting of the earlier offerings, and were therefore intended to replace them.

sanctuary. It is therefore possible that the person responsible for 4Q365 23 saw an additional point of continuity in this chapter of Leviticus with its new command that the tribes present wood at the temple on set days. Yet unlike Lev 24:5–9, which emphasize Aaron’s role of arranging the loaves before the deity as a memorial food offering, 4Q365 23 stresses the responsibility of the tribes themselves to ensure that they are represented before Yhwh at the central shrine by convening at the temple at the allocated intervals to present communal offerings to the deity.

In this way, 4Q365 23 might also echo an additional Priestly text, located outside Leviticus, which concerns the tribes’ representation at the central shrine: namely, the account in Num 7 of the re-dedication of the wilderness shrine (Werman 2010, 157). As discussed in Chapter Two (see § 2.2.1), Num 7 relates how representatives from the tribes bring offerings to the wilderness shrine over a twelve-day ceremony in which each of the tribes is allocated a specific day to come to the sanctuary. The ceremony culminates in the dedication of the altar and the representation of the tribes in the “twelve silver plates, twelve silver basins, twelve golden dishes” (v. 84) which are to be housed within the sanctuary. We have little way of knowing the extent to which Num 7 might have influenced the depiction of the wood offering in 4Q365 23, since the fragment breaks off at this point in the text. But, as they are, the texts are strikingly similar in their notion of a celebration in which tribal leaders, symbolically representing the whole community, bring offerings to the sanctuary over a period of set days.⁵²

Thus the fragment combines, to sophisticated effect, interrelated interests in centralization found in the Priestly traditions, especially Lev 23:1–24:9 but also other texts (see further Rhyder 2017). Its new festivals affirm the intrinsic connection between worshipping Yhwh in accordance with a standardized temporal scheme and uniting in collective service to a central shrine. Positioned between the calendar of Lev 23 and the regulations of Lev 24:1–9, the new rituals introduced in 4Q365 23 provide a kind of fulcrum point between festal time and sanctuary service. There is no sense here that the Israelites might be discharged of their duties towards the central sanctuary, so long as they keep the same festal time; to the contrary, festal time and the sanctuary cannot be divorced from each other. Both are core to the centralized cult.

To return, then, to a question discussed earlier in this chapter (§ 4.3), namely, whether H’s festal program in Lev 23 permits local festivals at multiple shrines: the ritual supplement at 4Q365 23

⁵² Admittedly, Num 7 describes a twelve-day festival while 4Q365 23 stipulates that tribes are to present two-by-two over a six-day period. This difference may indicate that the person responsible for 4Q365 23 was working according to an inherited conception of how the wood offering fits within the festal calendar, such that there were limited days available for the presentation of wood at the sanctuary in conjunction with the festival of new oil. Possibly it represented a subtle correction of Num 7, since a twelve-day festival would require that one tribe bring offerings to the sanctuary on the sabbath. Nevertheless, in both texts the motif of set days being assigned to the tribes is core to the depiction of the bringing of communal offerings to the sanctuary.

strongly suggests that such a de-centralized reading is untenable (pace Milgrom 1997; Weyde 2004; Brett 2012). The fragment, by providing a rare window into the way ancient scribes interpreted H's concept of festal time, affirms that ancient scribes interpreted Lev 23, as well as Lev 24:1–9, in a centralized way. This is thrown into relief by the setting of the ritual supplement at 4Q365 23 at a בית “temple” to be built in the land. The mention of a בית is a significant innovation on the part of the scribe responsible for the fragment. It constitutes the only known passage in any extant version of Leviticus in which Yhwh reveals to Moses the instructions for rituals to be performed at a future temple in the land. Crucially, the person responsible for 4Q365 23 seems to have felt no inhibition in developing the ritual obligations established at the tent of meeting, in texts like Lev 24:1–9 or Num 7, so that they apply to that future temple. In so doing, the fragment confirms that the Israelites must continue to defer to a single sanctuary, to which they owe a *collective* responsibility—as twelve tribes—for its ongoing maintenance and upkeep, in the post-wilderness future.

Thus the fragment confirms a broader point that has been made throughout this study: namely, that ancient scribes saw a *single temple* as the heir to the centralized cult established at Sinai. Only such a space could fulfill the deity's requirement that all Israel appear before it as a unified collective, and offer it ritual service in accordance with a fixed temporal standard. The Israelites must therefore commit, in all future time periods, to worshipping as one; gathering together at the same shrine on fixed dates each year, and pooling their resources to present festal donations as a unified collective.

4.5 H's Calendar and Strategies of Centralization in the Persian Period

As already noted in the discussion of Lev 17 (§ 3.5), one of the recurring issues that confront us when considering centralization in H is the interrelationship between discourse and practice. While the supplement at 4Q365 23 takes us one step forward in reconstructing how H's centralizing discourse may have influenced later scribes, the fragment is not in itself a historical account. It tells us little about the impact of H's concept of centralized time on actual ritual practices in ancient Israel; or about the historical impetus for H's concept of centralized time, as articulated in Lev 23 and 24:1–9.

As always, empirical historical evidence that might enable us to investigate these questions further is very limited. As we shall see below when discussing the Elephantine correspondence, (§ 4.5.1), some surviving sources do provide potentially useful insights. However, the weight which can be placed upon such sources remains debatable; and there will always be a lack of precision in our understanding of how H's calendar in Lev 23 was actually implemented in the Persian period. I will return to these questions in greater detail below; but first it is worth considering what we might infer about H's socio-cultic aims from the internal evidence contained within H's discourse of centralized time, and its correspondences with other centralizing discussions considered thus far in this study. Put another way, if the interest in Lev 23 in standardizing time is a counterpart to P's concern with

standardizing ritual practice; and if there are demonstrable continuities of Lev 24:1–9 with P, is it not reasonable to infer that the historical context which influenced the authors of P may similarly have conditioned H (see further §§ 2.2.2, 2.3.2 and 2.4.2 above)?

This is of course speculative, but it seems reasonable to propose that H shares with P, not just thematic correspondences, but a discursive intent to funnel attention and resources towards the central sanctuary and ritual leaders of the temple in Jerusalem. H continues P's focus on construing local diversity and de-centralized worship as incompatible with the standards set at Sinai. H's laws of regular offerings meanwhile remind the Israelites, as does P, of the deity's expectation that *all* Israel will be represented in the donations that will be displayed in the central shrine by the Aaronide high priest; the rite of the display loaves in particular adds a powerful argument as to why the twelve tribes must worship at one and the same shrine, and under the leadership of one, centralized priesthood. From this it may be surmised that, like P, H is concerned with shoring up the viability of a central temple in ancient Israel, most likely that in Jerusalem, to the exclusion of any other site.

Moreover, H's standardized calendar might be read as speaking to another historical factor which seems to have been important in shaping P's discourse of centralization: that is, the challenge of defining the Israelite cult and community in the post-monarchic period (see Chapter Two). As mentioned above (§ 4.1), there was a strong connection in Western Asia between the reckoning of calendrical time and royal authority (S. Stern 2012, 2–4, 14–15). Kings were responsible for assessing the weight of astrological events when calculating the length of months and years, and thereby controlled the timing of political events and religious celebrations. H's calendar, in contrast, allocates no room for a royal figure in establishing the timing of the Israelite festivals. Admittedly, the significance of this absence should not be overstated. As mentioned above (§ 4.2.1), Lev 23 is not a replica of other calendars in Western Asia: it fails to explain how time should be reckoned by providing instructions on the length of days, months or years, or the weight which should be given to astrological phenomena. Instead, it remains exclusively focused on the frequency of festal celebrations, and takes for granted that the Israelites know how to calculate these occurrences.

Nonetheless, the lack of a royal figure in H's articulation of a fixed calendar for all Israel might still be read as an intentional discursive device. In the absence of a Judean monarch at the time that H was probably written (see § 1.1.3 above), H appears to reframe a traditional royal prerogative—the management of time—as being that of Yhwh. The deity has revealed its own temporal program directly to Moses, who in turn declares it to the community writ large. H thereby implies that the lack of a king, in the historical context that Judah now finds itself, need not be an impediment to achieving temporal symmetry across the Israelite community. Meanwhile, the exclusive focus on the timing of *festivals*, with no consideration of how the community might calculate the lengths of days, months, or years, might have further served H's post-monarchic discourse. It effectively ignores the more technical aspects of time reckoning, in which a king or imperial power would have presumably played a key role, in favor of a thoroughly *ritualized*

conception of Israelite time—a conception which establishes temple authorities as singular in their ability to calculate the dates of importance for the Israelite community. The calendar of Lev 23 therefore can be read as a device whereby the authorities at the Jerusalem temple seek to cement their own authority in the absence of a monarch, by claiming the right to set the time for the community.

However, if H shares with P a post-monarchic outlook, H's concept of centralized time also speaks to distinctive interests on the part of the authors of Lev 17–26 which seem to move beyond the socio-cultic aims of P. In particular, it shows a new concern to assert the community's obligation to remain temporally synchronized in their worship of Yhwh, even in the potentially fractured and geographically dispersed context of the post-wilderness future. Indeed, H's shift in Lev 23 to life in the land, and mention of Israelite settlements, suggests a shift of focus from P, towards exploring how the centralized cult might be implemented in the face of new historical challenges.

In particular, it seems reasonable to propose that H's emphasis on asserting the calendar's normativity “in all your settlements,” might have been a response to the emergence of a large diaspora living at a distance from the central temple in Jerusalem. As mentioned above (§§ 4.1 and 4.3.2), the work of Stern on the relationship between stabilized calendars and geographical expansion in antiquity suggests that H's interest in calendric fixity might stem from the practical issues arising from geographical dispersion. In particular, we might speculate that the calendar of Lev 23 reflected the perceived need on the part of the Jerusalem temple authorities to reimagine the role of temporal symmetry in ensuring solidarity, cohesion, and unity across the Yahwistic community. It insists that those who live at a distance from the cultic center do not have permission to reckon their own festal dates. To the contrary, they maintain the same obligation as the rest of the Israelites. They must defer to centralized authorities in the reckoning of festal time, and in so doing, remain synchronized with the other members of the community living in different locales.

4.5.1 Fixed Dates and Geographical Distance: The Evidence from Elephantine

Any consideration of the role of temporal symmetry as incorporating the diaspora invites a consideration of the papyri and ostraca discovered on the island of Elephantine mentioned above. This extra-biblical evidence suggests that attempts were made in at least one community in the diaspora by the end of the fifth century to standardize the reckoning of festal time; and that these efforts, while far less comprehensive than those of H (see further below), were consistent with the ideal of calendrical fixity promoted by Lev 23.

Among the Judean materials found on the island is an ostrakon (*TAD D7.6*) containing a short letter by an unknown author to “Hoshaiah,” which Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni date to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE (1999, 158). The ostrakon is mainly concerned with Hoshaiah's child-minding duties, instructing him to “look after the children until Aḥutab comes” (*TAD D7.6:3–4*) and knead bread for them before their mother returns. Towards the end of the ostrakon, the author

makes the request, “send (word) to me when you make the Passover” (D7.6:8–10). This inquiry is significant. It confirms that there was a degree of ritual consistency between the community at Elephantine and the scribes who produced the Pentateuch: the same festal term (פסח) could be employed in the HB and in an everyday discussion of household matters among Judeans living on the Egyptian island. However, this letter also reveals that this festival was not necessarily associated with the date given to it by the biblical traditions. The request to Hoshaiiah to send word of when Passover was to be held suggests that the author of this ostrakon did not associate this feast with a recurring date each year. It was necessary for the ostrakon’s author to seek information as to which date Hoshaiiah had chosen to hold the meal. We can infer from this that the timing of Passover could vary from year to year, and perhaps even from household to household, among the Judeans stationed at Elephantine.

Yet in a papyrus written at the end of the fifth century, a different picture begins to emerge concerning the timing of festal celebrations. The so-called Passover Papyrus (A4.1) is very badly preserved, which limits what we can say about its context and contents. From what is preserved, however, we can discern that the papyrus contains a letter from a certain Judean called Hananiah, written in the fifth year of the reign of Darius II (419 BCE). This may be the same Hananiah who, in a letter written by Mauziah b. Nathan (A4.3), is reported as having visited the Judean garrison. He seems to have held a formal office, perhaps one which was appointed by the Persian imperial administration; the Passover Papyrus opens in l. 2 with reference to a message sent from Darius to Arsames, which suggests that Hananiah was a royal functionary (Kottsieper 2002, 157; Joisten-Pruschke 2008, 75).⁵³

The content of Darius’ message has unfortunately not been preserved. Following the lacuna where the decree was presumably located, the papyrus lists a series of commands to Jedaniah and the Jewish garrison to count certain dates and undertake particular rites. Based on the edition and translation of Porten and Yardeni (1986, 54–55), but with very limited reconstructions, the translation of ll. 3–8 of the papyrus appears as follows:

A4.1:3–8

RECTO 3 Now, you thus count four[teen]
 4 [?] and from the fifteenth day until the twenty-first day of [Nisan]
 5 be pure and take heed. [Do] n[ot do] work
 6 do not drink. And do not [eat] anything of leaven
 VERSO 7 sunset until the twenty-first day of Nisa[n]
 8 [b]ring into your chambers and seal (them) up during [these] days

⁵³ While Ingo Kottsieper’s theory (2002, 157) that Hananiah was responsible for obtaining formal recognition of the Judean colony is intriguing, it ultimately cannot be verified. Possible parallels with Ezra and Nehemiah raised by Kratz (2011) are interesting but also rest on limited evidence.

The subject of these lines is, in all likelihood, the festival of unleavened bread. While the papyrus never employs the phrase *הג המצות* “the festival of unleavened bread,” the reference to leaven in l. 6 seems to be in the context of a prohibition against eating leaven until the twenty-first day of Nisan mentioned in the next line. Again, since the verb “to eat” is not attested, this reading remains somewhat speculative. However, the presence of the command to “not drink” immediately prior to the reference to leaven supports the idea that the line originally contained a parallel injunction to “not eat” anything that contained leaven (Granerød 2016, 174).⁵⁴ The hypothesis that the papyrus concerns the festival of unleavened bread is also supported by the dates mentioned in l. 4, namely “the fifteenth to the twenty-first of [Nisan].” Since the month of Nisan was the first month of the year according to the Babylonian calendar, the papyrus attests an identical date for the seven-day period of abstaining from leaven as that which is commanded in Lev 23:6. (While the word “Nisan” is not attested in l. 4, we can be confident in reconstructing it on the basis of the reference in l. 7 to “the twenty-first day of Nisa[n].”) In addition to not eating leaven, the Judeans at Elephantine are also instructed to undertake other rites during the festival. In l. 5 we find the command to “be pure and take heed,” followed by the traces of a command to abstain from work, presumably on one or some of the days “fifteenth day until the twenty-first day of [Nisan].” There is also the command in l. 8 to bring something (leaven?) “into your chambers and seal (them) up during [these] days.” Many of these rites and prohibitions have no parallel in the biblical instructions for the celebration of unleavened bread. However, it is striking that both of the non-sacrificial rites that are associated with unleavened bread in Lev 23:6–8 and Exod 12:14–20, namely abstaining from eating leaven for seven days and from work tasks on the first and seventh days, are attested in the papyrus.

Furthermore, there are hints in l. 3 of the papyrus that Hananiah may have conceived the seven days of unleavened bread as being preceded by a festal celebration on the fourteenth day of the same month. The command to “count” (l. 3) is frequently used in the HB to introduce the celebration of festivals (Grelot 1955, 257; Nihan 2007a, 572). Scholars have therefore usually surmised that the papyrus originally contained a double command to observe not only unleavened bread but also to keep the Passover the evening prior (Arnold 1912; Cowley 1923, 62–64; Grelot 1954; Porten et al. 2011 [1996], 125–26; Otto 2003 [1988–1989], 19–20; Nihan 2007a, 572–73; Whitters 2001, 281–85). In this case, the papyrus would attest precisely the same dating scheme for Passover and unleavened bread as is found in H’s calendar, in addition to the two non-sacrificial rites which Lev 23:6–8 prescribes for the seven-day festival.

However, while it is tempting to imagine that l. 3 concerns the celebration of Passover, the absence of any extant reference to Passover or any of its associated rites in the papyrus calls for a

⁵⁴ It is not known what the Jews at Elephantine were instructed not to drink. In the Mishnah we find the prohibition of drinking “Egyptian barley beer” (m. Pesah 3:1), but it is impossible to know if this was the drink which Hananiah had in mind (Granerød 2016, 174).

significant degree of caution in using it to reconstruct the relationship between Passover and unleavened bread in the Persian period (Gaß 1999, 64–65; Kottsieper 2002, 150–51; Kratz 2007b; Granerød 2016, 167–68). Even if we can assume with some confidence that l. 3 commands the Israelites to do something on the fourteenth of Nisan, the fragmentary state of the papyrus prevents us from knowing what the Judeans at Elephantine were required to do on this day.

It is also unclear what links, if any, exist between this papyrus and the festal program of Lev 23. Traditionally scholars have assumed that the date set by Hananiah for the festival of unleavened bread reveals the direct influence of H's calendar on the reckoning of time in the Persian period (see, e.g., Arnold 1912, 29–30; Grelot 1955; Porten and Yardeni 1999, 125–26). The reference to Darius II at the start of the letter has even been taken as evidence of imperial authorization of H's festal program by the end of the fifth century BCE (Nihan 2007a, 572–75). Certainly, the overlaps with Lev 23:5–8 in the papyrus are intriguing; and since Hananiah was, in all probability, a Judean, it is not unreasonable to suggest that he might have been motivated to synchronize worship at the garrison with the calendrical tradition that was promoted by the Jerusalem temple. However, the absence of any clear reference to the Mosaic Torah in the papyrus suggests that the influence of H's festal program cannot be proven. The reference to rites as part of the festival of unleavened bread which have no biblical precedent could reveal that the papyrus does not know the biblical calendars, but uses the same date for unleavened bread as that of Lev 23:5–8 and Exod 12:1–20 because of the influence of a broadly diffused custom (Kratz 2007b, 85–86; Granerød 2016, 172–75).

We do not need to resolve the question of the relationship between the papyrus and the text of Lev 23 in order to compare their discourses of festal standardization. The Passover Papyrus remains important to the study of Lev 23, even if it does not directly attest to the influence of this calendar, because it suggests there was a broader impulse among Judeans in the Persian period to standardize Israelite festivals in the diaspora. Few would deny that the papyrus attempts to associate certain dates of the month of Nisan with the festival of unleavened bread. As noted by Gard Granerød (2016, 178), Hananiah's letter seems to be less concerned with introducing a new festival to the Jewish garrison at Elephantine as with *fixing the date* on which they were to celebrate the feast, and thus with “regulat[ing] the (religious) calendar of the Judaeon community in Elephantine.” Such an attempt stands in marked contrast to the casual request made to Hoshai in ostrakon D7.6 to make known his choice for when to celebrate the Passover! Hananiah's letter builds on his authority as a royal functionary of the Persian king to assert a “top-down” approach to the reckoning of festal time in which local discretion is radically reduced.

Whether or not the Persian powers invoked by Hananiah did in fact care about the dates on which the Jews at Elephantine kept the feast is something we may never know; without the contents of the decree mentioned in l. 2, we cannot determine the extent to which the imperial administration supported Hananiah's bid to standardize the festivals held by the Jewish diaspora. Nevertheless, it is clear that Hananiah's letter came from outside the Elephantine community, and drew on Persian

authority to standardize the date on which the festival of unleavened bread (at least) was celebrated by his “brothers” (A4.1:1) at Elephantine. The so-called Passover papyrus therefore provides a rare window into Persian-period attempts to fix Yahwistic festivals to set dates. It also affirms the importance of non-sacrificial activities, like abstaining from eating or drinking certain things during the festival or observing work bans, in facilitating the participation of all Israelites, regardless of their location, in the festal celebrations.

The so-called Passover Papyrus therefore provides some context for interpreting H’s interest in achieving a standardized festal calendar which might apply “in all your settlements.” It supports the theory that there might have been a link between H’s concern to set fixed festal dates and attempts to integrate the diaspora into a centralized calendrical system. It provides valuable evidence that standardizing time across the diaspora was a priority of Judeans in the late fifth century BCE, and that the local discretion that was attested in D7.6 was discouraged in favor of a centralized system of time reckoning. This congruence between H’s standardized calendar and Hananiah’s letter to the Judeans at Elephantine might therefore suggest that Lev 23 emerged in a similar historical timeframe to that of the Passover Papyrus, and thus towards the end of the fifth century BCE, although this necessarily remains speculative.

Meanwhile, while there are certainly continuities between Lev 23 and Hananiah’s letter to the Judeans at Elephantine, there are also important differences. H’s concept of centralized time moves beyond the Passover Papyrus in using the standardization of time to direct Israelites in the “settlements” back to the central sanctuary and its Aaronide priesthood. Leviticus 23 articulates an explicit link between the Israelites observing the same festal time and sending donations to the sanctuary or making pilgrimages. Indeed, the command of Lev 23:17 to send the donations of firstfruits “from your settlements” makes explicit H’s expectation that the Israelites send material contributions to the temple, even if distance prevented them from participating in the rites there. The pairing of Lev 23 and 24:1–9 may have worked to similar effect: it makes clear that the Israelites have a permanent obligation to contribute to the regular maintenance of the central shrine, and to defer to its priesthood, if they wish to be counted among the clients of the god Yhwh.

Hence, H’s festal calendar does more than achieve temporal synchronization across dispersed communities of Yahwists, thereby creating a sense of uniformity in the face of distance: it directly implicates the diaspora in the ritual cult of the centralized temple. Leviticus 23:1–24:9 therefore speaks to H’s particular concern to use time in justifying why all the Israelites, regardless of location, must send tributes back to Jerusalem, at fixed times each year. In so doing, H works to secure a regular stream of resources for that temple, in accordance with a calendar that remained firmly under their control.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has therefore demonstrated that one of the key elements of H's strategy of centralization is its concept of fixed, standardized time. This process of centralizing time serves to affirm the ritual hierarchies and authoritative cultic leaders which, in the discussion of Lev 17 and its standardized ritual processes of blood disposal, were established as core to H's centralizing discourse (see Chapter Three). In Lev 23 H develops additional discursive strategies to promote its ideal of a centralized cult and unified community. As the close reading of the calendar of Lev 23 offered in this chapter has shown, H's intent is to structure the year into discrete, repeated periods—*מועדי יהוה*—"the fixed times of Yhwh"—during which the Israelites must undertake prescribed festive rites or avoid particular activities. This temporal structure involves a sophisticated blending of two different types of calendars in the HB—one which structures the year according to three annual pilgrimages (Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–23; Deut 16:1–17), and the other which divides it into two pilgrimages to be held in the first and seventh months respectively (Ezek 45:17–25). The result is a new synthesis which establishes Lev 23 as the authoritative standard by which the Israelites must organize their time and structure their year.

Although this synthesis incorporates certain aspects of D's calendar of Deut 16:1–17, this chapter has shown that H's centralizing logic is not derived from that tradition. Rather, H's focus on the standardization of time reveals its own creativity in construing local diversity, and thus decentralized worship, as incompatible with Yhwh's authoritative revelation. H insists that the Israelites must present a united front before the deity, not only by performing the festal rites on the same dates each year, but also by undertaking pilgrimages to a shared central site, where they must gather as an *עצרה* "assembly." In addition, the daily life of the Israelite community must be infused with a consciousness of a central temporal order, which pervades and shapes non-sacrificial ritual activities within their domestic contexts. The reference to the settlements forms part of this distinctive discourse of centralization. Far from signaling H's permission to undertake festal celebrations at multiple shrines, the mention of the settlements is a strategy of integrating the cultic periphery into the centralized system by means of temporal symmetry. By requiring communities who live at a distance to synchronize their year according to the festal rituals that transpire at that sanctuary, H's calendar works to underpin a sense of cohesion and unity within the dispersed Israelite community. Meanwhile, it underscores the obligation of those living in the settlements to send donations, via communal representatives, at fixed times each year.

This analysis of Lev 23 has also thrown further light on the way in which H, while being thoroughly influenced by P's discourse of centralization, does not simply repeat it. The calendar is a major innovation when compared to the earlier P materials. Numbers 28–29 does not pre-date Lev 23 but rather depends upon it; meaning that there is no P precedent for H's interest in articulating an annual program of festivals or their related donations. Leviticus 23 therefore shows H's ability to both

move in new discursive directions when calling on the Israelites to standardize and centralize their ritual practice, while also drawing on the earlier P materials when they provide a relevant precedent.

This chapter has also shown that the traditional absence of scholarly interest in Lev 24:1–9 in the study of H limits our understanding of its discourse of centralization. These verses, with their focus on fixed rituals at the central shrine, reveal the linkage between the standardization of time and the concentration of material resources and cultic authority to the central shrine and Aaronide priesthood. By serving as a powerful reminder to the Israelites of their need to be fully attuned to the rhythms of the sanctuary, and in particular to its need for regular donations, H uses time to reinforce the Israelites' obligation to sponsor the central shrine. These ideas are given fresh expression in the ritual addition at 4Q365 23, where two new celebrations at the future sanctuary have been shown to merge the interests of Lev 23 and 24:1–9 with two new festivals which are directly implicated in providing raw materials for the works of the central shrine. Meanwhile, the new setting for these festivals at a temple in the land confirms that the ritual obligations established at Sinai were binding in all future time periods, and thus required the twelve tribes to remain centralized around a single temple once they had entered the land.

The reading of Lev 23 and 24:1–9 offered here, then, has affirmed the broader relevance of H's calendar and regular rituals for understanding the link between time, power and centralization. These texts confirm, as social theorists and historians studying fixed calendars and standardized temporal schemes have argued, that attempts to control time are integral to the promotion of social cohesion and centralized authority (Durkheim 1995 [1912], 10–11; Zerubavel 1981, 9; Gell 1992; S. Stern 2012). Although we face considerable difficulties in identifying the historical authorities which might have been behind the temporal program promoted by H, and how it might have been implemented in practice, Lev 23 and 24:1–9 still attest to how standardized time can be used to creative *discursive* effect in promoting centralization. In addition, the absence of a royal figure in H's calendar, as well as its similarities to the Passover papyrus, allow us to speculate as to the possible historical impetus behind H's interest in articulating a standardized temporal scheme as a strategy of centralization.

In sum, the study of H's calendar has brought to the fore H's interest in articulating the relationship between center and periphery, and in using time to direct the attention of Israelites towards the central sanctuary in their day-to-day lives. It has also demonstrated how the appropriate management of domestic activities, which take place away from the shrine, is integral to H's centralizing logic. Hence it is now appropriate to integrate into this study of H those texts of Lev 17–26 that assert control over other, “extra-sanctuary” aspects the Israelites' communal life in accordance with centralized authorities. In particular, it is possible from this vantage point to reassess arguably the most distinctive interest of the Holiness legislation: the very notion of “holiness” itself.

Chapter Five

Holiness as Hegemony:
Sabbath, Land and Communal Sanctification

The previous two chapters have examined two key aspects of H's discourse of centralization. The first, which is evident in Lev 17, is H's call for the Israelites to restrict slaughter and sacrifice to the central sanctuary on account of the primacy of ritual blood disposal; the second, found in Lev 23 and 24:1–9, is H's promotion of a central calendar of fixed annual festivals, and the adoption by the Israelite community of a regular rhythm of daily and weekly rituals at the central shrine. In this chapter, I turn to examine a third, and critically important, dimension of H's centralizing logic—the motif which provides its legislation with its conceptual underpinning—namely, holiness.

An interest in holiness pervades the laws of Lev 17–26, with the root קדש occurring over sixty times in Lev 19–23 alone. Notably, H's employment of the term קדש involves a major innovation vis-à-vis the earlier P materials (see further § 1.1.1 above). In the pre-H form of P קדש is employed to refer almost exclusively to spaces, persons and objects which are associated with Yhwh's sanctuary and its ritual cult. H, however, does not restrict holiness to those persons who have direct access to the deity's shrine and sancta; while the root is frequently employed in H with reference to the sanctuary cult,¹ H widens the concept to make holiness accessible to, indeed mandatory for, the Israelite community as a whole.² This extended conception of holiness, which incorporates the everyday life of the Israelites, informs certain distinctive interests of H which we have observed in earlier chapters: for example, the development of a calendar which structures the year in accordance with Yhwh's sacred times (§ 4.2); and the subtle rejection, in H's carrion law in Lev 17:15–16, of the non-Priestly idea that the Israelites are innately holy (§ 3.4.1; see further § 5.2.2 below).

The manifest importance of holiness in H has generated considerable scholarly literature. As elaborated in further detail below (§ 5.1.2), recent research has been concerned primarily with considering why H moves in a different direction to P on the question of who or what might be called holy. Scholars have tended to interpret this difference between H and P by arguing that H presents a dynamic concept of holiness, while holiness in P is static: that is, while holiness in P is a state of spaces, objects and persons associated with Yhwh's sanctuary, holiness in H is a dynamic category, in

¹ Even the very term for “sanctuary” that is most frequently used by H is the *mem*-preformative מקדש (Lev 19:30; 20:3; 21:12; 26:2, 31)—a term which highlights the fundamental connection between holiness and the shrine.

² H's expansive concept in holiness has been frequently noted by scholars; for noteworthy discussions of the past few decades, see, e.g., D. Wright 1999; Olyan 2000, 121–22; Milgrom 2000b, 1397–1400; B. J. Schwartz 2000, 52–58; Trevaskis 2011.

that it is something that is predicated on right behavior in both ethical and ritual contexts. This idea is often paired with the view that the call to the Israelites to be holy is a call to imitate Yhwh in their behavior (*imitatio dei*; see further § 5.1.2 below and the literature cited there).

Yet, for all this scholarly attention, very few studies have considered the role that H's expanded concept of holiness might have played in its discourse of centralization. Select studies have considered the possibility that H's incorporation of everyday contexts into its expectations of holiness might have been related to the negotiation of what is central to the Israelite community (see further § 1.2.3 above). However, the scholars who have approached holiness from this perspective have reached opposing conclusions: for Joosten (1996b) H's interest in everyday holiness is emblematic of H's provincial outlook, which reveals its origins among scribes seeking to affirm the importance of life on Israel's rural margins, rather than direct attention to the cultic center at Jerusalem; for Mathys (1986), Calaway (2010, 2013) and Carr (2011a, 302–3) it reveals H's concern to offer new ways to experience sanctity and collective unity while the Judeans are living in exile, without a central shrine at their disposal; while for Knohl (1995) everyday holiness is a centralizing tool whereby the Jerusalem temple seeks to justify its exclusive control over the Yahwistic cult by expanding its reach into all aspects of Israel's collective experience (see further § 5.1.3 below).

This chapter argues that H's expansion of holiness to incorporate all aspects of Israelite life is best understood as a device that seeks to enhance the authority of the central sanctuary and priesthood. By broadening a concept—holiness—that was previously confined to the sanctuary so that it applies to non-cultic domains, while insisting that such holiness can only be attained if the Israelites defer to the central law in all aspects of their lives, H develops a powerful centralizing strategy. It provides a rationale, beyond the fear of sanctions—powerful though these are in the H legislation (see § 3.3.1)—for the conformity that is required in sustaining the centralized cult, and for positioning the central sanctuary as the social, cultic and economic center of the entire community.

This chapter begins (§ 5.1.1) by reviewing the main differences between H and P in regards to holiness, before turning to assess (§ 5.1.2) the scholarly tendency to resort to ethics when interpreting H's concept of collective sanctification. Such attempts to link holiness in Lev 17–26 with a heightened interest in ethics on the part of H, it is argued, should not be accepted uncritically. When mandating sanctification via law observance, H seems less concerned with promoting moral behavior than with ensuring that the Israelites consent, as a collective, to conform to a central legal standard. This call to conformity, it is argued, resembles a form of “conventionalism,” as it has been described by Theodor Adorno and other social theorists: that is, it a form of a groupthink which promotes obedience to central authorities, and the associated rejection of behaviors that characterize “outsiders,” as a strategy of ensuring collective unity. Rather than revealing a limited interest in the central shrine on H's part, or the absence of such a center at the time of H's writing, such a concept of collective sanctification, it is argued (§ 5.1.3), creates the necessary discursive context within which H

can claim that the Israelites must be a centralized community: in that they must be willing to defer to central authorities in all aspects of their everyday lives, and avoid divisions or local factions.

The following section (§ 5.2) then considers the methods by which H solicits communal consent for such a centralizing form of collective sanctification. First, I use (§ 5.2.1) the two carrion laws of Lev 17:15–16 and Lev 22:8–9 to show how the expansion of holiness in Israel serves to entrench socio-cultic hierarchies: it affirms the innate holiness of the priestly class, and thus their superior rights and responsibilities, while imposing on the Israelites the expectation that they will constantly conform to the law. Second, I examine (§ 5.2.2) how the parenetic framework of Lev 18–22 repeatedly exhorts the Israelites to separate themselves as a centralized community: to standardize their behaviors and reject alternative customs; to show loyalty to other members of the community as an analogue for their loyalty to Yhwh; and to commit to maintaining and protecting a shared central sanctuary.

This is followed by a discussion (§ 5.3) of how the prominence of the sabbath observance in H's concept of collective sanctification enhances its centralizing discourse. By comparing H's conception of the sabbath with what we know about this sacred time from other biblical and non-biblical sources, I suggest that H's elevation of the sabbath shows particular ingenuity on the part of the authors of Lev 17–26; it forges new pathways to normalizing the reach of sanctuary authorities in extra-sanctuary domains, and entrenching the need for standardization and conformity among the Israelites. Finally, I examine (§ 5.4) how the laws of land tenure and indenture in Lev 25:8–55 extend and enhance H's use of collective sanctification as a strategy of centralization. While Lev 25 does not explicitly mention the holiness of the sanctuary or of the people, it positions the Israelites as tenants on the deity's land, serving as Yhwh's עבדים "slaves." In an idealized image of a colossal "temple estate," akin to Mesopotamian concepts of temple households in which slaves or tenants lived on the god's land and tended it on the temple's behalf, H positions the Israelites as the principal labor force on sanctuary lands, and the shrine as the rightful authority to direct the economics of debt remission and redemption of indentured servants. Such a concept, it will be shown (§ 5.4.1), reveals H's concern to promote the sanctuary as an *economic center*—one which requires ongoing, material support in the form of offerings and donations, but also recognition as an authority in agricultural and socio-economic domains. Following an analysis of the possible historical context of such a claim (§ 5.4.2), a conclusion (§ 5.5) summarizes the main findings and their significance for the broader study.

5.1 H's Distinctive Concept of Holiness

"Holiness" is a deeply subjective and imprecise term, not only in the HB, but also in other cultural contexts. The seminal work of Douglas has shown holiness to be a "relative categor[y]" (Douglas 1966, 9): in that to say something is "holy" is essentially a way of differentiating it from other elements. Holiness in the HB, then, has been understood as a way of articulating the fundamental

difference between human beings and Yhwh (Levine 1989, 256; Marx 2011, 81). It is a positive category that constitutes Yhwh's quintessential attribute (Eichrodt 1961 [1933], 1:273–74; Milgrom 1991, 47; Hartley 1992, lvi–ii; D. Wright 1992, 3:238; Olyan 2000, 17; Angelini and Nihan 2016). Those spaces, persons, items or times which are deemed “holy” are those which enjoy proximity to the deity.

The main term for holiness in the HB is *שָׁדָק* “to be holy,” which occurs as a verb, noun and adjective.³ The root *שָׁדָק* is one element in the binary pair *שָׁדָק/לֵל* “holy/common” (see, e.g., Lev 10:10; 1 Sam 21:5–6; Ezek 22:26; 44:20, 23). “Common” is the normal state of things in the world. In order to become holy, things or persons must have this common status removed and enter a sphere which has direct contact with the deity. Thus classified as holy, they are frequently described as Yhwh's *possessions* (e.g., Exod 13:2; 28:3, 4; 29: 1; 30:30; Lev 27; Num 3:13; 8:17; see further Jenson 1992, 48).

In the HB, the holiness category is described in greatest detail in the materials which can be broadly described as “priestly” (D. Wright 1992, 3:238): namely, the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch (including H) and the book of Ezekiel. The concentration of references to *שָׁדָק* in these traditions already points to a significant feature of holiness in the HB: it is a category which is most frequently associated with *sanctuary spaces* (Angelini and Nihan 2016). The term *שָׁדָק* thus occurs with particular frequency in the description of the wilderness shrine (see esp. Exod 25–31, 35–40), and in the portrayal in Ezek 40–48 of the visionary temple.

5.1.1 Comparing Holiness in P and H

For P, holiness is indeed almost exclusively applied to the sanctuary and associated personnel and paraphernalia (Haran 1978, 175–87; Gorman 1990, 32–52 and *passim*; Jenson 1992, 89–114; Hundley 2013, 755–56; Angelini and Nihan 2016).⁴ The degree to which these spaces are considered holy depends on their proximity to the deity (see further § 2.2.1). The shrine's inner sanctum, where Yhwh is said in Exod 25:22 to “meet” (*יָעַד* *Niphal*) with Moses above the *kāpporēt*, is *קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשִׁים* “most

³ The etymology of *שָׁדָק* has long been debated with little consensus among scholars; see e.g., Baudissin 1878; Kornfeld and Ringgren 2006 [1988–1989], 522–25; Jenson 1992, 40–55; Propp 2006, 682; Hundley 2011, 71–73.

⁴ While this is generally acknowledged by scholars, the major exception is Philippe Guillaume, who has claimed that P and also H pay no attention to the holiness of the sanctuary cult. “In spite of the importance of priests and temple in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ezekiel and Zechariah,” he commented (2009, 51), “Yhwh is never presented as consecrating priests or sanctuaries. It is Israel who grants holiness to priests because they offer food for their god (Lev 21:7–8).” Yet such a reading cannot be supported given that Exod 29:44 clearly states that Yhwh consecrates (*שָׁדָק Piel*) the tent of meeting, the central altar and the priests (cf. Lev 21:8 [H] which likewise states that Yhwh sanctifies [*שָׁדָק Piel* participle] the priests, and in 21:23 [H] that he sanctifies [*שָׁדָק Piel* participle] the sancta of the central shrine).

holy” (Exod 26:34); the outer sanctum is a קדש “holy place” (Exod 26:33; 28:29, 35; 35:19); while the court with the altar of burnt offerings is of lesser holiness.

These differentiated spaces within the sanctuary, in turn, establish hierarchical distinctions among the Israelite community (Olyan 2000; M. George 2009, 111–35; cf. J. Z. Smith 1987, 54–57). As explained above (§ 2.4.1), only the descendants of Aaron may approach Yhwh’s holy altar in the outer court and so officiate there as priests. The rest of the non-priestly community may access only the area between the entrance of the court and the altar of burnt offerings (Haran 1978, 184; Jenson 1992, 91–92). The outer and inner sanctums are subject to further restrictions, which underscore Aaron’s unique cultic status among the priests. While both Aaron and his sons may enter the outer sanctum, the ritual tasks which take place there—the daily incense rites, the lighting of the candelabra, and the arranging of the display bread—are the principal responsibility of Aaron. As a result, the presence of his sons within this space seems to be predicated on the assistance which they offer the high priest, as opposed to their unique cultic agency within it (see, e.g., Exod 27:20–21; 30:1–10). The inner sanctum, by contrast, is inaccessible to all members of the community except Aaron. Yet even he is permitted to enter it only under strict ritual conditions (and, according to Lev 16:29–33a, only on one day of the year) in a display of his singular ability to maintain the sanctity of the shrine against the forces of pollution (see further §§ 2.4.2 and 3.4.2 above). These distinctions of status among the priests are then visually displayed in the בגדי־קדש “holy garments” (Exod 28:2) which are to be worn by Aaron and his sons; as discussed above (§ 2.4.1), Aaron’s garments are made with the same materials as are found in the sanctuary interior while the clothes worn by his sons are made with the same materials as the outer court (see further Haran 1978, 160–65; Jenson 1992, 101–14; M. George 2009, 121; Imes 2016, 2–8; Nihan and Rhyder forthcoming).

P insists on strict guidelines by which holiness might be conferred to spaces and their associated objects and personnel. However, the potency of holiness is such that, as P sees it, any person or thing that comes into contact with sancta might inadvertently acquire a holy status. In this case, P construes such a transfer of holiness as inherently *dangerous*. For example, Lev 6:18–23 [Eng. 25–30] warn that the חטאת must be eaten only by the priests, and only in a holy place, since כל אשר־יגע בבשרה יקדש “whatever touches its flesh will become holy” (v. 20; [Eng. v. 27]). Even the vessel in which the חטאת is boiled must either be broken, if made of earthenware, or scoured and rinsed, if made of bronze (v. 21 [Eng. v. 28]). The need to avoid the transfer of holiness from Yhwh’s sacred spaces and objects to common elements, or to destroy those elements which have been contaminated, therefore imposes an ongoing obligation on the priesthood to be the custodians of the cult.

However, if P invests both space and objects with holiness, there is ambiguity in these materials as to the status of time. As established in Chapter Four (see § 4.2.3), the pre-H form of P does not include a festal calendar detailing the sacred festivals of the year; the list of festal sacrifices in Num 28–29 depends upon the H calendar of Lev 23 and supplements it with additional details concerning the festal sacrifices. While P supplies a date for Passover (Exod 12:3), other texts which

assert the date of particular rituals, such as the day of purifications (Lev 16:29–33a), appear to post-date H and its festal calendar (see further § 3.1). Yet, if there is an absence of a strong interest in festal time in the pre-H form of P, a more complex issue concerns the degree to which P acknowledges the holiness of the sabbath. The majority of scholars argue that Gen 1:1–2:3 and Exod 16* preserve texts from the Priestly *Grundschrift* which identify the sabbath as a sacred occasion. The former describes the cessation (שבת *Qal*) of the deity's creative work on the seventh day and its consecration (שקדש *Piel*) by the god.⁵ The latter recounts how the sabbath is introduced to the Israelites as a sacred occasion on which no work is to be done.⁶ When Yhwh provides food to the Israelites in the wilderness, he ensures that an extra portion of food is made available on the sixth day so that the Israelites will not gather food on the seventh since, as the god explains, שבתון שבת-קדש ליהוה מחר “tomorrow is a day of total cessation, a holy sabbath to Yhwh” (Exod 16:23aβ).

However, there is considerable debate as to whether Gen 2:2–3 or the Priestly passages in Exod 16 which relate to the sabbath should be attributed to the Priestly *Grundschrift*, or whether they might instead be assigned to (a) post-Priestly compositional phase(s).⁷ Such debates arguably do not

⁵ While the substantive שבת is curiously missing from these verses, the majority of commentators suggest that the weekly sabbath is hinted at in the verb שבת. For studies from the past fifty years that have defended reading Gen 2:2–3 as forming part of P, see as a representative sample Steck 1975; Zenger 1983, 51–98; Weimar 1984, 85 n. 18; Robinson 1988, 296–301; Grünwaldt 1992, 158–69; Bauks 2002; L. Schmidt 2007; Guillaume 2009, 41–45 and passim; M. Smith 2009; Grund 2011, 193–237.

⁶ Classically, the Pg account in Exod 16 was identified in vv. 1–3, 6–7, 9–12, 15b, 17, 22–26, 35a; for studies of the past decades which have identified a Pg account in Exod 16 that includes the revelation of the sabbath, cf. e.g., Hyatt 1980 [1971], 173–79, esp. 74; Robinson 1988, 227–30; Johnstone 1990, 82, 110; Grünwaldt 1992, 158–69; Propp 1999, 588–92; Römer 2007, 431–32; Baden 2010; Grund 2011, 238–57; Johnstone 2014, 327–42.

⁷ In the case of Gen 2:2–3, a 1994 article by Levin rekindled a classical debate about whether the idea of works of creation on set days of the week is a secondary feature of Gen 1 (see, e.g., Krüger 2009, 2011; Hutzli 2011, 17; Achenbach 2016, 874 n. 4; Berner 2016, 573–75). In such a case, the addition of the days of creation would have also seen the text updated with the idea that the god rested on the seventh day and sanctified it. A different, and more radical, theory is that none of the creation account of Gen 1:1–2:4a was originally part of the P document, but that it was rather composed, in its entirety, by H (Amit 2012 [1997]; Firmage 1999; Milgrom 2003b, 33–34). The ramifications of removing Gen 1 from Pg strongly militate against such an idea, however; beyond the difficulties of locating an alternative beginning to the P history of origins, it would be extremely difficult to remove all allusions to the creation account found elsewhere in Pg, such as the multiple variations of the formula “be fruitful and multiply” in the flood account (e.g., Gen 8:17, 9:1, 7; cf. Gen 1:22, 28), as well as the statement in Gen 9:6, “in the image of god he made humanity.”

In the case of Exod 16, for over sixty years a minority of scholars has argued that the Pg account should be limited to vv. 2–3, 6–7, 9–12, 13*, 14*, 15, and thus that the sabbath materials of vv. 22–26 should be assigned to a secondary phase (see, e.g., Elliger 1952, 121–22; Noth 1972, 17–19; Maiburger 1983, 138–42,

significantly reshape the way we understand H's innovative approach to holiness when compared to the earlier P materials, and therefore will not be entered into in detail here. Regardless of whether Gen 2:2–3 and Exod 16:22–26 pre-date or post-date H, it is clear that these passages offer a much less developed interest in the sanctity of the sabbath than that which is found in Lev 17–26. They do not yet offer a generalized command to the Israelites to observe the sabbath in all circumstances, or use this weekly event to calculate other sacred times in the year.⁸ They also show no interest in the sabbath as a time of regular sacrifices and donations. In H, by contrast, the sabbath is elevated to a position of major significance in the Israelites' experience of holiness, both inside and outside the sanctuary (see the extended discussion at § 5.3.1 below). The sabbath features heavily in Lev 23–25, where it serves as a key structuring device for the timing of Yhwh's festivals, regular rites at the shrine, fallow year for the land, and redemption laws for slaves. The command to keep the sabbath is also found in Lev 19:3, 30 where it is mentioned alongside showing reverence to Yhwh's sanctuary as a key obligation within the call to collective sanctification (cf. Lev 26:2). In addition, H pairs the expectation of a work ban on the sabbath with instructions for collective sacrifices and donations which must be presented to the god each week. In all of these ways H goes far beyond any precedent which may have been set by Gen 2:2–3 and Exod 16* when conceptualizing the holiness of the sabbath, such that it is arguably of minimal significance to the present study whether, or not, H was aware of them.

H's heightened interest in sabbath speaks to a broader shift in Lev 17–26 concerning the possible ways in which the Israelites might experience holiness; the sanctuary category *שקד* is expanded to incorporate not only a variety of holy times, such as the sabbath and the annual festivals, but virtually all aspects of Israelite social existence. This is most vividly seen in Lev 19:2, where, as Robert Kugler has noted (1997, 16), H “expands the domain of holiness” to all the Israelites in their daily comings and goings; they must “be holy for I Yhwh your god am holy.” Such a command represents a significant reinterpretation of how holiness is distributed within the community when compared to the pre-H form of P. No longer is the distribution of holiness beyond the shrine, its sancta and priests an inherently dangerous prospect. To the contrary, holiness is not only accessible to

423–24; Frevel 2000, 118 with n. 64; Achenbach 2003, 232; Milgrom 2003b, 37). More recently, certain scholars have argued that not only the sabbath materials of vv. 22–26 but all of the Priestly materials within this chapter constitute post-Priestly editorial additions to an earlier, non-Priestly account (Levin 1993, 352–55; Van Seters 1994, 181–91; Berner 2016).

⁸ Saul Olyan (2005) and Stackert (2011a) have argued that Pg contained a sabbath commandment, which they reconstruct from Exod 31:12–17* (as well as from 35:1–3* in Stackert's case). However, such a suggestion struggles to explain the blending of Priestly and non-Priestly ideas and vocabulary concerning the sabbath in these two passages (on this blending, see the Excursus below). Moreover, there is little evidence of redactional seams in either Exod 31:12–17 or 35:1–3 which would justify their division into two sources (Nihan 2014, 140–42).

non-priests but becomes a *mandatory* aspiration of אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל “all the congregation of the Israelites.”⁹ This is a distinctly Israelite requirement: the immigrant goes unmentioned among the addressees of Lev 19, the chapter which details most clearly with H’s expectation of communal holiness; nor is the immigrant mentioned elsewhere in Lev 17–26 as being obliged to undergo a process of sanctification.

As will be discussed in detail below (§ 5.2), H specifies the law as Yhwh’s chosen means of enabling the Israelites to experience everyday holiness. They do not undergo a process of ritual consecration, but rather must be sanctified by living in accordance with Yhwh’s חֻקֹּת “statutes” (חֻקִּים in Lev 26:46), מִשְׁפָּטִים “ordinances,” מִצְוֹת “commandments” and תּוֹרָה “instructions” (only in Lev 26:46). However, it remains somewhat ambiguous precisely which materials H considers to form part of Yhwh’s law. At Lev 26:46 H concludes the foregoing legislation by stating that it constitutes the totality of what he revealed to Moses at Sinai: “These are the statutes, ordinances and instructions”¹⁰ (הַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַתּוֹרָה) which Yhwh established between himself and the Israelites at Mount Sinai,¹¹ by the authority of Moses.” But what is the precise scope of אֱלֹהֵי “these” statutes, ordinances and instructions that were made known at Sinai?

It is sometimes suggested that Lev 26:46 refers only to the H materials of Lev 17–26 (Cholewiński 1976, 126–27; Joosten 1996a, 152 n. 34). However, this conclusion is at odds with the inclusion of the term תּוֹרָה in this verse—a term which is found nowhere else in Lev 17–26 (outside this verse), but which occurs (in the singular) in the subscription of the Priestly laws concerned with bodily pollution (Lev 11:46–47; 12:7b; 13:59; 14:32, 54–58; 15:32–33), as well as in the superscription to Lev 1–7 at 7:37–38. The presence of the term תּוֹרָה in Lev 26:46 therefore strongly suggests that H is seeking to incorporate the P ritual prescriptions of Lev 1–16 within the scope of this concluding statement (Sun 1990, 491–501; Milgrom 2001, 2342; Hieke 2014, 2:1099; Nihan 2015c, 16).

Otto (1999b, 179–80) and Nihan (2015c, 322–29) have highlighted other aspects of the wording of Lev 26:46 as evidence that this verse serves as a conclusion not only to the Priestly Sinaitic laws as well. In particular, they point to the use of חֻקִּים in 26:46 (cf. the more common form חֻקָּה found elsewhere in H) which, while anomalous in Lev 17–26 and rare in Lev 1–16 (see Lev 10:10), is strongly reminiscent of the Deuteronomic materials (see, e.g., Deut 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16). They argue that the presence of the term חֻקִּים at Lev 26:46 suggests that H drew

⁹ On the meaning of the term עֵדָה and its usage in the Priestly traditions, see § 2.2.1 above.

¹⁰ Note the singular ὁ νόμος in the LXX.

¹¹ On this translation of the preposition ב, see Blum 1990, 313–14; Ruwe 1999, 54–55 n. 5; Nihan 2007a, 263–64. Such a reading resolves the problem of how Lev 25:1 and 26:46 might be read together with Lev 1:1, where it is said that Yhwh called to Moses מֵאֵהֶל מִיְעָד “from the tent of meeting.” Since the tent of meeting was understood to be stationed at Sinai at the time Moses received the laws of Leviticus, there is no conflict between the statements if the *beth* is translated in these two verses as “at.”

on Priestly and non-Priestly legislative terminology in the wording summary of the Sinaitic revelation at Lev 26:46 so as to position Lev 17–26 as the crystallization of not only the P legislation but also the non-P laws as well.

For the purposes of the present discussion, the question of whether or not H includes the non-P traditions in its concept of Sinaitic revelation can be left open. Irrespective of how expansive is H's concept of Yhwh's revelation at Sinai, it is clear that H here positions Lev 17–26 as its definitive end point, and thus as invested with heightened authority. In addition, H usually speaks of the Israelites' obligation to observe the *הקת*, *משפטים* and *מצות* in specific legislative contexts, such as the lists of prohibited sexual unions in Lev 18 and 20, or the treatise on communal holiness in Lev 19. In such cases it is clear that the Israelites are expected to be sanctified by keeping precisely those laws which are found within the immediate literary context; meaning that the ambiguity surrounding the interpretation of Lev 26:46 and the precise scope of H's concept of "law" does not prevent us from analyzing the way H links the Israelites' sanctification with their obligation to keep the specific laws contained within Lev 17–26 in building a case for collective conformity.

5.1.2 Holiness and Ethics in Lev 17–26

There has been considerable scholarly debate as to why H applies such an expanded concept of holiness when compared to the earlier Priestly materials, whereby sanctification via law observance is a mandated requirement of the community. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, scholars have frequently resorted to the theory that H enshrines a "dynamic" concept of holiness that is predicated on right behavior, as opposed to P's "static" understanding of the category as a fixed state of certain spaces, objects and persons (e.g., Milgrom 2000b, 1397; Trevaskis 2011, 1–2 and *passim*). However, this argument arguably overlooks the emphasis in P on the manner in which holiness may be acquired via ongoing ritual processes and contact with the *sancta* (Haran 1978, 175–81; D. Wright 1999; B. J. Schwartz 2000, 55). In Lev 8, for example, the central shrine, its paraphernalia and priesthood acquire their intrinsic holiness through being consecrated (*שָׁקַף Piel*) and anointed (*הִשָּׁח Qal*) with oil. Elsewhere in P, offerings of animals, cereals, oil, incense, semi-precious stones or money again acquire a holy status through their being dedicated to the deity—a process which removes their common status and transfers them to the god (see, e.g., Lev 2:3, 10; 6:10, 18, 22; 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13). Such processes speak not to a static concept of holiness in P but rather to a more dynamic character in which ritual agency is involved. Finally, P's concern with the risk of common items and persons inadvertently contracting holiness underscores the inherently dynamic understanding of holiness that pervades the pre-H form of P.

An alternative interpretation of H's expansion of the concept of holiness is that H considers this to be as much an ethical category, with implications for individual morality, as it is a sanctuary

one.¹² In this H would differ significantly from P, since the later source understands holiness to be monopolized by the ritual cult of Yhwh's sanctuary and to have nothing to do with Israelite ethics.¹³ This interpretation is based largely on the content of Lev 19, where the call to holiness in v. 2 is followed in vv. 3–36a with laws that require the Israelites not only to show loyalty to Yahweh—to avoid idolatry (v. 4), to keep his sabbaths (vv. 3, 30), revere his sanctuary (v. 30), abstain from worshipping other gods (v. 3) and practicing necromancy (v. 26), and so on—but also to show loyalty to other members of the community. In particular, the laws in vv. 11–18 show a clear concern with the justice, compassion and אהב “love” that the Israelites must show others if they are to uphold Yhwh's commandment to be holy. Hence, many scholars argue that, by incorporating prohibitions concerned with “social justice” (Nihan 2007a, 461) under the rubric of holiness, H fuses “the realms of cult and morality” (Knohl 1995, 176; cf. Eichrodt 1961 [1933], 277–78).

This interpretation is frequently paired with a particular reading of Lev 19:2 and its emphasis on the holiness of Yhwh when commanding the Israelites to be holy. A number of commentators suggest that, with the statement “You shall be holy for I Yhwh your god am holy,” H presents the sanctification of the Israelites as a form of divine imitation (*imitatio dei*).¹⁴ The holiness of the Israelites is thus measured by how closely their behavior mirrors Yhwh's own holy traits. Commands such as to love one's neighbor as oneself (Lev 19:18) would therefore be considered sanctifying because they are a reflection of Yhwh's own obligation to be faithful and loyal towards his human subjects (see, e.g., Otto 1991, 19; 1994b, 248 and passim; Milgrom 2004, 217–18; Nihan 2007a, 477).

However, as pointed out by Walther Zimmerli (1980, 511–12), Mathys (1986, 103) and Schwartz (2000, 56–57), a problem with reading Lev 19 as promoting a form of *imitatio dei* is that it implies that Yhwh's commandments provide precepts which should be followed in equal measure by

¹² For this view, compare and contrast, e.g., Eichrodt 1961 [1933], 278; Hartley 1992, 323–24; Otto 1994b, 237–56; Knohl 1995, 176; Bibb 2009, 138–63; Trevaskis 2011, 2; Marx 2011, 96–97; Meyer 2013, 4; Collins 2014 [2004], 151, 55; Hieke 2014, 2:702–4.

¹³ Milgrom has argued (1963; 1991, 704–42; cf. Douglas 1993, 3–23) that P is also informed by a concern to link holiness and ethics. He has suggested that the P food laws of Lev 11 exhibit a clear ethical concern in their focus on respect for life—a notion which preempts H's interest in holiness and ethics, although Milgrom stressed that the ethical aspect of holiness is made explicit in H in a way which has no precedent in P (Milgrom 1996, 67). Trevaskis (2011) later built on Milgrom's work to argue that holiness is always treated as an ethical category in the book of Leviticus, although in the first half of the book this is conveyed on the level of “the symbolic meaning of P's ritual texts” (2011, 9). However, both Milgrom and Trevaskis' symbolic interpretations of P's ritual instructions raise a number of interpretive issues which stem from projecting meanings onto the texts which have little support in their actual content. See, e.g., the critiques leveled against Milgrom in D. Wright 1990; Nihan 2011a, 426 n. 55; Watts 2007a, 15–32; against Trevaskis in Watts 2012.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Eichrodt 1961 [1933], 373; Wenham 1979, 18–25; Hartley 1992, lxi–lxii; Joosten 1996b, 131–33; Klawans 2001, 142; Nihan 2007a, 479–80; Hieke 2014, 2:710–12.

Yhwh and his human subjects. Yet the majority of the laws in this chapter relate to conduct which is relevant only to human beings; it is fanciful to imagine that Yhwh might “defer to the old” (19:32), refrain from sowing different types of seed in a single field (19:19) or from eating the fruit of his trees for their first three germinating years (19:23), to name but a few examples. Even in the case of the laws concerned with love and justice—qualities which conceivably could be the traits of a god—H never suggests that Yhwh considers himself to be bound by the laws which apply to the Israelites. Although it might be thought plausible that H imagines Yhwh to act fairly towards the Israelites on account of their covenantal alliance (see esp. Lev 26:40–45), there is no evidence in H that the Israelites are expected to follow the specific laws laid out in Lev 19 because they apply in equal measure to their patron deity.

To be sure, few scholars who interpret H’s concept of holiness as a form of *imitatio dei* would insist on a one-for-one equivalence between the commandments of Lev 19 and Yhwh’s own actions. *Imitatio dei* is usually understood to explain the *aim* of communal holiness, as H conceives it, rather than its method: that is, the Israelites must strive to be holy because, in so doing, they can become more like Yhwh, who is holy. Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether “imitation” is an appropriate term to convey this idea, since it implies that the Israelites will somehow mimic the actions of the god, rather than simply acquire a trait which is shared with the deity.

It seems more helpful to read the command “be holy for I Yhwh your god am holy” as stressing the complementarity between the Israelites’ holiness and that of their patron god because they both must share the trait of being *set apart* from other elements: that is, just as Yhwh is set apart from all other things, so too must the Israelites commit to being set apart by adopting norms and customs which ensure their distinctiveness, and so bring honor to Yhwh as their patron. This does not require imitation but rather *obedience*. As Schwartz remarks (2000, 57),

[c]lose reading of the texts reminds us that the Israelites are not told to be holy like God; rather they are commanded to be holy *because* He is holy. Their holiness cannot be like His, it can only be analogous. Just as he is ‘totally Other,’ completely apart from whatever is not divine, they are told to keep themselves separate, totally apart from whatever is not Israelite, namely, to keep His laws and commands.

The question remains, however, as to whether the Israelites’ capacity to be set apart is predicated on their capacity to be *ethical*. The laws of Lev 19, with their focus on in-group loyalty and compassion towards others, might suggest that H is adopting an ethical stance: that is, by advocating holiness H is seeking, as do many ethical codes, to encourage behaviors considered to be of communal benefit. Such behavior would set the Israelites apart because they alone have been initiated in Yhwh’s standards for right behavior, and are therefore distinguished from all other peoples who do not exhibit the kind of collective unity which characterizes Yhwh’s chosen client.

However, we should exercise caution in using the term “ethics” to describe H’s concept of holiness. “Ethics,” as it has been understood by philosophers, is frequently defined as “moral

philosophy” (MacIntyre 1998 [1967], 1; Barton 2014, 1)—a term which itself has been described in diverse ways, but commonly refers to the systematic analysis of values which promote the benefit not only of the acting subject but also (or even principally) the welfare of others. Admittedly, certain theorists stress a fundamental difference between ethics and morality (Habermas 1993), or treat morality as a sub-area of ethics (Williams 2006 [1985]); but such distinctions need not occupy us here. More important for our purposes is the emphasis placed by the majority of scholars, at least in Western contexts, on the character of an individual as the key element of ethical thinking, or what has been called virtue ethics: that is, “the virtues, or moral character [of an individual], in contrast to an approach which emphasizes duties or rules (deontology) or one which emphasizes the consequences of actions (utilitarianism)” (Hursthouse 1999, 4). This concept has its intellectual roots in the classical writings of Aristotle; notably, his interest in the “states of character” (Irwin 2007, 196) which lead the virtuous person to act in the interests of others, and his concern with how virtuous behavior benefits the person leading a good life. However, given the prominence of “happiness” within this approach, philosophers now debate whether we can accurately describe Aristotle as being concerned with “morality” at all, (cf. e.g., Williams 2006 [1985], 30–53; Annas 1992; Irwin 2007, 202–4; Gordon 2013). Modern ethics, in contrast, sees the welfare of others as an end in itself, irrespective of whether the virtuous person gains happiness on account of his or her moral behavior.

There is little in the concept of holiness as it appears in Lev 19, or elsewhere in H, that resonates with such classical and contemporary understandings of morality and virtue ethics. While H aspires to influence behavior, it does not call upon the Israelites to exercise their independent moral judgment. Put another way, there is little to suggest that the Israelites will exercise individual discretion and *choose* as virtuous persons to engage in ethical behavior. This is not to deny that the laws of Lev 19 are presented as pertaining to each individual member of the congregation; this is signaled on a formal level by the mixing of 2ps and 2pp forms of address in the laws of Lev 19 (Joosten 1996b, 47–54; 1997).¹⁵ But the responsibility for achieving holiness is a communal enterprise, to be achieved by the עדה “congregation” of Israel as a whole (19:2); the community must acknowledge the normativity of the standards laid down by the deity and commit to following them. This collective obedience is a sign of their loyalty to Yhwh as their patron, which, as we shall see below, requires, in turn, that they show loyalty to the other members of the community, and to Yhwh’s central sanctuary (§ 5.2.2). But this obedience, which forms so central a part of H’s legislation, is arguably of a different character to ethics or morality.

The difference between P and H in their conceptualizations of holiness, therefore, should not be analyzed in terms of ethics, but rather in terms of how they conceive the need for compliance with the law *outside* the space of the sanctuary, and thus their view of the *scope* of the law. As discussed

¹⁵ Cf. the 2pp address in Lev 19:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9a, 11, 12a, 15aα, 19aα, 23, 25, 26, 27a, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37; and the 2ps address in Lev 19:9aβ–b, 10, 12b, 13, 14, 15aβ–b, 16, 17, 18, 19aβ–b, 27b, 29, 32, 34.

above (§ 2.3.1), in Lev 11–15 P has already offered extensive instructions concerning the relevance of Yhwh’s laws outside the sanctuary in situations involving purity and impurity, although without suggesting that these laws are related to the Israelites’ experience of holiness.¹⁶ Rather than separating the Israelites as holy people, P positions obedience to the law in non-cultic spaces as being essential to maintaining Yhwh’s sanctuary as a holy space in the midst of the Israelites (Lev 15:31). P affirms the need to apply the ritual instructions in mundane contexts if the sanctuary is to be preserved, thereby affirming the authority of the priesthood, as experts in Yhwh’s ritual standard, in extra-sanctuary domains. In addition, by empowering the Israelites themselves to look for the signs of impurity in their everyday lives, and to perform select domestic rites which might mitigate its effects, P initiates the Israelites into a form of communal knowledge in which cultic norms direct their everyday lives (Nihan 2013b, 362). The hierarchies and centralized structures that are reinforced by such norms are thereby positioned as normal and appropriate.

H’s concept of communal holiness takes up these ideas found in Lev 11–15 and infuses them with a new, expansive logic: now, not only does the law ensure that the sanctuary remains set apart and free from defilement, but it also maintains *the Israelites themselves as separate, holy possessions of the god*. This separation of the Israelites remains intrinsically linked to their ability to preserve the sanctity of Yhwh’s habitation among them—a point which will be explored in detail below (see § 5.2.2). However, whereas Lev 11–15 are focused on how the Israelites must apply the law when

¹⁶ To be sure, Lev 11:43–45 exhorts Israel to strive to be holy in the context of the dietary laws. However, there are a number of indications that Lev 11:43–45 originally did not form part of P’s dietary prescriptions but were instead added in a secondary stage. Within the first place, the link made in Lev 11:43–45 between the exodus from Egypt and the process of Israel’s sanctification is very similar to the conclusion to the first half of H, at Lev 22:32b–33. While it is possible that H modeled Lev 22:32b–33 on Lev 11:43–45, rather than the other way around, this seems unlikely. The exodus is cited as a motivation for sanctification and law observance throughout H’s parenetic frame (see, e.g., Lev 18:3; 19:34, 36; 22:33, 43; 25:38, 42, 55; 26:13), while it is almost never found in the P materials. A further link between Lev 11:43–45 and H concerns the relation between communal holiness and the *tôrâ* on edible and inedible animals. While this idea is not anticipated anywhere else in Lev 11, it directly parallels the later command of Lev 20:25–26. The extent of the parallels in this section of P with H strongly suggests that Lev 11:43–45 is a secondary supplement to Lev 11 that was written under the influence of Lev 20:25–26 (Milgrom 1991, 685–88, 94–96; Knohl 1995, 69; Nihan 2007a, 298–99; cf. the arguments for the secondary character of Lev 11:43–45 already made in Klostermann 1893 [1877], 377; Driver 1956 [1897], 59; Baentsch 1903, 361; Bertholet 1901, 33). By adding a reference to communal holiness at the end of Lev 11, the person responsible for vv. 43–45 creates an inclusion around Lev 11–20 that signals these chapters as sharing a common concern for “the purity of the community as a whole” (Nihan 2007a, 299). Hence, the exhortation to communal holiness in Lev 11:43–45 need not be read as a precedent within P for H’s later call to communal holiness. Rather, the dominant motif in P is that holiness may only be legitimately bestowed to the spaces, objects and personnel of the sanctuary, and possible to certain sacred times.

dealing with potentially defiling elements—for instance, skin disease and bodily emissions—H expands the laws' purview to cover mundane activities and behaviors that have little connection with the issue of keeping the sanctuary free from pollution. This is particularly clear, as we shall see below, in the central treatise of Lev 19, the focus on the sabbath in communal sanctification, and the agricultural and socio-economic practices outlined in Lev 25. In such texts H extends the law into virtually all aspects of the Israelites' daily lives, thus requiring a higher level of conformity with a central legal standard, both in ritual and non-ritual contexts, than that demanded by P.

This more intensified form of daily compliance with the law which might be appropriately framed as a form of “conventionalism.” This term, as mentioned in the introduction, has been used by social theorists such as Adorno et al (1950), Bob Altemeyer (1988, 2, 6–7 and *passim*) and Marinus van Ijzendoorn (1989, 38) to describe a form of groupthink, which promotes obedience to central authorities, and the associated rejection of behaviors that characterize “outsiders,” as a strategy whereby the unity and integrity of the collective is maintained. It is a trait of authoritarianism because it encourages compliance with authority over local discretion, thereby contributing to the subordination of the collective to central powers (although the precise manner in which this is achieved, and the measures by which it might be identified among different populations, remain matters of significant debate). To be sure, the application of a concept such as conventionalism to an ancient society like Israel requires a caveat; Western Asian societies commonly exhibited conformity with tradition, an orientation towards the past, and an emphasis on compliance with shared norms and customs as opposed to individual expression and difference. In this sense, then, we might not be surprised to find a trend towards conventionalism in an ancient legislation like Lev 17–26. However, not all traditional societies show the same concern with deference to central authority as is evident in H. The term “conventionalism” as employed by Adorno and others thus arguably retains a particular value as an analytic device in the specific case of Lev 17–26: in that it highlights the manner in which conformity and the exclusion of alternatives can work together to provide an intensified rationale as to why a community should defer to a central power. Indeed, as we shall see below, “conventionalism” aptly describes H's discursive logic when charging the Israelites to “be holy”: it intertwines the need for the Israelites to eschew diversity in favor of conformity; their obligation to reject alternative practices; their requirement to maintain communal unity in the face of a threatening other; and the importance of their funneling of attention toward the central sanctuary and its priesthood.

5.1.3 Holiness and Centralization

Such a reading of Lev 17–26 as inherently centralizing runs counter to the interpretations of a number of scholars who read H's focus on everyday life as suggesting that the central sanctuary had a diminished influence on the H scribes' legislative outlook. For instance, in his 1996 study Joosten argued that H's interest in the sanctity of everyday life, coupled with its emphasis on life in land,

suggests that H's primary orientation is towards Israel's rural provinces, rather than its cultic center; in his view, it is improbable that "the central authority" (1996b, 203) in Jerusalem would have shown such an interest in local matters—agriculture, land tenure, sabbath rest—as is evident in the legislative agenda of Lev 17–26 (see further § 1.2.3 above). It seems more likely, from Joosten's perspective, that the scribes responsible for H were living in the Judean countryside, and sought to infuse the everyday life of their local community with socio-cultic significance by expanding the law to address local issues. This does not mean that the Israelites were discharged from their obligation to defer to the central shrine when wishing to offer an animal sacrifice (1996b, 142 with n. 27). However, Joosten sees little evidence in Lev 17–26 of the pervasive influence of such a center on H's legislative logic. Rather the purpose was to energize life in peripheral locations.

An alternative view, but one which also imagines limited influence of the central shrine on H's thinking, is that the interest in Lev 17–26 with holiness away from the sanctuary reveals the concerns of scribes living with the challenges of exile. As described in Chapter One (§ 1.1.3), Mathys has argued (1986, 86–104) that H's focus on communal loyalty in Lev 19, and especially its command to love one's neighbor as one's self (Lev 19:18), is part of a broader attempt in that legislation to reinterpret the bonds that hold the Israelite community together while living in Babylon. With the loss of the Judean monarchy and the central shrine at Jerusalem, H needs to reimagine how the Israelites might maintain collective solidarity, and also experience sanctity when visiting the shrine is no longer possible. Communal holiness is thus part of a broader program of adapting to life without the traditional centers of Israelite society.

This interpretation anticipated that of Calaway, who argued in his doctoral thesis of 2010, revised in 2013, that H's expanded concept of holiness may have been a response to the challenges of the "templeless situation" (2010, 425) of the Babylonian exile. However, unlike Mathys, Calaway focused primarily on H's interest in the holiness of the sabbath when seeking to relate Lev 17–26 to the experience of exile.¹⁷ In the absence of a central temple, Calaway reasoned, H may have sought to establish sabbath observance as a way of experiencing holiness that was comparable to that which would have been experienced at the central shrine. This conclusion is largely based on Lev 19:30 // 26:2 where H implies that observing the sabbath and showing loyalty to Yhwh's sanctuary

¹⁷ The idea that the sabbath gained importance during the exile is not new: it has been repeated in numerous publications since the late nineteenth century (for representative examples see, e.g., Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 340; Gunkel 1997 [1901], 117; Meek 1914, 209; Kraus 1966 [1962], 99; W. Schmidt 1964, 72–73; Zimmerli 1983 [1979], 447; Wallace 1988; Johnstone 1990, 332; Albertz 1994 [1992], 2:410; Crüsemann 1996 [1992], 299–301). Bauks also suggested in a 2002 article on sabbath in P that the decision to end the creation account with the sanctification of the seventh day, instead of with the building of the sanctuary, sought to position the sabbath as a "virtual temple" (*"l'espace d'un temple virtuel"*; 2002, 474) which could sustain the Israelites while living in Babylon. While this in some ways anticipated Calaway's analysis, his work stands out in its use of the sabbath to date Lev 17–26 specifically.

form a dyad in the community's experience of holiness (see further § 5.3.2 below). Every seventh day, when they rested from labor, they were effectively afforded "temporal access to the spatial holiness of the sanctuary" (2010, 2): or to put it another way, a "temple in time" (2013, 206). "Making the Sabbath and the sanctuary equivalent in holiness," Calaway concluded, is a sophisticated strategy by H to allow the Israelites "to experience the sanctuary's holiness in a non-local manner" (2010, 24).

Calaway's argument was subsequently taken up by Carr in his defense of a Neo-Babylonian date of H. He agreed with Calaway's finding that the "Sabbath-focused reconceptualization of concepts of holiness" (2011a, 302) in Lev 17–26 suggests that H was writing at a time when the central sanctuary was no longer standing. While Carr conceded that the elevation of the sabbath was a long process which "apparently persisted in the post-exilic period," he argued that such a process was "less likely to have *originated* then [i.e., during the post-exilic period] among groups who had returned home, particularly not once the Second Temple was established" (2011a, 302–3).

Each of these interpretations offers stimulating insights into how different modes of experiencing holiness—the infusion of everyday life with law compliance, the display of communal loyalty, or the observance of the sabbath—might have served to promote socio-cultic cohesion within the Israelite community. Yet ultimately there is no compelling argument to accept the underlying premise that informs these interpretations: namely, that H's extension of holiness into extra-sanctuary life is an adaptation to accommodate life without a central sanctuary, or which takes a limited interest in that sacred center. This is certainly not the thrust of the discursive logic of Lev 17–26. As will be argued in detail below (§§ 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4), throughout H the extension of sanctification to everyday life remains connected to Yhwh's expectation that the Israelites will be servicing him at his central shrine. Extra-sanctuary behaviors and rituals at the central shrine, in H's view, are mutually constitutive of each other in sanctifying the Israelites. Moreover, H never permits the Israelites to imagine that their obedience to the law in extra-sanctuary contexts can be divorced from protecting and sponsoring Yhwh's dwelling place; and as we shall see this includes the way H expects the Israelites to combine domestic activities on the sabbath with the maintenance of sacrificial rites every seventh day. In this way, the call to holiness reflects a similar discursive logic to what we observed in the study of the festal calendar. In Chapter Three we saw how, by pairing the annual celebrations in Lev 23 with the laws of regular rituals at the shrine in Lev 24:1–9, H ensures that the Israelites could not consider themselves discharged from the duty of maintaining the central shrine simply by virtue of their keeping of Yhwh's fixed times at home. It is to similar effect that H now interweaves its laws concerning sanctification in mundane settings with those which require the Israelites to offer practical support to the central shrine.

As a discourse, then, H's extension of holiness into extra-sanctuary life arguably *enhances* the centralizing logic already explicit in its prohibition of extra-sanctuary slaughter in Lev 17:3–9, and the standardization of time in Lev 23 and Lev 24:1–9. In some ways it can be read as an even more powerful discursive strategy, in that the requirement for communal holiness pervades all dimensions

of social life; it infuses everyday contexts with the logic of deferring to central authorities, and thereby entrenches and normalizes the power of those authorities to direct the activities of everyday settings. As is the case with many other centralized systems (Hollingsworth and Hanneman 1984; Gledhill 2005 [1988]; González Chávez 2005 [1988]; Diaz-Cayeros 2006; Liang 2007), H's all-inclusive notion of holiness incorporates the Israelites into the centralized cult not just by prescribing *how they should participate* in that cult, but how they should *interpret their own experience* in light of its centrality. Their participation must be seen through the lens of those central authorities which are constitutive of holiness: the central shrine, with its Aaronide priesthood and ritual process, on the one hand; the central law, governing both mundane and cultic behavior, on the other.

One interpretation of Lev 17–26 which has already explored such possibilities is Knohl's 1995 study of the Holiness School. As discussed in Chapter One (§ 1.2.3), Knohl interprets H's interest in communal holiness as a strategy on H's part to promote the unrivaled authority of the temple cult of Jerusalem. By picking up the lexeme קדש, which is used throughout P to refer to the holiness of the sanctuary cult and its priestly agents, but now applying it to all Israel, H "imbues the daily life of every Israelite with something of the atmosphere of the Temple service" (1995, 190), and thereby "strengthens the bond between the people and the temple" (1995, 195). This was a strategy, in Knohl's view, of justifying the centralization of the Yahwistic cult to Jerusalem. By broadening the application of priestly law, the Jerusalem priesthood asserted its right to direct the broad sphere of social, economic and agricultural matters which characterized everyday life in Israel; thus they warranted the allegiance and loyalty of the entire community. This assisted, in turn, with the priesthood's attempt to solicit the consent of the provincial population to centralize the slaughter and sacrifice of their animals to the central altar of Jerusalem.

Knohl's approach offers a rare scholarly reading of holiness in which H's interest in everyday life is seen as an inherently centralizing discursive device: funneling attention *towards* the cultic center of Jerusalem by broadening the purview of priestly law. Knohl also perceives the potential functional link between this promotion of a central legal tradition and the normalizing of Jerusalem's claim to material resources, especially livestock, from the entire community. Such an interpretation resonates with many of the social theories of central control, such as Gramsci's theory of "hegemony," described in the Introduction. The consolidation of central power, the communist Gramsci argued in the 1920s, is contingent not just on coercion but on the consent of those members of a population who occupy lower places in the political or social hierarchy. Through their ability to set the standards of judgment and cultural norms by which everyday life is evaluated, the authorities at the center ensure that consent to their control appears to be the "common sense" (1971, 325) and beneficial way in which everyday existence should be organized. This consent need not be proactive. Indeed, it may be compatible with the obedience that forms a core expectation of the community by H: since the internalization of the values articulated in the hegemonic discourse neutralizes the capacity for resistance even by those whose material interests it may not serve.

The sections that follow will combine the theory of hegemony provided by Gramsci with the insights of Knohl's study of Lev 17–26 to offer a fresh interpretation of holiness as a means of soliciting consent in a centralized cultic system. In contrast to Knohl, I will position this strategy of centralization in the historical context facing the Jerusalem temple in the Persian period, as opposed to Neo-Assyrian times (for Knohl's dating of H, see further § 1.1.3). In particular, I will explore how holiness might have reinforced a hegemonic discourse of centralization which aimed at normalizing the reach of the Jerusalem temple into "extra-sanctuary" domains, and in particular, their right to direct how the Israelites managed their economic and agricultural resources.

5.2 Holiness and "Conventionalism"

If then we should read H's discourse of sanctification via law observance as a means of soliciting the consent of the Israelite population to a centralized cultic system, we need to examine in more detail the discursive strategies H uses to achieve this effect. In the following section, I turn to explore, first, how H's discourse works to entrench the need for the Israelites to defer to the priests in all matters related to the shrine, even as H extends the application of the holiness category to all Israel. Second, I shall consider how sanctification via law observance works, again with a centralizing effect, to convince the Israelites that they must separate themselves from others and commit as a collective to aligning their behavior with the central legal tradition. In this way holiness provides the conceptual underpinning to the idea that the community of Israel acquires its core identity from standardized norms—one law, communal loyalty, the absence of factions, and the intolerance of fissures—which in turn, reinforce the foundational requirement to unite in service to a shared shrine.

5.2.1 Hierarchies of Holiness

The widening of holiness to all Israel might seem initially to pose a paradox in relation to the consolidation of the centralized cult. All theories about centralization, including those which accept the need for social consent to hegemonic power, assume that there are hierarchies of power; and that the purpose of centralizing discourses is generally to consolidate these. But if H claims that *all* Israel must strive to be holy, what are the implications for the status of the central priesthood? Is their monopoly of the status of holiness—and their associated central authority—thereby diluted? That is, if all within the community are now permitted to acquire holiness, has the distinction between priests and non-priests been effectively eroded in favor of "democratized" holiness (Kugler 1997, 25 n. 50; 2009, 86; Bibb 2009, 2)?

H insists not. It makes clear that the call to collective holiness in Lev 17–26 does not bestow on the Israelites a comparable status to that of the priesthood. Rather, H carefully distinguishes between the holiness which is available to the priests and that which is for the people (Knohl 1995,

180–86; Ruwe 1999, 85–86; Milgrom 2000b, 19; Nihan 2007a, 486). In essence, the holiness of the priesthood is *permanently bestowed* by virtue of the priests' ritual consecration while that of the people is *conditional* on their observance of the law.

A useful illustration of this distinction is found in the two laws in Lev 17:15–16 and 22:8–9 that deal with the consumption of carrion. As discussed in Chapter Three (§ 3.2), carrion raises issues of defilement and problems of blood disposal, since the blood of an animal which has been dead for some time is at risk of coagulation. In Lev 17:15–16 H establishes the conditions under which the *אזרח* “native” or *גר* “immigrant” might eat *נבלה וטרפה* “a carcass, a torn animal.” H does not ban the consumption of such meat by either group but permits the practice so long as the Israelites and immigrants wash their clothes, undergo ritual bathing and consider themselves unclean until evening (v. 15). Harsh sanctions apply in the case of non-compliance (v. 16).

Yet, later in the legislation at Lev 22:8–9, H takes up again the issue of eating *נבלה וטרפה*, this time with reference to the Aaronide priests; and a much more stringent ruling is now applied.

Lev 22:8–9

8 נבלה וטרפה לא יאכל לטמאה־בה אני יהוה 9 ושמרו את־משמרתִי ולא־ישאו עליו חטא ומתו בו כי יחללהו אני יהוה מקדשם

8 [The priest] shall not eat a carcass, a torn animal, becoming unclean by it: I am Yhwh!
9 They shall keep my charge so that they shall not bear guilt upon it [the sanctuary] and die in it for having profaned it: I am Yhwh who sanctifies them!¹⁸

This ruling forms part of a broader set of regulations in H (Lev 21:1–22:16) which pertain only to the priests and thereby affirm their special status and obligations. H frames these regulations as necessary to ensure that the priests do not profane themselves (Lev 21:1–15), the shrine and its sancta (Lev 21:16–23) or the holy donations (Lev 22:1–16). Such a risk of profanation speaks to the intrinsic holiness of Aaron and his sons on account of their consecration (*קדש Piel*) and anointing (*משח Qal*) with oil (see Lev 8). This consecration enables the priests to enter the holy areas of the sanctuary (although with restrictions) and to handle its sancta.

With this priestly prerogative comes additional responsibility: the priests must avoid contact with persons or things that might defile them, or risk transmitting pollution to the shrine or its sancta. In addition to abstaining from eating carrion, they are forbidden from practicing mourning rites for deceased relatives, besides their nearest kin (21:1b–5). They must follow strict marriage regulations, being sure not to marry a prostitute, a *חללה* “defiled” woman, or a divorcee (21:7). Even the daughter of a priest who prostitutes herself must be burned to death, since such behavior *היא מחללת את־אביה*

¹⁸ The LXX preserves a slightly different reading of v. 9a: *καὶ φυλάσσονται τὰ φυλάγματα μου, ἵνα μὴ λάβωσιν δι' αὐτὰ ἁμαρτίαν καὶ ἀποθάνωσιν δι' αὐτά, ἐὰν βεβηλώσωσιν αὐτά* “They shall keep my charges (pl.) so that they may not, through them, assume guilt and die because of them, if they profane them.” This variation may be due to the translator's difficulties with the awkward grammar of the Hebrew expression *ולא־ישאו עליו חטא ומתו בו*.

“profanes her father” (21:9). Meanwhile, the high priest must follow an even stricter set of rules owing to his singular status as “the one on whose head the oil of anointing has been sprinkled and who has been consecrated (מלא *Piel*) to wear the vestments” (Lev 21:10). He is forbidden to marry anyone outside his kinship group (Lev 21:13–15) or to defile himself by paying respects to any deceased member of his family, even his mother and father (Lev 21:11). He is even prohibited from leaving the sanctuary precinct, so as to “not profane (הלל *Piel*) the sanctuary of his god; for the crown of the anointing oil of his god is upon him: I am Yhwh!” (21:12).

These standards do not apply to non-priests. Since those members of the community have not been consecrated, they are, on the one hand, forbidden from approaching Yhwh’s altar or entering the interior of the sanctuary; but on the other hand, they are free to undertake behaviors that are prohibited to the priests. The consumption of carrion (under certain ritual conditions) is one such behavior, so far as H is concerned. The special significance of this permission by H is thrown into relief if we consider how the question of eating carrion is prohibited in select texts from the non-Priestly legal traditions. The CC and D both contain laws which explicitly forbid the entire community of Israel from consuming carcasses (נבלה) or animals torn by wild beasts (טרפה). But, crucially, in these texts, the prohibitions are linked to the Israelites’ status as a holy community, Yhwh’s chosen people.

Deut 14:21a

לא תאכלו כל־נבלה לגר אֲשֶׁר־בְּשַׁעְרֵיךָ תִּתְּנָנָה וְאָכְלָהּ אוֹ מִכַּר לַנֹּכְרִי כִּי עִם קְדוּשׁ אַתָּה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

You shall not eat any carcass; you may give it to the immigrants in your towns to eat. For you are a people holy to Yhwh your god.

This command finds an echo in Exod 22:30 which, as explained above (§ 3.4.1), also forbids the Israelites from eating animals torn by beasts (טרפה) on account of the Israelites’ holy status.

Exod 22:30

וְאִנְשֵׁי־קֹדֶשׁ תִּהְיוּן לִי וּבֶשֶׁר בְּשׂוּדָה טְרֵפָה לֹא תֹאכְלוּ לְכַלֵּב תִּשְׁלַכּוּן אֹתוֹ

You shall be a people consecrated to me. Therefore, you shall not eat the meat of an animal torn in the field; you shall throw it to the dogs.

These texts differ in their recommendations as to what should instead be done with the animal; while Exod 22:30 insists that no human should eat it—the carcass should instead be given to dogs—Deut 14:21a permits the Israelites to give the carcass to the גר. Yet this difference aside, these texts share the assumption that the eating of carrion is incompatible with holiness. This is a view which H seems to share when regulating the priests’ interactions with carrion; it is strictly forbidden for a priest to eat such animals because of the risks of defilement that such a behavior entails (Lev 22:8–9). But when it

comes to the rest of the community, H does not consider the same conditions to apply; a more lenient stance towards the consumption of carrion is permissible.

What we can infer, then, from Lev 17:15–16 is that H considers priests and non-priests in Israel to possess holiness of a fundamentally different type: while the former are inherently holy, and therefore never permitted to consume carrion, the latter do not possess intrinsic holiness, and so may engage in the same practices as the גר in eating carrion, so long as they take the necessary ritual precautions (Otto 1994, 241–42; B. J. Schwartz 2000, 51; Nihan 2007, 429, 550). It is particularly significant that this law is positioned at the head of the legislation of Lev 17–26, immediately prior to the first exhortation at Lev 18:2b–5; since it is here that H begins its call to the Israelites to be sanctified via law observance (see further § 5.2.2 below). Such positioning suggests that H might consider the issue of carrion a suitable launching pad for the reconceptualization of the Israelites' holiness that begins in the verses immediately following (Otto 1994, 241–42; Nihan 2007, 429): namely, by disassociating the non-consumption of carrion from communal holiness against CC and D, H prepares for its innovation of making such holiness entirely dependent on the Israelites' ability to *obey the law*, rather than on their election by Yhwh

This reading gains weight when we consider the echoes of Exod 22:30 and Deut 14:21a in the wording of Lev 17:15. As already discussed (§ 3.4.1), H's description of the animal carcass using the expression נבלה וטרפה appears to combine the two terms for the dead animal which were used in Exod 22:30 (טרפה) and Deut 14:21a (נבלה) respectively. This echo of the previous laws is admittedly minimal in scope, but it might suggest that H is using the issue of carrion to underscore a point of difference in how it conceptualizes the Israelites' holiness when compared to the earlier legal codes: whereas in CC and D the Israelites were deemed intrinsically holy on account of their status as Yhwh's people, H requires the Israelites to undergo a constant process of sanctification; holiness, then, will ebb and flow in accordance with their commitment to obey Yhwh's precepts.

Hence, H's concept of communal holiness does little to undermine the ritual standards and cultic hierarchies which are promoted in P. Rather, it *enhances* them. The expansion of holiness to all Israel, given that it is conditional rather than inherent in their status, throws into relief the singular holiness that the priesthood derives from their consecration and proximity to the shrine. Holiness in Lev 17–26 therefore remains essentially hierarchical. The high priest is afforded the greatest holiness which allows him to perform a unique role within the sanctuary cult and enjoy exclusive access to its holiest space; the priests have an elevated degree of holiness which allows them to access Yhwh's sanctuary and offer him his food; but the Israelites continue to have the lowest degree of holiness, which provides no access to the shrine or its sacred objects and offerings, and which is predicated on their obedience to Yhwh's law. True, the Israelites occupy a privileged position when compared to immigrants and foreigners, who are not even permitted to undergo a process of sanctification; but their communal holiness does not entail the redistribution of resources or privileges within the cult in a way which challenges the foundational distinctions of the earlier P materials.

This hierarchy of holiness finds explicit confirmation in a key command, located at the beginning of the instructions for the conduct of the priests, in which H articulates the responsibilities of the non-priestly members of the community to maintain the holiness of the priesthood. In Lev 21:8 H affirms the deity's expectation that the Israelites must preserve the sanctity of the priests on account of their unique right to officiate within the sanctuary cult.

Lev 21:8

וקדשתו כי־את־לחם אלהיך הוא מקריב קדש יהיה־לך כי קדוש אני יהוה מקדשכם

You [the Israelite] shall sanctify him [the priest], for he offers the food of your god; he will be holy to you, for holy am I, Yhwh, who sanctifies you.

As this verse makes patently clear, the expansion of holiness in Lev 17–26 does not undermine the claims of the Aaronide priesthood to greater rights and privileges. Rather, paradoxical though this may seem, the sanctification of the non-priests ultimately serves to underscore their *lower* place in the socio-cultic hierarchy. Although communal holiness widens the role of the community within the socio-cultic order and empowers the Israelites to actively participate in that order, it does so in a way which reinforces established ritual hierarchies and authoritative cultic leaders. The normative value of the law is also entrenched, since it alone offers the Israelite community the means by which it can acquire holiness. This, in turn, mobilizes consent to the centralizing ideals that are promoted by that law, which again affirm the sanctuary and its priesthood. Hence, H's reconceptualization of holiness serves to demand *more* of the people in how they relate to central authorities, since it requires not only that they recognize the exclusive privileges of the priests to the sanctuary and its sancta, but also that they accept the new obligations and constraints which come from obeying the law at all times.

5.2.2 Generating Consent: The Parenetic Framework of Lev 18–22

Consent, then, is an important element of the socio-cultic order of holiness in H. But how is this secured? As already mentioned, social theorists mount compelling arguments that coercion alone is insufficient to ensure compliance with a centralized system. How then does H frame its new expectation of communal sanctification via law observance so that it appears to be “common sense” (to use Gramsci's term) to defer to the central law, on the one hand, and the central sanctuary cult, on the other?

Clearly H employs diverse strategies in normalizing its demands of the Israelite congregation; but of particular significance is the series of exhortations in Lev 18–22 which form part of the “parenetic framework” (*paränetisches Rahmenstück*).¹⁹ These verses move beyond explaining why

¹⁹ The parenetic framework consists of Lev 18:2b–5, 24–30; 19:2–4, 19aα, 36b–37; 20:7–8, 20–22; 22:31–33; 25:18–19, 38, 42a, 55; 26:1–2.

individual laws should be followed to providing an overarching rationale as to why the Israelites must commit to obeying Yhwh's statutes, and what will be the collective benefits accruing from such obedience. Traditionally, scholars have considered that these verses form a redactional "frame" around the legal source materials that were combined to make the Holiness Code. In this case, these verses were either the work of the editor who was responsible for compiling H (e.g., Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 153–59, 66–67; Baentsch 1903, 391–93), or successive redactors responsible for smaller units within Lev 17–26 (e.g. Elliger 1966, 231–35 and passim; Kilian 1963, 33–35, 173–74; Cholewiński 1976, 34–41; Kornfeld 1983, 69 and passim).

However, there is little reason to view the exhortations as secondary. While the parenetic framework has a distinctive character on account of its sermon style, all the laws of Lev 17–26 are presented as an extended speech of Yhwh to Moses, meaning that the exhortations form a fitting extension of H's overarching concern to present its legal materials as the god's authoritative revelation. Furthermore, the idea that the parenetic framework is secondary is heavily influenced by the classical reflex to consider all references to the wilderness narrative in H as indicative of secondary or redactional materials. However, as discussed above (§ 1.1.1), classical attempts to remove references to the larger P narrative from H's laws have been unsuccessful; besides the repeated references to the speech scenario that was operative in Lev 1–16 (namely, of Yhwh speaking to Moses, who must in turn address Aaron, his sons and/or the community), the H laws frequently refer to the wilderness cult (see, e.g., Lev 17:3–9; 19:20–22; 24:1–9) and the imagined entry into the land (see, e.g., Lev 19:23; 23:10; 25:2; 26:3–45; Nihan 2007a, 396–99). Finally, many of the typical expressions of the parenetic frame—for instance, the *אני יהוה* and *אני יהוה אלהיכם* formulae, the reference to Yhwh's statutes and judgments, or the root *קדש*—are found scattered throughout H.²⁰ While the exhortations tend to cluster these formulaic expressions or terms, the mere presence of such expressions within these exhortations cannot be used to separate the parenetic framework as secondary to the H laws.

The parenetic framework, however, can still be called a "framework" because it performs an important role in *structuring* the H legal materials, especially those of Lev 18–22, so as to enhance their rhetorical impact. They often introduce and conclude lengthy speeches concerning particular topics, such as illicit sexual unions in Lev 18 and 20 (see Lev 18:2b–5, 24–30; Lev 20:7–8, 22–26), or the treatise on holiness in Lev 19 (see Lev 19:2, 36b–37), and explain why it is imperative that the Israelites obey Yhwh's instructions. Each exhortation (with the exception of Lev 19:2) reprises the

²⁰ Outside the parenetic framework, the *אני יהוה* formula is found in Lev 18:6, 21; 19:12, 14, 16, 18, 28, 30, 32, 37; 21:12; 22:2, 3, 8; 22:30; 26:2; the *אני יהוה אלהיכם* formula occurs at Lev 19:2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34; 21:8, 15, 23; 22:9, 16; 23:22, 43; 24:22; 25:17; for references to Yhwh's *חוקת* see Lev 17:7; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; 25:18; 26:15, 43; for Yhwh's *משפטים* see Lev 24:22; 26:15, 43, 46; for the root *קדש*, see e.g., its repeated use in Lev 21–22 in the rules for priestly conduct; and in Lev 23, in the festal calendar of holy days.

claims of earlier statements within the framework, together producing a repetitious, and therefore intensified, call to collective obedience (Crüsemann 1996 [1992], 301–6; Otto 1994b, 237–43). In particular, they frequently build upon the critical theme of the link between sanctification and law observance, continuously repeating the need to “keep” (שמר) and “practice” (עשה) Yhwh’s חקת “statutes” (Lev 18:26, 29; 19:37; 20:8, 22, 23) and משפטים “judgments” (Lev 18:5; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18, 28). Many of the exhortations stress the significance of Yhwh’s decision to lead the Israelites out from Egypt as an explanation for why the Israelites must be sanctified. They are also marked by the repetition of the god’s assertion of its patronage of Israel via statements such as אני יהוה “I am Yhwh,” אני יהוה אלהיכם “I am Yhwh your god,” and אני יהוה מקדשכם/מקדשם “I am Yhwh who sanctifies you/them.”

This intensified focus on holiness, obedience, and the conditions of Yhwh’s patronage of Israel suggest that these exhortations provide a suitable starting point for considering how H solicits consent to its call for collective deference to central authorities. In particular, I will focus here on the parenetic framework in Lev 18–22; these are the chapters which deal most explicitly with the sanctification of the Israelites, and their exhortations focus specifically on the link between holiness, law observance and the preservation of Yhwh’s central sanctuary. Moreover, the exhortations of Lev 25 raise a distinct set of issues concerning the relationship between holiness and the land, which warrants treating them separately (see further § 5.4.1).

The discussion that follows will examine each of the exhortations of Lev 18–22 and the case they make in combination for a centralized Israel—a community whose conventionalism must be manifest in their rejection of foreign practices in favor of a standardized set of everyday behaviors promulgated by Yhwh, their collective loyalty as an extension of loyalty to Yhwh, and their protection of a shared, central shrine through their law observance. In each of these ways, as we shall see, H strengthens its case as to why the Israelites must set themselves apart as a sanctified congregation, integrated by collective obedience, and united in their purpose to sustain a central sanctuary cult.

Othering and Standardization

From its first exhortation, in Lev 18:2b–5, H’s parenetic frame affirms a crucial aspect of “conventionalism,” as Adorno and others conceive this: namely, the need for the Israelites to protect themselves from the corrupting influences and behaviors of “Others” if they are to maintain collective unity and fulfill the requirements of their patron god. Leviticus 18:2b–5 opens with an affirmation of Yhwh’s patronage of the Israelites with the emphatic statement “I am Yhwh your god!” (v. 2b). This patronage, H explains, comes with consequences: the Israelites must utterly reject the חקת “statutes” of the Egyptians, and those of the Canaanites, and instead embrace the משפטים “judgments” and חקת “statutes” which Yhwh has decreed.

Lev 18:2b–5

2 (...) אני יהוה אלהיכם 3 כמעשה ארץ־מצרים אשר ישבתם־בה לא תעשו וכמעשה ארץ־כנען אשר אני מביא אתכם שמה לא תעשו ובחקתיהם לא תלכו 4 את־משפטי תעשו ואת־חקתי תשמרו ללכת בהם אני יהוה אלהיכם 5 ושמרתם את־חקתי ואת־משפטי אשר יעשה אתם האדם וחי בהם אני יהוה

2 (...) I am Yhwh your god! 3 You shall not do as they do in the land of Egypt, in which you lived, and you shall not do as they do in the land of Canaan, to which I am bringing you: you shall not follow their statutes. 4 My judgments you shall practice, and my statutes you shall keep, following them: I am Yhwh your god! 5 You shall keep my statutes and my judgments which, if one practices them, he will live by them: I am Yhwh!

Since this exhortation serves as the introduction to the lengthy speech in Lev 18:6–23 prohibiting illicit sexual practices, Yhwh’s חקת and משפטים seem here to refer to the specific laws that the god is just about to declare to Moses. The חקת of the Egyptians and Canaanites, in turn, are the incestuous practices that Yhwh is about to forbid. This reading is confirmed by the corresponding exhortation at the end of the chapter, at Lev 18:24–30. This serves as a complement to the exhortation in Lev 18:3–5, which resumes the call to Israel to keep (שמר) Yhwh’s חקת and משפטים (v. 26a) and to reject the חקת of the previous inhabitants of the land. But now it explicitly accuses הגוים “the nations” that previously inhabited the land of defiling themselves (טמא *Niphal*) by engaging in the forbidden practices which the god has just warned that the Israelites should never do.

Lev 18:24–30

24 אל־תטמאו בכל־אלה כי בכל־אלה נטמאו הגוים אשר־אני משלח מפניכם 25 ותטמא הארץ ואפקד עונה עליה ותקא הארץ את־ישיביה 26 ושמרתם אתם את־חקתי ואת־משפטי ולא תעשו מכל התועבת האלה האזרח והגר הגר בתוכם 27 כי את־כל־התועבת האל עשו אנשי־הארץ אשר לפניכם ותטמא הארץ 28 ולא־תקיא הארץ אתכם בטמאכם אתה כאשר קאה את־הגוי אשר לפניכם 29 כי כל־אשר יעשה מכל התועבות האלה ונכרתו הנפשות העשות מקרב עמם 30 ושמרתם את־משמרת־י לבלתי עשות מהקות התועבת אשר נעשו לפניכם ולא תטמאו בהם אני יהוה אלהיכם

24 Do not defile yourselves in any of these ways, for by all of these the nations that I have cast out before you have defiled themselves. 25 Thus the land has become defiled and I have called it to account for its wrongdoing; the land has vomited out its inhabitants. 26 You shall keep < them, > my statutes and my judgments,²¹ and shall commit none of these abominations, neither the native nor the immigrant who lives among you. 27 (For the inhabitants of the land who were before you did all of these abominations, and the land became defiled.) 28 If not, the land will vomit you out for your defiling it, as it vomited out the nation²² that was before you. 29 For whoever commits any of these abominations, they will be cut off from the midst of their people. 30 You shall keep my charge not to commit any of these statutes—the abominations that they did before you—and not to defile yourself by them: I am Yhwh your god!

²¹ אתם is not attested in SP or LXX.

²² LXX reads the plural τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν “the nations that were before you.” The singular is attested not only in MT and SP but also 11Q1. It should be preferred, since LXX seems here to be harmonizing v. 28 with v. 24, where the plural occurs.

The need for complete obedience is reinforced by H's vivid description of what has befallen the nations when they engaged in such prohibited practices: the land became defiled, with the result that Yhwh held it liable for עָוֹן "wrongdoing," forcing it to vomit out the nations (אָקַף *Hiphil*; v. 25). This reaction on the land's part fulfills an important discursive role in H's soliciting consent to its call to collective obedience. As seen by Stackert (2011b, 246) the land's reaction to the abominations provides, in a sense, a model of how the Israelites should behave: in that it expels foreign influence in favor of total compliance with the law by all those who inhabit it. In addition, the land's agency in applying the law leaves the Israelites no choice but to avoid the practices which are prohibited in vv. 6–23; if they do not, they will experience the same fate as the previous nations who were vomited out (אָקַף *Hiphil*; see v. 28). This warning extends to the immigrant who inhabits the land alongside the Israelites, since s/he too is bound by the obligation to avoid those practices which would risk the land's defilement (Joosten 1996b, 68; Nihan 2011b, 126).

In this way, then, H frames the Israelites' social cohesion in the land as being contingent on their rejection of the practices of foreign nations—a rejection which has been modeled by the land—in favor of obedience to Yhwh's decrees. To follow Yhwh's statutes is not only a sign of the Israelites' loyalty to their patron god, but also the means of maintaining the boundary between Israel and the defilement that characterizes foreign practices (Mohrmann 2004, 71–73; Nihan 2007a, 441). This might be described, using the insights of the philosopher Lajos Brons, as a "dialectic of identification and distantiation" (Brons 2015, 69) which essentializes the behavior of the other nations, so as to warrant their eradication, and the spurning of their practices in favor of compliance with Yhwh's statutes.

The result is a logic for law obedience which employs to powerful effect a process of "Othering"—that is, casting a group (the previous nations) as the "Other" and establishing a sense of Israelite collectivity through its opposition to, and vilification, of this Other (Said 1978; Tekin 2010, 14–18; Holslag 2015). Othering has been described as a tool of "exclusion, and privilege, the centralizing of a norm against which otherness is measured, meted out, marginalized" (Mackey 1998, 513). Othering is thus consistent with H's discourse of centralization because it perpetuates "monolithic, normative notions" (Nakache 2008, 105) of collective unity by construing an outside threat which is antithetical to the cohesive social group. With the threat posed by the Other enshrined in their statutes, the Israelites have no choice but to reject its influences by conforming to Yhwh's decrees. They must unify in obedience to a set of mutually agreed prohibitions of illicit sexual unions, even to the point of holding the immigrant among them liable.

This discourse of law observance and Othering in Lev 18 finds a strong echo in Lev 20. The core of this chapter, which again consists of a lengthy speech concerning sexual transgressions (vv. 10–21), is framed by two exhortations, in vv. 7–8 and 22–26, that call on the Israelites to obey the law. The exhortations share numerous verbal and thematic parallels with Lev 18:2b–5, 24–30; this is especially clear in the wording of v. 22, which repeats the threat that the land will vomit out (אָקַף

Hiphil) the Israelites if they do not keep Yhwh's statutes and judgments. However, these exhortations move in a new discursive direction when compared to ch. 18 by explicitly affirming that the Israelites have an obligation to be sanctified by keeping the totality of Yhwh's statutes.

Lev 20:7–8

7 והתקדשתם והייתם קדשים כי אני יהוה אלהיכם 8 ושמרתם את-חקתי ועשיתם אתם אני יהוה מקדשכם

7 You shall < sanctify yourselves and > be holy, for I am Yhwh your god.²³ 8 You shall keep all my statutes, and you shall practice them: I am Yhwh who sanctifies you!

Lev 20:22–26

22 ושמרתם את-כל-חקתי ואת-כל-משפטי ועשיתם אתם ולא-תקיא אתכם הארץ אשר אני מביא אתכם שמה לשבת בה 23 ולא תלכו בחקת הגוי אשר-אני משלה מפניכם כי את-כל-אלה עשו ואקץ בם 24 ואמר לכם אתם תירשו את-אדמתם ואני אתננה לכם לרשת אתה ארץ זבת חלב ודבש אני יהוה אלהיכם אשר-הבדלתי אתכם מן-העמים 25 והבדלתם בין-הבהמה הטהרה לטמאה ובין-העוף הטמא לטהר ולא-תשקצו את-נפשתיכם בבהמה ובעוף ובכל אשר תרמש האדמה אשר-הבדלתי לכם לטמא 26 והייתם לי קדשים כי קדוש אני יהוה ואבדל אתכם מן-העמים להיות לי

22 You shall keep all my statutes and my judgments, and you shall practice them. Then the land to which I am bringing you to settle in will not vomit you out. 23 You shall not follow the statutes of the nation[s]²⁴ that I drove out before you; it is because they did all of these things that I loathed them 24 and have said to you, ‘You shall possess their land. I will give it to you to possess, a land flowing with milk and honey.’ I am Yhwh your god who separated you from the peoples! 25 Thus you shall separate between clean and unclean animals and between the unclean and clean birds. You shall not make yourselves unclean by animal or bird or by anything with which the ground teems, which I have separated from you as unclean. 26 You shall be holy to me, for I Yhwh am holy; I have separated you from the peoples to be mine.

Of particular significance is the link, in the closing exhortation of Lev 20:22–26, between holiness, law observance and *separation*. In much the same way that Lev 18:24–30 calls upon the Israelites to reject the statutes of other nations if they are to reside on the land, these closing verses of ch. 20 affirm that the Israelites must avoid the practices that characterize the earlier inhabitants of the land if they are ever to attain holiness. This expectation of rejecting the Other is now positioned in a crucially important context: in Lev 20:30 Yhwh asserts that he has separated (בדל *Hiphil*) the Israelites from the other peoples to be his own personal possession—to “be mine.” This provides a key framing for the nature of the patron-client relationship between Yhwh and Israel: the god has the expectation that he can call the Israelites his own. Thus the rationale for Othering is given an even stronger rhetorical force. As possessions of the deity, the Israelites can do nothing but aspire to holiness by

²³ The phrase והתקדשתם is missing from 20:7 SP and LXX. This is perhaps an attempt to bring the wording of the opening exhortation into closer alignment with the concluding command at v. 26 (Sun 1990, 228).

²⁴ LXX and SP read the plural εἰθνη/גוים, which suits the 3cp verb in v. 23b, as well as Yhwh's claim “I loathed them.” However, it is possible that גוי in MT serves as a collective noun, such that there is no conflict when using 3cp forms in the second half of the verse (Milgrom 2000b, 1759).

practicing separation (לָדַל *Hiphil*) in their everyday lives (vv. 25–26). They must assume the responsibility for being unlike other people by adopting distinctive norms and customs, and in so doing show their loyalty to their patron deity.

In particular, H highlights the distinction between clean and unclean animals and birds as emblematic of the Israelites' separation as Yhwh's holy people. The Israelites must diligently apply Yhwh's instructions for ensuring that they never consume that which the god has "separated (לָדַל *Hiphil*) from you as unclean" (v. 25). This is almost certainly a reference to the earlier P dietary regulations, found in Lev 11.²⁵ In returning to these regulations when addressing Israel's separation as Yhwh's people, H builds on earlier themes within P concerning the link between communal unity and standardization in applying Yhwh's law to everyday life. As was discussed above (§ 2.4.2), the dietary norms laid out in Lev 11 are striking on account of their generality and permanence for all Israel. They are absolute prohibitions, which are to apply to all members of the Israelite community in equal measure, regardless of their geographical location. This stands in stark contrast to food prohibitions known from other ancient contexts, such as Mesopotamia and Egypt. These were almost always conceived in relation to local contexts or specific shrines, and thus have few similarities with P's interest in absolutist, and timeless, dietary guidelines. By addressing its dietary laws to the entire community, giving no hint that they apply only in certain, limited circumstances, P effectively calls for the standardization of the Israelite diet in accordance with a shared central authority: Yhwh's revelation to Moses at Sinai. In so doing, it makes the everyday practice of choosing what to eat emblematic of the Israelites' loyalty to Yhwh, since they must continuously opt to comply with, and accept, the central standardized practices laid out in his law. Beyond this, the separation of clean and unclean food is also a daily means of displaying the Israelites' collective unity, since they must effectively adopt a shared diet which applies to every time and place.

P's conceptualization of the dietary laws is taken up by H as an exemplar of the kind of behavior it considers to be of intrinsic value in defining the community's relationship with its god. By mentioning the obligation to separate between clean and unclean animals in the context of defining what make the Israelites Yhwh's personal possessions, H positions the standardization and conformity that is inherent in the dietary prohibitions as being of paradigmatic significance to the Israelites' special status. For the Israelites to manifest their commitment to being the chosen client of Yhwh,

²⁵ It is peculiar that H does not mention the differentiation between clean and unclean fish, given that these are included in Lev 11 (see vv. 9–12). Milgrom (2000, 1763) and Nihan (2007, 459 n. 246) have argued that the omission of fish probably reflects the diminished role which fish played in the Israelite diet when compared with animals and birds. Grünwaldt (1999, 52–54, 219–20), by contrast, took the absence of fish as evidence that H did not have the P ritual instructions of Lev 11 in mind when making this statement in Lev 20:22–26. However, the terminology of v. 25, especially the conclusion אשר־הבדלתי לכם לטמא "which I have separated from you as unclean" strongly suggests that H understands that Yhwh has already given laid out the relevant dietary instructions in an earlier set of laws: namely, that which is found in Lev 11.

they must maintain their separation through everyday conformity to the law: that is, sanctification must be given practical form, repeated on a day-to-day basis. Whenever and wherever they select food for consumption, the Israelites must manifest their distinctive status as Yhwh's holy people, and their willingness to act with a shared sense of obligation to the law. In so doing, the separation of clean and unclean foods entrenches the distinctions between Israel and the Other which is essential to its separation as Yhwh's holy possession, since the revelation of the dietary laws to the Israelites *alone* makes them a distinguishing marker between them and the other nations.

This discourse of sanctification via law observance, then, is an ideological tool for compliance. H requires the Israelites to show unity and conformity with the legal norm, even in the most ordinary of daily contexts. By doing so, H imagines the Israelites emerging as a people whose holiness is made concrete through their conformity. They must present themselves to the deity as a genuine community, in the sense of being a group with unified characteristics and attitudes, and clearly defined boundaries. While some of these ideas are already present in P, H invests them with a new gravity by making observance of standardizing customs the mark of the Israelites' status as a holy people—a status without which they cannot remain the god's chosen client. In effect, then, the Israelites are obliged to assume the responsibility for “centralizing” themselves as a social collective, standardizing their norms and customs to a central legal authority, looking inwards and fostering a sense of collectivity in accordance with that law; it is thus that they attain and maintain holiness.

Collective Loyalty

However, H's centralizing logic has a further important dimension. Conventionalism is classically understood to imply not simply obedience to central authority and behavioral modification in accordance with the rejection of the corrupting influences of “Others.” It also assumes a positive sense of common endeavor across the community in implementing that behavioral adaptation. Hence, in the case of H, we see the expectation that the Israelites will not only defer to centralized authorities and conform to the laws that differentiate them from Others. As part of this inward focus they are also expected to manifest mutual obligation to other members of the sacral community in *all* their social interactions: that is, they must be characterized at all times by communal loyalty as a mark of their collective sanctification.

This is particularly clear from the exhortations of Lev 19 (vv. 2, 19a, 36b–37) and the material which they frame. As already mentioned above, Lev 19:2 offers perhaps H's clearest statement requiring the Israelites to strive towards a holy status.

Lev 19:2

דבר אל-כל-עדת בני-ישראל ואמרת להם קדשים תהיו כי קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם

Speak to all the congregation of the Israelites and say to them: ‘You shall be holy for I Yhwh your god am holy.’

This statement is then book-ended with a corresponding exhortation, in Lev 19:36b–37, which reminds the Israelites of Yhwh’s act in bringing them out of Egypt, and their resultant obligation to obey his statutes and his judgments.

Lev 19:36b–37

36 (...) אני יהוה אלהיכם אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ מצרים 37 ושמרתם את כל חקתי ואת כל משפטי ועשיתם אתם אני יהוה

36 (...) I am Yhwh your god, who brought you out of the land of Egypt! 37 You shall keep and practice all my statutes and all my judgments: I am Yhwh!

Between these two exhortations (vv. 2, 36b–37), the Israelites are commanded to uphold the law in a host of situations pertaining to social, ritual, economic and agricultural matters, including those that enhance societal cohesion. The Israelites must not worship idols, here termed אליילים “nothings” (19:4, 26–31), but be loyal to Yhwh’s name (19:12). They must be careful not to mishandle Yhwh’s sacrifices, particularly the זבח שלמים (19:5–8; cf. 22:17–25). They must revere their parents (Lev 19:3; cf. 20:9) and show justice in economic dealings (19:35–36). They must cultivate the land in accordance with the deity’s wishes (19:9–10, 23–25), be loyal towards the Israelite רע “neighbor” (19:13, 17–18), and show compassion to the גר (19:9, 33–34) and to vulnerable members of the community (19:14–15). A further exhortation, in 19:19aα reinforces the need to apply all of these various rulings to everyday life with a simple reiteration of the foundational connection between law observance and collective sanctification:

Lev 19:19aα

את חקתי תשמרו

You shall keep my statutes.

“The message is clear,” as Schwartz has remarked (2000, 56), “the indiscriminate and scrupulous compliance with every sort of law and statute is the means by which Israel is to fulfill the command ‘sanctify yourselves; be holy.’”

Of particular interest for the present study is the manner in which the exhortations at Lev 19:2, 19aα and 36b–37 structure ch. 19 so that laws related to communal solidarity are juxtaposed with those concerned with loyalty to the god (Otto 1994b, 244–47; Ruwe 1999, 191–92; Nihan 2007a, 461–68). The overarching call in Lev 19:2 to “be holy” and the final statement in Lev 19:36b–37 frame two main sections of legislative material. The first section stretches from vv. 3–18, while the second extends from vv. 19–36a. The exhortation at 19:19aα functions as the transition between them. In both sections H moves from foundational requirements (vv. 3–4 // 9aβ–b), to casuistic laws (vv. 5–10 // 20–25) dealing with sacrifice (vv. 5–8 // 20–22) and land (vv. 9–10 // vv. 23–25), and then to

laws which deal with loyalty to Israelites (vv. 11–18), or with loyalty to Yhwh as well as to fellow community members (vv. 26–36). Within the first panel, the command to “love”²⁶ (אהב) one’s neighbor occupies an important place as a conclusion to both the series in vv. 11–18 concerned with the treatment of others, and also to the first half of the chapter as a whole (Otto 1994b, 246). A similar device can also be observed in the second panel (vv. 26–36), in which a series of laws concerned primarily with loyalty to Yhwh are followed, in vv. 33–36, with laws concerned with the issue of loyalty to vulnerable members of the community.

Consequently, the laws which concern the Israelites’ obligations to one another, and especially the command to show communal loyalty, are presented as not only complementing but also completing the commandment to show loyalty to the deity. The structural parallel between vv. 11–18 (concerned with communal obligations) and vv. 26–36 (concerned with loyalty to Yhwh and others) further positions communal solidarity as an analogue to loyalty to Yhwh as patron. Since the laws of vv. 11–18 and 26–36 occupy a similar structural role within the two panels that comprise the chapter—they follow immediately from casuistic laws (vv. 5–10, 20–25) and serve as conclusions to their respective panels—the Israelites’ social responsibilities again appear as functionally equivalent in the making of a holy community to their responsibilities to honor the god (Nihan 2007a, 464–65). Finally, the link between communal loyalty and loyalty to the god is also evident on the level of individual laws. In v. 32 H explicitly links the Israelites’ responsibility to show respect to the elderly with the need to show loyalty to the deity: decreeing, “You shall rise before the aged and defer to the old; and you shall fear (ירא *Qal*) your god. I am Yhwh!” As noted by Dider Luciani (1992, 222–23), this dual command echoes the content of vv. 3–4, where loyalty to parents is contrasted with the prohibition of idolatry. It thus further highlights the complementarity between these two forms of loyalty across the chapter as a whole.

This emphasis on communal loyalty has no obvious counterpart in the earlier P materials. These offer few instructions for how the Israelites must conduct themselves in situations that require collective solidarity; nor are there any explicit statements that communal loyalty is an analogue to loyalty to Yhwh. However, Lev 19 does build on ideas which are present in the non-Priestly legal traditions, especially the laws of the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17 // Deut 5:6–21). Already in the

²⁶ As was convincingly demonstrated by William Moran over fifty years ago (1963), the term אהב is used in the HB not only to denote affection between two people but also to refer to political and covenantal loyalty (see, e.g., 1 Sam 16:21; 2 Sam 19:6–7; 1 Kgs 5:15; see further Rütterswörden 2006b). This usage has a clear parallel in Hittite and Neo-Assyrian treaties in which the term “love” is used to refer to the loyalty and friendship between rulers (see, e.g., EA 8:8–12; 27:72–73), as well as the servitude and loyalty that a vassal must direct towards its sovereign (see, e.g., EA 121:61; 123:23; 158:6). In his monograph devoted entirely to the love commandment of Lev 19:18, Mathys convincingly demonstrated (1986, 20–28, at 28) that the “unconditional, unrestricted love” („*unbedingte, uneingeschränkte Liebe*“) that H requires the Israelites to show one another functions as a command to enact this type of socio-political allegiance.

Decalogue we find a sophisticated interweaving of five commandments that deal with the loyalty which the Israelites must show to the deity, as well as to parents (Exod 20:3–12 // Deut 5:7–16), and a second set of five laws that concern the loyalty that the Israelites must show to fellow community members (Exod 20:13–17 // Deut 5:17–21). There are strong indications that H had such laws in mind when composing its treatise on communal holiness in Lev 19; it even quotes directly a number of the Decalogue's key commands.²⁷ This is especially obvious at Lev 19:3–4, which open the first section of the chapter by referencing four of the ten commandments in Exod 20:1–17 // Deut 5:6–22; H begins in v. 3 by commanding the Israelites to revere (אָרָא *Qal*) their parents (cf. Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16–21) and to keep the sabbath (cf. Exod 20:8; Deut 5:12), and then moves in v. 4 to prohibit the worship of other gods and the making of idols. Furthermore, the first command in Lev 19:11–18 at v. 11 is a near-verbatim citation of the prohibition of theft in Exod 20:15 // Deut 5:19. These links to the Decalogue therefore suggest that H sought to affirm the non-Priestly idea that communal solidarity and loyalty to the deity are mutually dependent in the shaping of the Israelite community. Notably, however, in Lev 19 H subsumes these two aspects of Israelite conduct directly under the command to be sanctified via law observance. This idea has no direct parallel in Exod 20 // Deut 5 and thus represents an innovation on H's part.

Through this discursive strategy, H makes the Israelites' status as Yhwh's chosen people contingent on their ability to show loyalty to one another. To be an Israelite, and thus part of Yhwh's sanctified possessions, is to be bound by mutual obligation to other members of the sacral community. Thus H effectively precludes any possibility that the Israelites might retain their holy status if they operate as splintered factions. They must act as one, and be unified. Communal loyalty thus emerges as another means by which H advances a centralizing mandate—a mandate to embrace behavioral norms that ensure the community's participation in a cohesive social system which is focused inwards towards fellow community members and their shared patron deity. The attainment of this is only possible when they live in accordance with a centralized legal system, and with a commitment to remain loyal to the broader collective.

Protecting Yhwh's Shrine

A final, and highly significant, insight that we can gain from the parenetic framework of Lev 18–22 is found in the final exhortation in Lev 22:31–33. Here we see the intersections between H's discourse concerning the need for conformity and communal loyalty in accordance with the law, and its interest in reinforcing the Israelites' responsibilities towards the sanctuary. In effect, this exhortation shows

²⁷ This idea is now widely preferred to the form-critical idea that Lev 19 originated as a version of the Decalogue, which then underwent heavy revision (for the form-critical reading, see e.g., Morgenstern 1955; Reventlow 1961, 65–57; Elliger 1966, 247–79; for the interpretation of Lev 19 as a case of inner-scriptural exegesis, see, e.g., Otto 1994b, 244; Milgrom 2000b, 1609; Nihan 2007a, 465, 77; Hieke 2014, 2:706–8).

how H embeds its call for holiness within a broader call to maintain Yhwh's sanctuary as the cultic epicenter of the Israelite collective.

Lev 22:31–33

31 ושמרתם מצותי ועשיתם אתם אני יהוה 32 ולא תחללו את־שם קדשי ונקדשתי בתוך בני ישראל אני יהוה
מקדשכם 33 המוציא אתכם מארץ מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים אני יהוה

31 Thus you shall keep my commandments and practice them: < I am Yhwh!²⁸ > 32 You shall not profane my holy name, that I may be sanctified among the Israelites. I am Yhwh who sanctifies you,²⁹ 33 the one who brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your god: I am Yhwh!

This exhortation reiterates the themes of the earlier exhortations of Lev 18–20: it repeats the call to obey Yhwh's laws, here referred to as מצוות “commandments” (v. 31); it returns to the theme of the exodus in language which is strikingly similar to Lev 19:36b; and it restates the paradigmatic significance of this event in establishing Yhwh's claim to possess the Israelites, and therefore to require their unfettered loyalty. As Zimmerli (1980, 503), Crüsemann (1996 [1992], 302) and Otto (1994b, 239) have demonstrated, the parallel participial expressions מקדשכם and המוציא in vv. 32b–33 identify the sanctification of the Israelites and the exodus from Egypt as one and the same process (cf. Lev 11:44–45); when Yhwh took the Israelites out of Egypt, he set them apart from the rest of the peoples of the world to be his chosen possession. In order to maintain this separation beyond the initial act of the exodus, the Israelites must now commit to obeying Yhwh's commandments, and thus to continuing the work of sanctification that was started by the god in Egypt.

However, Lev 22:31–33 make an additional, and noteworthy, comment regarding the effect of the Israelites' sanctification upon their patron deity. First, in v. 32aα Yhwh declares that the Israelites must commit to observing Yhwh's commandments because, in so doing, they avoid profaning his holy name. This statement arguably reflects the topic of the immediately preceding materials, at Lev 22:17–30, which deal with the collective responsibility of Aaron, his sons and כל־בני ישראל “all the Israelites” to handle sacrificial donations responsibly. Failure to keep impurity away from Yhwh's sacrifices is identified in Lev 22:2 as an act that profanes Yhwh's name. “Tell Aaron and his sons,” the god instructs Moses, “to be scrupulous with the sacred donations of the Israelites, which they consecrate to me, so they shall not profane my holy name (ולא יחללו את־שם קדשי): I am Yhwh!” H's decision to return to this issue at Lev 22:32aα stresses that this is not only a responsibility of the priesthood when handling Yhwh's sacrifices. It is a *collective* responsibility,

²⁸ The phrase אני יהוה is not attested in SP or LXX.

²⁹ SP reads מקדשם “who sanctifies them [i.e., the priests].” However, the reading of MT and LXX is to be preferred, as it contributes to the sophisticated development of the אני יהוה + מקדש formula across Lev 21–22, in which the first and last occurrences refer to Yhwh as the מקדשכם “one who sanctified you [i.e., the Israelites]” (cf. Lev 21:8bβ). On this development see further below.

shared by all Israel, to ensure that any interaction with a sacrificial donation is conducted in accordance with Yhwh's commandments; specifically, there must be the proper choice of livestock when offering a sacrifice (vv. 18–27), and communal agreement to eat the meat of the thanksgiving offering on the same day that it is sacrificed (vv. 28–30).

Then, in Lev 22:32a β , Yhwh offers an additional rationale for the Israelites' call to obedience—one which is particularly striking. Here Yhwh states that the Israelites must keep the law not only to avoid profaning his name but also to ensure that he might be “sanctified among the Israelites” (ונקדשתי בתוך בני ישראל). This is a remarkable claim, since it would seem to suggest that the pursuit of communal holiness by the Israelites is part of a broader process of “reciprocal sanctification” (R. Müller 2015, 82): that is, the Israelites sanctify Yhwh through law observance, at the same time as Yhwh sanctifies them through the provision of his law.

How should we interpret such a statement? It seems highly unlikely that this implies that Yhwh's holiness is contingent on the willingness of the Israelites to obey his law; his holiness is intrinsic to his being a deity. Rather, H seems to be seeking at ensuring that the Israelites maintain the conditions whereby Yhwh can manifest his holiness within the community; this would explain why H mentions Yhwh's sanctification not in abstract terms, but specifically within the context of his being “among the Israelites.” From this we might infer that H is directing the Israelites' attention to the need to maintain Yhwh's shrine. Where else within the community would Yhwh dwell in a manner that allowed him to be “sanctified”—that is, set apart from profaning elements and venerated by his chosen client?

The idiom בני ישראל also unmistakably recalls those texts in P which refer to the founding of the sanctuary after the exodus from Egypt. Recall how in Exod 25:8b Yhwh instructs Moses to have the בני ישראל “make a sanctuary for me so I might dwell among them (ושכנתי בתוכם)”; and in Exod 29:44–46 declares “I will consecrate the tent of meeting and the altar; and I will also consecrate Aaron and his sons to serve me as priests. I will dwell among the Israelites (ושכנתי בתוך בני ישראל) and be their god. And they shall know that I am Yhwh their god who brought them from the land of Egypt to dwell among them (לשכני בתוכם): I am Yhwh their god!” The presence of the idiom בני ישראל at Lev 22:32a β therefore strongly suggests that the mention of sanctifying Yhwh is intended to remind the Israelites of their responsibility to protect the sanctity of his shrine at all times—a responsibility which they acquired when the god brought them out of Egypt. In particular, it suggests that the “reciprocal sanctification” highlighted in this exhortation is a means of emphasizing the *interconnection* between the sanctification of the Israelites through the exodus, and their responsibility to maintain the central sanctuary which Yhwh brought them out of Egypt to construct for him.

This reading of Lev 22:32a β finds further confirmation from the position of the exhortation within the broader literary context of Lev 21–22. These chapters consist of a lengthy series of regulations for priestly conduct in Lev 21:1–22:16, followed by the sacrificial instructions in Lev

22:17–30 mentioned above. Common to these materials is a concern with protecting the central shrine, its paraphernalia or personnel from being profaned (Nihan 2007a, 481). Most importantly, they share an important structural marker: namely, the recurrence of the formula *אני יהוה* + the suffixed form of the participle *מקדש*, which is found at the end of each speech unit (21:15, 23; 22: 16, 32) and also at 21:8 and 22:9 (Milgrom 2000b, 1793; Nihan 2007a, 482). As shown in Figure 5.1 below, in four cases of the *אני יהוה* + *מקדש* formula, the participle “the one who sanctifies you” is affixed with 3ps or 3pp suffixes and refers to either the sanctification of the priests (21:15; 22:9, 16) or of Yhwh’s sancta (21:23). In the first (21:8) and last (22:32) formulae, however, the object of sanctification is again the Israelites, since the participle *מקדש* is, in these two instances, affixed with 2pp endings.

Figure 5.1 The *אני יהוה* + *מקדש* Formula in Lev 21–22

Lev 21:8bβ

כי קדוש אני יהוה מקדשכם For I Yhwh, the one who sanctifies you, am holy.

Lev 21:15b

כי אני יהוה מקדשו For I am Yhwh who sanctifies him (a priest).

Lev 21:23b

כי אני יהוה מקדשם For I am Yhwh who sanctifies them (the altar and veil).

Lev 22:9b

כי אני יהוה מקדשם For I am Yhwh who sanctifies them (the priests).

Lev 22:16b

כי אני יהוה מקדשם For I am Yhwh who sanctifies them (the priests).

Lev 22:32b

אני יהוה מקדשכם For I am Yhwh who sanctifies you.

Through these formulae, H builds a frame around Lev 21–22, culminating in 22:31–32, which presents communal sanctification and the preservation of the shrine, its sancta and priests as interdependent processes. The sanctuary’s holiness cannot be preserved without the Israelites being willing to guard it; and, in turn, there is no chance for the community to be sanctified if the sanctuary cult is not protected from profanation. In this way, H avoids giving the impression that the Israelites can maintain their distinctive status as Yhwh’s chosen community by keeping his law in extra-sanctuary contexts alone. Rather, there is an essential connection between the loyalty which Yhwh requires from the Israelites as his holy community and their willingness to protect the space of the sanctuary and the activities of its ritual cult.

This final exhortation, then, confirms the intrinsic link in H between the Israelites’ responsibility to be made holy by deferring to the law and their obligation to maintain the cult by deferring to the central sanctuary as its Aaronide priesthood. Indeed, this exhortation suggests that it is impossible, as H sees it, for Yhwh (as a holy god) to reside among the people he led out of Egypt if

the Israelites are not willing to continue the process of sanctification through their law observance. It is incumbent upon the Israelites to structure their everyday lives in such a way that is constantly attentive to the requirements of Yhwh for a suitable environment for his shrine so as to ensure that the god is not forced to depart from its central dwelling on account of their behavior. Hence, they must commit to guarding the central shrine from elements that would threaten it by orienting their everyday lives to vigilantly following all of Yhwh's decrees.

This expansion of holiness thus can be seen as functioning as a form of hegemonic discourse (as defined in the Introduction to this thesis). It consolidates the authority of the central authority of law and sanctuary, along with the interests of those whose place is at the apex of the hierarchy (i.e., the priests), by normalizing the idea that the entire community has an inalienable obligation to defer to and sustain them. By promoting communal holiness as a divine imperative, and loyalty to the central shrine as integral to the Israelites' sanctification, the laws of Lev 17–26 solicit the Israelites' consent to a social system in which the shrine occupies the central position and thus the greater share in the distribution of power, and the law provides the means of maintaining the ritual cult and sacral community which it requires. Meanwhile, it justifies the place of the Israelites within this hierarchical holiness as assistants to that shrine. While they are still excluded from entering the sanctuary's holy precincts or eating the sacred donations, the Israelites are incorporated into the central sanctuary's broader "staff," so to speak, on account of their sanctification, which entails acting as a unified collective to ensure its ongoing survival and protection.

5.3 Holiness and Sabbath

The discussion thus far has established that holiness in Lev 17–26 has multiple interconnected dimensions: conformity in everyday life in accordance with the law; collective unity as an expression of loyalty to the god; and deference to the central sanctuary and its ritual agents, the epicenter of holiness in the community. It has also established that the sanctification of Yhwh, in his shrine, and the Israelites, in their everyday lives, are mutually dependent and interlocking aspects of H's case for the centralization of the cult and community. We will now turn to examine how these elements are brought together to sophisticated effect in H's description of sabbath observance and the importance of this practice to Israel's experience of holiness.

5.3.1 Sabbath Observance and Temporal Symmetry

The importance of sabbath observance to H's notion of holiness is especially clear from Lev 19, H's central treatise on communal sanctification. The sabbath is the only holy time to be mentioned in this chapter. Moreover, its observance is the only practice to be mentioned in Lev 19 *twice*. It is first

introduced in v. 3, where it is paired with reverence of parents as the first commandment after the exhortation in 19:2 “you shall be holy”—a position which further underscores its significance.

Lev 19:3

אִישׁ אָמוּ וְאָבִיו תִּירָאוּ וְאֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

Each of you shall revere his mother and his father,³⁰ and you shall keep my sabbaths: I am Yhwh your god!

The importance of sabbath observance is again stressed in Lev 19:30, since here it forms a complement to revering Yhwh’s shrine in the collective project of sanctification.

Lev 19:30

אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקְדָּשִׁי תִירָאוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה

You shall keep my sabbaths and revere my sanctuary³¹: I am Yhwh!

This juxtaposition of sabbath observance and revering the shrine “in the same breath” (D. Wright 1999, 361) speaks to the extraordinary holiness of the sabbath; it effectively positions this sacred time “on the same level as the sanctuary” (Knohl 1995, 16) in the community’s experience of sanctity. Furthermore, the significance of this dual command, to keep the sabbath and revere the sanctuary, is highlighted by its verbatim repetition at Lev 26:2, at the close of the legislation. This effectively positions the obligations of sabbath observance and sanctuary loyalty as framing all the laws of chs. 19–25, and thus as forming the two central pillars of the Israelites’ experience of sanctity: the sanctuary as most holy space, and the sabbath as most holy time (Milgrom 2000b, 1699; Nihan 2007a, 478; Hieke 2014, 2:751–52).

³⁰ The LXX lists the father before the mother (ἐκαστος πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ μητέρα αὐτοῦ φοβείσθω) which may reflect an attempt at harmonization with the wording of the Decalogue (cf. Exod 20:12 // Deut 5:16).

³¹ The Greek translator reads the same consonantal text as MT and SP, but vocalizes מִקְדָּשִׁי as a plural (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μου φοβηθήσεσθε). The same reading is attested at Lev 26:2 LXX, where this command is repeated verbatim. However, the presence of a plural does not necessitate that we translate here “revere my *sanctuaries*.” In the case of abstract things, Greek neuter plural is very often used to express a singular collective; the ensemble of sacred spaces and objects could thus be understood to collectively form Yhwh’s sanctuary (Angelini, personal communication). See further *GELS* 5–6, ἅγιος, which supplies the translation “sanctuary” for Lev 19:30 (and in Lev 20:3; 21:12; Ezek 37:36, where the plural also occurs); and Harlé and Pralon 1988, 172, who have dismissed reading the plural at 19:30 LXX as anything other than a reference to the single shrine. Another suggestion, proposed by Martin Rösel (2009, 395), is that the Greek translator understood the unpointed Hebrew מִקְדָּשִׁי to consist of the preposition מִן (in its prefixed form מִ) + קְדָשִׁי, thus “from my sacred things.” In this case, Lev 19:30 // 26:2 would instruct the Israelites to revere the totality of Yhwh’s sancta, rather than the space of the shrine.

It is noteworthy that both Lev 19:3 and 7 juxtapose the command to keep (שמר) the sabbath with the obligation to show reverence (ירא): in v. 3, it is reverence towards parents; in v. 30, reverence towards Yhwh's sanctuary. In both cases the term ירא expresses the god's expectation that the Israelites will manifest loyalty and deference in their dealings with other members of the community—the parents being the head of the family unit (cf. Lev 18:7; 20:9)—and with their patron god—whose presence is manifest in the sanctuary. This suggests, in turn, that sabbath observance is considered a fitting complement to both the communal solidarity and loyalty to the god which, in H's view, form interlocking aspects of the Israelites' sanctification via law observance (see § 5.2.2 above).

How, then, are the Israelites expected to “keep the sabbath” in order to achieve their communal sanctification? It seems that this command is to be fulfilled primarily by their ceasing labor for the duration of the sabbath day. The association of the sabbath with a work ban is explicitly affirmed in Lev 23:3, which opens the festal calendar with the prohibition of working on the sabbath. However, as argued above (see § 4.2.1), this verse is most likely a secondary addition to the calendar: the subscription of vv. 37–38 explicitly states that the sabbath is to be counted among the times that are *not* included among the מועדי יהוה set out in Yhwh's calendar; and v. 3 is framed by two near-identical superscriptions (cf. vv. 2aβ–b and 4) in a clear case of repetitive resumption (*Wiederaufnahme*). In light of its secondary status, then, Lev 23:3 cannot be used as primary evidence for reconstructing H's concept of sabbath.

Yet there is ample evidence outside this text that H associated the sabbath with a work ban. In its description of the day of purifications (Lev 23:26–32), H instructs the Israelites to observe a שבת שבתון “sabbath of total cessation” (LXX *σάββατα σαββάτων*, Lev 23:32), which must involve a total ban on all forms of labor (כל-מלאכה לא תעשו). Furthermore, the sabbath is employed throughout Lev 25:1–26:46 to refer to a year in which the Israelites must cease their work in agricultural contexts. During the שנת שבתון “year of total cessation” the Israelites are not permitted to sow their fields or tend to their vineyards, but must eat only what the land produces (25:4–6). The יובל “jubilee”³² year must also be marked by a total ban on all forms of agricultural labor (25:11–12). The critical importance of these fallow years is underscored in Lev 26:34–35, which identifies the failure to grant

³² The precise meaning of the term יובל is disputed. Its primary meaning is often thought to be “ram” (see, e.g., HALOT 2:398, יובל). Six times in the HB יובל is used in association with a term referring to the blast of a horn or trumpet (Exod 19:13; Josh 6:4, 5, 6, 8, 13), which could suggest that it refers to a ram's horn. Scholars have often assumed that the term יובל occurs in Lev 25 because the year of release began with the sounding of such a horn (Elliger 1966, 352; Levine 1989, 172; Hartley 1992, 434); compare the reference to the שופר in v. 9. However, it is noteworthy that LXX always translates יובל with *ἄφεσις* “sending away” or “sending back,” with the exception of Lev 25:15 where it is rendered *σημασία* “proclamation.” While the choice of the term *σημασία* is consistent with the idea of a proclamation via the blowing of a ram's horn, the term *ἄφεσις* would seem to offer little evidence that יובל was understood to mean “ram” by the Greek translator. For the purposes of the present study, however, the precise meaning of the term יובל can be left open.

the land its sabbath cessation as a leading cause for the exile; Yhwh declares that the Israelites must be removed from the land so that it might “repay” (רציה) the sabbaths it missed while the Israelites were dwelling upon it.

However, the sabbath is not merely a day “which is kept (*šāmar*) by abstentions” (pace Milgrom 2000b, 1608): that is, by simply avoiding laborious activities. H also considers the Israelites bound to undertake positive steps to pay Yhwh homage at his shrine on the day of the sabbath. This can be seen in the festal calendar at Lev 23:37–38, where H reminds the Israelites of their duty to present regular sacrifices and donations on the “sabbaths of Yhwh.”

Lev 23:37–38

37 אלה מועדי יהוה אשר־תקראו אתם מקראי קדש להקריב אשה ליהוה עלה ומנחה זבח ונסכים דבר־יום ביום
38 מלבד שבתת יהוה ומלבד מתנותיכם ומלבד כל־נדריכם ומלבד כל־נדבותיכם אשר תתנו ליהוה

37 These are the fixed times of Yhwh that you shall proclaim as such; holy days for presenting food offerings for Yhwh—the burnt offering and the cereal offering, sacrifice and drink offerings, each on its proper day—38 apart from the sabbaths of Yhwh, and apart from your cereal offerings and apart from all your votive offerings and apart from all your freewill offerings that you give to Yhwh.

The sabbath is also identified in Lev 24:5–9 as a time of regular rites performed by Aaron within the sanctuary interior. As discussed at length above (§ 4.4.1), H nominates the sabbath as the day when the twelve display loaves must be replenished by Aaron on the golden table, and the discarded loaves distributed among the priests.

To be sure, H never goes so far as to command the Israelites to be physically present at the central sanctuary on the sabbath while the sacrifices and donations are being offered to the god. The rite of the display bread, for example, does not require the presence of all the Israelites at the central shrine for the ritual to be effective in reminding the god of its duties towards the community, ideally represented in the form of the twelve loaves. Nevertheless, the reference to sabbath sacrifices in Lev 23:38, in addition to the rite in Lev 24:5–9, underscores the communal obligation to ensure that the deity is paid homage at its sanctuary every sabbath, and that the high priest is able to perform the required rituals within the outer sanctum. The expectation seems to be that, so long as the Israelites ensure that the priesthood has *the resources* to present the appropriate gifts to Yhwh, and remain committed to showing loyalty to the shrine by ceasing labor while the offerings are presented, the sanctity of the sabbath can be preserved.

Regardless of whether the Israelites remain at home or are present at the sanctuary during the sacrifices on the sabbath, H is emphatic that they have an obligation to observe the sabbath at the same, standardized time. In particular, the Israelites must calculate the sabbath according to mutually

agreed intervals of *seven*, the most basic of which is the seventh day.³³ This is clear in the secondary text at Lev 23:3, which explicitly commands “six days one may work, but on the seventh day, it is a sabbath of total cessation”; but it is also attested in the calendar at Lev 23:16, where H instructs the Israelites to count *השבת השביעת* “seven sabbaths” during the celebration of firstfruits, which is to amount to a period of *חמשים יום* “fifty days.” The association of the sabbath with intervals of seven—but in this case, years—is confirmed in the agriculture and redemption laws of Lev 25. Leviticus 25:1–7 clearly instruct the Israelites to observe the sabbath year every seventh year, followed by the instruction, in 25:8–10, to calculate the jubilee by counting *שבע שבתות שנים* “seven sabbatical years” (v. 8) and sanctifying the fiftieth year (*וְקִדְשְׁתֶּם אֶת שְׁנַת הַחֲמִישִׁים שָׁנָה*; v. 10).

The prominence accorded to the sabbath in H thus seems to confirm the arguments made above concerning the link between sanctification and conformity: that is, the manner in which Israel’s separation as the holy possession of the god Yhwh must be made concrete is their adoption of standardized norms and customs in everyday settings, which extend across the entire community with no exceptions. The call to observe the sabbath effectively amounts to a device to achieve a unified Israelite “week,” in which all Israel must start and stop work at the same time as a sign of their collective sanctification. This is then extrapolated to how the Israelites organize the seventh-year fallow period granted to their land. Indeed, the expectation of conformity is here taken to a new extreme, since the *entire land* is imagined to lie fallow according to a standardized schedule of seven-year intervals, in addition to the fiftieth year.

In this, then, the sabbath serves a very similar function to the festal calendar described above. In the same way as the festivals promote a standardized annual scheme to ensure conformity across the community in their festal worship, the sabbath promotes a fixed seven-day rhythm, in which the Israelites must all cease their labor on the same day each week as a mark of their collective cohesion, and in achieving temporal symmetry with the rites taking place at the central shrine on their behalf. A comparable fixed seven-year rhythm ensures that the land participates in this ideal of collective rest from labor; and the fifty-year framework of redemption of indentured servants and rest from agricultural labor provides an ever-larger means for conceiving socio-economic practices through the standardized lens which the sabbath provides. Thus H calls on the Israelites to make their sanctification concrete in their weekly experience of observing a unified conception of time, and in their standardized agricultural and socio-economic practices on a longer timeframe. Through such practices the Israelites are afforded the experience of community solidarity, on the one hand, and collective unity in their loyalty to Yhwh, on the other, both of which are essential to their sanctification via law observance.

³³ On rare occasions the sabbath refers to a festal day; see the description of the day of purifications (held on the tenth day of the seventh month) as a *שבת שבתון* (Lev 23:32; cf. 16:31).

5.3.2 Reinterpreting the Sabbath

However, H's emphasis on the place of the sabbath in communal sanctification may also speak to further strategies of reimagining the role of communal sanctification in promoting a centralized cult and community—strategies which only come into focus when H's concept of the sabbath is positioned within the context of a range of other sources: both other HB traditions which describe sabbath, and extra-biblical sources which shed light on possible sacrificial practices associated with the sabbath. In particular, such a comparison might reveal how H reinterprets categories which affirm regular interactions with the central shrine so they might structure the Israelites' everyday lives. The result is a powerful argument for why the Israelites must not only embrace standardized norms, which affirm their unity; but also why their collective experience must be conceptualized in ways which reiterate their obligation to defer to the central sanctuary in everyday life.

It is notable that H's view of the sabbath as a weekly time of cessation does not accord with what we know to be a long-standing conception of sabbath in ancient Israel. Scholars agree that the sabbath probably originated as a festive event within the lunar cycle (see already G. Smith 1875, 19, 20; Wellhausen 1957 [1878], 72–76). This association of the sabbath with the phases of the moon is suggested by the frequency with which it is mentioned in the HB alongside שָׁמַיִם “new moon.”³⁴ Furthermore, given that Mesopotamian sources refer to the fifteenth day of the month as *ša-pá-ti/šáp-battú* (see K6012, K10684), Heinrich Zimmern (1904) and Johannes Meinhold (1909) proposed over one hundred years ago that, in ancient Israel, sabbath might have originally referred to the date of the full moon. This insight remains influential today, with the vast majority of scholars agreeing that the term שַׁבָּת was originally conceived in association with the moon, and most probably designated the date of the full moon (for detailed treatments, see e.g., Lemaire 1973; Robinson 1988, 27–108; Bauks 2002, 474–79; Grund 2011, 67–130).

It is also noteworthy that, when the sabbath was conceived as a monthly lunar event, it does not seem to have been associated with cessation of labor (Meinhold 1905; 1909, 81–112; Meek 1914, 207; Snaith 1947, 119; Lemaire 1973, 161–85; Robinson 1988, 27–37; Grund 2011, 19–148). Key texts in the HB which refer to the celebration of the sabbath in conjunction with the new moon, such as 2 Kgs 4:22–23, Amos 8:4–7 and Hos 2:11–15, give no hint that work is to be banned on the sabbath. These texts have traditionally been taken as pre-exilic evidence that the sabbath had not yet been paired with a work ban. Yet, even among texts which stem from the mid to late Persian period, the sabbath does not seem to have acquired a universal association with cessation of labor among all Yahwists (V. Wagner 2005, 55–70). Nehemiah 13:15–21 describe how the inhabitants of Judah do not honor the sabbath as a day of cessation but instead allow foreigners to enter the city to conduct regular trade (vv. 15–16). The account goes on (vv. 17–19) to describe Nehemiah berating the Judean

³⁴ See e.g., Num 28:9–15; 2 Kgs 4:22–23; Amos 8:4–7; Hos 2:11–15; Isa 1:10–14; 66:23; Ezek 45:17; 46:1–10; 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:3; 8:13; 31:3; Neh 10:34.

nobles (הרי יהודה) for profaning (הלל) the sabbath and commanding that the doors to Jerusalem be shut the night before sabbath to prevent foreign traders from entering—a command which is at first violated (the trade simply continues outside the city walls, v. 2) but eventually respected under the threat of violent retribution at the hands of Nehemiah (v. 21; see further Williamson 1999, 280).

The correspondence recovered from the Judean garrison on the island of Elephantine in Egypt further suggests that, among the Judeans living on this island in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the sabbath was not considered a day of cessation (Doering 1999, 23–42). A number of these ostraca confirm that “the day of the sabbath” (*yṃw šbh*) was known to the Judeans who were stationed there (*TAD* D7.10:5; D7.12:9; D7.16:1–9; D7.35:7, perhaps also D7.28:4; D7.48:4–5). Although many of these references are too fragmentary to shed much light on the manner in which the sabbath was celebrated (Porten 1968, 126–27, 277), one ostrakon (D7.16:1–9) all but confirms that the sabbath was not yet associated with cessation of labor (Grelot 1972, 370–71; Becking 2008, 186). This undated ostrakon commands a certain *Isaḥ* to meet an incoming boat “tomorrow on sabbath” (*mḥr bšbh*) and unload its cargo of vegetables. The author of this ostrakon shows no awareness of the traditions of the Pentateuch, according to which such laborious activities should have been banned on the sabbath. In fact, the author explicitly warns *Isaḥ* “by the life of Yahô” that, should he fail to unload the vegetables, “I shall take your lif[e]!” This strongly suggests that at least among certain members of this diaspora community the sabbath was not associated with a weekly cessation of labor (Kratz 2007b, 86).

Instead of being a day of rest, the sabbath seems to have been traditionally celebrated as a time marked by sacrificial activities at the sanctuary (Stolz 1971, 72; F. Mathys 1972, 248; Lemaire 1973, 162–64; Robinson 1988, 251–56 and *passim*; V. Wagner 2005, 30–32). In Western Asia it was common to celebrate the full moon as a time of sacrifice. For instance, the Ugaritic ritual text RS 24.253 records the elaborate rites held “in the temple of *Ba ‘lu* of Ugarit” (l. 11) on the fourteenth day of the month (the date corresponding to the full moon), which required the king to undergo ritual bathing before numerous sacrifices of bulls and rams were presented at the sanctuary.³⁵ Akkadian texts from Uruk also attest to elaborate sacrificial rites held on the full moon as part of the *eššešu* festival in Neo-Babylonian times (Linssen 2004, 45–48).

It is difficult to reconstruct what rites might have been practiced in ancient Israel on the sabbath when this time was celebrated monthly; but again it seems highly probable that it was associated with sacrifice. Such a link is attested in a number of HB passages which, while not necessarily stemming from pre-exilic times, nevertheless suggest a strong association between the sabbath and the making of sacrifices, and perhaps especially with sacrifices at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. For example, Isa 1:10–14 call upon the leaders in Jerusalem (referred to as “the rulers of Sodom”; v. 10aβ) and the Judean population (referred to as “the people of Gomorrah”; v. 10bβ) to

³⁵ For a transcription and translation, see Pardee 2002, 29–31. The above translation of l. 11 is Pardee’s.

“hear the word of Yhwh” (v. 10aα) concerning the inadequacy of the sacrifices and donations which they present to him at the temple.³⁶ “What is your multitude of sacrifices (רב־זבחיכם) to me?” asks Yhwh, before declaring that he has had enough of their burnt offerings and the blood of their animal sacrifices (v. 11). Yhwh later turns to direct his frustrations towards the Israelites’ festivities on sabbath and new moon.

Isa 1:13

לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת־שוא קטרת תועבה היא לי חדש ושבת קרא מקרא לא־אוכל און ועצרה

Do not continue to bring me offerings in vain. Incense is an abomination to me. New moon and sabbath and proclaimed holy days—I cannot endure wrongdoing and assemblies.

The context of this verse within a rebuke of the sacrificial cult provides clear demonstration that sabbath was considered a time in which animal sacrifices were presented to the god at its national temple in Jerusalem.

There is a further suggestion within some HB texts that the celebration of the sabbath in Jerusalem was traditionally an occasion on which the royal leader played a prominent role. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is 2 Kgs 16:17–18—a text which describes Ahaz’s destruction of items within the First Temple of Jerusalem in a demonstration of loyalty to the king of Assyria. While demolishing the king’s entrance to the temple, Ahaz is also said to destroy מִסַּךְ הַשַּׁבָּת “the covering(?) for the sabbath”³⁷—a rather cryptic reference to what seems to have been a structure of some sort in the temple which was associated with the celebration of sabbath. This might read as suggesting that the sacrificial rites held at Jerusalem on the sabbath reserved a special role for the king, including perhaps special access to a restricted area within the royal chapel (Robinson 1988, 86–88).

This reading gains weight from Ezek 46:1–10, which describes the process by which the נָשִׂיא “prince” enters the visionary temple on the day of the sabbath and also on new moon. As discussed above (§ 2.3.2), in this text we see a clear association between the sabbath and the distinctive status of the royal figure, marked by the manner in which he enters and exits the sacred precinct, and his spatial positioning during the sacrificial rites. The text decrees that the inner eastern gate is to remain closed on all days besides the sabbath and the new moon, and is to be used on these days by the prince as his personal entrance to the temple.

³⁶ While the leaders of Jerusalem and population of Judah are referred to indirectly in v. 10, their identification in this verse is warranted on the basis of v. 1, which prefaces the visions with the claim that they concern Judah and Jerusalem (חזון ישעיהו בן־אמוץ אשר חזה על־יהודה וירושלם).

³⁷ Note the difference in the LXX, where it is instead said that Ahaz τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου “made a base for the throne in the house of the Lord.”

Ezek 46:1–5

1 כה־אמר אדני יהוה שער החצר הפנימית הפנה קדים יהיה סגור ששת ימי המעשה וביום השבת יפתח וביום החדש יפתח 2 ובא הנשיא דרך אולם השער מחוץ ועמד על־מזוזת השער ועשו הכהנים את־עולתו ואת־שלמיו והשתחוה על־מפתן השער ויצא והשער לא־יסגר עד־הערב 3 והשתחוו עם־הארץ פתח השער ההוא בשבתות ובחדשים לפני יהוה 4 והעלה אשר־יקרב הנשיא ליהוה ביום השבת ששה כבשים תמימים ואיל תמים 5 ומנחה איפה לאיל ולכבשים מנחה מתת ידו ושמן הין לאיפה

1 Thus says the lord Yhwh: “The gate of the inner court facing east will be closed six working days, but on the day of the sabbath it will be opened, and on the day of the new moon it will be opened. 2 The prince will enter from the vestibule of the gate from outside, and he will stand at the doorposts of the gate. The priests will present his burnt offerings and well-being offerings, and he will bow down at the threshold of the gate. He will go out, but the gate will not be closed until the evening. 3 And the people of the land shall bow down [at] the entrance of that gate, on the sabbaths and on the new moon, before Yhwh. 4 The burnt offering that the prince will offer to Yhwh on the day of the sabbath shall be six lambs without blemish and a ram without blemish, 5 and the cereal offering for the lamb will be an ephah; and for the lambs the cereal offering shall be a gift as much as he is able, and oil, one hin for the ephah.”

It is noteworthy that, once inside the sanctuary, the prince is to stand at the doorposts while the priests prepare the burnt offerings and well-being sacrifices on his behalf. As discussed above (§ 2.3.2), this spatial arrangement underscores the royal leader’s prerogative as guardian and patron of the cult to oversee the work of the priests as they perform the sacrificial rites (see further Block 1998, 671). Such a text may therefore simultaneously attest to the expectation that the sabbath will be a time of sacrificial worship, associated with new moon, and also that the royal leader will play a special role in overseeing the celebrations.

However, in other texts from the HB the sabbath appears to have lost this association with royalty and the lunar cycle and to instead be coupled with a seventh-day cessation of labor. How such texts came to associate sabbath with a weekly work ban remains a point of considerable debate. Most commentators agree that one part of this process was the progressive merger of the term שבת with another custom, unrelated to the shrine or royal leaders (as far as we can tell), whereby the Israelites were to award their workers and animals a rest day every seventh day (see, e.g., Robinson 1988, 109–248; Otto 2003 [1992–1993], 392; Grund 2011, 133–48). In Exod 23:12 (in all likelihood a pre-exilic text) the seventh day is set aside as a day of “cessation” (שבת) on account of the humanitarian concern that one’s dependents should not be overworked (cf. Exod 34:21).

Exod 23:12

ששת ימים תעשה מעשיך וביום השביעי תשבת למען ינוח שורך וחמריך וינפש בן־אמתך והגר

Six days you may do your work, but on the seventh day you shall cease, in order that your ox and your donkey might rest, and the homeborn slave³⁸ and the immigrant might be refreshed.

³⁸ SP preserves a slightly different text: “your male servant and your female servant like you, and all your animals.” The expression עבדך ואמתך כמוך seems to betray the influence of the sabbath

This cessation of labor is described using the verb *שָׁבַת*, but it seems to be used here with the general meaning “to cease (work)” with no specific connotation of “keeping sabbath” (see further, e.g., Robinson 1980, 37–41; 1988, 140–41; Grünwaldt 1992, 123). Furthermore, Exod 23:12 does not seem to expect that the seventh-day cessation of labor will be standardized across the community, such that all Israel will operate according to a commonly shared conception of a seven-day “week.” The text makes no suggestion that there is an intrinsic holy or honored quality to the seventh day itself, which would require the entire community to coordinate their rest to fall on precisely the same day. Rather, the focus of the prescription here is on the humanitarian obligation of individual households to ensure that their dependents are never required to work more than six days in a row. Exodus 23:12 leaves it to the discretion of each household to structure the seven-day timing of labor according to their particular work or harvest schedules. So long as their laborers and animals are permitted to rest at an interval of seven days, the law has been fulfilled.

By the time the seventh-day cessation of labor came to be included in the Decalogue (Exod 20 // Deut 5), the character of this event seems to have undergone an important modification. Now the seventh-day rest is referred to using the substantive *שַׁבָּת* (Exod 20:10 // Deut 5:14), and is to be considered a holy occasion. However, the two texts provide different rationales for why the Israelites must observe the seventh day as sabbath (see Table 5.1): Exod 20:8 reminds the Israelites that Yhwh rested from his creative works on the seventh day of creation, while Deut 5:15 cites the exodus as the rationale for granting rest to one’s dependents.

commandment of Deut 5:14, which concludes with the same expression. However, it is difficult to explain the omission of the ox, donkey and immigrant on this basis, since these are mentioned in Deut 5:14. It may reflect the influence of Exod 20:10, since the expression *בַּהֲמַתְךָ* is found there, and is accompanied by no further specification as to which livestock must be allowed to rest on the sabbath.

Table 5.1 Comparing the Sabbath Laws of Exod 20:8–11 and Deut 5:12–15

<i>Exod 20:8–11</i>	<i>Deut 5:12–15</i>
<p>8 זכור את־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ 9 שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד וְעָשִׂיתָ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶתְךָ 10 וְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבַּת לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה כָּל־מְלָאכָה אֹתָהּ וּבִנְךָ־וּבִתְךָ עֹבֵדְךָ וְאִמְתְּךָ וּבְהֵמָתְךָ וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעְרֶיךָ 11 כִּי שֵׁשֶׁת־יָמִים עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֶת־הַיָּם וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם וַיָּנַח בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי עַל־כֵּן בֵּרַךְ יְהוָה אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת וַיְקַדְּשֶׁהוּ</p>	<p>12 שָׁמֹר אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ 13 שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד וְעָשִׂיתָ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶתְךָ 14 וְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבַּת לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה כָּל־מְלָאכָה אֹתָהּ וּבִנְךָ־וּבִתְךָ וְעֹבֵדְךָ־וְאִמְתְּךָ וְשׂוֹרֶךָ וְחֹמְרְךָ וְכָל־בְּהֵמָתְךָ וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעְרֶיךָ לְמַעַן יָנוּחַ עֹבֵדְךָ וְאִמְתְּךָ כַּמוֹךָ 15 וּזְכַרְתָּ כִּי־עַבְדָּהָ הָיִיתָ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיֹּצֵאֲךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִשָּׁם בְּיַד חֲזָקָה וּבְזֵרַע נְטוּיָה עַל־כֵּן צִוָּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת</p>
<p>8 Remember the day of the sabbath and sanctify it. 9 Six days you may labor and do all your work 10 but on the seventh day, it is a sabbath to Yhwh your god. You shall not do any work—you, your son or your daughter, your male slave or your female slave, or your animal or your immigrant who is in your towns. 11 For six days Yhwh made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day; therefore Yhwh blessed the sabbath day and sanctified it.</p>	<p>12 Keep the day of the sabbath day and sanctify it, just as Yhwh your god has commanded you. 13 Six days you may labor and do all your work 14 but the seventh day is a sabbath to Yhwh your god. You shall not do any work—you, your son or your daughter, your male slave or your female slave, or your animal or your immigrant who is in your towns, so that your male slave and female slave may rest like you. 15 Remember that you were slaves in the land of Egypt, and Yhwh your god brought you out from there with a might hand and an outstretched arm; therefore Yhwh your god commanded you to observe the sabbath day.</p>

Again, the literary process by which the sabbath command was included in the Decalogue remains a point of considerable debate among scholars, making it difficult to establish a timeframe for the conflation of sabbath and seventh-day rest in these texts (cf. Kratz 1994; Groß 1999; Köckert 2002; Levin 2003; the essays in Frevel and Dohmen 2005; Blum 2011). The clear reference to the P creation account in Exod 20:11 strongly hints that the association of the sabbath with the seventh day in this text may constitute a quite late, post-Priestly intervention;³⁹ or, at the very least, that the rationale was added to the Decalogue of Exod 20 at a very late stage.⁴⁰

³⁹ Note, for instance, the clear similarities in the wording of Exod 20:11b and the text of Gen 2:3: וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־ יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדְּשֵׁהוּ אֹתוֹ כִּי בּוֹ שַׁבַּת מְלָאכָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי (MT, SP, 4Q41 4:7) is replaced with τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην “the seventh day.”

⁴⁰ Blum has assigned (2011, 298 and passim) the sabbath commandment to the “P-Composition.” However, it seems very unlikely that the Decalogue of Exod 20 formed part of P, since it is difficult to move from Exod 19:1–2a, which recounts how the Israelites came out from Egypt and entered the wilderness at Sinai, to Exod 20:1, where the god begins immediately to announce the ten commandments. Presumably some form of introduction would have been needed before the deity began its speech.

In the case of Deut 5:12–15, it is possible that the link between sabbath and the seventh day might have stemmed from an earlier time in the formation of Israel's legal traditions, perhaps—if we follow Alexandra Grund's detailed reconstruction (2011, 151–84, esp. 180–82)—dating from the Neo-Babylonian period. Then again, major questions hang over the diachronic development of Deut 5 and the place of vv. 12–15 within it, with the possibility that the sabbath command was added to an earlier text which did not include a law commanding the Israelites to practice a seventh-day cessation of labor (see among others, Blum 2011, 294). However, this adds a number of interpretive complexities to the study of Deuteronomy since, as Georg Braulik has argued (2008), the structure and language of various other laws in D (e.g., Deut 16:1–17) seem to depend upon and complement the sabbath commandment of Deut 5:12–15, even if they do not explicitly mention *שבת*.

In any event, it is apparent that by the time Lev 17–26 was composed, a version of the Decalogue was in circulation in which the sabbath commandment had already been included. As mentioned above (§ 5.2.2), Lev 19:3–4, which include the command to keep the sabbath, rely heavily on the Decalogue: they repeat four of the ten commandments in Exod 20:1–17 // Deut 5:6–22 (to revere parents, to observe the sabbath, to abstain from apostasy and from idolatry) but arrange them according to a distinctive order, thereby positioning Lev 19 as an authoritative reinterpretation of the earlier tradition. We can thus assume with confidence that H is familiar with at least one version of the Decalogue in which the Israelites are required by the god to observe the *שבת* by ceasing labor on the seventh day of the week.

However, if H is not the first tradition to conceptualize sabbath as a weekly occurrence, marked by the cessation of labor, it does develop this conception in directions which are not yet anticipated in earlier materials. First, H elevates the sabbath cessation to a position of extraordinary significance within the Israelite experience of sacred time, to the point where it is applied to aspects of Israel's collective life which were not anticipated previously (Ruwe 1999, 91, 312–23). This can be seen especially in H's description of the sabbath year (Lev 25:1–7) and redemption and manumission laws (Lev 25:8–55). The application of the term *שבת* to the seventh-year rest for the land, and when calculating the jubilee, is an innovation on H's part which has no counterpart in the Priestly or non-Priestly traditions. In Exod 23:10–11, the command to let the land lie fallow does not employ the term *שבת*, but speaks in generic terms of *השביעית* “the seventh [year]” (*שנה* is supplied in v. 10a). Deuteronomy 15:1–11 also does not employ the term *שבת* when it builds on Exod 23:10–11 to offer new laws for debt remission in the seventh year. The CC and D also offer little precedent for H's idea that the redemption of slaves should be viewed through the lens of the sabbath. Exodus 21:2–11 and Deut 15:12–18 command the release of indentured servants in the seventh year, as opposed to the fiftieth, and again make no mention of the sabbath in this context. H's idea that the Israelites should count seven sabbaths and then announce a year of jubilee is thus without precedent in the earlier laws on which it depends.

How are we to interpret this unique concern on H's part to expand the applicability of the sabbath? One explanation might be that, by the time H was written, sabbath had become so closely associated with intervals of seven, on the one hand, and cessation from labor, on the other, that its extension to the fallow year and manumission of slaves seemed natural; since these practices were held every seven years (according to CC and D), and involved cessation or remission, their link to the sabbath might have seemed logical from H's point of view. While such an explanation remains possible, another interpretation seems more probable in light of the analysis of holiness and conventionalism offered above: namely, that H's use of שבת as giving overall structure to the timing of agricultural and economic activities reflects a broader concern on H's part to infuse everyday life with a sense of connection to the ritual cult of the central shrine.

To assess this possibility, we must consider a second point of difference between H's conceptualization of sabbath and the sabbath commandments in the Decalogue: the role of sabbath sacrifices. In Exod 20:8–11 and Deut 5:12–15, sabbath is described only in the context of the cessation of labor. While both texts insist that the sabbath must be sanctified as a sacred time, they make no mention of sacrifices or rituals which must take place at the shrine during the sabbath day. The sabbath texts of Gen 2:2–3 and Exod 16*, as mentioned above (§ 5.1.1), also lack any hint that the sabbath will be a time of sacrifice—an omission which is hardly surprising given their narrative context prior to the establishment of Yhwh's sanctuary cult. In Lev 17–26, by contrast, the sabbath is a day to be marked not only by a work ban, but also by the collective offerings of sacrifices and donations (Lev 23:39), and by the rites of the display bread undertaken by the high priest in the sanctuary interior (Lev 24:5–9).

Crucially, while there may be little precedent in these earlier pentateuchal texts for offering sacrifices on sabbath, H's interest in sabbath rituals is completely in keeping with the *traditional* notions surrounding the celebration of sabbath that seem to have been predominant when sabbath was celebrated as a monthly event, linked to the lunar cycle. What we witness, then, in Lev 17–26 is effectively the rehabilitation of the sacrificial connotations of sabbath against the narrower conception of this day which is found in the Decalogue, where it was reduced to a day marked by a work ban. To be sure, the Decalogue does not rule out the possibility that sacrifices might be offered on sabbath. Nevertheless, it lacks the explicit concern found in H that the Israelites must recognize their dual obligation on this sacred occasion: first, to display their loyalty to the god and collective unity by ceasing labor; and second, to ensure that the required rites are transpiring at the central shrine on their behalf.

Yet while H seems to restore a sacrificial meaning to שבת, it does so in a manner which significantly reconfigures the sacrifices offered on this sacred occasion when compared to the traditional celebrations of sabbath as a lunar event; or, from what we can reconstruct about those traditions from what is hazily known from the HB and other Western Asian sources. To begin with, H avoids any association between the sabbath and the lunar cycle and instead opts for a strict association

of the sabbath and the seventh day of the week. In this way, the sabbath and its associated sacrifices appear in H no longer as a discrete festal celebration, but rather as a complement to the Israelites' obligation to cease work: that is, they form the appropriate rite to accompany the Israelites' display of loyalty to their patron when they observe the standardized work ban.

In addition, H transforms the sabbath sacrifices so that any traditional role of a royal leader in the festivities is omitted. Unlike Ezek 46:1–8 and 2 Kgs 16:17–18, H gives no hint that a prince or king will oversee the sabbath sacrifices or enjoy special access to the shrine on that day. Instead, the responsibility for maintaining the sabbath sacrifices falls to the *community as a whole*, which must again assume the role of principal sponsors of the central cult by supplying the donations required to maintain the weekly sabbath rites (cf. §§ 2.3.2). Indeed, the prominence of the sabbath in H's treatise on communal sanctification might be seen as reinforcing this reconceptualization of the sabbath sacrifices as a collective responsibility; it makes explicit that "keeping the sabbath" is the responsibility of "all the congregation of the Israelites," with no suggestion that a royal figure will lead the people in ensuring that their obligations are met each and every sabbath. Meanwhile, the description in Lev 24:5–9 of the regular rites at the central sanctuary advances a new, creative understanding of the ritual roles that will be predominant in presenting communal donations to the god on this sacred occasion. Now, it is *Aaron* as high priest who is to assume the right to enter restricted areas within the shrine on the day of the sabbath as a display of his unique ritual agency as the cultic leader of the unified community of Israel (see further § 4.4.1). In this way, the sabbath is reframed by H as a thoroughly post-monarchic celebration in which a royal intermediary is no longer necessary to ensuring that the sacrifices and donations will be deemed acceptable by their patron god.

What we see, then, in Lev 17–26 is a creative *merger* of two concepts of sabbath, each of which appears to have been reinterpreted by H in its description of Israel's experience of holiness. First, H adopts the idea that the sabbath is connected to intervals of seven, and must be honored with a work ban. This notion of weekly sabbath is positioned by H as a key behavior which enables the Israelites to achieve sanctification, thereby attributing a new degree of significance to the standardization and communal unity which it entails. H also expands the concept of the sabbath as a standardized rest day to apply to much larger time frames; the fallow year might also be termed a שבת, and the socio-economic practices of debt remission and redemption of indentured servants must be calculated according to its seven-yearly rhythm. Second, H upholds the traditional obligation to offer the god sacrifices at the central shrine each and every שבת. However, these sacrifices have been reframed by H so that they no longer mark a phase in the lunar cycle, but rather take place at a weekly interval. In addition, they no longer affirm the socio-cultic agency of the royal leader, but instead rely on the collective willingness of the Israelites to maintain a regular supply of sacrifices to the central shrine, and on the ritual agency of the high priest in reminding the god of the donations of the community each and every sabbath.

The importance of the sabbath in H's conception of holiness is therefore indicative of a broader strategy to fuse the "extra-sanctuary" experience of sanctity—such as might be experienced when ceasing work according to a standardized rhythm—and the holiness that is associated with the sacrificial cult of Yhwh's central shrine, and the priestly agents who oversee them. Indeed, the extraordinary significance of this holy time in the Holiness legislation might again speak to H's idea to use diverse categories and expectations to redirect the Israelites back to the central sanctuary in the comings and goings of their everyday lives. Specifically, the idea of applying the term שבת to *both* the Israelites' shared experience of the week and the fallow year, *and also* to the regular timing of weekly rituals at the shrine shows H's imagination in applying concepts which stress the link between sanctuary and extra-sanctuary space in Israel's collective experience; H encourages the Israelites to see all aspects of their shared experience in ways which can never be dissociated from the authority of the central sanctuary, its ongoing need for donations and sacrifices, and the singular authority of its priesthood to represent the community before a holy god. The elevation of the sabbath in the community's project of sanctification is thus another example of how H normalizes the reach of sanctuary authorities into extra-sanctuary domains, while also entrenching the need for standardization and conformity across the community.

Excursus: Sabbath and Sanctuary in Exod 31:12–17 and Exod 35:1–3

This link between sabbath rest and the central sanctuary is developed even further in the H-related passages of Exod 31:12–17 and 35:1–3. These two texts supplement the account of the construction of the wilderness shrine with strict regulations for the observance of the sabbath. Specifically, they introduce the command to cease all labor on the sabbath at the conclusion of Yhwh's instructions for the construction of the sanctuary (Exod 31:12–17) and at the very beginning of the building works (Exod 35:1–3).

Exod 31:12–17

12 ויאמר יהוה אל משה לאמר 13 ואתה דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר אך את שבתתי תשמרו כי אות הוא ביני וביניכם לדרתיכם לדעת כי אני יהוה מקדשכם 14 ושמרתם את השבת כי קדש הוא לכם מחלליה מות יומת כי כל העשה בה מלאכה ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מקרב עמיה 15 ששת ימים יעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי שבת שבתון קדש ליהוה כל העשה מלאכה ביום השבת מות יומת 16 ושמרו בני ישראל את השבת לעשות את השבת לדרתם ברית עולם 17 ביני ובין בני ישראל אות הוא לעלם כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש

12 Yhwh said to Moses as follows: 13 "You yourself shall speak to the Israelites as follows: 'However, you shall keep my sabbaths, for it is a sign between you and me throughout your generations, so you may know that I am Yhwh who sanctifies you. 14 And you shall keep the sabbath, because it is holy to you; the one who defiles it shall surely be put to death. Anyone who does work on it, that person shall be cut off from the midst of his people. 15 Six days one may work, but the seventh day is a sabbath of total cessation, holy to Yhwh. Anyone who does work on the day of the sabbath shall surely be put to death. 16 Thus the Israelites shall keep the sabbath, observing the sabbath throughout their generations as an eternal covenant. 17 It shall be an eternal sign between me and the Israelites that in six days Yhwh made the heavens and the earth, but on the seventh day he ceased and was refreshed.'"

Exod 35:1–3

1 ויקהל משה את כל עדת בני ישראל ויאמר אליהם אלה הדברים אשר צוה יהוה לעשות אתם 2 ששת ימים תעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי יהיה לכם קדש שבת שבתון ליהוה כל העשה בו מלאכה יומת 3 לא תבערו אש בכל משבתים ביום השבת

1 Moses assembled the whole congregation of the Israelites and said to them, “These are the things that Yhwh has commanded [you] to do: 2 Six days one may work, but on the seventh day it shall be holy to you, a sabbath of total cessation for Yhwh. Anyone who does work on it shall be put to death. 3 You shall not kindle a fire in all your settlements on the day of the sabbath.”

Both passages evince a clear dependence on H language and concepts. In Exod 31:12–17, this dependence on Lev 17–26 can be observed in the command *שבתתי תשמרו* “you shall keep my sabbaths” (Exod 31:13; cf. Lev 19:3, 30, 26:2), the expression *אני יהוה מקדשכם* “I am Yhwh who sanctifies you” (Exod 31:13; cf. Lev 20:8; 21:8, 15, 23; 22:9, 16, 32), the command that the Israelites must keep the sabbath *לדרתם* “throughout their generations” (Exod 31:13; cf. Lev 17:7; see also 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3), and the warning that anyone who works on the sabbath will be *עמיה* “cut off from among his people” (Exod 31:14; cf. Lev 17:4, 9, 10, 14; 18:29; 19:8; 20:3, 5, 6, 17, 18; 23:39, 30). In Exod 35:1–3, the sabbath commandment of v. 2 is a near-verbatim quotation of Lev 23:3, but with the addition, in 35:2b, of the command to put to death anyone who violates the sabbath (cf. Exod 31:14), and in 35:3, of the prohibition on kindling a fire on the sabbath.

These resonances with H have often been considered evidence that Exod 31:12–17 and 35:1–3, either in part or in whole, should be assigned to the HS (Knohl 1995, 16–18; Milgrom 2000b, 1338, 1342–43; Olyan 2005, 204; Stackert 2011a; Calaway 2013, 33). Other scholars have suggested that both passages stem from a late stage in the composition of the Pentateuch which may have post-dated the composition of Lev 17–26 by a significant degree (Grünwaldt 1992, 170–84; Groß 1998a; 1998b, 71–84; Achenbach 2008, 159; cf. Nihan 2014, 134–42). While these texts certainly build most directly on Lev 17–26, they also blend H’s language and ideas concerning the sabbath with non-Priestly ideas and vocabulary. This is particularly evident in Exod 31:12–17, which conclude in v. 17 with the idea that Yhwh was “refreshed” (*Niphal*; נפש; v. 17) when he ceased his labor on the seventh-day of creation, drawing here on the language of Exod 23:12. In addition, Exod 31:12–17 and 35:1–3 both introduce a number of distinctive aspects to their descriptions of the sabbath which go far beyond H in asserting the normativity and holiness of this time: these aspects include the introduction of the death penalty for non-observance (Exod 31:14 and 35:2); the idea, in Exod 31:13, that the sabbath is an outward *אות* “sign” of the Israelites’ sanctification; and in 31:16 that it is a means of maintaining the *ברית עולם* between Yhwh and Israel.

Yet even if Exod 31:12–17 and 35:1–3 move in directions which were not yet anticipated in Lev 17–26, they illustrate the manner in which H’s concept of the sabbath was developed by later scribes so as to affirm the *indivisible connection* between the cessation of labor and the central sanctuary cult in the Israelites’ experience of holiness. The insertion of the sabbath commandment directly into the account of the construction of the sanctuary underscores the extraordinary sanctity of the sabbath: it cannot be violated even during the construction of the shrine for Yhwh. Moreover, as Knohl has argued (1995, 16–17), the decision to reveal the sabbath commandment at the same moment as the instructions for the shrine ensures that the keeping of the sabbath and the establishment of Yhwh’s sanctuary are positioned as interdependent: it strongly implies that the Israelites could only receive the command to keep the weekly sabbath once the shrine had been established.

Although Exod 31:12–17 and 35:1–3 do not yet mention the sacrificial rites which might take place on the sabbath, their juxtaposition of the sabbath commandment and the building of the shrine reinforces H's notion that the obligation to keep the sabbath can never be disassociated from that of maintaining Yhwh's sanctuary and its ritual cult. They therefore powerfully reinforce H's case that the Israelites' experience of sanctity when ceasing work on the sabbath is intertwined with that of showing loyalty to Yhwh as he dwells in his central shrine.

When seen in this light, it is difficult to imagine how H's discourse of holiness, and the prominence of the sabbath within it, might have suited a "templeless situation" which Calaway (2010, 425), Mathys and Carr imagine the Babylonian exile to have been. H does not offer the Israelites a means of honoring the sabbath without engaging the sanctuary cult. To the contrary, the sabbath serves H's overarching purpose of directing the Israelites' attention back to the central sanctuary, and affirming its right to set the rhythm of their everyday lives. It reinforces the deity's expectation that all Israel will commit to ceasing labor while sacrifices are being offered at its central shrine—a device which, as already discussed in the context of the festal calendar (§ 4.3) reinforces the need for the Israelites, regardless of location, to remain temporally synchronized with the rites of the centralized cult. And it continues to construe local diversity in Israelite worship as incompatible with the standards set at Sinai; all twelve tribes must be presented to the god by a single cultic agent (Aaron) within the space of a single central shrine each and every sabbath, while the community display their loyalty as a unified community by ceasing work on the same day each week.

Hence the "Sabbath-focused reconceptualization of concepts of holiness" which is found in Lev 17–26 is no impediment to dating H to a time period "once the Second Temple was established" (pace Carr 2011a, 302–3). In fact, it supports such a historical reconstruction. H's concern to affirm the link between sabbath observance in everyday life, and the sacrificial rituals that must take place at the central shrine on this occasion, is perhaps best understood as an attempt to avoid any suggestion that this event might detract from the central shrine at Jerusalem. The call to communal sanctification by observing the sabbath amounts to a call to maintain attention to the rites of the central shrine and to ensure that the priests have sufficient resources to ensure that they might be performed in accordance with Yhwh's expectations. At the same time, H's conceptualization of the sabbath might have aided the temple at Jerusalem in its continued efforts to reconceptualize how their cultic practice might function in the absence of a royal patron (cf. §§ 2.2.2, 2.3.2 and 4.5). H maintains that the lack of a king need not be an impediment to maintaining the traditional rituals of the Jerusalem temple, and the sense of collective purpose which they bring. Instead, the sabbath rituals can continue without need of a king, under the able leadership of the Aaronide high priest, so long as the Israelites remain committed to internalizing the rhythms of sacred time set out for them in Yhwh's law.

5.4 Holiness and Land

This logic of H's centralizing discourse is given further expression in a final aspect of H's depiction of the Israelites' sanctification: namely, the claim, in Lev 25, that the Israelites are Yhwh's slaves, living on his land and tending it for him. At first sight, Lev 25 might seem to have little to do with communal holiness or cult centralization. None of its legislative materials refer directly to the holiness of the Israelite community. Nor do they mention the sanctuary, its holy objects or personnel. The root *קדש* occurs only once in all of Lev 25, at v. 10, when Yhwh commands the Israelites to "consecrate" (*קדש Piel*) the fiftieth year as a year of jubilee. Yet despite this lack of explicit mention of communal holiness, these materials bring together the different threads of H's depiction of communal sanctification in Lev 17–25 to provide an overarching image of how the Israelites' status as the deity's possessions invests them with concrete obligations to materially support the central shrine, and to acknowledge its socio-economic authority.

5.4.1 Leviticus 25 and Yhwh's Temple Estate

Leviticus 25 outlines a series of regulations for the treatment of the land and of impoverished Israelites.⁴¹ Following an introduction (vv. 1–2aα) and the laws for the sabbatical year for the land (vv. 2aβ–7), H commands the Israelites to count *שבע שבתות שנים* "seven sabbath years" and declare the fiftieth year a jubilee: they are to proclaim *דָּרוּר* "liberty" (Lev 25:10) throughout the land, with each Israelite permitted to return to his ancestral land holding (*אֶחָזָה*, v. 13; the Israelite is consistently referred to as *אָחִיךָ* "your brother" in Lev 25:8–55). Nothing shall be sowed that year (vv. 11–12); the Israelites are instead exhorted to eat only what the land provides (v. 19). This obligation is framed by a further exhortation, in which the Israelites are assured that their commitment to obeying Yhwh's statutes and judgments will result in a prosperous life in the land.

⁴¹ The laws of Lev 25 have generated enormous scholarly discussion, especially among those scholars who take an interest in the relationship between H and the other legal codes of the Pentateuch. Among studies of the past thirty years (besides the commentaries), see esp. Robinson 1990; Jeyaraj 1991; Fager 1993; Albertz 1995; Joosten 1996b, 169–89 and passim; Luciani 1999; Bergsma 2003, 2007; J.-F. Lefebvre 2003; Levinson 2006; Nihan 2007a, 520–35; Stackert 2007, 141–58; Guillaume 2009, 102–21; Morgan 2009. Classical studies devoted considerable attention to tracing various compositional layers or discrete sources behind the present text of Lev 25 (e.g., Wellhausen 1963 [1899], 167; Horst 1881, 27–30; Baentsch 1893, 53–55; Bertholet 1901, 86–87; Reventlow 1961, 347–49; Kilian 1963, 147–48; Elliger 1966, 335–49; Cholewiński 1976, 101–18; more recently, Sun 1990, 439–559; Hartley 1992, 425–27). However, there is a growing recognition among scholars that the structural and thematic coherence of the chapter militates against dividing it into different compositional stages (see esp. Grünwaldt 1999, 105–6; Milgrom 2001, 2149–51; Nihan 2007a, 520–23; Hieke 2014, 2:983).

Lev 25:18–19

18 ועשיתם את־חקתי ואת־משפטי תשמרו ועשיתם אתם וישבתם על־הארץ לבטח⁴² 19 ונתנה הארץ פריה ואכלתם לשבע וישבתם לבטח עליה

18 You shall keep my statutes and my judgments, and you shall practice them. Thus you shall live on the land securely. 19 The land will give up its fruit, and you will eat abundantly and live securely upon it.

The law of the jubilee is then followed by a set of laws in vv. 23–54 which concerns the different situations in which land (vv. 23–35) or persons (vv. 35–54) may be redeemed (גאל). These laws are introduced, in vv. 23–24, with an overarching statement explaining why each Israelite must be granted the right to redeem his אהזה: the land is the exclusive possession of Yhwh and therefore must never be permanently sold. The Israelites reside upon it simply as גרים “resident aliens” and תושבים “tenants.”

The jubilee legislation is then followed by three legal sections, all of which begin with the phrase כִּי־יִמָּוֶךְ אֶחָיִךְ “if your brother becomes impoverished” (vv. 25, 35, 39). The first section (vv. 25–34) grants the Israelite the right to redeem his אהזה, should he become so impoverished that he is forced to sell (מכר *Qal*) it.⁴³ The second (vv. 35–38) explains that the Israelite who is forced to sell his land must be treated with economic fairness, being permitted to live like a גר ותושב “immigrant or sojourner” (v. 35) in the land and to borrow money or acquire food without incurring interest (vv. 36–37). This is followed by another exhortation (v. 38), which picks up the theme of the exodus from the parenetic frame of Lev 18–22.

Lev 25:38

אני יהוה אלהיכם אשר־הוצאתי אתכם מארץ מצרים לתת לכם את־ארץ כנען להיות לכם לאלהים

I am Yhwh your god who brought you out from the land of Egypt to give you the land of Canaan, to be god to you!

Then, in the third section (vv. 39–54), H goes further by claiming that Yhwh’s ownership of the land does not only mean that the land can never be sold, but that the *Israelites* can also never become the

⁴² The LXX preserves a slightly different text: καὶ ποιήσετε πάντα τὰ δικαιώματά μου καὶ πάσας τὰς κρίσεις μου, καὶ φυλάξασθε καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά, καὶ κατοικήσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεποιθότες “You shall observe all my statutes and all my judgments, and you shall guard yourselves and do them.” This perhaps reflects the influence of Lev 20:22a, where very similar wording is found.

⁴³ Verses 32–34 also include a series of instructions for the redemption of houses in the ערי הלויים “cities of the Levites.” However, these verses seem almost certainly to constitute a late addition (Kilian 1963, 128; Elliger 1966, 339–40; Achenbach 2003, 72 n. 131; Nihan 2007a, 522 with n. 503; Frevel 2013, 143 n. 12; Samuel 2014, 327). The absence of any other reference to the levitical cities, or to the Levites more generally, in H besides Lev 25:32–34 leaves these verses completely orphaned within the surrounding materials.

property of another person by being enslaved.⁴⁴ Instead, the Israelite who becomes so impoverished that he must sell himself is to be treated as a hired worker (כשכיר כחושב; v. 40), who is to serve a maximum period of indenture of fifty years. The possibility for redemption remains open between the jubilees, should the indentured worker acquire the necessary finances, or in the year of jubilee itself when each indentured Israelite must be allowed to return ואל־משפחתו ואל־אחוזת אבתיו “to his family and to the landholding of his forefathers” (v. 41b). (This right to redemption does not extend to non-Israelites, however, who may still be enslaved as the אחוזה “property” of their Israelite master and passed on to his descendants [vv. 44–46].)

This ban on Israelite slavery is due to the particular relationship Yhwh has with his land, and with the people he has chosen to live upon it. Because the land is owned by Yhwh exclusively, it can never be permanently sold; but neither can it be alienated from the Israelite to whom it has been granted as a אחוזה “holding.” As convincingly demonstrated by Matthias Köckert (1995, 155) and Michaela Bauks (2005, 174–75), the term אחוזה should not be understood to mean “possession” in the sense of personal property, but rather to indicate a holding of land which the Israelites may use. In this, it differs from other terms, such as נחלה, which refer to the bestowal of land to the Israelites on a permanent basis, and thus have a stronger sense of “possession.” Yhwh’s gift of a אחוזה to each of the Israelites thus grants the impoverished Israelite an inalienable right to the usage of the land which the deity has assigned to him, while the land remains the property of the god. Such a claim has important socio-economic implications: it means that the Israelites always retain the rights to the holding which the god assigned to them when they entered the land, such that they can never permanently forfeit their status as landed individuals, no matter what economic hardships they may experience. The אחוזה therefore functions as a permanent escape from slavery (Joosten 1996b, 1519; Milgrom 2001, 2212–13; J.-F. Lefebvre 2003, 321–22; Levinson 2005; Nihan 2007a, 528; Hieke 2014, 2:1010).

This idea of the land’s inalienability is in many ways the intellectual heir to the concept of land that is already found in P (Köckert 1995, 156; Bauks 2004, 2005; Nihan 2007a, 63–68; Brett 2013). While there is no reference in P to the kind of land tenure and debt- or slave-release legislation that is espoused in Lev 25:8–55, there is already a P precedent for the idea that the land is the possession of the deity and that the Israelites must dwell upon it as resident aliens. In Gen 17:3–8 the god promises to Abraham that the land on which he is currently residing as a גר will be given to his descendants לאחוזת עולם “as a perpetual holding” (Gen 17:8) as a result of his ברית עולם with Abraham and his seed להיות לך לאלהים ולזרעך אחרריך (17:6). The use

⁴⁴ This idea jars considerably with the non-Priestly slave laws of Exod 21:2–11 and Deut 15:12–18. These texts consider the enslavement of impoverished Israelites to be legitimate so long as it is restricted to a six-year period (Exod 21:2 // Deut 15:12). After this time, the Israelite slave may decide whether he wishes to depart as a free person, or to remain in the service of his master, after which time he would become the latter’s lifelong property (Exod 21:6b // Deut 15:17). Leviticus 25:39–54 clearly constitute a radical departure from this legal precedent, since they deny the possibility that the Israelites might be considered permanent slaves.

of the term אֶחָזָה in this context establishes the promise of the land as one of permanent usage, as opposed to personal ownership, with the result that the descendants of Abraham will effectively remain גֵּרִים on the land even after the god's promise of the land has been realized in future generations. The time of the patriarchs is thus established by P as a model for how the Israelites must conceptualize their status on the deity's land in all subsequent time periods.

The use of the term אֶחָזָה in Lev 25 to describe the Israelites' ancestral landholdings (vv. 10, 13, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 41; cf. vv. 45, 46 in reference to foreign slaves) creates an unmistakable echo of this key land promise text in Gen 17:7–8. This echo is all the more striking given that the term אֶחָזָה occurs nowhere else in H besides Lev 25:10–46, and in no other passage in Leviticus besides a single occurrence at 14:34. In addition, the parallel between Lev 25 and Gen 17:3–8 is strengthened by the statement, in Lev 25:23, that the Israelites are to be גֵּרִים “resident aliens” and תּוֹשְׁבִים “tenants” on the land, but with an inalienable right to benefit from the usufruct of the אֶחָזָה to which they have been assigned. By employing these terms, H picks up P's concept of the land to both affirm its relevance for the post-wilderness future and also to explore its concrete effects once the Israelites are living in the land. H explains that Yhwh's gift of the land affords each Israelite family a אֶחָזָה as a permanent holding, from which they are to benefit from its usufruct. Furthermore, this right to a אֶחָזָה means that the Israelites can never be enslaved, and thus become the אֶחָזָה of another person.

Yet, more than simply affirming P's concept of the land, H introduces in Lev 25:39–55 a conception of the Israelites' status vis-à-vis Yhwh's land which has no precedent in the P materials. In addition to living as גֵּרִים, the generation of the exodus must take on a new status: they are to become the personal עֲבָדִים “slaves” of Yhwh, living on his estate and tending it for him. With this idea, H adds another, crucial reason as to why Israelite slavery is impossible: to claim to own another Israelite would be “to take on a divine privilege” (Nihan 2007a, 527).

Lev 25:42

כִּי־עֲבָדֵי הֵם אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִי אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא יִמְכְּרוּ מִמְכַּרְתָּ עֶבֶד

For they are my slaves, whom I brought out from the land of Egypt. They shall not be sold as slaves are sold.

This statement is then elaborated in v. 55 with the final exhortation of Lev 25, which draws the entire chapter to a close.

Lev 25:55

כִּי־לִי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדִים הֵם אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִי אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

For to me the Israelites are slaves. They are my slaves whom I brought out from the land of Egypt: I am Yhwh your god!

With the idea that the Israelites are the slaves of Yhwh, H returns to emphasize the Israelites' status as the possession of Yhwh, but now with a new dimension: H clarifies that the exodus from Egypt was a process of transferring the Israelites from being the slaves of the Egyptians to being the slaves of Yhwh. Yhwh thus separated the Israelites from the other nations לִי לְהִיֹּת “to be mine” (Lev 20:26)—that is, to be sanctified—because they were chosen by him to live on his land and tend it for him in the capacity of his personal slaves. In return, they are permitted to enjoy the benefits of its usufruct, and the right to redemption in the jubilee on account of their permanent landholding.

Such statements throw valuable light on the strategies used by H to solicit consent to the obligations and controls which are inherent in the idea of sanctification via law observance and respect for the shrine. It shows how H conceives the Israelites' status as the god's holy possessions as implying servitude, on the one hand, and collective solidarity, on the other. If the Israelites are the god's slaves, living on its property, it is axiomatic that they must live in accordance with the god's wishes and so defer to the central law in all aspects of their daily lives. To do otherwise would be a flagrant sign of disloyalty, and thus risk the status which was afforded to them when they were led out of slavery in Egypt. In addition, since the Israelites are the slaves of the god, H adds a new and powerful explanation for why showing loyalty to other community members is an analogue to showing loyalty to Yhwh. They are his personal possessions, designated for service on his land. They therefore cannot be forced to work as the slaves of others, and must always be afforded their rights to their landholding.

But beyond this, the claim in Lev 25 that the Israelites are Yhwh's slaves, living on his land, seems almost certainly to be an attempt on H's part to explain how the Israelites must serve Yhwh as he dwells in his shrine. As has been occasionally mentioned in studies of Lev 25 (Joosten 1996b, 181–84; Bauks 2005; Nihan 2007a, 535; cf. Weinfeld 1995), the image of the Israelite community advanced in Lev 25:39–55 shows striking similarities to a number of Mesopotamian sources which describe *temple estates*—properties which were deemed to belong to a particular god, and which were used for “a variety of productive and commercial activities” in service of the deity's shrine (Postgate 1992, 114). Perhaps the best-known cases of such temple estates are those in Sumer in southern Mesopotamia in the third millennium BCE. In this society vast estates were made up of lands acquired by sanctuaries through purchase, seizure in payment of debt, or donations. Such land was managed by a combination of slaves, who received daily rations (*šeba*) of barley, wool and oil for their services (Waetzoldt 1987, 117–41), and of tenants who were permitted to live on rental (*ganaru*) land for a fixed period in return for an annual payment to the temple, usually of grain (Trigger 2003, 328).⁴⁵ Temple lands are also attested in later Babylonian sources dating from the second and first

⁴⁵ Classical interpretations (e.g., Schneider 1920; Deimel 1931; Falkenstein 1974 [1954]) of Sumerian temple estates as having a total monopoly on the distribution of land in Sumer, and thus of Sumerian civilization as a giant “Citizen-Temple community” (*Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde*) are now widely recognized to be incorrect,

millenniums BCE. The *kuddurru* or “boundary stones” (King 1912, vii–xi) found among temple documents in Uruk in southern Babylonia record royal grants of land made to Babylonian temples under the Kassite kings of the Third Babylonian Dynasty (approx. 1507–1155 BCE), for example to the Eanna Temple (Renger 1995, 303; Janković 2010, 419–28). Such practices continued well into the first millennium BCE, with a series of cadastral texts dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE recording gifts of land by kings and their family members to the Uruk temples. For example, an undated text from the seventh-century (*AnOr* 9, 2:62–63) refers to a gift from Assurbanipal “to the god Ninurta-of-Uruk” of forty-eight orchards (Beaulieu 1998, 193 n. 29), while a sixth-century text (Labat 1960, 86–87) speaks of the gift of arable land “to Ištar-of-Uruk” from Kaššaya the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. In addition to gaining land through royal decree, Neo-Babylonian temples also acquired arable land when landholders became impoverished and accumulated debts.⁴⁶ In such instances, destitute or landless persons would be integrated into the temple economy (or “household”) and thus become “oblates or bondsmen of the temples” who “then served as labor force within the temple economy, mainly as agricultural workers” (Renger 1995, 312). At the same time, portions of temple lands could be leased to elites who would manage the land, along with its labor force, on the temple’s behalf.

Clearly, then, divinely owned land was of commercial consequence in ancient Mesopotamia. Not only were temple lands in Mesopotamia “usually exempted from state taxation” (Postgate 1989, 145), but the annual tithes which were levied on them also brought in significant income for temple authorities. As shown in Michael Jursa’s detailed 1998 study of Babylon temple tithes, a swath of documents from Sippar in Babylon dating from Nebuchadnezzar’s reign to the thirty-fourth year of Darius attests to the collection of substantial tithes on temple lands (Jursa 1998, 13–18; cf. Dandamaev 1969–1970, 1:82–90).⁴⁷ Indeed, such practices seem to have continued throughout the Persian period, with temples in Babylon continuing to extract tithes and manage extensive estates with the permission of the Persian administration, although they were required to pay significant

since it is almost certain that temple lands coexisted with palace land and the private holdings of families and individuals (Postgate 1992, 109; Gordan 2013, 5 with n. 9). Nevertheless, it is clear that Sumerian temple estates could be of enormous size and economic influence; for example, the temple lands in the southern province of Lagaš are estimated to have reached two hundred to three hundred square kilometers of agricultural land (Renger 1995, 285; Trigger 2003, 327); see esp. *RTC* 407 from Girsu (Ur III period), which refers to a crop area of approximately 5,000 bûr, which Johannes Renger (1994, 178) estimates to be 318 km²!

⁴⁶ One such example, in the case of Eanna at Uruk, is a text which describes how a man named Nabû-ahhē-šullim, son of Nabû-udammiq, was required to give a plot of land to the temple in compensation for his debts (Janković 2010, 423 n. 2418). See *AOr* 15, 1 rev. 11l. 20’–24.

⁴⁷ For examples of tithes from royal leaders to the temple, see e.g., BM 50215, BM 63594 l. 4; from *bûr ritti* estates, see e.g., BM 61019, BM 61395, BM 64538. Privately held land appears to have been exempt from such temple tithes (Bedford 2007, 11*–12*).

portions of their income to the imperial center (Dandamaev and Lukonin 2004 [1989], 360–62). The claim of divine ownership thus seems to have served as a vital means of ensuring the viability of sanctuaries in antiquity, since they granted sanctuary authorities a right to the economic output of the land which “belonged” to the god, as well as the right to the labor of those who dwelled upon the god’s lands.⁴⁸

There are a number of important resonances with this concept of temple estate in H’s description of people and land in Lev 25. The claim that Yhwh is the exclusive owner of the land, coupled with his ownership of the Israelites as his personal slaves, clearly echoes these Mesopotamian sources which describe temple estates. This does not necessarily mean that H had in mind these literary sources; the image of the Israelite community in Lev 25 more likely reflects a general awareness on H’s part of Mesopotamian socio-cultic structures used to ensure the claims of sanctuary authorities to control land and manage resources, including the rights and tenures of temple slaves. Yet what is remarkable about Lev 25 is that H does not envisage merely a section of the land being devoted to Yhwh and his temple household, as per the Mesopotamian examples discussed above. Nor is only a small segment of the population to be designated Yhwh’s slaves. The land of Israel *in its entirety* is conceived as Yhwh’s property, and the *entire population* as his servants. In addition, the deity’s law is now to be used to direct the timing of all the Israelites’ redemption and remission practices, such that the god and its sanctuary have direct control over the way the Israelites structure the socio-economic practices that surround debt and indentured servants. Israel is thus imagined by H as a colossal temple estate, in which everything is oriented towards the god who dwells in the central shrine, and its law is the central authority for the most important socio-economic practices of the Israelite collective.

To be sure, a possible objection to this reading is that the sanctuary is never mentioned in Lev 25 in connection with the Israelites’ servitude to Yhwh, their usage of the land or the timing of the remission and redemption practices. Yet the absence of any direct reference to the sanctuary in Lev 25 is consistent with the Mesopotamian sources cited above, which describe the land as the direct property of the god without referencing the sanctuary which would manage it on its behalf; the presence of the sanctuary is assumed because that is where the god lives. In addition, while the sanctuary is not mentioned in Lev 25, it is referenced in its immediate literary context (Joosten 1996b, 183). As discussed above, Lev 24:1–9 outlines the regular rites which must take place at the central wilderness sanctuary. In addition, Lev 26 begins, in v. 2, with the command to show loyalty to Yhwh’s shrine, which is then followed, in v. 11, with the additional promise that, if the Israelites keep Yhwh’s law, he will establish his dwelling place in the midst of the Israelites. In this light, the absence of any direct reference to the sanctuary in Lev 25 would not seem to preclude the idea that H

⁴⁸ Cf. the evidence of economic gain made by temples in Egypt (Manning 2003) and Greece (Dignas 2002) on account of divinely owned land.

is here imagining Israel as slaves of Yhwh on his temple estate, who must live and work on lands over which the shrine has a direct claim.

In this light, Lev 25:8–55 appears as a sophisticated complement to H’s case, made throughout Lev 17–26, that the everyday lives of the Israelites are at all times to be conducted with reference to Yhwh’s central sanctuary. As suggested above, H is conceptualizing the Israelite community as Yhwh’s sanctuary “staff.” They are to live as though slaves on the god’s estate, tending to the god’s land under the auspice of the sanctuary, and meeting the god’s needs for sacrifices and donations. As quasi slaves on divinely owned property, they are denied the possibility of viewing the produce of their *הקצא* in a way which is independent of the god’s central shrine, or of dealing with their slaves and the economic matters of debt remission without referring to the authority of the central legal standard associated with that shrine. In this, then, H articulates a sophisticated case for why the sanctuary has the right to direct the socio-economic life of the Israelite community; and, moreover, to receive direct financial benefit from the Israelites’ life on the land. Since any harvest constitutes the fruit of Yhwh’s land, it is axiomatic that the Israelites must devote a portion of their produce to the god in the form of regular donations and offerings.

Leviticus 25 therefore offers valuable evidence of the material benefits which the idea of the Israelites’ possession by Yhwh could deliver to the central sanctuary, as well as its discursive potential in normalizing the idea that Israel is a community which is defined by its shared deference to a common shrine and central legislation. From this perspective, we can feel confident in concluding that the texts in Lev 17–26 describing the Israelites’ experience in agricultural, social and economic contexts do not, as Joosten has argued, enshrine a perspective which takes little interest in affirming the rights of the central sanctuary. (It is intriguing that Joosten was one of the first scholars to identify the resonances with Mesopotamian temple estates in Lev 25, and yet he did not explore how this image might have served to promote the interest of the sanctuary center.) To the contrary, it is precisely through its legislation concerned with the Israelites’ activities beyond the shrine that H advances a discourse of centralization: it construes all of Israel’s collective existence as affirming their obligation to defer to the central law, and to fulfill their material duties to show loyalty to the god as it dwells in its shrine. As Yhwh’s possessions, the Israelites have acquired the responsibility to unify in common service to the sanctuary which dwells at the center of his territory, while acknowledging the right of the god to directly dictate their economic dealings with other members of the sacral community.

5.4.2 Economic Centrality in Persian Period Yehûd

Yet, if H’s centralizing discourse makes clear this obligation on the Israelites to support the shrine, there is considerable ambiguity as to how this might actually have played out in practice in ancient Israel. There is no doubt that Lev 25, arguably even more than other aspects of H’s discourse,

articulates an ideal that stands at a considerable distance from social reality. Scholars are virtually unanimous in reading the regimented, centralized timing of the jubilee prescribed in Lev 25:8–55 as differing significantly from the way the Israelites actually structured their remission and redemption practices. There is also no historical evidence that the Jerusalem temple was in possession of any estate—let alone a temple estate which encompassed all Israel!

Indeed, very little is known about the possible landholdings of the Jerusalem temple during the Persian period. While the absence of temple archives means that we cannot be absolutely certain that the Jerusalem temple did not possess land or an associated workforce, it seems very unlikely that it did. As argued in detail by Benjamin Gordon (2013), there is no evidence in biblical or extra-biblical sources to support the idea that Jerusalem held tracts of land, which it leased to other members of the community. While temple authorities may have encouraged gifts of land that could be used by priests,⁴⁹ there is little indication that this resulted in the Jerusalem priesthood amassing large properties in the Persian period.

However, Joel Weinberg has suggested (1992) that the Jerusalem temple might have been granted the authority from the Persian authorities to manage the province of Yehûd as a “citizen-temple community” (1992, 26 and *passim*) in early Persian times. In such a scenario the land of Yehûd might have been considered the property of the Jerusalem temple and fallen under its economic and administrative jurisdiction, not because the Jerusalem temple had such a large landholding that it encompassed the entire territory, but rather because Western Asian society was shaped by the idea that the deity always has the right to control the broader area that surrounds its temple. In arguing thus, Weinberg was influenced by the theories of the Russian historian Igor M. Diakanoff (1975) concerning pre-capitalist modes of production, and in particular the notion that ancient Israel was emblematic of an “Asian” mode in which the temple was always the center of the local economy, and thus also of the political and social life of the community.

However, there are a number of reasons to doubt whether the temple of Jerusalem was positioned at the center of a citizen-temple community. First, there is little historical evidence to support the theory that the “Asian” mode of production described by Diakanoff, in which all land was considered the property of the god, was present in Western Asia (Altmann 2016, 180–81). In the

⁴⁹ Leviticus 27 preserves one such attempt to encourage the devotion of land to Yhwh. Following a discussion of the consecration of persons (vv. 2–8) or animals (vv. 9–13), the chapter turns to the manner in which houses (vv. 14–15) and fields (vv. 16–24) might be consecrated (שָׁדָה *Hiphil*) to Yhwh, and subsequently redeemed (גָּאָל *Qal*) should the person who owns the property change his mind. Importantly, vv. 20–21 state that if a field is not redeemed by the jubilee it becomes a שָׁדָה הַחֵרֵם “dedicated field” in the jubilee year: namely, a plot of land which cannot be de-consecrated (Milgrom 2001, 2385; Gordan 2013, 110–13) but which “belongs to the priest” (v. 21b) as an inalienable holding. “Unless this is purely theoretical,” Joseph Blenkinsopp has remarked (1991, 50), Lev 27:14–24 “may be taken to reflect a situation in which the temple and its personnel drew part of their revenue from real estate as was the case elsewhere in the Persian empire.”

Mesopotamian examples discussed above, temples did not have an overarching claim to manage the land in its entirety, or to extract resources from the entire population. There is ample evidence of land being held by palaces, families and individuals, alongside the specific tracts of land which were dedicated to temples (Postgate 1992, 109; Gordan 2013, 5 with n. 9).

Second, in light of what we know of the imperial administration of Yehûd in the Persian period, it is difficult to imagine the Jerusalem temple functioning as the undisputed center of socio-economic power in the province. There is no evidence that Jerusalem was an urban hub during the Persian period (Lipschits 2005, 214–16) or that it was granted an official role within the economic system of the imperial regime (Altmann 2016, 177–87). Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter One (see § 1.2.1), recent studies by Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot and Dafna Langgut (2012) have shown that Jerusalem did not house the residence of the Persian governorship in Persian times, and thus was unlikely to have been the administrative center of the province. Rather, archaeological remains from Ramat Raḥel, especially the numerous stamped jar handles and evidence of a large residence and garden complex, suggest that the seat of the Persian governorship was located at this site from the late sixth through fourth centuries BCE. Hence Jerusalem's standing within the province would have remained relatively weak, since the center of the imperial administration was located approximately five kilometers south of the city.

That said, Joachim Schaper (1995) has made the case that the Jerusalem temple performed an important role within the imperial administration in Yehûd: namely, by collecting taxes on behalf of the empire. This conclusion is based mainly on Persian period evidence that Babylonian temples housed treasuries, which were managed by imperial officials charged with collecting and storing precious metals paid from the population to the imperial power. Schaper builds on earlier arguments (see esp. Torrey 1936) that the Hebrew term *יוצר* in Zech 11:13 refers to an official “founder,” responsible for melting down the silver donated to the empire (he assumes that Zech 11 relates to the Persian period). As Schaper then sees it (1995, 530–35), the only institution in Yehûd where such a foundry could have been located was the Jerusalem temple, meaning that the Persian administration must have directed the population of Yehûd to deposit their imperial taxes there. Furthermore, this position of the Jerusalem temple at the heart of the taxation system in Yehûd enabled the sanctuary to extract religious taxes and tithes from the population to assist in its day-to-day management.

Schaper offers interesting insights about the potential role that the Jerusalem temple might have played in the Persian fiscal system, but a number of factors suggest that the temple at Jerusalem did not have the economic authority he imagines (Bedford 2007, 2015; Altmann 2016, 181–82). On a general level, there is limited evidence to support the view that it was standard practice for the Persian administration to situate their treasuries within temple buildings (Dandamaev and Lukonin 2004 [1989], 206–9). Indeed, as pointed out by Peter Bedford, administrative texts from Persepolis “identify perhaps as many as nineteen local treasuries/storehouses, none of which are temples” (Bedford 2015, 17*). While Mesopotamian temples certainly extracted taxes from those who resided

on their territory, and were required to pay a portion of their income to the imperial administration in tax, this does not necessarily mean that such temples acted as the official collection point for the taxes of the broader population. Rather, it reflects their role in managing their own temple estates, and processing the proceeds from the workers on their lands.

Furthermore, the hypothesis that the imperial official responsible for tax collection was located in Jerusalem is significantly weakened by the evidence that the seat of the governor was located away from the city, at Ramat Raḥel (Altmann 2016, 182). As detailed by Muhammad Dandamaev and Vladimir Lukonin, oversight for collecting taxes across the empire was assigned by the imperial powers to “satrap, nomarchs, governors and rural headmen” (Dandamaev and Lukonin 2004 [1989], 190); meaning that it is difficult to imagine that the main center for handling imperial taxes was in Jerusalem if the seat of the governor was at Ramat Raḥel. To be sure, Ramat Raḥel was located in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, at a distance of only five kilometers to the city’s south. We should therefore be careful not to overstate the degree to which the city of Jerusalem was disconnected from the economic and administrative activities of the imperial regime. Nevertheless, the location of the governor’s residence outside Jerusalem arguably suggests that there was a greater distance between the temple and the Persian imperial administration than Schaper has assumed. It therefore seems most probable, on balance, that the Jerusalem temple only had the rights to exert economic or socio-political power when managing its own cultic economy, which given its absence of lands, workers or a large population of wealthy donors was unlikely to have been substantial (Altmann 2016, 175–76 and *passim*; see further § 2.3.2 above).

It therefore seems that, for the majority of the Persian period, the temple at Jerusalem was unlikely to have been in a position of economic strength, and probably lacked significant claims to manage the land or economic resources of the province. H’s discourse in Lev 25, then, is best understood as being largely divorced from Israel’s socio-economic reality. Yet this does not mean that we should discount the power of the centralizing logic of H’s discourse in Lev 25. As I have argued above (see esp. § 3.5.1), idealized discourses have their own function and power regardless of the degree to which they accord with social and economic truths. Indeed, as we have seen elsewhere, the articulation of ideals of socio-cultic practice serve to reinforce H’s centralizing discourse by underscoring the importance of the cultic center, no matter what may be the constraints of actual practice.

In the case of Lev 25, H articulates a discourse in which the Israelites are required to accept that what they do in the agricultural and economic spheres can never be divorced from the sanctuary. How they structure the timing of harvesting and of letting the land lie fallow; how they manage debt remission; how they understand their rights to have indentured servants; and how they view their claim to property—all of these activities are positioned by H within a discursive context in which the land is ultimately owned by the god, and the Israelites are slaves living on its estate. It follows, therefore, that the sanctuary in which the deity resides has the ultimate right to determine the

allocation of the community's resources and the timing of their socio-economic and agricultural practices. Thus Lev 25 provides the ideological scaffolding whereby the sanctuary, and more specifically the Jerusalem temple, can assert the right to centrality not just in cultic practice—such as ritual blood disposal and the timing of the festal calendar—but also in socio-economic and agricultural domains.

Such a claim is possible because of H's call to collective sanctification. As the god's possessions, whose defining characteristic is their conformity with the law in all circumstances, the Israelites must organize their everyday life so that *all* of what they do might give honor to Yhwh as he dwells in his sanctuary and ensures their separation as a holy people; more practically, they must structure their cultic, agricultural and economic worlds through the channels of the central temple. There is no differentiation, then, in H's vision of the central order between the centralization of ritual practice and of socio-economic obligations. Put another way, H aspires to ensure that the temple serves as both the exclusive site of deference and attention in the Yahwistic cult, but also functions as the economic center to which the Israelites defer. To deny such a right to the sanctuary would run counter to the Israelites' call to sanctification and therefore jeopardize their special status as the clients of the god Yhwh.

We know nothing, of course, about the dissemination or reception of Lev 25, and whether its discursive strategy was effective in convincing the Israelites to recognize the sanctuary's economic centrality. But we can surmise that the intended aim of such a discourse is to legitimate the claim of the Jerusalem temple and its priesthood for a greater claim over the Israelites' resources. While the Persian authorities may have been unwilling to recognize the temple as an administrative or economic center, H aspires to convince the Judeans that they must *voluntarily* defer to the sanctuary as a site worthy of their material resources as an expression of their sanctification. In addition, they must recognize the authority of the law, written by priests, to directly influence economic practices involving debt release and the terms of their indentured servants.

This reading of Lev 25 echoes Bedford's analysis (2015) of the strategies used by the Jerusalem temple in the Persian period to shore up its economic position. Bedford analyzes how the Jerusalem temple, in the absence of the official authority to extract taxes or tithes from the Judean population, was forced to rely on a funding model based on voluntary donations; these had to be solicited by *convincing* the population of their obligations towards the cultic center. Even in Neh 10, which speaks of the Judean population committing to provide an annual payment of "one-third of a shekel for the service of the house of our god" (v. 33b [Eng. v. 32b]), the text states that the "binding agreement" (Neh 10:1) for such a regular payment was entered into freely by the Judeans. Despite the role of the governor Nehemiah in brokering the agreement, there is no suggestion that he employed an imperial edict to force the Judeans to direct economic resources to the Jerusalem temple. The historicity of Neh 10, it must be said, is difficult to verify; but it clearly attests to the importance of

persuasion in ensuring the economic viability of the Jerusalem sanctuary in the memory of the Persian period.

A similar logic might then be seen at work in Lev 25. Although the Jerusalem temple clearly could not claim all land held by the Israelites, or oblige the Israelites to follow its stipulations for when and how they redeemed indentured servants or discharged their debts, H's discursive strategy is aimed at ensuring voluntary deference to centralized authority in socio-economic practice, on the one hand, and to directing material resources to the central temple, on the other (Bedford 2015, 9*–10*). Thus, as we have seen above, it is the function of H's discourse not to mirror socio-economic realities but rather to *generate consent* on the part of the Israelite community by providing the compelling rationale for their deference to the central sanctuary, whatever its actual capacity to enforce this.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the multifaceted ways in which H's discourse of cult centralization is advanced via its new and more expansive conceptualization of holiness when compared to that of the earlier P materials. H reimagines the obligations of the Israelites on account of their status as Yhwh's client, such that they must shape their behavior, in all manner of mundane situations, to be in accordance with the central legal tradition which was made known to Moses at Sinai, and to show loyalty to Yhwh as he dwells in his central shrine.

The focus on obedience to divine decree, as opposed to individual assessment of right and wrong, suggests that H's concept of communal holiness does not reveal a concern with ethics that relates to moral behavior. Rather, H promotes uniformity across the community, which might be achieved only when the Israelites consent to live in accordance with a central legislative standard. In order to be set apart as Yhwh's holy possession, the Israelites must be transformed into a community defined by a network of behaviors which might be described as "conventionalism," in that they maintain their separation from the other nations and avoid those behaviors which are antithetical to Yhwh's decrees. In addition, the Israelites must unify as a collective, showing loyalty to other members of the sacral community as an expression of their shared loyalty to the god. Such unity reinforces the god's derision of factions, divisions and variations among its chosen community, thus strengthening the call for a single, centralized cult and community.

This call, we have seen, is given further weight by H's emphasis on the interconnections between communal holiness and loyalty to the shrine. The Israelites' sanctification depends on their willingness to preserve the central shrine as an appropriate dwelling for the deity: to regularly provide material donations in accordance with Yhwh's legal standard; and to protect the shrine against hostile forces by scrupulously applying Yhwh's decrees to all aspects of their lives. Moreover, the Israelites must accept that their collective sanctification depends on their willingness to preserve the socio-cultic hierarchy in which the Aaronide priests have exclusive control over the sanctuary and its ritual

cult. These various dimensions to communal holiness—collective unity, standardization, separation from Others, preservation of the central sanctuary and of its priestly personnel—therefore combine as a sophisticated hegemonic discourse which mobilizes consent to a centralized system.

We have also seen how the prominence of the sabbath in H's conception of communal holiness plays an integral role in such a hegemonic discourse. The promotion of sabbath as a weekly rest day enables the Israelites to experience the collective solidarity that comes from standardized norms and customs, and from showing their loyalty to the god by ceasing work as a unified community. In addition, H's description of sacrificial rites which must take place at the central shrine on the sabbath ensures that the regular rhythm of ceasing work each week reinforces the critical importance of the centralized cult in the everyday lives of the Israelites. The comparison with the sabbath laws of the Decalogue revealed H's creativity in restoring traditional associations of sabbath and sacrificial rites at the central shrine so as to ensure that this holy time remains connected to the authority of the central sanctuary. In addition, H may also have been motivated to reinterpret sabbath sacrifices for a post-monarchic context—one in which the Israelites provide the donations with no need of a royal sponsor, and the Aaronide high priest, rather than the royal figure, performs the rites on behalf of the community within the sanctuary interior.

The laws in Lev 25 for land and slave redemption go even further in construing the community as living permanently within the circle of the shrine's influence. By depicting the Israelites as Yhwh's slaves, living on his estate and in permanent servitude to his central shrine, H gives a new context to the claim that the Israelites are the possession of the deity: namely, a context within which the Israelites must view all their activities, in agricultural and socio-economic domains, as integral to their being the possession of the god. It solicits the consent of the Israelites to a system in which they must devote themselves to the task of maintaining the central sanctuary, providing a portion of their produce from the land in the form of regular offerings and donations, and conducting their redemption and remission practices in accordance with the deity's statutes and ordinances.

Finally, we have considered what this discourse might reveal about the claims on power and resources on the part of the central temple. While our knowledge of the actual economic status of the temple at the time H was written is limited by the lack of historical sources, H's discourse manifestly stakes a claim on the temple's behalf that it is to be not just a cultic center but an economic center also. Although the ideal articulated in Lev 25 almost certainly stands at a considerable distance from the Jerusalem temple's actual centrality in Persian times, this does not dilute the power of its discourse. By claiming that the god requires the Israelites to be a holy people in all aspects of everyday life, H asserts the temple's right to control not only ritual process but what the Israelites do in their agricultural and economic domains as well.

This analysis of holiness in Lev 17–26 thus confirms that H's centralizing discourse extends beyond the centralization of slaughter and sacrifice, and the mandating of temporal symmetry within the Israelite community, to articulate a more pervasive concept of collective sanctification. H

advances this discourse via “a variety of mechanisms of control” (Barkey 1994, 231), which includes expanding the boundaries of holiness to ensure long-term compliance with a centralized system. However, as a hegemonic discourse it simultaneously solicits the consent of the Israelite community by making it appear natural and beneficial for them to defer to and commit their resources to the maintenance of this system. Thus the expansion of holiness to the community may appear to dilute the center of some of its monopoly of sanctity, and thereby to be to the communal benefit of the Israelites; but through mobilizing both their consent and their compliance, H’s discourse serves to reinforce the power of the center.

Conclusion

This thesis has developed a sustained argument that the Holiness legislation of Lev 17–26 develops a more complex and multifaceted discourse in favor of cult centralization than has been acknowledged in the scholarship of the past. Going significantly beyond traditional explanations, it has offered a new framework for understanding the centralizing logic of H, as well as the earlier P materials to which, I have shown, H predominantly looks. In arguing thus, the thesis has parted ways with the classical theory that H presumes a concept of centralization articulated by D. It has also opened new avenues for appreciating the complexity of centralizing processes in the history of ancient Israel, and the place of H within these; while advancing new understandings of the term “centralization” itself for the study of ancient Israel’s literary traditions and the history of its cult.

Summary

The thesis began by arguing that the study of centralization and the pentateuchal traditions should be broadened beyond traditional bounds: to give due weight to the evidence of the contribution of the Priestly traditions, especially H, to the development of ideas about centralization in the Pentateuch; to consider the light which H’s centralizing discourse might throw on the history of centralization in ancient Israel, particularly during Persian times; and to develop a more expansive conceptualization of “centralization” which moves beyond a narrow interest in where the Israelites worship to explore other issues which might be implicated in processes of cult centralization. Drawing on the insights provided by social theorists, I argued that centralization should be understood as the various processes which structure power relations and social organization so that authority, decision making and resources are concentrated rather than dispersed. These processes of centralization can direct social actors to a range of socio-cultural centers—not only places and spaces, but also institutions, authorities, personnel and processes. In adopting such theoretical insights, I laid the groundwork for a more dynamic understanding of “center” in H and the Priestly materials on which it depends—one which moves beyond an exclusive interest in *where* the Israelites worship to explore other dimensions of cultic practice and everyday life. I also foreshadowed an argument which informed later chapters of the thesis: namely, that the nexus between centralization and standardization which is strongly developed in H, as well as in the earlier P materials, serves as a device for developing norms and scripts which regulate behavior so as to silence local discretion in favor of conformity with centralized authority.

The Introduction also stressed the value of studying literary *discourses* of centralization, such as those encountered in Lev 17–26 and the Priestly traditions more generally. I argued that such discourses should not be expected to necessarily mirror the social reality or the power relations which prevailed at the time of their writing. Rather, drawing on the theories of Foucault and Gramsci, I

established that discourse is a means of enabling such relations to emerge; in that discourse seeks to normalize social obligations and the distribution of authority and resources so that these will be considered normal and proper. Discourse thereby generates the “consent” that is needed, beyond any measures of coercion, if a social system with an uneven distribution of power is to be sustained. The theories of memory studies were also introduced at this point of the thesis, given the insights they provide into the way in which discourses about the past can serve to mobilize deference and attention to particular social, religious and political centers. The Priestly traditions, the study went on to demonstrate, construct a powerful social memory in the form of a foundational narrative, or history of origins, about ancient Israel’s cult and community—a time when ritual hierarchies were ideally configured, the sanctuary unrivaled in its centrality and the twelve tribes ideally unified.

The introductory theoretical discussion was then complemented with a detailed analysis in Chapter One of those features of Lev 17–26 that inform our understanding of H’s centralizing discourse and its place in ancient Israel’s history—its dating, compositional history and relationship with other scriptural traditions. By this analysis I confirmed (§ 1.1.1) the majority view that Lev 17–26 comprise a post-Priestly composition that combines and coordinates a variety of earlier traditions, including a version of the Deuteronomic legislation of Deut 12–26 (+ 28). The P traditions at the time of H’s composition were shown (§ 1.1.2) to have included a developed version of the sanctuary account of Exod 25–31, 35–40 and the ritual legislation of Lev 1–16. I did not rule out that a limited number of Priestly materials beyond the Sinai episode could have been known to H, but argued that the present study gained a more solid footing by focusing on Priestly passages in Gen 1–Lev 16* which could be said with a higher degree of certainty to have been known to the authors of H. The time period of the composition of H was also established as being the Persian period (§ 1.1.3)—a conclusion which is supported, among other factors, by relative chronology, the reference to the exile and return in Lev 26, the absence of a royal figure from both P and H, and the persistent interest in cult centralization which, as this study has shown, is present throughout its legislation.

Chapter One went on to argue that the scholarship on H and centralization has been limited by the persistence of traditional assumptions about the history of centralization in ancient Israel, and the place of the Priestly traditions within that history. As my review of relevant scholarship demonstrated (§ 1.2.1), the tendency of past researchers has been to assume that the Priestly materials stem from a time when centralization was more or less assumed in ancient Israel; but recent scholarship suggests that the Persian period was not the “centralized epoch” that it was once considered to be. Jerusalem did not have a cultic monopoly, but existed alongside other sanctuaries in Samaria and the diaspora. It also was probably in a position of economic weakness on account of the difficulties which accompanied the transition from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian period and the loss of the Judean monarchy, which would have significantly hampered its capacity to function as a cultic center.

I then reviewed (§§ 1.2.2 and 1.2.3) the scholarly tendency to limit research on centralization in P and H by assuming that these materials inherit and extend the concept of centralization as

developed in D. I examined those few studies which have critiqued this classical assumption, but noted that these are very often concerned with demonstrating that P and/or H are either unaware of the concept of centralization promoted by D, or (more rarely) that they critically reject it in favor of a local approach to Israelite worship. So far there remains limited interest in exploring how these materials might promote a centralized cult which stands apart from D's centralizing mandate. I proposed, therefore, that there is need to move entirely beyond the dominant models for reconstructing the development of centralization in the pentateuchal traditions by exploring how P might develop its own distinctive logic of centralization, which is taken up and extended by H.

In Chapter Two I turned to examine the logic of centralization evident in the earlier Priestly materials that were known to the authors of Lev 17–26. I argued that P articulates a centralizing discourse which shows little evidence of dependence on D (§ 2.1), but rather comprises three distinctive elements. The first is the call to all Israel to demonstrate their unity before their patron god by constructing and maintaining a shared sanctuary (§ 2.2.1). In arguing thus, I departed from alternative readings of P which have suggested that the shrine might reveal P's de-centralizing logic on account of its portability (Kaufmann 1960 [1937–1956]; Milgrom 1991; Douglas 1999; Sommer 2001), or that the mobility of the tent of meeting might have been a strategy employed by P to legitimate the two central temples at Jerusalem and Gerizim (Diebner 1991; Römer 2004, 178; 2017, 20–21; forthcoming; Watts 2013, 104). Contrary to these views, this chapter argued that P articulates a centralized ideal in which all Israel—north and south—will coalesce around the building of a shared shrine—although in a hierarchal relationship in which P accords primacy to Judah. This “Judean bias,” I argued, can be understood as providing a mechanism whereby the Jerusalem temple could express an ideal of dominance in the Yahwistic cult, against any rival claims from northern stakeholders. It also promoted the collective commitment that would be needed to see the Jerusalem temple survive in the wake of the loss of a royal patron and guardian (§ 2.2.2).

Yet, while the sanctuary is core to P's discourse of centralization, I went on to argue that there are further dimensions to P's centralizing logic. I particularly considered (§ 2.3.1) a second, and related, aspect of P's ritual legislation of Lev 1–16: namely, P's promotion of a standardized conception of Israel's ritual obligations. I examined the strategies whereby P discourages variation in ritual practice in favor of conformity with the prescriptions of a central legal authority, arguing that the ritual standard that P promotes is thoroughly incompatible with de-centralization. Rather, it promotes conformity with centralized authority and collective commitment to guarding and protecting the cult which again compensates for the loss of a royal sponsor (§ 2.3.2). I then considered (§ 2.4.1) the ideal of centralized priestly competence in the form of a monopoly held by Aaron and his sons. Focusing on the description of the priestly garments in Exod 28 and related texts in Exod 29 and Lev 16, I explored how P positions the Israelite cult as being monopolistically controlled by a centralized priesthood which has the exclusive right to officiate within the central sanctuary. Furthermore, I demonstrated how P's description of distinctive features of the garments assigned to Aaron positions

this figure as the central mediator between Yhwh and the twelve tribes of Israel, and thus establishes the need for a thoroughly centralized high priesthood—in which a *single* figure represents the *united community* before Yhwh. This was shown, in turn, to serve to reframe the origins of the centralized priesthood in Jerusalem so as to move beyond its association with the Davidic monarchy (§ 2.4.2).

It was this three-fold logic of centralization in P—a single sanctuary, standardized ritual practice and a centralized priesthood—that, this study proceeded to argue, was inherited and developed by H to form its own, more expansive logic of centralization. Chapter Three focused on the first of a series of innovations in H’s centralizing discourse: namely, the laws of Lev 17 pertaining to the slaughter and sacrifice of livestock and the consumption of blood. As background, I first reviewed (§ 3.1) the scholarly debates concerning Lev 17, its relationship with other pentateuchal traditions and the issue of the impracticability of its prohibition of local butchery if the wilderness sanctuary is understood as an archetypal central sanctuary. I argued that the discussion can only be progressed if H’s strict approach to butchery is read within the context of its claims about the potency of blood and the significance of ritualized spaces and hierarchies for maintaining the coherence of the Israelite cult and community; an analysis of the structure of Lev 17 (§ 3.2) revealed the chapter’s internal coherence, as well as its overarching theme of the proper handling of blood.

This was followed by a detailed discussion of how H builds a case for the centralization of all forms of blood disposal involving sacrificial animals across its laws dealing with slaughter, sacrifice and blood non-consumption. I first offered a close reading (§ 3.3.1) of the prohibition of local butchery in Lev 17:3–7, paying close attention to the contrast between centralized sacrifice under the auspice of the Aaronide priesthood, and local butchery in the שדה “field” leading to the sacrificial worship of שְׂעִירִים “wild goats” (vv. 5–7). I argued that H builds here a spatial argument for why local butchery must be permanently outlawed, which casts all forms of extra-sanctuary slaughter as engaging with anti-social and non-cultic forces, and centralized slaughter at the hands of the Aaronide priesthood as critical to protecting Yhwh’s socio-cultic order. Second, I showed (§ 3.3.2) how H’s case for centralized slaughter is complemented by the short law of Lev 17:8–9 centralizing blood sacrifice. I demonstrated that these verses have a restricted focus on animal sacrifices on account of the merism *עֵלָה אֶרֶזְבָּה*, and thereby continue the focus of Lev 17:3–7 on the central sanctuary’s exclusive rights to the ritual disposal of blood. This was extended, third, with an analysis (§ 3.3.3) of Lev 17:10–14, and especially the critical rationale of v. 11. I argued that H’s sophisticated explanation of blood’s capacity to act as a ransom when it is applied to the central sanctuary offers a powerful explanation of why the shrine must have a monopoly of butchery and sacrifice. In turn, it ensures that every time the Israelites eat domestic animals and abstain from consuming the blood they are reminded of Yhwh’s intended purpose for the blood of sacrificial animals within his centralized cult, and their duty to comply with the centralization of the cult.

The chapter then turned to review the evidence that H builds on earlier pentateuchal traditions when calling for the centralization of blood disposal. Following a detailed discussion of the classical

arguments in favor of reading Lev 17 in the light of Deut 12, I concluded (§ 3.4.1) that the evidence of dependence on D, while minimally present in Lev 17, cannot justify reading this chapter as developing D's mandate of centralization. I joined with scholars such as Rofé (1988, 16–17), Römer (2004) and Rütterswörden (2009) in arguing that the verses in Deut 12 which share the strongest verbal overlaps with Lev 17 (namely, Deut 12:20–28) post-date and respond to H's criticisms of local butchery. In addition, I demonstrated that the emphasis on the centralization of blood disposal in Lev 17 points to a significant difference between this chapter and the centralization mandate in Deut 12: while the latter restricts all aspects of the cult to Yhwh's chosen place, Lev 17 is more narrow in its focus on the particular issues involved in blood sacrifice.

By contrast, numerous linguistic and thematic links to the earlier P materials can be found in the prescriptions of Lev 17. In particular, I analyzed (§ 3.4.2) the evidence that Lev 17 is intended to form a sophisticated complement to Lev 16 which develops P's concept of the ritual potency of blood disposal and the spatial contrast between the central sanctuary, with its Aaronide priesthood, and the chaotic and anti-social forces associated with peripheral beings, to provide a new justification for the centralization of slaughter and sacrifice. In so doing, H articulates more explicitly than does P the critical link between restricting all matters related to the killing of domestic animals and the maintenance of Yhwh's cultic order, and in this way perhaps subtly critiques the ambiguity in the earlier P materials on the issue of whether, or not, the Israelites might be permitted to practice local butchery once the sanctuary has been constructed.

Finally, the chapter considered the issue of how H's centralizing discourse in Lev 17 might have been intended to shape actual practices of butchery and sacrifice in ancient Israel. It drew on ritual theory to argue (§ 3.5.1) that the impracticability of H's ban on local butchery reflects H's primary interest to entrench the ritual hierarchies and oppositions which ensure that all interactions with blood were viewed through a ritualized lens. Even if its prescriptions could not always be implemented with realistic precision, the text would have remained a potent force for soliciting consent to the centralized sacrificial cult; it validates the hierarchies in which centralized spaces, personnel and processes dominate their non-centralized counterparts in all matters of blood disposal. Such a focus on the primacy blood sacrifice, the chapter concluded (§ 3.5.2), seems to be consistent with the outlook reflected in the Elephantine correspondence (*TAD* A4.8–10), in which stringent restrictions appear to have been applied to blood sacrifice, but the cereal offering and frankincense were considered less controversial.

Chapter Four considered the second dimension to H's centralizing discourse: the festal calendar of Lev 23 and laws for regular rituals at the sanctuary in Lev 24:1–9. Following a review of past approaches to these texts in the study of H and centralization (§ 4.1), this chapter argued that H's calendar and its appendix should be repositioned in a broader discussion among historians and social theorists of the centralizing impulse of fixed temporal schemes. It began by analyzing (§ 4.2.1) how Lev 23 structures the Israelite festal year according to a standardized concept of fixed times, which

requires the entire community, regardless of location, to structure their year in the same way. It then explored (§ 4.2.2) how Lev 23 offers a sophisticated fusion of two different types of calendars in the HB: one which structures the year according to three annual pilgrimages (Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–23; Deut 16:1–17), and the other which divides it into two pilgrimages to be held in the first and seventh months respectively (Ezek 45:17–25); and in so doing elevates its calendar to a position of discursive superiority as the normative guide to how the Israelites must organize the timing of their annual celebrations. The list of festal sacrifices in Num 28–29, by contrast, was established (§ 4.2.3) as being unknown to H. While Lev 23 shows the influence of the earlier P Passover instructions of Exod 12:1–13, as well as laws for the offering of firstfruits in Lev 2:14–16, on H's thinking, the idea of structuring the entire year according to a fixed, standardized scheme, and with two annual *הגים* “pilgrimage festivals” at the central shrine, was shown to be a considerable innovation by H when compared to the earlier Priestly materials.

Chapter Four then considered (§ 4.3) the role which the expression *בכל מושבתיהם* “in all your settlements” plays in H's centralizing discourse. The argument was made that this expression does not permit the Israelites to hold local festivals at multiple shrines. Rather, to the contrary, it reflects a concern on H's part to centralize cultic practice across geographical distance; first, by achieving temporal symmetry across the entire community of Israel in accordance with a centralized calendar; and second, by offering the possibility of new non-sacrificial rites for those Israelites who cannot be present at the central sanctuary during the festivals. It also reiterates the need for those who live at a distance from the shrine to uphold their obligations to send donations *ממושבתיהם* “from your settlements” to the Aaronide priest at the central sanctuary, thus ensuring a regular supply of offerings from the entire community in accordance with a predictable temporal rhythm.

This discussion of Lev 23 was complemented by an analysis of the appendix to the festal calendar in Lev 24:1–9. These laws for regular rituals were read (§ 4.4.1) as serving as a powerful reminder to the Israelites of their need to be fully attuned to the rhythms of the sanctuary. As H sees it, the Israelites cannot adhere to the fixed festal calendar, yet at the same time neglect the central shrine's need for regular donations. They must commit as a unified community to ensuring that the sanctuary has the raw materials required for the regular rites that take place within the sanctuary interior; it is thus that the high priest can remind the god of its duties towards the unified community of Israel, ideally represented as the twelve tribes. To further explore this nexus between centralized time and sanctuary cult I considered also the ritual addition at 4Q365 23 (§ 4.4.2). Here I argued that the two new festivals of wood and oil fuse the topic of fixed annual festivals with that of the shared maintenance of the sanctuary by the twelve tribes; and in so doing, they form a sophisticated supplement to both Lev 23 and 24:1–9 which throws light on their complementarity within H's discourse of centralization. In addition, I argued that the setting of the addition at *הבית אשר תבנו לי בארץ* “the *temple* which you will build for me in the land” provides valuable evidence that the ritual

obligations established at the wilderness sanctuary were understood to set a precedent for centralized worship in the future scenario in the land.

Chapter Four further explored (§ 4.5) the possible role which Lev 23:1–24:9 might have played in consolidating central authority in the Persian period. While acknowledging the significant problems of conclusive historical evidence, I argued that these texts can be read as a discursive strategy aimed at achieving temporal symmetry across a geographically dispersed community of “Israel,” and thereby ensuring that all the Israelites, regardless of location, recognize the Jerusalem temple’s right to receive donations on set occasions each year. The “Passover papyrus” was considered (§ 4.5.1) as possible evidence that H’s interest in standardized time might have formed part of a broader matrix of attempts made by socio-cultic authorities in the Persian period to assert control over the timing of Israelite festivals in the diaspora. The chapter took a cautious approach, however, to asserting a direct link between the papyrus and Lev 23, and highlighted the distinctive interest in H’s discourse on using the standardization of time to direct the attention of diasporic communities back to the central sanctuary and its Aaronide priesthood.

Finally, Chapter Five examined H’s distinctive concept of communal holiness—a major innovation when compared to the earlier P materials (§ 5.1). I argued against the scholarly tendency to resort to ethics when interpreting H’s concept of collective sanctification. The call to sanctification via law observance is concerned less with motivating the individual Israelite to behave in a good or moral way, according to what philosophers have seen as virtue ethics; rather it aims to ensure that the Israelites as a community embrace a form of conventionalism which promotes obedience to a central legal standard, separation from “Others,” collective loyalty, and a shared purpose in maintaining and protecting a central sanctuary cult. By analyzing the two carrion laws of Lev 17:15–16 and Lev 22:8–9 (§ 5.2.1), and the parenetic framework of Lev 18–22 (§ 5.2.2), I then explored how the concept of everyday holiness creates the discursive context within which H can claim that the Israelites must be willing to defer to central authorities in all aspects of their everyday lives, diligently avoiding divisions or local factions, consenting to centralized socio-cultic hierarchies, and remaining constantly devoted to the cause of protecting the central sanctuary.

This was followed by a discussion (§ 5.3) of the prominence of the sabbath in H’s concept of collective sanctification, and its role in soliciting communal consent to a centralized socio-cultic system. Here I explored (§ 5.3.1) how the importance associated with the sabbath in Israel’s experience of holiness illuminates the link H creates between standardization and sanctification; as a holy community, the Israelites must display their loyalty to their shared patron god, as well as towards the other community members, by standardizing the timing of their work and socio-agricultural practices according to a weekly (and seven-yearly) rhythm. By then comparing (§ 5.3.2) H’s conception of the sabbath with what we know about this sacred time from other biblical and non-biblical sources, I demonstrated that H creatively blends two aspects of the sabbath which were not always connected: namely, the idea from the Decalogue that the sabbath is a time of cessation held

every seventh day, and the traditional notion that sabbath is a time of sacrifice. The priority given to sabbath in Lev 17–26 therefore speaks to the ingenuity of H’s concept of communal sanctification: in that it uses categories that maintain a fundamental link to the sanctuary cult to describe the Israelites’ everyday lives, thus normalizing the reach of sanctuary authorities in extra-sanctuary domains.

In conclusion, Chapter Five examined how the laws of land tenure and indenture in Lev 25:8–55 extend and enhance H’s use of communal holiness as a strategy of centralization. While Lev 25 does not explicitly mention holiness, it expands on the notion that the Israelites are the god’s possessions by explaining that they are Yhwh’s עבדים “slaves” who are to live on his land and tend it for him (§ 5.4.1). A comparison with Mesopotamian sources revealed the economic power of such an argument, since it construes all of the Israelites’ activities on their land, and also in their treatment of indentured servants, as coming under the authority of the central shrine that is situated at the center of the god’s estate. I therefore suggested (§ 5.4.2) that the laws of Lev 25 would have added considerable weight to H’s claim that the Israelites should willingly defer to the shrine in economic and agricultural matters, and voluntarily donate a portion of their earnings to the sanctuary.

Key Findings and Implications

Turning now to summarize the key findings of this thesis, as well as their implications for the study of H and centralization, it is worth returning to the three areas which were highlighted in the Introduction as having contributed to the neglect of H in the study of centralization and evaluating how this thesis has shifted the discussion on all three scores.

a) Centralization and the Pentateuchal Traditions

The first concerns the role of H, and the earlier P materials, in the development of centralizing discourses in the Pentateuch. This study has demonstrated that H and P show much greater ingenuity in conceptualizing centralization than has been acknowledged in the scholarship of the past. This can only be appreciated if we break out of the traditional confines of scholarly research: that is, if we jettison the dominant assumption that centralization in H, and also in P, is measured solely by the degree to which these materials presume D’s earlier mandate of limiting worship to a single chosen place.

In its detailed analysis of Lev 17–26, this study has found that there is very little evidence in H’s discourse of centralization of direct dependence on corresponding passages in D. This is not because H is unaware of D or disinterested in its legislation. To the contrary, this study has affirmed with Cholewiński (1976), Otto (1999b), Nihan (2004a; 2007a), Stackert (2007) and many others that H frequently draws on D and coordinates its language and concepts with other scriptural traditions when it considers this necessary for articulating new legal rulings. However, when it comes to *conceptualizing centralization*, H shows little interest in teasing out the implications of D. H never engages the dominant mandate of centralization in D: namely, that there is to be one chosen מקום in

the land, to which the Israelites must direct their collective deference and attention. This is especially striking given that texts such as Lev 23 and 25 explicitly address the Israelites' life in the land, including the celebration of annual rituals and sacrificial rites, which could have easily been framed in light of D's call for a central מקום.

This study has instead shown that H develops a centralizing logic which looks primarily to *the earlier P materials* for inspiration. The scribes responsible for Lev 17–26 seem to have considered their primary literary context—the foundational narrative of Israel's imagined past in Sinai—as providing a suitable platform for developing a centralizing discourse, such that they show little interest in deferring to the arguments for centralization articulated by D. It is this anchoring in the Priestly materials, though not to the exclusion of other traditions, which makes H such a rewarding—if previously neglected—case study of the processes whereby the concept of centralization was developed in the literary traditions of the Pentateuch. It shows that post-Priestly authors could consider P to present an equally compelling case for a centralized cult and community to that which is found in D, and thus did not consider the latter tradition determinative in shaping how centralization was conceived. At the same time, H also shows that post-Priestly scribes felt free to articulate new adaptations in conceptualizing centralization when compared to the earlier P materials.

This conclusion strikes at the heart of classical arguments as to how we should “map” centralization across the pentateuchal traditions. Any idea of a linear development that can be traced across the traditions, with D as the watershed, should be abandoned. Similarly we need to discard alternative explanations (such as those proposed by Kaufmann and Milgrom) which argue that the Priestly traditions show limited engagement with D's mandate of centralization because they pre-date this legislation, and hence remained ignorant of its centralizing commandments. Instead we should embrace a more complex and multifaceted understanding of centralization in the Pentateuch which might take the place of a linear model: namely, a recognition that there were *multiple* traditions within the Pentateuch which developed their own distinctive discourses of centralization. We do not need to look for one point of origin, such as D, in the expectation that we might trace all other understandings of centralization, as if they are branches of this single river. Instead we need to be consciously attuned to the diversity in the pentateuchal materials—a diversity which does not preclude points of similarity, overlap and correspondence, but also produces important variances in how they conceive centralization. Even across H and the pre-H form of P, there are differences in emphasis and scope which I have identified in their respective approaches to centralization. Further studies of centralization in the Priestly traditions would almost certainly find additional points of difference in the later Priestly materials which post-date H, such as those in the book of Numbers.

Another key finding of this study is that it is unduly limiting to confine the study of centralization to what the pentateuchal traditions say about *where* the Israelites should worship. Perhaps the linear model has had such a profound effect on pentateuchal scholarship because D's concept of the chosen place has a beguiling clarity about the need to have only one place for cultic

practice, which coheres with what scholars assume should constitute a centralizing discourse. This clarity is not matched in the Priestly traditions, which say nothing about where the Israelites should set up the cult in the land, focusing instead on the itinerant worship of the wilderness period. But if we delve more deeply and critically into the texts of P and H, we find that this lack of concern with the place of sanctuary in the land is not determinative in how we conceive their respective approaches to centralization. This does not mean that they support a de-centralized cult and local sanctuaries in the land, as Kaufmann, Milgrom, Douglas and others have suggested. Rather, it reveals that defining the place of worship is not the only mode of centralization in the literary traditions of the Pentateuch.

The close reading of H offered in this study has revealed a raft of legislative themes which have a centralizing effect: these range from ritual practices such as sacrifice, to the normativity of the law for the minutiae of everyday life; to standardizing the Israelites' experience of festal time, to calling for the punishment of those who deviate from the sacred standard; to conceptualizing the Israelites' life in the land in the shadow of the shrine; to affirming the monopolistic authority of one priestly family. These diverse aspects of H direct attention to a network of interlocking practices, personnel and spaces which *together* constitute the centralized cult. Inherent to this discourse is the expectation that the Israelites will maintain a single sanctuary; but H goes far beyond this issue to articulate a broader logic for how the Israelites must maintain the unity, conformity and socio-cultic hierarchies of the centralized system mandated by Yhwh in the foundational past.

This suggests that future studies of centralization and the Pentateuch should incorporate a wider and more eclectic range of texts and traditions than has commonly been considered relevant in classical research. These sources should be analyzed not simply from the perspective of how many cultic sites they consider permissible in Israel, or whether they pre- or post-date the composition of D. Instead, scholars should be open to exploring the manifold strategies that pentateuchal texts employ for directing the Israelites' attention, deference and material resources towards central authorities, and for normalizing the unequal power relations which, as social theorists agree, are characteristic of centralized social systems. Moreover, these strategies should be understood as not evolving in a linear fashion, but as reflecting an ongoing negotiation in the processes of defining the common core of the Israelite cult and community. Far from being settled "once and for all" with the composition of a single tradition, the construction of centralization was a continuing process which produced diverse responses by the scribes responsible for different pentateuchal materials.

b) Strategies of Centralization in the Persian Period

Although this thesis focused largely on the texts of H and P and the discursive logic of centralization contained within these materials—that is, it is essentially a study of discourse—it has also considered how this discourse offers a powerful lens through which to view some of the historical processes of centralization in ancient Israel. For all their complexity, and the need for multiple caveats, the Priestly materials of the Pentateuch, including H, illuminate the strategies employed by their scribal authors

for consolidating power, concentrating resources and mediating competing interests within the Yahwistic cult of Persian times. In arguing thus, I differ from traditional approaches, which have long viewed the centralizing bent of the Priestly materials as evidence that they stemmed from a time when centralization was more or less guaranteed. Instead, I view these texts as being part of *an ongoing process* of cult centralization: they enshrine the scribal techniques used by priestly elites for promoting collective deference to central cultic authorities in a period when these were in need of affirmation or support.

Scholars have long approached the writing of D from such a perspective: that is, they have viewed the composition of the Deuteronomic legislation as a process whereby major changes in the organization of the cult that accompanied cult centralization were enabled and legitimized. However, this study has revealed that a much greater range of texts and traditions warrant integration into the study of the history of centralization in ancient Israel. Centralization was a process that evolved across centuries. It is therefore insufficient—indeed unjustified—to assume that there was only one textual tradition that contributed to the emergence of centralized socio-cultic structures in Israel. The social memory which the scribes responsible for the Priestly traditions created should be recognized as a discourse, equal in significance to that in D, whereby those in positions of cultic authority promoted their preferred form of centralization and mobilized the support of the Israelite community for its realization.

When we acknowledge the importance of the discourses contained within H, and the Priestly traditions more generally, for framing the study of centralization, new dimensions to the historical development of the centralized cult come into focus; and with this, further avenues for fruitful research into the dynamics of centralization during the Persian period begin to open. Notably, this thesis has argued that H, like P before, reflects the attempts by the scribal authorities in Jerusalem to promote a discourse of centralization as a strategy of *survival*. In particular, these traditions show the critical importance of centralization in the process of reconfiguring the authority of the temple in Jerusalem following the downfall of the Judean monarchy. The priestly scribes associated with this temple constructed a complex social memory, and also developed new legislative themes, the effect of which was to affirm that, in the absence of a monarch, the sanctuary was still invested with central authority by virtue of its being the object of the deference and attention of the united Israelite community. This discourse was an *ideological framing*: it shows the creativity of priestly scribes in forging a new paradigm which ensured that the loss of a monarchic leader did not constitute a death knell for the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. This liability could be overcome, but only if the traditional roles fulfilled by the king were reallocated among the community, if the authority of the Aaronide high priest to represent the community before the god was affirmed, and if the Israelites' patronage of a shared sanctuary was secured.

However, centralizing discourse is more than a strategy of legitimation. This thesis has shown that greater weight needs to be given to the evidence that centralization was also, in large part, an

economic process. Priestly elites sought, through a sophisticated discourse that legitimized central authority, to guarantee that the temple under their control had the material resources needed to survive. The scribes responsible for H aspired to convince the Israelite community that it must unite in service of a shared sanctuary, and provide donations to the center that were predictable and regular. Whether it be the ban on local butchery in Lev 17:3–7, which required the Israelites to share a portion of their livestock with the temple every time they slaughtered their animals; or the festal calendar of Lev 23, which set the dates on which the Israelites had to send donations to the central shrine or undertake a pilgrimage to it; or the requirements of Lev 24:1–9, which construed the maintenance of the regular rites at the central sanctuary as a communal duty—in these, and other, ways the priestly scribes responsible for H sought to impose on the Israelite community the obligation to regularly defer to the temple with material donations, and thus to ensure its ongoing viability.

Once centralization is understood as having this concern with contrating material resources, it follows that the study of this historical process needs to be positioned within the broader context of the economic status of the Jerusalem temple during Persian times. This thesis has joined with those scholars who have argued that the temple in Jerusalem, with only limited authority to control the resources of the population of Yehûd, relied on discursive strategies to *convince* the population to afford the Jerusalem temple greater economic centrality (e.g., Bedford 2007, 2015; Altmann 2016). H's legislation concerning the sacrificial cult and its demand for communal holiness reveal how centralization aims at normalizing the idea that the Israelites must defer to the central sanctuary as a sign of their loyalty and unity, while conceptualizing their life on the land in the shadow of the temple. The role that such discourse actually played in generating communal consent to Jerusalem's aspirations to socio-economic dominance in the region remains difficult to demonstrate empirically (see further § 5.4.2). However, the analysis of H's discourse of centralization has shown that issues of *socio-economic power and centrality* cannot be divorced from the scholarly discussion of the historical processes of cult centralization.

Similarly, there needs to be greater recognition of the manner in which discourses of centralization served to *elevate the central priesthood*, and especially the high priest, to positions of undisputed cultic authority. This issue has rarely been given the attention it deserves, with traditional scholarship on centralization tending to exclude the question of personnel from its consideration (see, however, Watts 2007b, 323; 2013, 104–6). Yet it is axiomatic that the *Priestly* traditions have a strong emphasis on priestly power; and once they are integrated fully into the study of centralization, it becomes clear that a centralized priesthood, and its claim to have a monopoly of cultic authority over ritual practice, was an integral element of cult centralization. As this thesis has shown, H and P insist that the survival of the sanctuary is contingent on the Israelites' conceding power to a single priesthood that alone can represent the community before Yhwh. Only these members of the community are permitted to officiate within the cult, and preside at the central sanctuary to which the community must defer. There are, as this thesis has described (§ 2.4.2), significant challenges in using

literary traditions such as H and P to identify the actual historical figures or families in ancient Israel who might have been the beneficiaries of such a centralizing discourse. However, the impulse in these textual traditions is unmistakable: the Israelites must defer to a centralized authority presiding at the single shrine—an authority which, in certain key passages (notably Exod 6:14–27) is associated with the tribe of Judah. In this again, the Priestly traditions set a hegemonic norm—one which merits further attention in future studies of the development of the centralized cult in ancient Israel.

This hegemonic power of the priests, this thesis has further shown, was inextricably connected in the Priestly discourses of centralization with the *standardization* of ritual practice. Although ritual standardization has again been a relatively neglected topic, this thesis has shown the potential for incorporating this issue fully into the study of historical processes of centralization. I established at length that ritual standardization is core to the centralizing discourse of H; and that in this H develops a trend towards centralization that is already present in the earlier P materials. These traditions enshrine as mandatory the ritual practices, and the associated socio-cultic hierarchies, that were established by Yhwh during the formative period at Sinai; H extends this by demanding that the Israelites conform to authoritative legislative norms in all aspects of their lives. With this discourse, the cultic practices associated with the central sanctuary were made definitive, and the authority of its priests to act as the rightful regulators, indeed the custodians, of the god's ritual standard was entrenched. Furthermore, this thesis argued that ritual standardization is key to understanding how cult centralization might have been negotiated in the face of the geographical dispersion that characterized the Persian period. It provided the central cultic authorities with a means of projecting their authority and centralized norms throughout both local communities and the diaspora; and thus enabled and obliged those geographically at a distance to defer to the cultic center. Hence, the question of the promulgation of idealized ritual processes, standardized in accordance with the central authority of the priesthood, needs to be positioned at the heart of our understanding of cult centralization. Future scholarship on this subject should therefore be sensitive to the importance of texts which have an orientation towards ritual standardization, acknowledging that these offer a sophisticated understanding of the diverse elements of centralization.

Finally, one of the most intriguing issues that this thesis has encountered, when exploring the links between the discourses and the historical processes of centralization, is how we reconcile the promotion of an ideal narrative scenario in the Priestly traditions—describing a *single* shrine to which all Israel deferred—with the demonstrable evidence of historic processes of *negotiation between multiple claimants to centrality*. Perhaps one of the more surprising findings of this thesis is that we can discern a Judean bias in P's account of the foundation of the centralized cult at Sinai, and also in late texts such as Exod 6:14–27 or Num 1–10 which we can assume stem from a stage in the formation of the Pentateuch which post-dated the construction of the temple at Gerizim (see further § 2.2.1). This bias may be subtle, but it is sufficiently marked for us to infer that the centralizing discourse of these texts was a device whereby the scribal authorities at Jerusalem sought to

consolidate their claim to power relative to other cultic nodes. They were arguably asserting a Judean dominance and an idealized “pan-Israelite” centralized cult, in which the north was willing to support Judean interests.

Yet, clearly such a discursive claim sits at odds with historical evidence of the Persian period which indicates that no single shrine emerged in ancient Israel with a complete monopoly of cultic authority or material resources (§ 1.2.1). In reality, centralization was a matter for negotiation, in which Jerusalem and Gerizim both claimed centrality within the Yahwistic cult. Probably Gerizim could back its claim to being the cultic center with superior economic resources to those of the priestly families in Jerusalem. Beyond this, as mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, it is widely accepted that the Samaritans exercised significant influence on key texts related to Yhwh’s choice of a central place in Deuteronomy, as well as on the formation of the Pentateuch as a whole. This influence of Gerizim can particularly be seen in the specific references to this site in texts such as Deut 27:4 or Deut 12 SP—texts which arguably enshrine a “northern bias” in the conceptualization of centralization (Nihan 2007b, 2008c, 2012; Schenker 2008; Knoppers 2011; Schorch 2011).

This thesis’ somewhat surprising discovery of a “Judean bias” in the Priestly materials therefore suggests that the negotiation between northern and southern interests in the Pentateuch was a more complex process than has previously been recognized. There is a stronger element of Judean bias across a much larger number of pentateuchal texts than has perhaps been acknowledged in recent scholarship. This, then, raises the major question as to how we might reconstruct the process whereby the priestly families at each of these cultic nodes came ultimately to accept the presence in the Torah of texts which, however subtly, gave preference to the other. This thesis suggests that the only way to progress this discussion in the future is to coordinate the insights arising from past discoveries of a northern bias in primarily non-Priestly traditions with the evidence of a Judean bias in the Priestly materials that this thesis has uncovered. In essence, we need to range more widely across pentateuchal texts seeking further evidence of the respective scribal interventions by both Samaritan and Jerusalem authorities. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of the current study; but this intriguing subject, which clearly merits further investigation, speaks once again to the rich intellectual possibilities that arise once we integrate a range of materials, beyond the traditional texts, into the study of cult centralization.

c) Conceptualizing Centralization

Finally, this study has confirmed that centralization remains a profoundly important concept in pentateuchal scholarship, but has called for new pathways in its conceptualization if it is to retain relevance. If biblical scholars were to remain confined within traditional models, centralization might possibly be considered a redundant theme. Given the growing acknowledgment that there was probably never a single shrine with the monopoly that the centralized ideal implies, and that it is no

longer tenable to propose a linear model for the development of centralization, it might be ventured that centralization has a diminished value in the study of ancient Israel and its literary traditions.

This thesis, however, has defended the importance of centralization as a key concept in biblical studies, but has argued that it can only remain useful if we conceptualize this term, as well as the related concept “center,” in a more expansive way. This, in turn, requires us, as I have done at critical points in this study, to employ the insights provided by social theories which understand centralization as a broad *network of practices*, which cumulatively justify the concentration of power and resources in a centralized system. The application to ancient Israel of social theories developed millennia later may seem at first glance to be anachronistic, or to lean too heavily on findings anchored in other academic disciplines. But this study has shown that such theories can offer new insights into both the character and purpose of biblical texts. Recognizing the risks inherent in too mechanistic an application of such theories, however, I employed the conceptual “lens” of social theory only when it illuminated the issues that arise from a close reading of the pentateuchal texts; or when theory can be fruitfully combined with the careful analysis of historical evidence and relevant comparative materials.

The viewing of the Holiness legislation through such a theoretical lens clearly opens new interpretive possibilities in the study of the centralizing import of Lev 17–26. As this study has shown, it enables us to move beyond a narrow definition of centralization, and the focus on D and place that this encourages, to explore a broader range of legislative issues that are infused with a centralizing logic. A more nuanced understanding of centralization allows us to see the centralizing potential of H’s standardization of norms, calendars and scripts, which aims to ensure conformity in both ritual and mundane contexts. It reveals how H’s ritualized ideals, even if difficult to implement in reality, work to entrench socio-cultic hierarchies and normalize the concentration of resources and the restriction of cultic authority to priestly elites. It enables us to view cultic personnel and ritual processes as equally important in the centralized cult as the space of the sanctuary itself. Above it, it underscores the power of a collective social memory, such as the Priestly narrative of an imagined past, to construct contemporary centralized institutions, spaces and practices as being essential to the survival of the Israelite community, and thus worthy of the attention and deference of all its members.

Beyond this, social theories sensitize us to the socio-political purpose that texts such as H might have served in the history of ancient Israel. They oblige us to recognize that the H materials should not be understood as “fiction,” whatever their undeniable imaginative qualities; nor should they be viewed as traditional historical sources, despite their adoption of the narrative form and their potential to provide historical insights. Rather they are best understood as discourses, which like all such forms of authoritative communication reflect the historical context of their progenitors and serve a socio-political, even ideological, purpose: namely, the affirmation of the interests and power of those institutions which stand behind them. Moving far beyond merely describing social realities or recounting historical events, such textual media construct and define the world, and thereby produce

and sustain the power relationships which enable centralized socio-cultic systems to emerge. The cultic authorities which stand behind the text of H, like those elites that are more commonly studied in the social sciences, can thus be understood as using texts as “forces in the practice of power” (Buc 2001, 259; cf. Watts 2007a, 1); in particular, the practice of concentrating authority and resources in centralized cultic authorities.

This thesis has therefore shown how a more expansive concept of “centralization” can reinvigorate the study of this important issue in pentateuchal research, and further our understanding of the way in which H can be read as centralizing discourse. But if biblical studies can benefit from looking to social theory, so too, it might be argued, can the analysis of biblical traditions contribute to discussions about “centralization” in the social sciences. As I have shown, the discursive strategies employed by the H scribes, in order to solicit communal consent to a system in which power and resources were distributed unequally, were not only notable for their complexity and their intertwining of multiple strands of centralized cultic and mundane practice; but they illuminate how centralization could be made to appear justifiable to those who arguably would not benefit from it.

In particular, this case study of the writings of priests in Persian period Jerusalem has the potential to contribute to the wider field of the social scientific study of centralization by illuminating the particular dynamics of centralizing processes when the object of deference and attention is the *cult*. As this study of H has demonstrated, Lev 17–26, like the pre-H form of P, construct the Israelites’ communal unity as being dependent on their unqualified and exclusive commitment to the centralized cult—its shrine, personnel, ritual standards and legislative traditions are the only centers which H and P conceive as necessary for ensuring the survival of the Israelites, and for regulating their behavior in extra-sanctuary domains. This centralized cult is positioned as maintaining collective cohesion when former authorities, such as the Judean monarchy, have given way, and a new collective identity must be constructed around another core. H therefore has an enduring relevance in the scholarly quest to understand how centralized systems are created, and more especially, how discourse and social memories are employed to ensure that authorities in cultic domains are seen to be worthy of respect, legitimate, even natural and organic by those whose allegiance they demand.

Reference List

- Aberbach, Moses, and Leivy Smolar. 1967. "Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves." *JBL* 86:129–40.
- Abraham, Kathleen. 2007. "An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period." Pages 206–21 in *Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*. Edited by Meir Lubetski. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- Abramson, Scott F. 2017. "The Economic Origins of the Territorial State." *International Organization* 71 (1):97–130.
- Achenbach, Reinhard. 1999. "Levitische Priester und Leviten im Deuteronomium: Überlegungen zur sog. 'Levitisierung' des Priestertums." *ZABR* 5:285–309.
- . 2003. *Die Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch*. BZABR 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- . 2004. "Das Versagen der Aaroniden: Erwägungen zum literarhistorischen Ort von Leviticus 10." Pages 55–70 in *Basel und Bibel: Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament*. Edited by Matthias Augustin and Hermann Michael Niemann. BEATAJ 51. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 2008. "Das Heiligkeitgesetz und die sakralen Ordnungen des Numeribuches im Horizont der Pentateuchredaktion." Pages 145–75 in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 215. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2016. "The Sermon on the Sabbath in Jeremiah 17:19–27 and the Torah." Pages 873–90 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by Jan Christian Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Konrad Schmid. FAT 1/111. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Adorno, Theodor. W., Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford. 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Aejmelaes, Anneli. 1992. "Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account." Pages 381–401 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relationship to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Aharoni, Yohanan. 1968. "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple." *BA* 31 (1):2–32.
- . 1974. "The Horned Altar of Beer-sheba." *BA* 37 (1):2–6.
- . 1975. *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency (Lachish V)*. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 4. Tel Aviv: Gateway Publishers.
- Ahituv, Shmuel. 2012. "A Rejoinder to Nadav Na'aman's 'A New Appraisal of the Silver Amulets from Ketef Hinnom.'" *IEJ* 62:223–32.
- Albertz, Rainer. 1994. *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*. Translated by John Bowden. 2 vols. London: SCM Press. Original edition, 1992 (German).
- . 1995. "Die Tora Gottes gegen die wirtschaftlichen Sachzwänge: Die Sabbat- und Jubeljahrgesetzgebung Lev 25 in ihrer Geschichte." *Ökumenische Rundschau* 44 (3):290–310.
- . 2005. "Why a Reform like Josiah's Must Have Happened." Pages 27–46 in *Good Kings and Bad Kings*. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. LHBOTS/European Seminar in Historical Methodology 393/5. London: T&T Clark.
- . 2010. "The Controversy about Judean versus Israelite Identity and the Persian Government: A New Interpretation of the Bagoses Story (Jewish Antiquities XI.297–201)." Pages 483–504 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*. Edited by Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2011a. "Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichte von Num 20–24 (Teil II)." *ZAW* 123 (3):336–47.
- . 2011b. "From Aliens to Proselytes: Non-Priestly and Priestly Legislation Concerning Strangers." Pages 53–69 in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the*

- Ancient Near East*. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach, Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle. BZABR 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Allen, Willoughby C. 1894. "On the Meaning of προσήλυτος in the Septuagint." *The Expositor* 4 (10):264–75.
- Altemeyer, Bob. 1988. *Enemies of Freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Altmann, Peter. 2011. *Festive Meals in Ancient Israel: Deuteronomy's Identity Politics in their Ancient Near Eastern Context*. BZAW 424. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- . 2016. *Economics in Persian-Period Biblical Texts: Their Interactions with Economic Developments in the Persian Period and Earlier Biblical Traditions*. FAT 1/109. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Amit, Yairah. 2009. "Narrative Analysis: Meaning, Context and Origins of Genesis 38." Pages 271–91 in *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Petersen*. Edited by Joel M. LeMon and Ken Harold Richards. RBS 56. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- . 2012. "Creation and the Calendar of Holiness." Translated by Betty Sigler Rozen. Pages 3–23 in *In Praise of Editing in the Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays in Retrospect*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 39. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press. Original edition, 1997 (Hebrew).
- Anderson, Gary A. 1987. *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel: Studies in their Social and Political Importance*. HSM 41. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Angelini, Anna. 2017. "L'imaginaire comparé du démoniaque dans les traditions de l'Israël ancien. Le bestiaire d'Esaië dans la Septante." Pages 116–34 in *Entre dieux et hommes: anges, démons et autres*. Edited by Thomas Römer, Bertrand Dufour, Fabian Pfitzmann and Christoph Uehlinger. OBO 286. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Angelini, Anna, and Peter Altmann. forthcoming. "Purity, Taboo and Food in Antiquity: Theoretical and Methodological Issues." Pages t.b.n. in *The Larger Context of Biblical Food Prohibitions: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Peter Altmann, Anna Angelini and Abra Spiciarich. Winona Lake, IN/Tübingen: Eisenbrauns/Mohr Siebeck.
- Angelini, Anna, and Christophe Nihan. 2016. "Holiness (Hebrew Bible/Old Testament)." *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception (Online)* 12. http://www.degruyter.com/view/EBR/MainLemma_8207.
- Annas, Julia. 1992. "Ancient Ethics and Modern Morality." *Philosophical Perspectives* 6:119–36.
- Arnold, William R. 1912. "The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine." *JBL* 31 (1):1–33.
- Ashlock, Rodney O. 2002. *As the Lord Commands: Narrative Endings and Closure Strategy in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers*. Waco, TX: Baylor University.
- Assmann, Jan. 1997. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Babcock, Bryan C. 2014. *Sacred Ritual: A Study of the West Semitic Ritual Calendars in Leviticus 23 and the Akkadian Text Emar 446*. BBR 9. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Baden, Joel S. 2009. "Identifying the Original Statum of P: Theoretical and Practical Considerations." Pages 13–29 in *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*. Edited by Sarah Shectman and Joel S. Baden. ATANT 95. Zürich: TVZ.
- . 2010. "The Original Place of the Priestly Manna Story in Exodus 16." *ZAW* 122 (4):491–504.
- . 2012. *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
- Baentsch, Bruno. 1893. *Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz Lev. XVII–XXVI: Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung*. Erfurt: H. Güther.
- . 1903. *Exodus—Leviticus—Numeri*. HKAT 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro. 2005. "Centre and Periphery." Pages 394–405 in *A Companion to Latin Literature*. Edited by Stephen Harrison. Malden/Oxford etc.: Blackwell.
- Barkay, Gabriel, Andrew G. Vaughn, Marilyn J. Lundberg, and Bruce Zuckerman. 2004. "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation." *BASOR* 334:41–71.

- Barkey, Karen. 1994. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Barton, John. 2014. *Ethics in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bartusch, Mark W. 2003. *Understanding Dan: An Exegetical Study of a Biblical City, Tribe and Ancestor*. JSOTSup 379. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Bataille, Georges. 1985. *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927–1939*. Translated by Allan Stoekl, Donald M. Leslie Jr. and with Carl R. Lovitt. Theory and History of Literature 14. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. Original edition, 1970 (French).
- Baudissin, Wolf Wilhelm von. 1878. *I Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament; II Heilige Gewässer, Bäume und Höhen bei den Semiten, insbesondere bei den Hebräern*. Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte 2. Leipzig: Fr. W. Grunow.
- Bauer, Walter. 2000. “προσήλυτος.” Page 880 in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Edited by Frederick William Danker. 3rd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bauks, Michaela. 2001. “La signification de l’espace et du temps dans ‘l’historiographie sacerdotale.’” Pages 29–45 in *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 147. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- . 2002. “Le Shabbat: Un temple dans le temps.” *ETR* 77 (4):473–90.
- . 2004. “Die Begriffe *mwrh* und *’hzzh* in Pg. Überlegungen zur Landkonzeption der Priestergrundschrift.” *ZAW* 116 (2):171–88.
- . 2005. “Les notions de ‘peuple’ et de ‘terre’ dans l’oeuvre sacerdotale (Pg).” *Transeu* (30):19–36.
- Beaulieu, Paul-Alain. 1998. “Ba’a-sītu and Kaššaya, Daughters of Nebuchadnezzar II.” *Or* 67 (2):173–201.
- Beavon, Keith S. O. 1977. *Central Place Theory: A Reinterpretation*. London/New York: Longman.
- Becking, Bob. 2006. “‘We All Returned as One!’: Critical Notes on the Myth of the Mass Return.” Pages 3–18 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2008. “Sabbath at Elephantine: A Short Episode in the Construction of Jewish Identity.” Pages 175–90 in “*Empsychoi logoi*”—*Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem Van der Horst*. Edited by Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill.
- Bedford, Peter R. 2007. “The Economic Role of the Jerusalem Temple in Achaemenid Judah: Comparative Perspectives.” Pages 3*–20* in *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, Its Exegesis and Language*. Edited by Mosheh Bar-Anbar, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, Emanuel Tov and Nili Wazana. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- . 2015. “Temple Funding and Priestly Authority in Achaemenid Judah.” Pages 336–51 in *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*. Edited by Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers. BZAW 478. Berlin/Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
- Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud. 2013. “Isaiah, a Memorable Prophet: Why was Isaiah so Memorable in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Periods? Some Observations.” Pages 365–83 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2017. “Chronicles and Social Memory.” *Studia Theologica—Nordic Journal of Theology* 71 (1):69–90.
- . forthcoming. “Were YHWH’s Clothes Worth Remembering and Thinking About among the Literati of Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Judah/Yehud? Observations and Considerations.” Pages t.b.n. in a volume of collected essays edited by Antonios Finitisis.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud, and Christoph Levin, eds. 2016. *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*. FAT 1/108. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Ben-Dov, Jonathan. 2012. “The History of Pentecontad Time Units (I).” Pages 93–111 in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*. Edited by Eric F. Mason, Samuel I. Thomas, Alison Schofield and Eugene Ulrich. 2 vols. Vol. 1. VTSup 153. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.

- . 2014. "Time and Culture: Mesopotamian Calendars in Jewish Sources from the Bible to the Mishnah." Pages 217–54 in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians, and Babylonians in Antiquity*. Edited by Uri Gabbay and Shai Secunda. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 160. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Bender, Barbara. 2008. *Die Sprache der Textilien: Untersuchungen zu Kleidung und Textilien im Alten Testament*. BWA(N)T 177. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Benzinger, Immanuel. 1889. "Das Gesetz über den grossen Versöhnungstag Lev. XVI." *ZAW* 9 (1):65–89.
- Bergen, Wesley J. 2005. *Reading Ritual: Leviticus in Postmodern Culture*. JSOTSup 417. London: T&T Clark.
- Berges, Ulrich. 2010. "Zion and the Kingship of Yhwh in Isaiah 40–55." Pages 95–120 in *Enlarge the Site of Your Tent: The City as Unifying Theme in Isaiah*. Edited by Archibald L. H. M. Wieringen and Annemarieke Woude. OtSt/OTS 58. Leiden: Brill.
- Bergsma, John S. 2003. "The Jubilee: A Post-Exilic Priestly Attempt to Reclaim Lands?" *Biblica* 84 (2):225–46.
- . 2007. *The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran: A History of Interpretation*. Leiden: Brill.
- Berlejung, Angelika, and Raik Heckl, eds. 2008. *Mensch und König: Studien zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Rüdiger Lux zum 60. Geburtstag*. Herders Biblische Studien 53. Freiburg: Herder.
- Berner, Christoph. 2010. *Die Exoduserzählung: Das literarische Werden einer Ursprungslegende Israels*. FAT 1/73. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2016. "Der Sabbat in der Mannaerzählung Ex 16 und in den priesterlichen Partien des Pentateuch." *ZAW* 128 (4):562–78.
- Bertholet, Alfred. 1896. *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*. Freiburg/Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck).
- . 1901. *Leviticus*. KHC 3. Tübingen/Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Bibb, Bryan D. 2009. *Ritual Words and Narrative Worlds in the Book of Leviticus*. LHBOTS 480. New York: T&T Clark.
- Bird, James H. 1977. *Centrality and Cities*. London/Henley: Routledge/Kegan Paul.
- Blair, Judit M. 2009. *De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible*. FAT 2/37. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. 1976. "The Structure of P." *CBQ* 38:275–92.
- . 1987. "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah." *JBL* 106 (3):409–21.
- . 1991. "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah." Pages 22–53 in *Second Temple Studies: Vol. 1: Persian Period*. Edited by Philip R. Davies. JSOTSup 117. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 1992. *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- . 1998. "The Judean Priesthood during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Hypothetical Reconstruction." *CBQ* 60 (1):25–43.
- Block, Daniel I. 1998. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*. NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- . 2010. "Transformation of Royal Ideology in Ezekiel." Pages 208–46 in *Transforming Visions: Transformations of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel*. Edited by William A. Tooman and Michael A. Lyons. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications.
- Blomquist, Tina Haettner. 1999. *Gates and Gods: Cults in the City Gates of Iron Age Palestine: An Investigation of the Archaeological and Biblical Sources*. ConBOT 46. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Blum, Erhard. 1984. *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*. WMANT 57. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1990. *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*. BZAW 189. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2002. "Die literarische Verbindung von Erzvätern und Exodus: Ein Gespräch mit neueren Endredaktionshypthesen." Pages 119–56 in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*. Edited by Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte. BZAW 315. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- . 2009. "Issues and Problems in the Contemporary Debate Regarding the Priestly Writings." Pages 31–44 in *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*. Edited by Sarah Shectman and Joel S. Baden. ATANT 95. Zürich: TVZ.
- . 2011. "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch." Pages 289–301 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Bodi, Daniel. 2001. "Le prophète critique la monarchie: le terme *nasi* chez Ézéchiél." Pages 249–57 in *Prophètes et rois. Bible et Proche-Orient*. Edited by André Lemaire. LD. Paris: Cerf.
- Bogaert, Pierre Maurice. 1996. "L'importance de la Septante et du 'Monacensis' de la Vetus Latina pour l'exégèse du livre de l'Exode (chap. 35–40)." Pages 399–428 in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*. Edited by Marc Vervenne. BETL 126. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- . 2005. "La construction de la tente." Pages 62–76 in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque*. Edited by Adrian Schenker and Philippe Hugo. MdB 52. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
- Boorer, Suzanne. 2016. *The Vision of the Priestly Narrative: Its Genre and Hermeneutics of Time*. AIL 27. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Bottéro, Jean. 1985. *Mythes et rites de Babylone*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVE section. Sciences historiques et philologiques 328. Geneva/Paris: Champion.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Braulik, Georg. 1986. *Deuteronomium 1–16,17*. NEchtB 15. Würzburg: Echter.
- . 2008. "Der unterbrochene Dekalog. Zu Deuteronomium 5,12 und 16 und ihrer Bedeutung für den deuteronomischen Gesetzeskodex." *ZAW* 120 (2):169–83.
- Brekelmans, Christianus, and Johan Lust. 1990. *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies: Papers Read at the 13th IOSOT Congress, Leuven, 1989*. BETL 94. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- Brett, Mark G. 2012. "The Politics of Marriage in Genesis." Pages 49–59 in *Making a Difference: Essays on the Bible and Judaism in Honor of Tamara Cohn Eskenazi*. Edited by David J. A. Clines, Cheryl Exum and Keith W. Whitlam. Hebrew Bible Monographs 49. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- . 2013. "Permutations of Sovereignty in the Priestly Tradition." *VT* 63 (3):383–92.
- . 2014. "Natives and Immigrants in the Social Imagination of the Holiness School." Pages 89–104 in *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*. Edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman. LHBOTS 456. London/New York: T&T Clark.
- Brichto, Herbert Chanan. 1976. "On Slaughter and Sacrifice, Blood and Atonement." *HUCA* 47:19–55.
- Brons, Lajos. 2015. "Othering: An Analysis." *Transcience* 6 (1):69–90.
- Brooke, George J. 1992. "The Temple Scroll and LXX Exodus 35–40." Pages 81–106 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester, 1990)*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars. SCS 33. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- . 1994. "Power to the Powerless: A Long-Lost Song of Miriam." *BAR* 20 (3):62–65.
- . 2001. "4Q158: Reworked Pentateuch^a or Reworked Pentateuch A?" *DSD* 8 (3):219–41.
- . 2002. "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible." Pages 31–40 in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries*. Edited by Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov. London: British Library.
- Buc, Philippe. 2001. *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Bultmann, Christoph. 1992. *Der Fremde im antiken Juda: Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Typenbegriff 'ger' und seinem Bedeutungswandel in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung*. FRLANT 153. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Burgess, Ernest W. 1968. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project (1925)." Pages 47–62 in *The City*. Edited by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie and with an introduction by Morris Janowitz. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.

- Buttimer, Anne, and David Seamon, eds. 1980. *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm.
- Calaway, Jared C. 2010. "Heavenly Sabbath, Heavenly Sanctuary: The Transformation of Priestly Sacred Space and Sacred Time in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Epistle to the Hebrews." PhD dissertation, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University.
- . 2013. *The Sabbath and the Sanctuary: Access to God in the Letter to the Hebrews and Its Priestly Context*. WUNT 349. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Caquot, André 1984. "Une nouvelle interprétation de la tablette ougaritique de Ras Ibn Hani 78/20 in Memorial Mitchell J. Dahood 2.2.1922–3.8.1982." *Orientalia* 53 (2):163–76.
- Carr, David M. 1996. *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches*. Louisville, KY: Westminster.
- . 2011a. *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2011b. "Scribal Processes of Coordination/Harmonization and the Formation of the First Hexateuch(s)." Pages 63–83 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Carter, Charles Edward. 1999. *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. JSOTSup 294. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Cazelles, Henri. 1954. "La mission d'Esdras." *VT* 4 (2):113–40.
- Charlesworth, James H. 2009. "What Is a Variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scroll Fragment of Deuteronomy." *Maarav* 16:201–12, 273–74.
- Chavel, Simeon. 2011. "The Literary Development of Deuteronomy 12: Between Religious Ideal and Social Reality." Pages 303–26 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2014. *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah*. FAT 2/71. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Chidester, David, and Edward Tabor Linenthal. 1995. "Introduction." Pages 1–42 in *American Sacred Space*. Edited by David Chidester and Edward Tabor Linenthal. Religion in North America. Bloomington, IN/Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Childs, Brevard S. 1974. *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*. OTL. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Choi, John H. 2010. *Traditions at Odds: The Reception of the Pentateuch in Biblical and Second Temple Period Literature*. LHBOTS 518. New York: T&T Clark.
- Cholewiński, Alfred. 1976. *Das Heiligkeitgesetz und Deuteronomium: Eine vergleichende Studie*. AnBib 66. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- Chong, Joong Ho. 1996. "Were There Yahwistic Sanctuaries in Babylon?" *AsJT* 10:198–217.
- Christaller, Walter. 1966. *Central Places in Southern Germany*. Translated by Carlisle W. Baskin. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Original edition, 1933 (German).
- Clements, Ronald E. 1965. *God and Temple*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- . 1995. "šḥt; šahāṭâ; šəḥîṭâ." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 563–67 in vol. 14 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1992–1993 (German).
- Clifford, Richard J. 1971. "The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting." *CBQ* 33 (2):221–27.
- Coats, George W. 1968. *Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Traditions of the Old Testament*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon.
- Cody, Aelred. 1969. *A History of Old Testament Priesthood*. AnBib 35. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- . 1984. *Ezekiel, with an Excursus on Old Testament Priesthood*. OTM 11. Wilmington, DE: Glazier.
- Cogan, Mordechai. 2001. *1 Kings*. AB 10. New York etc.: Doubleday.
- Cohen, Mark E. 1993. *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- Cole, Steven. 1994. "The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun." *ZA* 84 (2):220–52.

- Collins, John J. 2014. *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press. Original edition, 2004.
- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowley, Arthur Ernest. 1923. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cresswell, Tim. 1996. *In Place—Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cross, Frank Moore. 1947. “The Tabernacle: A Study from an Archaeological and Historical Approach.” *BA* 10 (3):45–68.
- . 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Crüsemann, Frank. 1996. *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law*. Translated by Allen W. Mahnke. Edinburgh: T&T Clark. Original edition, 1992 (German).
- Da Riva, Rocío. 2008. *The Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions: An Introduction*. GMTR 4. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- . 2013. *The Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Amel-Marduk and Neriglissar*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Dam, Cornelis van. 1997. *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Dandamaev, Muhammad A. 1969–1970. “Der Tempelzehnte in Babylonien während des 6.–4. Jh. v. u. Z.” Pages 82–90 in *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968*. Edited by Ruth Stiehl and Hans E. Stier. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Dandamaev, Muhammad A., and Vladimir G. Lukonin. 2004. *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*. Translated by Philip L. Kohl. Repr. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Original edition, 1989.
- Dar, Shimon. 1986. *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria, 800 B.C.E.–636 C.E.* 2 vols. BAR International Series 308. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Davies, Philip R. 2005. “Josiah and the Law Book.” Pages 65–77 in *Good Kings and Bad Kings*. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. LHBOTS/European Seminar in Historical Methodology 393/5. London: T&T Clark.
- Deimel, Anton. 1931. *Sumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urukaginas und seiner Vorgänger: Einzelstudien und Zusammenfassung der Hauptresultate*. AnOr 2. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Delcor, Mathias. 1968. “Le Temple d’Onias en Égypte.” *RB* 75 (2):188–205.
- van der Leeuw, Gerardus. 1986. *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*. Translated by Ninian Smart and John Evan Turner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Original edition, 1933 (German).
- Diakonoff, Igor M. 1975. “The Rural Community in the Ancient Near East.” *JESHO* 18 (2):121–33.
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto. 2006. *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Diebner, Bernd J. 1991. “Gottes Welt, Moses Zelt und das salomonische Heiligtum.” Pages 127–54 in *Lectio difficilior probabilior? L’exégèse comme expérience de décloisonnement*. Edited by Thomas Römer. DBAT 12. Heidelberg: Wiss.-Theol. Seminar.
- Dignas, Beate. 2002. *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. OCM. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dijk, Teun A. van, ed. 1997. *Discourse as Structure and Process: Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Vol. 1. London/Thousand Oaks, CA/New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Dillmann, August. 1897. *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
- Doering, Lutz. 1999. *Sabbat: Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Dohmen, Christoph. 2003. “Das Zelt außerhalb des Lagers: Exodus 33,7–11 zwischen Synchronie und Diachronie.” Pages 157–69 in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels: Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*. Edited by Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer. AOAT 294. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

- Dommershausen, Trier W. 1995. "kōhēn." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 60–75 in vol. 7 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1982–1984 (German).
- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London/New York: Routledge.
- . 1993. "The Forbidden Animals in Leviticus." *JSOT* 59:3–23.
- . 1999. *Leviticus as Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2003. "The Go-Away Goat." Pages 121–41 in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler. VTSup 93. Leiden: Brill.
- Driver, Godfrey R. 1955. "Birds in the Old Testament: II. Birds in Life." *PEQ* 87 (2):129–40.
- . 1956. "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch." *JSS* 1 (2):97.
- Driver, Samuel. 1902. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark. Original edition, 1895.
- . 1911. *The Book of Exodus: In the Revised Version: With Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1956. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. 9th ed. International Theological Library. New York: Meridan Books. Original edition, 1897.
- Drucker-Brown, Susan. 1999. "The Politics of Calendars." *Cambridge Anthropology* 21 (3):9–17.
- Dubovský, Peter. 2015. *The Building of the First Temple: A Study in Redactional, Text-Critical and Historical Perspective*. FAT 1/103. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Duguid, Iain M. 1994. *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel*. VTSup 56. Leiden/New York: Brill.
- Durham, John I. 1987. *Exodus*. WBC 3. Waco, TX: Word Books.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by Karen E. Fields. New York etc.: Free Press. Original edition, 1912 (French).
- Dušek, Jan. 2012. *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes*. CHANE 54. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2014. "Mt. Gerizim Sanctuary, Its History and Enigma of Origin." *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3 (1):111–33.
- Eberhart, Christian. 2002. *Studien zur Bedeutung der Opfer im Alten Testament: Die Signifikanz von Blut- und Verbrennungsriten im kultischen Rahmen*. WMANT 94. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Edelman, Diana. 2005. *The Origins of the "Second Temple": Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem*. London: Equinox.
- . 2008. "Hezekiah's Alleged Cultic Centralization." *JSOT* 32:395–434.
- . 2013. "David in Israelite Social Memory." Pages 141–57 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eerdmans, Bernardus D. 1910. *Alttestamentliche Studien 3: Das Buch Exodus*. Giessen: Töpelmann.
- . 1912. *Alttestamentliche Studien 4: Das Buch Leviticus*. Giessen: Töpelmann.
- Ehrlich, Arnold B. 1909. *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel I*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Eichrodt, Walther. 1961. *Theology of the Old Testament: Volume I*. Translated by John Baker. 5th ed. London: SCM Press. Original edition, 1933 (German).
- Eissfeldt, Otto. 1974. *The Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran: The History of the Formation of the Old Testament*. Translated by Peter R. Ackroyd. Oxford: Blackwell. Original edition, 1956 (German).
- Elchardus, Mark. 2011. "Diversity and Standardization: Concepts, Issues and Approaches." Pages 9–26 in *Diversity, Standardization and Social Transformation: Gender, Ethnicity and Inequality in Europe*. Edited by Max Koch, Lesley McMillan and Bram Peper. Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Eliade, Mircea. 1961. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Translated by Williard R. Trask. New York: Harper Torchbook. Original edition, 1959 (French).
- . 1991. *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism*. Translated by Philip Mairet. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Original edition, 1952 (French).

- Elledge, Casey Deryl. 2004. *The Statutes of the King: The Temple Scroll's Legislation on Kingship, (11Q19 LVI 12–LIX 21)*. CahRB 56. Paris: Gabalda.
- Elliger, Karl. 1952. "Sinn und Ursprung der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung." *ZTK* 49 (2):121–43.
- . 1959. "Heiligkeitsgesetz." Pages 175–76 in vol. 3 of *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Edited by Kurt Galling. 3rd completely rev. ed. 7 vols. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck). Original edition, 1909–1913.
- . 1966. *Leviticus*. HAT 4. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Ellis, Richard S. 1968. *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
- Erill, Astrid. 2008. "Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory." Pages 389–99 in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Edited by Astrid Erill and Ansgar Nünning. Memory and Cultural Memory 8. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Ermidoro, Stefania. forthcoming. "Tabooed Animals in the Ancient Mesopotamian Diet: Prohibitions and Regulations Related to Meat in the First Millennium BCE." Pages t.b.n. in *The Larger Context of Biblical Food Prohibitions: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Peter Altmann, Anna Angelini and Abra Spiciarich. Winona Lake, IN/Tübingen: Eisenbrauns/Mohr Siebeck.
- Eshel, Esther. 1995. "4QLev^d: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah." *DSD* 2 (1):1–13.
- . 2000. "Book of Leviticus." Pages 488–93 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1940. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1956. *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fager, Jeffrey A. 1993. *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee: Uncovering Hebrew Ethics through the Sociology of Knowledge*. JSOTSup 155. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London/New York: Longman.
- Falkenstein, Adam. 1974. *The Sumerian Temple City*. Translated by Maria deJ Ellis. Monographs in History: Ancient Near East 1/1. Los Angeles, CA: Undena Publications. Original edition, 1954 (German).
- Fantalkin, Alexander, and Oren Tal. 2006. "Redating Lachish Level I: Identifying Achaemenid Imperial Policy at the Southern Frontier of the Fifth Satrapy." Pages 167–97 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Feder, Yitzhaq. 2010. "On *kuppuru*, *kippēr* and Etymological Sins that Cannot be Wiped Away." *VT* 60 (4):535–45.
- Femia, Joseph V. 1987. *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Feucht, Christian. 1964. *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Finkelstein, Israel. 2008. "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah." *JSOT* 32 (4):501–20.
- Finkelstein, Israel, and Neil Asher Silberman. 2006. "Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology." *JSOT* 30 (3):259–85.
- Finn, Arthur H. 1915. "The Tabernacle Chapters." *JTS* 16 (64):449–82.
- Firmage, Edwin. 1990. "The Biblical Dietary Laws and the Concept of Holiness." Pages 177–208 in *Studies in the Pentateuch*. Edited by John A. Emerton. VTSup 41. Leiden etc.: Brill.
- . 1999. "Genesis 1 and the Priestly Agenda." *JSOT* 24 (82):97–114.
- Fishbane, Michael A. 1985. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Flint, Peter W. 2003. "The Book of Leviticus in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 323–41 in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler. VTSup 93. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.

- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon.
- . 1986. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16:22–27.
- . 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. 2nd ed. New York: Pantheon. Original edition, 1977 (French).
- Frangipane, Marcella. 2000. "The Development of Administration from Collective to Centralized Economies in the Mesopotamian World." Pages 215–32 in *Cultural Evolution: Contemporary Viewpoints*. Edited by Gary M. Feinman and Linda Manzanilla. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- . 2001. "Centralization Processes in Greater Mesopotamia. Uruk 'Expansion' as the Climax of Systemic Interactions among Areas of the Greater Mesopotamian Region." Pages 307–48 in *Uruk Mesopotamia and Its Neighbors. Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. Advanced Seminar. Oxford/Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Frankfort, Henri. 1955. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Freedman, David Noel. 1974. "Variant Readings in the Leviticus Scroll from Qumran Cave 11." *CBQ* 36 (4):525–34.
- Fretheim, Terence E. 1968. "The Priestly Document: Anti-Temple?" *VT* 18 (3):313–29.
- Frevel, Christian. 1999. "Kein Ende in Sicht? Zur Priestergrundschrift im Buch Levitikus." Pages 85–123 in *Levitikus als Buch*. Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling. BBB 119. Berlin/Bodenheim: Philo.
- . 2000. *Mit Blick auf das Land die Schöpfung erinnern: Zum Ende der Priestergrundschrift*. Herders Biblische Studien 23. Freiburg/Basel: Herder.
- . 2012. "'Und Mose hörte (es), und es war gut in seinen Augen' (Lev 10,20). Zum Verhältnis von Literargeschichte, Theologiegeschichte und innerbiblischer Auslegung am Beispiel von Lev 10." Pages 104–36 in *Gottes Name(n): Zum Gedenken an Erich Zenger*. Edited by Ilse Müllner. Herders Biblische Studien 71. Freiburg: Herder.
- . 2013. "The Book of Numbers—Formation, Composition, and Interpretation of a Late Part of the Torah: Some Introductory Remarks." Pages 1–37 in *Torah and the Book of Numbers*. Edited by Christian Frevel, Thomas Pola and Aaron Schart. FAT 2/62: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2014. "Alte Stücke—späte Brücke? Zur Rolle des Buches Numeri in der jüngeren Pentateuchdiskussion." Pages 255–99 in *Congress Volume Munich 2013*. Edited by Christl M. Maier. VTSup 163. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- . 2016. *Geschichte Israels*. Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 1,2. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Frevel, Christian, and Christoph Dohmen, eds. 2005. *Die zehn Worte: Der Dekalog als Testfall der Pentateuchkritik*. QD 212. Freiburg: Herder.
- Frevel, Christian, and Katharina Pyschny. 2016. "A Religious Revolution Devours Its Children: The Iconography of the Persian Period Cuboid Incense Burners." Pages 91–133 in *Religion in the Achaemenid Persian Empire: Emerging Judaisms and Trends*. Edited by Diana Edelman, Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley and Philippe Guillaume. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 17. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Frey, Jörg. 1999. "Temple and Rival Temple: The Cases of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis." Pages 171–203 in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Community Without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. Edited by Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer. WUNT 118. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Frey-Anthes, Henrike. 2007. *Unheilsmächte und Schutzgenien, Antiwesen und Grenzgänger: Vorstellungen von "Dämonen" im alten Israel*. OBO 227. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2008. "Concepts of 'Demons' in Ancient Israel." *WO* 38:38–52.
- Frick, Frank S. 1985. *The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel: A Survey of Models and Theories*. SWBA 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Fried, Lisbeth S. 2002. "The High Places (Bāmôt) and the Reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah: An Archaeological Investigation." *JAOS* 122 (3):437–65.

- . 2003. "A Silver Coin of Yoḥanan Hakkôhen." *Transeu* 25:47–67.
- . 2004. *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire*. Biblical and Judaic Studies 10. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Fritz, Volkmar. 1977. *Tempel und Zelt: Studien zum Tempelbau in Israel und zu dem Zeltheiligtum der Priesterschrift*. WMANT 47. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Füglister, Notker. 1977. "Sühne durch Blut: Zur Bedeutung von Leviticus 17:11." Pages 143–64 in *Studien zum Pentateuch: Walter Kornfeld zum 60. Geburtstag*. Edited by Georg Braulik. Vienna/Freiburg/Basel: Herder.
- Funke, Tobias. 2014. "Phinehas and the Other Priests in Ben Sira and 1 Maccabees." Pages 257–76 in *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*. Edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman. London/New York: T&T Clark.
- Gane, Roy E. 1992. "'Bread of the Presence' and Creator-in-Residence." *VT* 42 (2):179–203.
- . 2005. *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- García Martínez, Florentino. 2000. "Temple Scroll." Pages 927–33 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gaß, Erasmus. 1999. "Der Passa-Papyrus (Cowl 21): Mythos oder Realität?" *BN* 99:55–68.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1971. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gell, Alfred. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*. Oxford/Providence, RI: Berg.
- Geller, Markham J. 2007. *Evil Demons. Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations*. SAACT 5. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- George, Andrew R. 1988. "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Signey Smith, Part One." *RA* 82 (2):139–62.
- George, Johann F. L. 1835. *Die älteren jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch*. Berlin: E. H. Schroeder.
- George, Mark K. 2009. *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*. AIL 2. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard S. 1996. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Translated by D. W. Stott. OTL. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press. Original edition, 1993 (German).
- Gertz, Jan Christian. 1996. "Die Passa-Massot-Ordnung im deuteronomischen Festkalender." Pages 56–80 in *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen*. Edited by Timo Veijola. Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62. Helsinki/Göttingen: Finnische Exegetische Gesellschaft/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2000. *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*. FRLANT 186. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Gese, Hartmut 1957. *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48): Traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht*. BHT 25. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Gesundheit, Shimon. 1995. "Zur literarkritischen Analyse von Ex 12,21–27." *ZAW* 107 (1):8–30 (published as Bar-On).
- . 1998. "The Festival Calendars in Exodus xxiii 14–19 and xxxiv 18–26." *VT* 48 (2):161–95 (published as Bar-On).
- . 2012. *Three Times a Year: Studies on Festival Legislation in the Pentateuch*. FAT 1/82. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Gilders, William K. 2004. *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power*. Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins Press.
- Gillis, John R. 1994. "Introduction." Pages 3–26 in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Edited by John R. Gillis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ginsberg, Harold Louis. 1982. *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*. Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 24. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

- Giuntoli, Federico, and Konrad Schmid, eds. 2015. *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch: New Perspectives on Its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles*. FAT 1/101. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Gledhill, John. 2005. "Legacies of Empire: Political Centralization and Class Formation in the Hispanic-American World (1988)." Pages 297–314 in *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. Edited by John Gledhill, Barbara Bender and Mogens Trolle Larsen. One World Archaeology 4. Routledge: London/New York.
- Gledhill, John, Barbara Bender, and Mogens Trolle Larsen, eds. 2005. *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. One World Archaeology 4. Routledge: London/New York. Original edition, 1988.
- Gleis, Matthias. 1997. *Die Bamah*. BZAW 251. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- González Chávez, Humberto. 2005. "The Centralization of Education in Mexico: Subordination and Autonomy." Translated by Victoria Forbes Adam. Pages 315–37 in *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. Edited by John Gledhill, Barbara Bender and Mogens Trolle Larsen. One World Archaeology 4. Routledge: London/New York. Original edition, 1988.
- Gooding, David Willoughby. 1978. *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus*. Text and Studies. New Series 6. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Gordan, Benjamin D. 2013. "Sacred Land Endowments and Field Consecrations in Early Judaism." PhD dissertation, Graduate Program in Religion, Duke University.
- Gordon, John-Stewart. 2013. "Modern Morality and Ancient Ethics." <http://www.iep.utm.edu/ancimod/>.
- Görg, Manfred. 1967. *Das Zelt der Begegnung: Untersuchungen zur Gestalt der sakralen Zeltraditionen Altisraels*. BBB 27. Bonn: P. Hanstein.
- Gorman, Frank H. 1990. *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*. JSOTSup 91. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- . 1997. *Divine Presence and Community: A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus*. ITC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Goudoever, Jan van. 1961. *Biblical Calendars*. Leiden: Brill.
- Grabbe, Lester L. 1987. "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation." *JSJ* 18:152–67.
- . 1993. *Leviticus*. OTG. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 2001. "Leviticus." Pages 127–53 in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*. Edited by John Barton and John Muddiman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2003. "Were the Pre-Maccabean High Priests 'Zadokites'?" Pages 205–15 in *Reading from Right to Left: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J. A. Clines*. Edited by Cheryl Exum and Hugh G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 373. London: T&T Clark.
- . 2006. "The 'Persian Documents' in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?" Pages 532–70 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Graf, Karl Heinrich. 1866. *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Zwei historisch-kritische Untersuchungen*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- . 1992. *Prison Notebooks: Volume I*. Translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1996. *Prison Notebooks: Volume 2*. Translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Granerød, Gard. 2016. *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period: Studies in the Religion and Society of the Judean Community at Elephantine*. BZAW 488. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Gray, George Buchanan. 1903. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- . 1925. *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Greenfeld, Liah, and Michel L. Martin. 1988. "The Idea of the 'Center': An Introduction." Pages viii–xxii in *Center: Ideas and Institutions*. Edited by Liah Greenfeld and Michel L. Martin. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Greenwood, Royston, and C. R. (Bob) Hinings. 1976. "Centralization Revisited." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21 (1):151–55.
- Grelot, Pierre. 1954. "Études sur le 'Papyrus pascal' d'Éléphantine." *VT* 4:349–84.
- . 1955. "Le Papyrus pascal d'Éléphantine et le problème du Pentateuque." *VT* 5:250–65.
- . 1956. "La dernière étape de la rédaction sacerdotale." *VT* 6 (2):174–89.
- . 1972. *Documents araméens d'Égypte*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 5. Paris: Cerf.
- Gressmann, Hugo. 1913. *Mose und seine Zeit: Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen*. FRLANT 1/18. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1920. *Die Lade Jahwes und das Allerheiligste des salomonischen Tempels*. BWA(N)T/Forschungsinstitut für Religionsgeschichte. Israelitisch-jüdische Abteilung 26/5. Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig: Kohlhammer.
- Groß, Walter. 1998a. "'Rezeption' in Ex 31,12–17 und Lev 26,39–45: Sprachliche Form und theologisch-konzeptionelle Leistung." Pages 44–63 in *Der ungekündigte Bund? Antworten des Neuen Testaments*. Edited by Hubert Frankemölle. QD 172. Freiburg: Herder.
- . 1998b. *Zukunft für Israel: Alttestamentliche Bundeskonzepte und die aktuelle Debatte um den Neuen Bund*. SBS 176. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- . 1999. "Wandelbares Gesetz—Unwandelbarer Dekalog? (1995)." Pages 241–53 in *Studien zur Priesterschrift und zu alttestamentlichen Gottesbildern*. SBAB 30. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- . 2009. *Richter*. HThKAT. Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder.
- Grund, Alexandra. 2011. *Die Entstehung des Sabbats: Seine Bedeutung für Israels Zeitkonzept und Erinnerungskultur*. FAT 1/75. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Grünwaldt, Klaus. 1992. *Exil und Identität: Beschneidung, Passa und Sabbat in der Priesterschrift*. BBB 85. Frankfurt am Main: A. Hain.
- . 1999. *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz Leviticus 17–26: Ursprüngliche Gestalt, Tradition und Theologie*. BZAW 271. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Guillaume, Philippe. 2009. *Land and Calendar: The Priestly Document from Genesis 1 to Joshua 18*. LHBOTS 391. New York: T&T Clark.
- Gunkel, Hermann. 1997. *Genesis*. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press. Original edition, 1901 (German).
- Gunneweg, Antonius H. J. 1965. *Levitiden und Priester: Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1990. "Das Gesetz und die Propheten. Eine Auslegung von Ex 33,7–11; Num 11,4–12,8; Dtn 31,14f.; 34,10." *ZAW* 102 (2):169–80.
- Gurtner, Daniel. 2013. *Exodus: A Commentary on the Greek Text of Codex Vaticanus*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1993. "On the Pragmatic, the Ethical, and the Moral Employments of Practical Reason." Translated by Ciaran P. Cronin. Pages 1–18 in *Justification and Application*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Halbe, Jörn. 1975. "Passa-Massot im deuteronomischen Festkalender: Komposition, Entstehung und Programm von Dtn 1–8." *ZAW* 87 (2):147–68.
- Handy, Lowell K. 1988. "Hezekiah's Unlikely Reform." *ZAW* 100 (1):111–15.
- Hannah, Robert. 2005. *Greek and Roman Calendars: Constructions of Time in the Classical World*. London: Duckworth.
- Hanson, Paul D. 1979. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.
- Haran, Menahem. 1962. "Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch." *JBL* 81 (1):14–24.
- . 1978. *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Harlé, Paul, and Didier Pralon. 1988. *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Le Lévitique*. Paris: Cerf.

- Harmatta, János. 1959. "Irano-Aramaica: Zur Geschichte des Frühhellenistischen Judentums in Ägypten." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7:337–409.
- . 1961. "Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des frühptolemäischen Ägyptens." Pages 119–39 in *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im alten Orient und im klassischen Altertum. Tagung der Sektion Alte Geschichte der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft vom 12.-17. Oktober 1959*. Edited by Hans-Joachim Diesner, Rigobert Günther and Gerhard Schrot. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Harrison, Timothy P. 2012. "West Syrian *megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? The Shifting form and Function of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* (Kunulua) Temples." Pages 3–21 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. mill. BCE): Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Hartley, John H. 1992. *Leviticus*. WBC 4. Dallas: Word Books.
- de Hemmer Gudme, Anne Katrine. 2013. *Before the God in this Place for Good Remembrance: A Comparative Analysis of the Aramaic Votive Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim*. BZAW 441. Berlin/Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
- Hensel, Benedikt. 2016. *Juda und Samaria: Zum Verhältnis zweier nach-exilischer Jahwismen*. FAT 1/110. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Herzog, Ze'ev. 2010. "Perspectives on Southern Israel's Cult Centralization: Arad and Beer-sheba." Pages 169–99 in *One God—One Cult—One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives*. Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann. BZAW 405. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Hieke, Thomas. 2014. *Leviticus*. 2 vols. HThKAT. Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder.
- Hjelm, Ingrid. 2010. "Samaria, Samaritans and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible." Pages 91–103 in *Samaritans: Past and Present: Current Studies*. Edited by Menahem Mor and Friedrich V. Reiterer. *Studia Samaritana*/SJ 5/53. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hoffmann, David Z. 1905. *Das Buch Leviticus: Übersetzt und Erklärt: Erster Halbband: Lev I–XVII*. Berlin: M. Poppelauer.
- Hoffmann, Georg. 1882. "Kleinigkeiten." *ZAW* 2 (1):175.
- Hoffmann, Hans-Detlef. 1980. *Reform und Reformen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung*. ATANT 66. Zürich: TVZ.
- Hoftijzer, Jacob. 1967. "Das sogenannte Feueropfer." Pages 114–34 in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*. Edited by Benedikt Hartmann and Walter Baumgartner. VTSup 16. Leiden: Brill.
- Holladay, John S. 1998. "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA–B (ca. 1000–750 BCE)." Pages 368–98 in *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Edited by Thomas Evan Levy. 2nd ed. London: Leicester University Press. Original edition, 1995.
- Hollingsworth, Joseph Rogers, and Robert Hanneman. 1984. *Centralization and Power in Social Service Delivery Systems: The Cases of England, Wales, and the United States*. International Series in Social Welfare 3. Boston, MA/The Hague/Dordrecht/Lancaster: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing.
- Holslag, Anthonie. 2015. "The Process of Othering from the 'Social Imaginaire' to Physical Acts: An Anthropological Approach." *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 9 (1):96–113.
- Holzinger, Heinrich. 1893. *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*. Freiburg/Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck).
- . 1900. *Exodus*. KHC 2. Freiburg/Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Honigman, Sylvie. 2017. "A Judaeon Temple in Edfu, Upper Egypt, in the Fourth and Third Centuries BCE?" Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting, Berlin, Aug 8–11.
- Horowitz, Wayne, and Victor Hurowitz. 1992. "Urim and Thummim in Light of a Psephomancy Ritual from Assur (LKA 137)." *JANESCU* 21:95–115.
- Horst, Louis. 1881. *Lev. XVII.–XXVI. und Hesekiel: Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchkritik*. Colmar: Eugene Barth.
- Houston, Walter J. 1993. *Purity and Monotheism: Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law*. JSOTSup 140. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

- van Houten, Christina. 1991. *The Alien in Israelite Law*. JSOTSup 107. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Houtman, Cornelis. 2000. *Exodus: Volume 3: Chapters 20–40*. Translated by Johan Rebel and Sierd Woudstra. Leuven: Peeters.
- Humphrey, Caroline, and James Laidlaw. 1994. *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual: A Theory of Ritual Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship*. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hundley, Michael B. 2011. *Keeping Heaven on Earth: Safeguarding the Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle*. FAT 2/50. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2013. "Sacred Spaces, Objects, Offerings, and People in the Priestly Texts: A Reappraisal." *JBL* 132 (4):749–67.
- Hunt, Alice. 2006. *Missing Priests: The Zadokites in Tradition and History*. LHBOTS 452. New York: T&T Clark.
- Hurowitz, Victor (Avigdor). 1985. "The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle." *JAOS* 105 (1):21–30
- . 1992. *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*. JSOTSup 115. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Hursthouse, Rosalind. 1999. *On Virtue Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hutter, Manfred. 1999. "Lilith." Pages 520–21 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel Van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter Willem Van der Horst. 2nd extensively rev. ed. Leiden etc.: Brill/Eerdmans. Original edition, 1995.
- Hutzli, Jürg. 2011. "Tradition and Interpretation in Gen 1:1–2:4a." *JHebS* 10:2–22. doi:10.5508/jhs.2010.v10.a12.
- Hyatt, James Philip. 1980. *Exodus: Based on the Revised Standard Version*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI/London: Eerdmans/Marshall-Morgan & Scott. Original edition, 1971.
- van Ijzendoorn, Marinus. 1989. "Moral Judgment, Authoritarianism, and Ethnocentrism." *Journal of Social Psychology* 129 (1):37–45
- Imes, Carmen Joy. 2016. "Between Two Worlds: The Functional and Symbolic Significance of the High Priestly Regalia." Society of Biblical Literature Pacific Northwest Regional Meeting, Moscow, ID, May 20–22.
- Irwin, Terence. 2007. *The Development of Ethics Volume 1: From Socrates to the Reformation*. Development of Ethics 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jacobsen, Thorkild. 1987. *The Harps that Once...: Sumerian Poetry in Translation*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
- Janković, Bojana. 2010. "Uruk." Pages 418–37 in *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC: Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*. Edited by Michael Jursa. AOAT 377. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Janowski, Bernd. 1982. *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und zur Wurzel KPR*. WMANT 55. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1991. "Keruben und Zion: Thesen zur Entstehung der Zionstradition." Pages 231–64 in *Ernten, was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Dwight R. Daniels, Uwe Glessmer and Martin Rösel. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1993a. "Repräsentanten der gegenmenschlichen Welt: Ein Beitrag zur biblischen Dämonologie." Pages 154–63 in *In Dubio Pro Deo: Heidelberger Resonanzen auf den 50. Geburtstag von Gerd Theißen am 24. April 1993*. Edited by David Trobisch. Heidelberg: privately printed.
- . 1993b. "Tempel und Schöpfung: Schöpfungstheologische Aspekte der priesterschriftlichen Heiligtumskonzeption." Pages 214–46 in *Gottes Gegenwart in Israel*. Edited by Bernd Janowski. Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1999a. "Azazel." Pages 128–31 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel Van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter Willem Van der Horst. 2nd extensively rev. ed. Leiden etc.: Brill/Eerdmans. Original edition, 1995.
- . 1999b. "Satyrs." Pages 732–33 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel Van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter Willem Van der Horst. 2nd extensively rev. ed. Leiden etc.: Brill/Eerdmans. Original edition, 1995.

- Japhet, Sara. 1986. "The Laws of Manumission of Slaves and the Question of the Relationship between the Collections of Laws in Pentateuch." Pages 63–89 in *Studies in Bible*. Edited by Sara Japhet. ScrHier 31. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- . 1993. *I and II Chronicles: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Jarman, Neil. 1997. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford/New York: Berg.
- Jenson, Philip Peter. 1992. *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*. JSOTSup 106. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Jeon, Jaeyoung. 2013. *The Call of Moses and the Exodus Story: A Redactional-Critical Study in Exodus 3–4 and 5–13*. FAT 2/60. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Jeyaraj, Jesudason B. 1991. "Ownership, Tenancy and Care of Land in Leviticus 25–27." *Arasaradi Journal of Theological Reflection* 4:18–31.
- Joannès, Francis, and André Lemaire. 1996. "Contrats babyloniens d'époque achéménide du Bît-abi Râm avec une épigraphe araméenne." *RA* 90 (1):41–60.
- . 1999. "Trois tablettes cunéiformes à l'onomastique ouest-sémitique." *Transeo* 17:17–34, 2 plates.
- Johnson, Bo. 1998. "mišpāt; šepet; šəpôt." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 86–98 in vol. 9 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1984–1986 (German).
- Johnstone, William. 1990. *Exodus*. OTG. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Joisten-Pruschke, Anke. 2008. *Das religiöse Leben der Juden von Elephantine in der Achämenidenzeit*. Göttinger Orientforschungen/Iranica, N.F. 3/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- . 2014. *Exodus 1–19*. SHBC. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys.
- Joosten, Jan. 1996a. "Covenant Theology in the Holiness Code." *ZABR* 4:145–64.
- . 1996b. *People and Land in the Holiness Code: An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17–26*. VTSup 67. Leiden/New York: Brill.
- . 1997. "'Tu' et 'vous' dans le Code de sainteté (Lév. 17–26)." *RevScRel* 71 (1):3–8.
- Joyce, Paul M. 1998. "King and Messiah in Ezekiel." Pages 323–97 in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminary*. Edited by John Day. JSOTSup 270. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Jürgens, Benedikt. 2001. *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Leviticus 16 in seinem literarischen Kontext*. Herders Biblische Studien 28. Freiburg: Herder.
- Jursa, Michael. 1998. *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* AOAT 254. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Kaiser, Otto. 1973. *Der Prophet Jesaja: Kapitel 13–39*. ATD 18. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1992. *Grundriss der Einleitung in die kanonischen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments: Bd. 1: Die erzählenden Werke*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Kalimi, Isaac. 2003. "Jerusalem—The Divine City: The Representation of Jerusalem in Chronicles Compared with Earlier and Later Jewish Compositions." Pages 189–205 in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein*. Edited by Matt Patrick Graham, Steven L. McKenzie and Gary N. Knoppers. JSOTSup 371. London/New York: T&T Clark.
- Kartveit, Magnar. 2009. *The Origin of the Samaritans*. VTSup 128. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- . 2015. "The Place that the Lord Your God Will Choose." *HBAI* 4 (2):205–18.
- Kaufmann, Yehezkel. 1960. *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Translated by Moshe Greenberg. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago. Original edition, 1937–1956 (Hebrew).
- Kayser, August. 1874. *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen: Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuch-Kritik*. Strassburg: C. F. Schmidt.
- Keder-Kofstein, Benjamin. 1980. "ḥag." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 201–13 in vol. 4 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1975–1977 (German).

- Keel, Othmar. 1977. *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4*. SBS 84/85. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- . 2004. "Die Brusttasche des Hohenpriesters als Element priesterschriftlicher Theologie." Pages 379–91 in *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments: Festschrift für Erich Zenger*. Edited by Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger. Freiburg etc.: Herder.
- Keil, Carl F., and Franz Delitzsch. 1891. *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: Volume 1: The Pentateuch*. Translated by James Martin. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. Edinburgh: T&T Clark. Original edition, 1861 (German).
- Kellogg, Samuel H. 1891. *The Book of Leviticus*. New York: A. C. Armstrong.
- Kilian, Rudolf. 1963. *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes*. BBB 19. Bonn: P. Hanstein.
- King, Leonard W., ed. 1912. *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.
- Kitz, Anne Marie. 1997. "The Plural Form of 'Ūrîm and Tummîm." *JBL* 116 (3):401–10.
- Kiuchi, Nobuyoshi. 1987. *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function*. JSOTSup 56. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Klawans, Jonathan. 2001. "Pure Violence: Sacrifice and Defilement in Ancient Israel." *HTR* 94 (2):135–57.
- Klein, Ralph W. 2006. *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- . 2008. "Were Joshua, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah Contemporaries? A Response to Diana Edelman's Proposed Late Date for the Second Temple." *JBL* 127 (4):697–701.
- . 2012. *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Klostermann, August. 1893. "Ezechiel und das Heiligkeitsgesetz." Pages 406–45 in *Der Pentateuch: Beiträge zu seinem Verständnis und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte*. Leipzig: A. Deichert.
- Knauf, Ernst Axel. 2001. "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichten der Deuteronomisten." Pages 101–18 in *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 147. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- . 2006. "Bethel: The Israelite Impact on Judean Language and Literature." Pages 291–349 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Knohl, Israel. 1987. "The Priestly Torah versus the Holiness School: Sabbath and the Festivals." *HUCA* 58:65–117.
- . 1995. *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Knoppers, Gary N. 2001. "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings." *CBQ* 63:393–415.
- . 2003. "The Relationship of the Priestly Genealogies to the History of the High Priesthood in Jerusalem." Pages 109–33 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2004. *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 12. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2005. "Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion: A Study in the Early History of the Samaritans and Jews." *SR* 34:309–38.
- . 2007. "Expatriates, Repatriates, and the Question of Zion's Status: In Conversation with Melody D. Knowles, Centrality Practiced: Jerusalem in the Religious Practices of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period." *JHebS* 7 (7). doi:10.55.08/jhs.2007.v7.a7.
- . 2011. "Parallel Torahs and Inner-Scriptural Interpretation: The Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs in Historical Perspective." Pages 507–31 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2013. *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Knowles, Melody D. 2006. *Centrality Practiced: Jerusalem in the Religious Practice of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period*. ABS 16. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Koch, Klaus. 1959. *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16: Eine Überlieferungsgeschichtliche und literarkritische Untersuchung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1987. "P—kein Redaktor! Erinnerung an zwei Eckdaten der Quellenscheidung." *VT* 37 (4):446–67.
- . 1995. "Some Considerations on the Translation of *kapporet* in the Septuagint." Pages 65–75 in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*. Edited by David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz. Winona Lakes, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 1997. "‘ōhel; ‘āhal." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 118–30 in vol. 8 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1983–1984 (German).
- Köckert, Matthias. 1989. "Leben in Gottes Gegenwart: Zum Verständnis des Gesetzes in der priesterschriftlichen Literatur." *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 4:29–61.
- . 1995. "Das Land in der priesterlichen Komposition des Pentateuch." Pages 147–62 in *Von Gott reden: Beiträge zur Theologie und Exegese des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Siegfried Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Dieter Vieweger and Ernst-Joachim Waschke. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 2002. "Wie kam das Gesetz an den Sinai?" Pages 13–27 in *Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments: Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik: Festschrift für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag*. Edited by Christoph Bultmann, Walter Dietrich and Christoph Levin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Konkel, Michael. 2001. *Architektonik des Heiligen: Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels (Ez 40–48)*. BBB 129. Berlin/Vienna: Philo.
- . 2008. *Sünde und Vergebung: Eine Rekonstruktion der Redaktionsgeschichte der hinteren Sinaiperikope (Exodus 32–34) vor dem Hintergrund aktueller Pentateuchmodelle*. FAT 1/58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Kornfeld, Walter. 1983. *Levitikus*. NEchtB 6. Würzburg: Echter.
- Kornfeld, Walter, and Helmer Ringgren. 2006. "qdš; qōdeš; qādōš; qādēš; qəḏēšâ; miqdāš; qeḏeš." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 521–45 in vol. 12 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1988–1989 (German).
- Körting, Corinna. 1999. *Der Schall des Schofar: Israels Feste im Herbst*. BZAW 285. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Kottsieper, Ingo. 2002. "Die Religionspolitik der Achämeniden und die Juden von Elephantine." Pages 150–78 in *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*. Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz. Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 22. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Kraeling, Emil G. 1953. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kratz, Reinhard G. 1994. "Der Dekalog im Exodusbuch." *VT* 44 (2):205–38.
- . 2005. *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*. Translated by John Bowden. London: T&T Clark. Original edition, 2000 (German).
- . 2006. "Second Temple of Jeb and of Jerusalem." Pages 247–64 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2007a. "'The Place which He Has Chosen': The Identification of the Cult Place of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17 in 4QMMT." Translated by John Bowden. Pages 57–80 in *Meghillot V–VI: A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant*. Edited by Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov. Jerusalem/Haifa: Biliak Institute/Haifa University Press.

- . 2007b. "Temple and Torah: Reflections on the Legal Status of the Pentateuch between Elephantine and Qumran." Pages 77–103 in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2010. "The Idea of Cultic Centralization and Its Supposed Ancient Near Eastern Analogies." Pages 121–44 in *One God—One Cult—One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives*. Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann. BZAW 405. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2011. "Judean Ambassadors and the Making of Jewish Identity: The Case of Hananiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah." Translated by Anselm C. Hagedorn. Pages 421–44 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*. Edited by Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2015. *Historical and Biblical Israel: The History, Tradition, and Archives of Israel and Judah*. Translated by Paul Michael Kurtz. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 2013 (German).
- Kraus, Hans-Joachim. 1966. *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament*. Translated by Geoffrey Buswell. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Original edition, 1962 (German).
- Krüger, Thomas. 2009. "Schöpfung und Sabbat in Genesis 2,1–3." Pages 155–69 in *Sprachen, Bilder, Klänge: Dimensionen der Theologie im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld: Festschrift für Rüdiger Bartelmus zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Christiane Karrer-Grube. AOAT 359. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- . 2011. "Genesis 1:1–2:3 and the Development of the Pentateuch." Pages 125–38 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Kuenen, Abraham. 1874. *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*. Translated by Alfred Heath May. 2 vols. Vol. 1. London/Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Original edition, 1869–70 (Dutch).
- . 1875. *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*. Translated by Alfred Heath May. 2 vols. Vol. 2. London/Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Original edition, 1869–70 (Dutch).
- . 1886. *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*. Translated by Philip H. Wicksteed. London: Macmillan and Co. Original edition, 1878 (Dutch).
- Kugler, Robert A. 1997. "Holiness, Purity, the Body and Society: The Evidence for Theological Conflict in Leviticus." *JSOT* 76:3–27.
- Kugler, Robert A., and Patrick Hartin. 2009. *An Introduction to the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Kuhn, Karl Georg. 1968. "προσήλυτος." Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Pages 727–44 in vol. 6 of *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, Gerhard Friedrich and Ronald E. Pitkin. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–1976. Original edition, 1933–1979 (German).
- Kuhrt, Amélie. 1990. "Nabonidus and the Babylonian Priesthood." Pages 20–55 in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. Edited by Mary Beard and John North. London: Duckworth.
- Kurtz, Johann Heinrich. 1863. *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*. Translated by James Martin. Edinburgh: T&T Clark. Original edition, 1862 (German).
- Kutsch, Ernst. 1953. "אָרְבֵּי." *ZAW* 24:247–50.
- . 1958. "Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passafeier und des Massotfestes." *ZTK* 55 (1):1–35.
- Laaf, Peter. 1970. *Die Pascha-Feier Israels: Eine literarkritische und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studie*. BBB 36. Bonn: P. Hanstein.
- Labat, René. 1960. "Domaines de la déesse Ištar d'Uruk." *RA* 54:85–88.
- Lambert, Wilfred George. 1996. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2007. "A Document From a Community of Exiles in Babylonia." Pages 201–05 in *Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*. Edited by Meir Lubetski. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

- Lange, Armin. 2011. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Date of the Final Stage of the Pentateuch." Pages 287–304 in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*. Edited by James K. Aitken, Katharine J. Dell and Brian A. Mastin. BZAW 420. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Leach, Edmund. 1977. *The Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. 3rd ed. London: Athlone Press. Original edition, 1954.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1976. "Reflections on the Politics of Space." Translated by Michael J. Enders. *Antipode* 8 (2):30–37.
- . 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell. Original edition, 1974 (French).
- Lefebvre, Jean-François. 2003. *Le jubilé biblique: Lv 25: exégèse et théologie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Leitz, Christian. 2014. *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten: Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten*. Soubassementstudien III. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion/Soubassementstudien 9/3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Lemaire, André. 1973. "Le sabbat à l'époque royale israélite." *RB* 80:161–85.
- . 2002. *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée du Musée d'Israël*. Paris: Gabalda.
- . 2006. "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and their Historical Interpretation." Pages 413–56 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Lernau, Hanan, and Omri Lernau. 1989. "Fish Bone Remains." Pages 155–61 in *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*. Edited by Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar. Qedem 29. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology.
- Levin, Christoph. 1984. "Joschija im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk." *ZAW* 96 (3):351–271.
- . 1993. *Der Jahwist*. FRLANT 157. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1994. "Tatbericht und Wortbericht in der priesterschriftlichen Schöpfungserzählung." *ZTK* 91 (2):115–33.
- . 2003. "Der Dekalog am Sinai." Pages 60–80 in *Fortschreibungen: Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Christoph Levin. BZAW 316. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Levine, Baruch A. 1974. *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1983. "The Descriptive Ritual Texts from Ugarit: Some Formal and Functional Features of the Genre." Pages 467–75 in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*. Edited by Carol Meyers and Michael Patrick O'Conner. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 1987. "The Epilogue to the Holiness Code. A Priestly Statement on the Destiny of Israel." Pages 9–34 in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel*. Edited by Jacob Neusner, Baruch A. Levine and Ernest S. Frerichs. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.
- . 1989. *Leviticus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia, PA/New York: The Jewish Publication Society.
- . 1993. *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 4A. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2000. *Numbers 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 4B. New York: Doubleday.
- Levinson, Bernard M. 1997. *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2001. "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah." *VT* 51 (4):511–34.
- . 2003. "You Must not Add Anything to What I Command You: Paradoxes of Canon and Authorship in Ancient Israel." *Numen* 50 (1):1–51.
- . 2005. "The Birth of the Lemma: The Restrictive Reinterpretation of the Covenant Code's Manumission Law by the Holiness Code (Leviticus 25:44–46)." *JBL* 124 (4):617–39.
- . 2006. "The Manumission of Hermeneutics." Pages 281–324 in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004*. Edited by André Lemaire. VTSup 109. Leiden: Brill.

- Liang, Bin. 2007. *The Changing Chinese Legal System, 1978–Present: Centralization of Power and Rationalization of the Legal System*. East Asia: History, Politics, Sociology, Culture. New York/London: Routledge.
- Linssen, Marc J. H. 2004. *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practises*. CM 25. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Lipschits, Oded. 2003. “Demographic Changes in Judah Between the Seventh and the Fifth Centuries B.C.E.” Pages 323–76 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2005. *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*. Winona Lake, IN: Eerdmans.
- . 2006. “Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine, and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century B.C.E.” Pages 19–52 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Lipschits, Oded, Yuval Gadot, and Dafna Langgut. 2012. “The Riddle of Ramat Raḥel: The Archaeology of a Royal Persian Period Edifice.” *Transeu* 41:57–79.
- Loader, James Alfred. 1973. “An Explanation of the Term *prosēlutos*.” *NovT* 15:270–77.
- Lohfink, Norbert. 1973. “Die Abänderung der Theologie des priesterlichen Geschichtswerks im Segen des Heiligkeitsgesetzes.” Pages 129–36 in *Wort und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Elliger*. Edited by Hartmut Gese and Hans Peter Rüger. AOAT 18. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1978. “Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte.” Pages 189–225 in *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977*. Edited by John A. Emerton. VTSup 29. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1987. “The Cult Reform of Josiah of Judah: 2 Kings 22–23 as a Source for the History of Israelite Religion.” Pages 459–75 in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*. Edited by Patrick D. Miller and Paul D. Hanson. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.
- . 1994. “The Priestly Narrative and History.” Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Pages 136–72 in *The Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark. Original edition, 1977 (German).
- Löhnert, Anne. 2007. “The Installation of Priests according to Neo-Assyrian Documents.” *SAAB* 16:273–86.
- Luciani, Didier. 1992. “‘Soyez saints, car je suis saint’. Un commentaire de Lévitique 19.” *NRTh* 114:212–36.
- . 1999. “Le jubilé dans Lévitique 25.” *RTL* 30:456–86.
- . 2010. “Une autre intention pour Lv 24: Réponse à Leigh M. Trevaskis.” *VT* 60 (4):591–600.
- Lux, Rüdiger. 2009. *Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel: Studien zu Haggai und Sacharja*. FAT 1/65. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Macchi, Jean-Daniel. 1994. *Les Samaritains: Histoire d’une légende: Israël et la province de Samarie*. MdB 30. Genève: Labor et Fides.
- MacDonald, Nathan. 2015. *Priestly Rule: Polemic and Biblical Interpretation in Ezekiel 44*. BZAW 476. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair C. 1998. *A Short History of Ethics: A History of Moral Philosophy from the Homeric Age to the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge. Original edition, 1967.
- Mackey, Nathaniel. 1998. “Other: From Noun to Verb.” Pages 513–32 in *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*. Edited by Robert G. O’Meally. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Magen, Yitzhak. 2000. “Mt. Gerizim—A Temple City.” *Qad* 33 (2):74–118 (Hebrew).
- . 2008. *The Samaritans and the Good Samaritan*. Translated by Edward Levin. JSP 7. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Magen, Yitzhak, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania. 2004. *Mount Gerizim Excavations: Vol. I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions*. Translated by Edward Levin and Michael Guggenheimer. JSP 2. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Maiberger, Paul. 1983. *Das Manna: Eine literarische, etymologische und naturkundliche Untersuchung*. 2 vols. ÄAT 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Mann, Michael. 2012. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. Original edition, 1986.

- Manning, Joseph Gilbert. 2003. *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Margain, Jean. 1991. "Sanctuaires sémitiques." Pages 1104–258 in vol. 6 of *Dictionnaire de la Bible: supplément*. Edited by Louis Pirot, André Robert, Jacques Briend and Edouard Cothenet. 14 vols. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928–2008.
- Martin, David. 1988. "The Religious Politics of Two Rival Peripheries: Preliminary Excursus on Center and Periphery." Pages 29–42 in *Center: Ideas and Institutions*. Edited by Liah Greenfeld and Michel L. Martin. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Marx, Alfred. 1994. *Les offrandes végétales dans l'Ancien Testament: du tribut d'hommage au repas eschatologique*. VTSup 57. Leiden/New York: Brill.
- . 2005. *Les systèmes sacrificiels de l'Ancien Testament: Formes et fonctions du culte sacrificiel à Yhwh*. VTSup 105. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2011. *Lévitique 17–27*. Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament 3b. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
- Master, Daniel M. 2001. "State Formation Theory and the Kingdom of Ancient Israel." *JNES* 60 (2):117–31.
- Mathews, Kenneth A. 1986. "The Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev) and the Text of the Hebrew Bible." *CBQ* 48:171–207.
- Mathys, Felix. 1972. "Sabbatruhe und Sabbatfest: Überlegungen zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Sabbats im Alten Testament." *ThZ* 28:241–62.
- Mathys, Hans-Peter. 1986. *Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst: Untersuchungen zum alttestamentlichen Gebot der Nächstenliebe (Lev 19,18)*. OBO 71. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Mayes, Andrew David Hastings. 1981. *Deuteronomy*. New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI/London: Eerdmans/Marshall, Morgan & Scott.
- Mazzoni, Stefania. 2010. "Syro-Hittite Temples and the Traditional *in antis* Plan." Pages 359–76 in *Kulturlandschaft Syrien: Zentrum und Peripherie: Festschrift für Jan-Waalke Meyer*. Edited by Jörg Becker, Ralph Hempelmann and Ellen Rehm. AOAT 371. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- McCormick, Clifford Mark. 2002. *Palace and Temple: A Study of Architectural and Verbal Icons*. BZAW 313. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- McDonald, Beth E. 2009. "In Possession of the Night: Lilith as Goddess, Demon, Vampire." Pages 173–82 in *Sacred Tropes: Tanakh, New Testament, and Qur'an as Literature and Culture*. Edited by Roberta Sterman Sabbath. BibInt 98. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- McNeile, Alan Hugh. 1908. *The Book of Exodus*. WC. London: Methuen.
- Meek, Theophile James. 1914. "The Sabbath in the Old Testament: Its Origin and Development." *JBL* 33 (3):201–12.
- Meinhold, Johannes. 1905. *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament: Eine Untersuchung*. FRLANT 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1909. "Die Entstehung des Sabbats." *ZAW* 29 (2):81–112.
- Menzel, Brigitte. 1981. *Assyrische Tempel: Untersuchungen zu Kult, Administration und Personal*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. StPohl 10. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Merendino, Rosario Pius. 1969. *Das deuteronomistische Gesetz: Eine literarkritische, gattungs- und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Dt 12–26*. BBB 31. Bonn: P. Hanstein.
- Meshorer, Ya'akov. 2001. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press.
- Metso, Sarianna. 2012. "Evidence from the Qumran Scrolls for the Scribal Transmission of Leviticus." Pages 67–79 in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present*. Edited by John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman. RBS 69. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Metso, Sarianna, and Eugene Ulrich. 2003. "The Old Greek Translation of Leviticus." Pages 247–68 in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler. VTSup 93. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Mettinger, Tryggve N. D. 1982. *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*. Translated by Frederick H. Cryer. ConBOT 18. Lund: CWK Gleerup.
- Metzger, Henri, Emmanuel Laroche, André Dupont-Sommer, and Manfred Mayrhofer. 1979. *La Stèle trilingue du Létôon*. Fouilles de Xanthos 6. Paris: C. Klincksieck

- Meyer, Esias E. 2010. "Dating the Priestly Text in the Pre-Exilic Period: Some Remarks about Anachronistic Slips and Other Obstacles." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 31 (1):1–8.
- . 2013. "From Cult to Community: The Two Halves of Leviticus." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34 (2):1–7.
- Meyers, Carol. 1996. "Realms of Sanctity: The Case of the 'Misplaced' Incense Altar in the Tabernacle Texts of Exodus." Pages 33–45 in *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*. Edited by Michael V. Fox, Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, Avi Hurvitz, Michael L. Klein, Baruch J. Schwartz and Nili Shupak. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2005. *Exodus*. New Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milgrom, Jacob. 1963. "The Biblical Diet Laws as an Ethical System: Food and Faith." *Union Seminary Magazine* 17 (3):288–301.
- . 1970. *Studies in Levitical Terminology: The Encroacher and the Levite: The Term 'Aboda*. UCPNES 14. Berkeley, CA/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- . 1971. "A Prolegomenon to Leviticus 17:11." *JBL* 90:149–56.
- . 1976. "Profane Slaughter and a Formulaic Key to the Composition of Deuteronomy." *HUCA* 47:1–17.
- . 1990. *Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia, PA/New York: The Jewish Publication Society.
- . 1991. *Leviticus 1–16*. AB 3A. New York: Doubleday.
- . 1994. "Qumran's Biblical Hermeneutics: The Case of the Wood Offering." *RevQ* 16 (3):449–56.
- . 1996. "The Changing Concept of Holiness in the Pentateuchal Codes with Emphasis on Leviticus 19." Pages 65–83 in *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas*. Edited by John F. A. Sawyer. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 1997. "The Firstfruits Festivals of Grain and the Composition of Leviticus 23:9–21." Pages 81–89 in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*. Edited by Mordechai Cogan, Barry L. Eichler and Jeffrey H. Tigay. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2000a. "Does H Advocate the Centralization of Worship?" *JSOT* 88:59–76.
- . 2000b. *Leviticus 17–22*. AB 3B. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2001. *Leviticus 23–27*. AB 3C. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2003a. "From the Workshop of the Redactor H_R: An Egalitarian Thrust." Pages 741–53 in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls: In Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edited by Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Weston W. Field and with the assistance of Eva Ben David. VTSup 94. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2003b. "H_R in Leviticus and Elsewhere in the Torah." Pages 26–40 in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler. VTSup 93. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2004. *Leviticus: A Book of Ritual and Ethics*. CC. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Misztal, Barbara A. 2003. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Moberly, R. Walter L. 1983. *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32–34*. JSOTSup 22. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Mohrmann, Doug C. 2004. "Making Sense of Sex: A Study of Leviticus 18." *JSOT* 29 (1):57–79.
- Monroe, Lauren A. S. 2011. *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moran, William L. 1963. "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy." *CBQ* 25 (1):77–87.
- . 1966. "The Literary Connection between Lv 11,13–19 and Dt 14,12–18." *CBQ* 28 (3):271–77.
- Morgan, Jonathan. 2009. "Transgressing, Puking, Covenanting: The Character of Land in Leviticus." *Theology* 112 (867):172–80.
- Morgenstern, Julian. 1937. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel." *HUCA* 10:1–48.
- . 1955. "The Decalogue of the Holiness Code." *HUCA* 26:1–27.
- Mulder, Martin. 1998. *1 Kings: Vol. 1: Kings 1–11*. HCOT. Leuven: Peeters.
- Müller, Jan-Werner, ed. 2002. *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.

- Müller, Reinhard. 2010. "A Prophetic View of the Exile in the Holiness Code: Literary Growth and Tradition History in Leviticus 26." Pages 207–28 in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Contexts*. Edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin. BZAW 404. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2015. "The Sanctifying Divine Voice: Observations on the יהוה אני יהוה-Formula in the Holiness Code." Pages 70–84 in *Text, Time and Temple: Literary, Historical and Ritual Studies in Leviticus*. Edited by Francis Landy, Leigh M. Trevaskis and Bryan D. Bibb. Hebrew Bible Monographs 64. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. 2009. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Louvain: Peeters.
- Na'aman, Nadav. 1995. "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform in the Light of Historical and Archaeological Research." *ZAW* 107 (2):179–95.
- . 2011. "A New Appraisal of the Silver Amulets from Ketef Hinnom." *IEJ* 61 (2):184–95.
- Nakache, Delphine. 2008. "The 'Othering' Process: Exploring the Instrumentalization of Law in Migration Policy." PhD dissertation, Faculty of Law, McGill University.
- Nelson, Richard Donald. 1993. *Raising up a Faithful Priest: Community and Priesthood in Biblical Theology*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Niehr, Herbert. 1995. "Die Reform des Joschija. Methodische, historische und religionsgeschichtliche Aspekte." Pages 33–55 in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"*. Edited by Walter Groß and Dieter Böhler. BBB 98. Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum.
- Nihan, Christophe. 2004a. "The Holiness Code between D and P. Some Comments on the Function and Significance of Leviticus 17–26 in the Composition of the Torah." Pages 81–122 in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*. Edited by Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach. FRLANT 206. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2004b. "The Institution of the Priesthood and the Beginning of the Sacrificial Cult: Some Comments on the Relationship between Exodus 29 and Leviticus 8." Pages 39–53 in *Basel und Bibel: Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament*. Edited by Matthias Augustin and Hermann Michael Niemann. BEATAJ 51. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 2007a. *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*. FAT 2/25. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2007b. "The Torah Between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua." Pages 187–223 in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Its Promulgation and Acceptance*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2008a. "Du premier et du second temple: Rôles et fonction du sanctuaire d'Israël selon l'écrit sacerdotal." Pages 165–203 in *Le roi Salomon, un héritage en question: hommage à Jacques Vermeylen*. Edited by Claude Lichtert and Jacques Vermeylen. Le livre et le rouleau 33. Brussels: Lessius.
- . 2008b. "Israel's Festival Calendars in Leviticus 23, Numbers 28–29 and the Formation of 'Priestly' Literature." Pages 177–231 in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 215. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2008c. "L'autel sur le mont Garizim. Deutéronome 27 et la rédaction de la Torah entre Samaritains et Judéens à l'époque achéménide." *Transeu* 36:97–124.
- . 2011a. "The Laws about Clean and Unclean Animals in Leviticus and Deuteronomy and Their Place in the Formation of the Pentateuch." Pages 401–32 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid and Baruch J. Schwartz. FAT 1/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2011b. "Resident Aliens and Natives in the Holiness Legislation." Pages 111–35 in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach, Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle. BZABR 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- . 2012. "Garizim et Ebal dans le Pentateuque. Quelques remarques en marge de la publication d'un nouveau fragment du Deutéronome." *Sem* 54:185–210.
- . 2013a. "Forms and Functions of Purity in Leviticus." Pages 311–68 in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*. Edited by

- Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan. *Dynamics in the History of Religion 3*. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- . 2013b. "The Priestly Laws of Numbers, the Holiness Legislation, and the Pentateuch." Pages 109–37 in *Torah and the Book of Numbers*. Edited by Christian Frevel, Thomas Pola and Aaron Schart. FAT 2/62. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2014. "Das Sabbatgesetz Exodus 31,12–17, die Priesterschrift und das Heiligkeitsgesetz: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit neueren Interpretationen." Pages 131–49 in *Wege der Freiheit: Zur Entstehung und Theologie des Exodusbuches; Die Beiträge eines Symposiums zum 70. Geburtstag von Rainer Albertz*. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach, Ruth Ebach and Jakob Wöhrle. ATANT 104. Zürich: TVZ.
- . 2015a. "The High Priest and Royalty after the Exile: A Reevaluation." Guest Lecture, University of St Andrews, Oct 15.
- . 2015b. "Is There Evidence for Multiple Sanctuaries in H?" Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, Nov 21–24.
- . 2015c. "Leviticus 26:39–46 and the Post-Priestly Composition of Leviticus." Pages 305–29 in *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch: New Perspectives on Its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles*. Edited by Federico Giuntoli and Konrad Schmid. FAT 1/101. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2015d. "The *nāšî*' and the Future of Royalty in Ezekiel." Pages 229–46 in *History, Memory, Hebrew Scriptures: A Festschrift for Ehud Ben Zvi*. Edited by Ian Douglas Wilson and Diana Edelman. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2015e. "Royal Figure or Servant of the Temple? The High Priest after the Exile." Guest Lecture, ICU, Tokyo.
- . 2015f. "The Templization of Israel in Leviticus: Some Remarks on Blood Disposal and Kipper in Leviticus 4." Pages 94–130 in *Text, Time and Temple: Literary, Historical and Ritual Studies in Leviticus*. Edited by Francis Landy, Leigh M. Trevaskis and Bryan D. Bibb. Hebrew Bible Monographs 64. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- . 2016. "Cult Centralization and the Torah Traditions in Chronicles." Pages 253–88 in *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Rise of the Torah*. Edited by Peter Dubovský, Dominik Markl and Jean-Pierre Sonnet. FAT 1/107. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2017a. "Le pectoral d'Aaron et la figure du grand prêtre dans les traditions sacerdotales du Pentateuque." Pages 23–55 in *Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016*. Edited by Louis C. Jonker, Gideon R. Kotzé and Christl M. Maier. VTSup 177. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2017b. "Les habitants des ruines dans la Bible hébraïque." Pages 88–115 in *Entre dieux et hommes: anges, démons et autres*. Edited by Thomas Römer, Bertrand Dufour, Fabian Pfitzmann and Christoph Uehlinger. OBO 286. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Nihan, Christophe, and Julia Rhyder. forthcoming. "Aaron's Vestments in Exodus 28 and Priestly Leadership." Pages t.b.n. in *Debating Authority: Concepts of Leadership in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets*. Edited by Katharina Pyschny and Sarah Schulz. BZAW. Berlin/Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1869. *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments*. Kiel: Schwers'sche Buchhandlung.
- Nora, Pierre, ed. 1984. *Les Lieux de mémoire, tome, 1: La République*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Noth, Martin. 1962. *Exodus*. Translated by John S. Bowden. OTL. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press. Original edition, 1959 (German).
- . 1967. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*. 3rd ed. Halle (Saale): M. Niemeyer. Original edition, 1943.
- . 1968. *Könige: 1. Teilband: 1–16*. BKAT 9/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1972. *A History of the Pentateuchal Traditions*. Translated by Bernhard W. Anderson. Chico, CA: Scholars Press. Original edition, 1948 (German).
- . 1977. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Translated by J. E. Anderson. 2nd ed. OTL. London: SCM Press. Original edition, 1965 (German).

- Nougayrol, Jean. 1968. *Ugaritica. 5, Nouveaux textes acadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 80. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Nugent, David. 1994. "Building the State, Making the Nation: The Bases and Limits of State Centralization in 'Modern' Peru." *American Anthropologist* 96 (2):333–69.
- Nurmela, Risto. 1998. *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*. SFSHJ 193. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- O'Brien, Julia M. 1990. *Priest and Levite in Malachi*. SBLDS 121. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Olick, Jeffrey K. 2007. *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*. New York: Routledge.
- Olick, Jeffrey K. and Joyce Robbis. 1998. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1):105–40.
- Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. 2011. "Introduction." Pages 3–62 in *The Collective Memory Reader*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ollenburger, Ben C. 1987. *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult*. JSOTSup 41. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Olyan, Saul. 2000. *Rites and Rank: Hierarchy in Biblical Representations of Cult*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 2005. "Exodus 31:12–17: The Sabbath according to H, the Sabbath according to P and H." *JBL* 124 (2):201–09.
- Orth, J. 1859. "La centralisation du cult du Jéhovah." *Nouvelle revue de théologie* 4:350–60.
- Oswald, Wolfgang. 1998. *Israel am Gottesberg: Eine Untersuchung zur Literargeschichte der vorderen Sinaiperikope Ex 19–24 und deren historischem Hintergrund*. OBO 159. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2009. *Staatstheorie im Alten Israel: Der politische Diskurs im Pentateuch und in den Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Otto, Eckart. 1991. "Forschungsgeschichte der Entwürfe einer Ethik im Alten Testament." *VF* 36:3–37.
- . 1994a. "Das Heiligkeitgesetz Leviticus 17–26 in der Pentateuchredaktion." Pages 65–80 in *Altes Testament: Forschung und Wirkung: Festschrift Henning Graf Reventlow*. Edited by Peter Mommer and Winfried Thiel. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 1994b. *Theologische Ethik des Alten Testaments*. ThW. Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln: Kohlhammer.
- . 1996. "Die nachpriesterschriftliche Pentateuchredaktion im Buch Exodus." Pages 61–111 in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*. Edited by Marc Vervenne. BETL 126. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- . 1997. "Forschungen zur Priesterschrift." *TRu* 62:1–50.
- . 1999a. *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie und Rechtsreform in Juda und Assyrien*. BZAW 284. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 1999b. "Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitgesetz Leviticus 17–26." Pages 125–96 in *Leviticus als Buch*. Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling. BBB 119. Bodenheim: Philo.
- . 2001. "Gab es 'historische' und 'fiktive' Aaroniden im Alten Testament?" *ZABR* 7:403–14.
- . 2003. "pāsah; pesah." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 1–24 in vol. 12 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1988–1989 (German).
- . 2003. "šābat." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 382–86 in vol. 14 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1992–1993 (German).
- . 2009. "The Holiness Code in Diachrony and Synchrony in the Legal Hermeneutics of the Pentateuch." Pages 135–56 in *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*. Edited by Sara Shectman and Joel S. Baden. ATANT 95. Zürich: TVZ.
- . 2012. *Deuteronomium 1–11*. HThKAT. Freiburg: Herder.

- . 2016. *Deuteronomium 12–34: Teilband 1: 12,1–23,15*. HThKAT. Freiburg: Herder.
- Ottosson, Magnus. 1980. *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine*. Boreas 12. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Owczarek, Susanne. 1998. *Die Vorstellung vom Wohnen Gottes inmitten seines Volkes in der Priesterschrift: Zur Heiligtumstheologie der priesterschriftlichen Grundschrift*. EHS.T 23/625. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Paganini, Simone. 2009. “Nicht darfst du zu diesen Wörtern etwas hinzufügen”: *Die Rezeption des Deuteronomiums in der Tempelrolle: Sprache, Autoren, Hermeneutik*. BZABR 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Pakkala, Juha. 2010. “Why the Cult Reforms in Judah Probably Did Not Happen.” Pages 201–35 in *One God—One Cult—One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives*. Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann. BZAW 405. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Pardee, Dennis. 2000. *Les textes rituels (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XII)*. Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations.
- . 2002. *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*. Vol. 10. WAW. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, eds. 1968. *The City*. Heritage of Sociology. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press. Original edition, 1925.
- Parpola, Simo. 1983. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal: Part 2: Commentary and Appendices*. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Paton, Lewis Bayles. 1897. “The Original Form of Leviticus xvii–xix.” *JBL* 16:31–77.
- . 1899. “The Original Form of Leviticus xxiii., xxv.” *JBL* 18:35.
- Paul, Shalom. 1970. *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law*. VTSup 18. Leiden: Brill.
- Pearce, Laurie E. 2006. “New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonia.” Pages 399–411 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Pearce, Laurie E., and Cornelia Wunsch. 2014. *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. CUSAS 28. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- Perlitt, Lothar. 1988. “Priesterschrift im Deuteronomium?” *ZAW* 100 (1):65–88.
- Péter, René. 1977. “L’imposition des mains dans l’Ancien Testament.” *VT* 27 (1):48–55.
- Péter-Contesse, René. 1993. *Lévitique 1–16*. Genève: Labor et Fides.
- Pietsch, Michael. 2013. *Die Kultreform Josias. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte Israels in der späten Königszeit*. FAT 1/86. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Pitkänen, Pekka. 2003. *Central Sanctuary and Centralization of Worship in Ancient Israel: From the Settlement to the Building of Solomon’s Temple*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias.
- Pola, Thomas. 1995. *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift: Beobachtungen zur Literarkritik und Traditionsgeschichte von Pg*. WMANT 70. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Porten, Bezalel. 1968. *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*. Berkeley, CA/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Porten, Bezalel, with J. Joel Farber, Cary J. Martin, Günther Vittmann, Leslie S. B. MacCoull, . . . Ranon Katzoff. 2011. *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. 2nd rev. ed. DMOA 22. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill. Original edition, 1996.
- Porten, Bezalel, and Ada Yardeni. 1986. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: I Letters: Appendix: Aramaic Letters from the Bible*. Jerusalem/Winona Lake, IN: Hebrew University/Eisenbrauns.
- . 1999. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: 4 Ostraca & Assorted Inscriptions*. Jerusalem/Winona Lake, IN: Hebrew University/Eisenbrauns.
- Porter, Barbara N. 1993. *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon’s Babylonian Policy*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 208. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society.
- Porter, Joshua R. 1976. *Leviticus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Postgate, Nicholas. 1989. “The Ownership and Exploitation of Land in Assyria in the 1st Millennium BC.” Pages 141–52 in *Reflets des deux fleuves: volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*. Edited by Marc Lebeau and Philippe Talon. Akkadica Supplementum 6. Leuven: Peeters.

- . 1992. *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Propp, William Henry. 1999. *Exodus 1–18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 2A. New York: Doubleday.
- . 2006. *Exodus 19–40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 2A. New York: Doubleday.
- Pucci, Marina. 2008. *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture*. BARIS 1738. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- de Pury, Albert. 2010. “The Jacob Story and the Beginning of the Formation of the Pentateuch.” Pages 147–69 in *Die Patriarchen und die Priesterschrift: Les Patriarches et le document sacerdotal. Gesammelte Studien zu seinem 70. Geburtstag: Recueil d’articles, à l’occasion de son 70e anniversaire*. Edited by Jean-Daniel Macchi, Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid. ATANT 99. Zürich: TVZ.
- Pyschny, Katharina. 2017. *Verhandelte Führung: Eine Analyse von Num 16–17 im Kontext der neueren Pentateuchforschung*. Herders Biblische Studien 88. Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder.
- von Rad, Gerhard. 1934. *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch literarisch untersucht und theologisch gewertet*. BWA(N)T 65. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- . 1962. *Old Testament Theology: Volume I: The Theology of Israel’s Historical Traditions*. Translated by D. M. G. Stalker. Louisville/London/Leiden: Westminster John Knox Press. Original edition, 1957 (German).
- Rainey, Anson F. 1970. “The Order of Sacrifices in Old Testament Ritual Texts.” *Bib* 51:485–98.
- Ramírez Kidd, José E. 1999. *Alterity and Identity in Israel: The נ in the Old Testament*. BZAW 283. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Reade, Julian. 2002. “The Ziggurat and Temples of Nimrud.” *Iraq* 64:135–216.
- . 2005. “Religious Ritual in Assyrian Sculpture.” Pages 7–61 in *Ritual and Politics in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Edited by Barbara Nevling Porter. AOS 88. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.
- Reinmuth, Titus. 2001. “Reform und Tora bei Nehemia. Neh 10,31–40 und die Autorisierung der Tora in der Perserzeit.” *ZABR* 7:287–317.
- Rendtorff, Rolf. 1954. *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1967. *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel*. WMANT 24. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1985. *Leviticus*. BKAT 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Renger, Johannes M. 1994. “On Economic Structures in Ancient Mesopotamia: Part One.” *Or* 63 (3):157–208.
- . 1995. “Institutional, Communal, and Individual Ownership or Possession of Arable Land in Ancient Mesopotamia from the End of the Fourth to the End of the First Millennium B.C.” *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71:269–319.
- Renz, Johannes, and Wolfgang Röllig. 1995. *Handbuch der Althebräischen Epigraphik*. 4 vols. Vol. 1. Darmstadt: WBG.
- Reuter, Eleonore. 1993. *Kultzentralisation: Entstehung und Theologie von Dtn 12*. BBB 87. Frankfurt am Main: Hain.
- Reventlow, Henning. 1961. *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht*. WMANT 6. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Reynolds, Bennie H. 2013. “The Expression כֹּהֵן בֵּית in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Legacy of the Holiness School in Essene Legal Texts.” *JBL* 132 (3):585–605.
- Rhyder, Julia. 2017. “‘The Temple which You Will Build for Me in the Land’: The Future Sanctuary in a Textual Tradition of Leviticus.” *DSD* 24 (2):271–300.
- Ritner, Robert K. 2003. “The Victory Stela of Piye.” Pages 367–85 in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson. 3rd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Original edition, 1977.
- Robinson, Gnana. 1980. “The Idea of Rest in the Old Testament and the Search for the Basic Character of Sabbath.” *ZAW* 92 (1):32.
- . 1988. *The Origin and Development of the Old Testament Sabbath*. BBET 21. Frankfurt am Main/Bern: Peter Lang.

- . 1990. "Das Jabel-Jahr: Die Lösung einer sozial-ökonomischen Krise des Volkes Gottes." Pages 471–94 in *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Erhard Blum and Rolf Rendtorff. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Rofé, Alexander. 1988. *Introduction to Deuteronomy: Part I and Further Chapters*. Jerusalem: Akademon (Hebrew).
- . 2002. *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*. London/New York: T&T Clark.
- Römer, Thomas. 1997. "Nombres 11–12 et la question d'une rédaction deutéronomique dans le Pentateuque." Pages 481–98 in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans*. Edited by Marc Vervenne and Johan Lust. BETL 133. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters.
- . 2002. "Das Buch Numeri und das Ende des Jahwisten: Anfragen zur 'Quellenscheidung' im vierten Buch des Pentateuch." Pages 215–31 in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*. Edited by Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte. BZAW 315. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2004. "Cult Centralization in Deuteronomy 12: Between Deuteronomistic History and Pentateuch." Pages 168–80 in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*. Edited by Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach. FRLANT 206. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2005. *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical, and Literary Introduction*. London: T&T Clark.
- . 2007. "Israel's Sojourn in the Wilderness and the Construction of the Book of Numbers." Pages 419–45 in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*. Edited by Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim and W. Brian Aucker. VTSup 113. Leiden: Brill.
- , ed. 2008a. *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*. BETL 215. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2008b. "De la périphérie au centre: Les livres du Lévitique et des Nombres dans le débat actuel sur le Pentateuque." Pages 3–34 in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 215. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2017. "Le lieu unique choisi par YHWH et la pluralité des temples dans l'idéologie deutéronomiste." *Judaïsm Ancien/Ancient Judaism* 5:1–22.
- . forthcoming. "Cult Centralization and the Publication of the Torah Between Jerusalem and Samaria." Pages t.b.n. in a volume of collected essays edited by Magnar Kartveit.
- Rooke, Deborah W. 2000. *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rose, Martin. 1975. *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes: Deuteronomische Schultheologie und die Volksfrömmigkeit in der späten Königszeit*. BWA(N)T 106. Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer.
- Rösel, Martin. 2009. "Levitikon (Levitikus/Das dritte Buch Mose)." Pages 98–132 in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Roth, Martha T. 1997. *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 2nd ed. WAW 6. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press. Original edition, 1995.
- Rothstein, David. 2010. "Leviticus 17,3–4, Deuteronomy 12,20–21: Exegesis and Intertextuality as Reflected in the Ancient Textual Witnesses and Second Temple Sources." *SJOT* 24 (2):193–207.
- Rückl, Jan. 2009. "Deuteronomy 12:20–28 and the Formation of the Pentateuch." International Conference on the Hermeneutics of Narrative and Legal Texts of the Old Testament, Charles University in Prague, Protestant Theological Faculty, 20–21 April.
- Russell, Andrew L. 2005. "Standardization in History: A Review Essay with an Eye to the Future." Pages 247–60 in *The Standards Edge: Future Generation*. Edited by Sherrie Bolin. Ann Arbor, MI: Sheridan Books.
- Rüterswörden, Udo. 2006a. *Das Buch Deuteronomium*. NSKAT 4. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- . 2006b. "Die Liebe zu Gott im Deuteronomium." Pages 229–38 in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*. Edited by Jan Christian

- Gertz, Doris Prechel, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte. BZAW 365. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2009. "Deuteronomium 12,20–28 und Leviticus 17." Pages 217–26 in "*Gerechtigkeit und Recht zu üben*" (Gen 18,19): Studien zur altorientalischen und biblischen Rechtsgeschichte, zur Religionsgeschichte Israels und zur Religionssoziologie: Festschrift für Eckart Otto zum 65. Geburtstag. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach and Martin Arneht. BZABR 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Ruwe, Andreas. 1999. *Heiligkeitgesetz und Priesterschrift: Literaturgeschichtliche und rechtssystematische Untersuchungen zu Leviticus 17,1–26,2*. FAT 1/26. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Samuel, Harald. 2013. "Telling Terminology: *Kmr* and *Khn* in Hebrew and Aramaic Texts." Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD, Nov 23–26.
- . 2014. *Von Priestern zum Patriarchen: Levi und die Leviten im Alten Testament*. BZAW 448. Berlin/Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
- Sarna, Nahum M. 1991. *Exodus*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia, PA/New York/Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society.
- Schaper, Joachim. 1995. "The Jerusalem Temple as an Instrument of the Achaemenid Fiscal Administration." *VT* 45 (4):528–39.
- . 2000. *Priester und Leviten im achämenidischen Juda. Studien zur Kult- und Sozialgeschichte Israels in persischer Zeit*. FAT 1/31. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Schenker, Adrian. 1983. "Das Zeichen des Blutes und die Gewißheit der Vergebung im Alten Testament: Die sühnende Funktion des Blutes auf dem Altar nach Lev 17.10–12." *MTZ* 34 (3):195–213.
- . 2008. "Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l'a-t-il choisi? L'apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l'histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique." Pages 339–51 in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. Edited by Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2010. "Textgeschichtliches zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch und Samareitikon." Pages 105–21 in *Samaritans: Past and Present: Current Studies*. Edited by Menahem Mor and Friedrich V. Reiterer. SJ/Studia Samaritana 53/5. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Schipper, Kristofer. 1985. "Vernacular and Classical Ritual in Taoism." *JAS* 45 (1):21–57.
- Schmid, Konrad. 2001. "Israel am Sinai: Etappen der Forschungsgeschichte zu Ex 32–34 in seinen Kontexten." Pages 9–40 in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*. Edited by Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum. Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 18. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- . 2004. "Das Deuteronomium innerhalb der 'deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke' in Gen–2 Kön." Pages 193–211 in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*. Edited by Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach. FRLANT 206. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2010. *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible*. Translated by James D. Nogalski. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. Original edition, 1999 (German).
- . 2012a. "Genesis and Exodus as Two Formerly Independent Traditions of Origins for Ancient Israel." *Bib* 93 (2):187–208.
- . 2012b. *The Old Testament: A Literary History*. Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press. Original edition, 2008 (German).
- Schmidt, Brian B. 2016. *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic*. FAT 1/105. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Schmidt, Ludwig. 1993. *Studien zur Priesterschrift*. BZAW 214. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- . 2004. *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri: 10,11–36,13*. ATD 7/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2007. "Die Priesterschrift in Exodus 16." *ZAW* 119 (4):483–98.
- . 2009. "P in Deuteronomium 34." *VT* 34:475–94.

- Schmidt, Vivien Ann. 1990. *Democratizing France: The Political and Administrative History of Decentralization*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmidt, Werner H. 1964. *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*. WMANT 17. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- . 1983. *Exodus, Sinai und Mose: Erwägungen zu Ex 1–19 und 24*. EdF 191. Darmstadt: WBG.
- . 1988. *Exodus 1–6*. BKAT 2/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Schneider, Anna. 1920. *Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft: Die sumerische Tempelstadt*. Essen: Baedeker.
- Schorch, Stefan. 2011. "The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy and the Origin of Deuteronomy." Pages 23–37 in *Samaria, Samaritans, and Samaritans: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the Société d'Études Samaritaines, Papa (Hungary)*. Edited by József Zsengeller. Studia Samaritana 6. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Schwartz, Barry. 1996a. "Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln and World War II." *American Sociological Review* 61:908–27.
- Schwartz, Baruch J. 1991. "The Prohibition Concerning the 'Eating' of Blood in Leviticus 17." Pages 34–66 in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*. Edited by Gary A. Anderson and Saul Olyan. JSOTSup 125. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 1996b. "The Priestly Account of the Theophany and Lawgiving at Sinai." Pages 103–34 in *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*. Edited by Michael V. Fox, Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, Avi Hurvitz, Michael L. Klein, Baruch J. Schwartz and Nili Shupak. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 1996c. "'Profane' Slaughter and the Integrity of the Priestly Code." *HUCA* 67:15–42.
- . 1999. *The Holiness Legislation: Studies in the Priestly Code*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press (Hebrew).
- . 2000. "Israel's Holiness: The Torah Traditions." Pages 47–59 in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus*. Edited by Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 2. Leiden/Boston, MA/Köln: Brill.
- . 2013. "'Miqrā' Qodesh and the Structure of Leviticus 23." Pages 11–24 in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson and Eileen Schuller. WUNT 1/305. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Schwiderski, Dirk. 2000. *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars: Ein Beitrag zur Echtheitsfrage der aramäischen Briefe des Esrabuches*. BZAW 295. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Schwienhorst-Schönberger, Ludger. 1990. *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22–23,33): Studien zu seiner Entstehung und Theologie*. BZAW 188. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Seebass, Horst. 1985. "Josua." *BN* 28:53–65.
- . 2012. *Numeri 1,1–10,10*. BKAT 4/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Segal, Michael. 2000. "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?" Pages 391–99 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam and Galen Marquis. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum.
- Seitz, Gottfried. 1971. *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium*. BWA(N)T 93. Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer.
- Selman, Martin J. 1999. "Jerusalem in Chronicles." Pages 43–56 in *Zion, City of Our God*. Edited by Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Shectman, Sarah, and Joel S Baden, eds. 2009. *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*. ATANT 95. Zürich: TVZ.
- Shils, Edward. 1982. *The Constitution of Society*. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1988. "Center and Periphery: An Idea and Its Career, 1935–1987." Pages 282–301 in *Center: Ideas and Institutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ska, Jean-Louis. 1979. "Les plaies d'Égypte dans le récit sacerdotal (Pg)." *Bib* 60 (1):23–35.
- . 2005. *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement: The Priestly Conceptions*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- . 2006. *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*. Translated by Pascale Dominique. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. Original edition, 1998 (Italian).
- Smend, Rudolf. 1907. "Zu den von E. Sachau herausgegebenen aramäischen Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine." *TLZ* 32:705–11.

- Smith, George. 1875. *Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site on Nineveh, During 1878 and 1874*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. 1978. *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1982. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1987. *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*. CSHJ. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Mark S. 1994. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*. VTSup 55. Leiden etc.: Brill
- . 2006. *The Rituals and Myths of the Feast of the Goodly Gods of KTU/CAT 1.23: Royal Constructions of Opposition, Intersection, Integration, and Domination*. RBS 51. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- . 2009. *The Priestly Vision of Genesis 1*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Smoak, Jeremy Daniel. 2012. "May Yhwh Bless You and Keep You from Evil: The Rhetorical Argument of Ketef Hinnom Amulet I and the Form of the Prayers for Deliverance in the Psalms." *JANER* 12 (2):202–36.
- Snaith, Norman H. 1947. *The Jewish New Year Festival: Its Origin and Development*. London: SPCK.
- . 1957. "Sacrifices in the Old Testament." *VT* 7 (3):308–17.
- . 1967. *Leviticus and Numbers*. London: Thomas Nelson.
- . 1975a. "The Meaning of שְׁעָרִים." *VT* 25 (1):115–18.
- . 1975b. "The Verbs Zābaḥ and Šāḥaṭ." *VT* 25 (2):242–46.
- Sommer, Benjamin D. 2001. "Conflicting Constructions of Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle." *BibInt* 9:41–63.
- . 2009. *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sparks, James T. 2008. *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9*. AcBib 28. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Spieckermann, Hermann. 1982. *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*. FRLANT 129. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stackert, Jeffrey. 2007. *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*. FAT 1/52. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- . 2011a. "Compositional Strata in the Priestly Sabbath: Exod 31:12–17 and 35:13." *JHebS* 11. doi:10.5508/jhs.v11.a15.
- . 2011b. "The Sabbath of the Land in the Holiness Legislation: Combining Priestly and Non-Priestly Perspectives." *CBQ* 73 (2):239–50.
- . 2015. "Holiness Code and Writings." Pages 389–96 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Law*. Edited by Brent Strawn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stamm, Johann Jakob. 1940. *Erlösen und Vergeben im Alten Testament: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Bern: A. Francke.
- Starkey, James Leslie. 1937. "Lachish as Illustrating Bible History." *PEQ* 69 (3):171–79.
- Steck, Odil Hannes. 1975. *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift: Studien zur literarkritischen und überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Problematik von Genesis 1,1–2,4a*. FRLANT 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stern, Ephraim. 1982. *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* Warminster, Wiltshire/Jerusalem: Aris and Philipps/Israel Exploration Society.
- . 1984. "The Archaeology of Persian Palestine." Pages 88–114 in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume 1: The Persian Period*. Edited by William David Davies, Louis Finkelstein and Steven T. Katz. 4 vols. Vol. 1. CHJ. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2001. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods: 732–332 BCE*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. ABRL. New York: Doubleday.
- Stern, Ephraim, and Yitzhak Magen. 2002. "Archaeological Evidence for the First Stage of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim." *IEJ* 52 (1):49–57.
- Stern, Sacha. 2001. *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd Century BCE to 10th Century CE*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 2003. *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.
- . 2012. *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

- Stern, Sacha, and Charles Burnett, eds. 2015. *Time, Astronomy, and Calendars in the Jewish Tradition*. Times, Astronomy, and Calendars. Texts and Studies 3. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Steuernagel, Carl. 1923. *Das Deuteronomium*. 2nd completely rev. ed. Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stoddart, Mark C. J. 2007. "Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge and Power." *Social Thought & Research* 28:191–225.
- Stoellger, Philipp. 1993. "Deuteronomium 34 ohne Priesterschrift." *ZAW* 105 (1):26–51.
- Stolz, Fritz. 1971. "Sabbat, Schöpfungswoche und Herbstfest." *WD* 11:159–75.
- Strobel, August. 1987. "Das jerusalemische Sündenbock-Ritual: Topographische und landeskundliche Erwägungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Lev. 16,10.21f." *ZDPV* 103:141–68.
- Sun, Henry T. C. 1990. "An Investigation into the Compositional Integrity of the So-Called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26)." PhD dissertation, The Claremont Graduate School.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. 2007. *I & II Kings: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu. 1966. "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature." Pages 31–63 in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*. Edited by Alexander Altmann. Studies and Texts 3. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.
- de Tarragon, Jean-Michel. 1981. "La kapporet est-elle une fiction ou un élément du culte tardif?" *RB* 88 (1):5–12.
- Tawil, Hayim. 1980. "'Azazel, The Prince of the Steepe: A Comparative Study." *ZAW* 92 (1):43–59.
- Tcherikover, Avigdor, and Victor Tcherikover. 1959. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. New York: Atheneum.
- Teeter, David Andrew. 2014. *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*. FAT 1/92. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Teixidor, Javier. 1978. "The Aramaic Text in the Trilingual Stele from Xanthus." *JNES* 37 (2):181–85.
- Tekin, Beyza Ç. 2010. *Representations and Othering in Discourse: The Construction of Turkey in the EU Context*. Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture 39. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Thelle, Rannfrid Irene. 2012. *Approaches to the "Chosen Place": Accessing a Biblical Concept*. LHBOTS 564. London/New York: T&T Clark.
- Thomas, Benjamin D. 2014. *Hezekiah and the Compositional History of the Book of Kings*. FAT 2/62. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Thon, Johannes. 2006. *Pinhas ben Eleasar—Der levitische Priester am Ende der Tora: Traditions- und literargeschichtliche Untersuchung unter Einbeziehung historisch-geographischer Fragen*. Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 20. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Thureau-Dangin, François. 1921. *Rituels accadiens*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- van der Toorn, Karel. 1985. *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study*. SSN 22. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- . 1991. "The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and their Bearing on Old Testament Study." Pages 331–44 in *Congress Volume Leuven 1989*. Edited by John A. Emerton. Leiden/New York: Brill.
- Torrey, Charles C. 1936. "The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem." *JBL* 55 (4):247–60.
- Tov, Emanuel. 1976. "Three Dimensions of LXX Words." *RB* 83:529–44.
- . 1992. "The Textual Status of 4Q364–367 (4QRP)." Pages 43–82 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*. Edited by Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. 2 vols. Vol. 1. STDJ 11. Leiden etc.: Brill.
- . 2010. "From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch(?)." Pages 73–91 in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*. Edited by Mladen Popović. JSJ.S 141. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Tov, Emanuel, and Sidnie White. 1994. "Reworked Pentateuch." Pages 187–351 in *Qumran Cave 4, XII*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge, Torleif Elgvin, Józef T. Milik, Saul Olyan, John Strugnell, Emanuel Tov, . . . Sidnie White. DJD 13. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Trevaskis, Leigh M. 2009. "The Purpose of Leviticus 24 within Its Literary Context." *VT* 59 (2):295–312.

- . 2011. *Holiness, Ethics and Ritual in Leviticus*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 29. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
- Trigger, Bruce G. 2003. *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tucker, Paavo N. 2017. *The Holiness Composition in the Book of Exodus*. FAT 2/98. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Turner, Victor W. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1973. "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal." *HR* 12:191–230.
- Uehlinger, Christoph. 2005. "Was there a Cult Reform under King Josiah? The Case for a Well-Founded Minimum." Pages 279–316 in *Good Kings and Bad Kings*. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. LHBOTS/European Seminar in Historical Methodology 393/5. London: T&T Clark.
- Ulfsgard, Håkan. 1998. *The Story of "Sukkot": The Setting, Shaping, and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles*. BGBE 34. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Ulrich, Eugene. 1994. "'4QLev-Num^a,' '4QLevb^b.'" Pages 153–87 in *Qumran Cave 4. VII. Genesis to Numbers*. Edited by Eugene Ulrich and Frank Moore Cross. DJD 12. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1998. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text." Pages 79–100 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill.
- Ussishkin, David. 2006. 2004. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*. 5 vols. Vol. 1. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 22. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology.
- Utzschneider, Helmut. 1988. *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz: Studien zur Bedeutung der sinaitischen Heiligtumstexte (Ex 25–40; Lev 8–9)*. OBO 77. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Valentin, Heinrich. 1978. *Aaron: Eine Studie zur vor-priesterschriftlichen Aaron-Überlieferung*. OBO 18. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Van Neer, Wim, Omri Lernau, Renée Friedman, Gregory Mumford, Jeroen Poblóme, and Marc Waelkens. 2004. "Fish Remains from Archaeological Sites as Indicators of Former Trade Connections in the Eastern Mediterranean." *Paléorient* 30:101–47.
- Van Seters, John. 1983. "The Place of the Yahwist in the History of Passover and Massot." *ZAW* 95 (2):167–82.
- . 1994. *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus–Numbers*. CBET. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- . 2002. *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vanderhooft, David Stephen. 1999. *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- VanderKam, James C. 1992. "Calendars." Pages 810–20 in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. Vol. 1. New York: Doubleday.
- . 1998. *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*. London/New York: Routledge.
- . 2004. *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile*. Minneapolis, MN/Assen: Fortress Press/Van Gorcum.
- Vaux, Roland de. 1961. "Les chérubims et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dan l'Ancien Orient." *MUSJ* 37 (37):91–124.
- . 1973. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Translated by John McHugh. Vol. 2. London: Darton, Longman and Todd. Original edition, 1958–1960 (French).
- Veijola, Timo. 1996. "The History of the Passover in the Light of Deuteronomy 16,1–8." *ZABR* 2:53–75.
- . 2004. *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Vervenne, Marc. 1990. "The 'P' Tradition in the Pentateuch: Document and/or Redaction? The 'Sea Narrative' (Ex 13,17–14,31) as a Test Case." Pages 67–90 in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies*. Edited by Christianus Brekelmans and Johan Lust. BETL 94. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

- Vincent, Albert. 1937. *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Volokhine, Youri. forthcoming. "So-called 'Dietary Prohibitions' in Pharaonic Egypt: Discourses and Practices." Pages t.b.n. in *The Larger Context of Biblical Food Prohibitions: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Peter Altmann, Anna Angelini and Abra Spiciarich. Winona Lake, IN/Tübingen: Eisenbrauns/Mohr Siebeck.
- Waalder, Erik. 2002. "A Revised Date for Pentateuchal Texts? Evidence from Ketef Hinnon." *TynBul* 52 (1):29–55.
- Wacholder, Ben-Zion. 1983. *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness*. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College.
- Waerzeggers, Caroline. 2011. "The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples." Pages 725–51 in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*. Edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waetzoldt, Hartmut. 1987. "Compensation of Craft Workers and Officials in the Ur III Period." Pages 117–41 in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Marvin A. Powell. AOS 68. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.
- Wagenaar, Jan. 2004. "Passover and the First Day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Priestly Festival Calendar." *VT* 54 (2):250–68.
- . 2005. *Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar*. BZABR 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Wagner, Siegfried. 1990. "bānāh; binyāh; binyān; mibhneh; tabhnîth." Translated by John T. Willis, Douglas W. Scott and David E. Green. Pages 166–81 in vol. 2 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1978–2006. Original edition, 1972 (German).
- Wagner, Volker. 1974. "Zur Existenz des sogenannten 'Heiligkeitsetzes'." *ZAW* 86 (3):307–16.
- . 2005. *Profanität und Sakralisierung im Alten Testament*. BZAW 351. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Wallace, Howard N. 1988. "Genesis 2:1–3—Creation and Sabbath." *Pacifica* 1:235–50.
- Warner, Megan. 2012. "And I Will Remember my Covenant with Abraham: The Holiness School in Genesis." PhD dissertation, Trinity College, MCD University of Divinity.
- Watts, James. 2003. "The Rhetoric of Ritual Instruction in Leviticus 1–7." Pages 79–100 in *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler. VTSup/FIOTL 93/3. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- . 2007a. *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2007b. "The Torah as the Rhetoric of Priesthood." Pages 319–31 in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2012. "Review of Leigh M. Trevaskis, Holiness, Ethics and Ritual in Leviticus." *RBL* (7) <http://www.bookreviews.org>.
- . 2013. *Leviticus 1–10*. HCOT. Leuven/Paris/Walpole, WA: Peeters.
- Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Translated by Ephraim Fischhoff, Hans Gerth, A. M. Henderson, Ferdinand Kogler, C. Wright Mills, Talcott Parsons, . . . Claus Wittich. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
- Weimar, Peter. 1980. *Die Berufung des Mose: Literaturwissenschaftliche Analyse von Exodus 2,23–5,5*. OBO 32. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1984. "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung." *BN* (32):81–134.
- . 1988. "Sinai und Schöpfung: Komposition und Theologie der priesterschriftlichen Sinaigeschichte." *RB* 95 (3):337–85.
- . 2008. *Studien zur Priesterschrift*. FAT 1/56. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Weinberg, Joel. 1992. *The Citizen-Temple Community*. Translated by Daniel L. Smith-Christopher. JSOTSup 151. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. 1972. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist School*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- . 1995. *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. Minneapolis, MN/Jerusalem: Fortress Press/Magnes.
- Weiss, Gilbert, and Ruth Wodak. 2003. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wellhausen, Julius. 1957. *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*. Translated by John Sutherland and Allan Menzies. New York: Meridian Books. Original edition, 1878 (German).
- . 1963. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*. 4th ed. Berlin: de Gruyter. Original edition, 1899.
- Wenham, Gordon J. 1971. "Deuteronomy and the Central Sanctuary." *TynBul* 22:103–18.
- . 1978. "Leviticus 27:2–8 and the Price of Slaves." *ZAW* 90 (2):264–65.
- . 1979. *The Book of Leviticus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Werlitz, Jürgen. 2002. *Die Bücher der Könige*. NSKAT 8. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- Werman, Cana. 2010. "The Wood-Offering: The Convolutional Evolution of a Halakhah in Qumran and Rabbinic Law." Pages 151–81 in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru. STDJ 88. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Westbrook, Raymond. 1988. *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*. CahRB 26. Paris: J. Gabalda.
- de Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht. 1805. *Dissertatio critica-exegetica qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi libris diversum alius cuiusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse monstratur*. PhD dissertation, University of Jena.
- . 1806. *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament I: Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung*. Halle: Schimmelpfennig.
- . 1807. *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament II: Kritik der israelitischen Geschichte*. Halle: Schimmelpfennig.
- Wevers, John William. 1986. *Text History of the Greek Leviticus*. MSU 19. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1990. *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. SCS 30. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- . 1992. *Text History of the Greek Exodus*. MSU/Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse 21/192. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1993. "The Building of the Tabernacle." *JNSL* 19:123–31.
- . 1997. *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. SCS 44. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Weyde, Karl William. 2004. *The Appointed Festivals of YHWH: The Festival Calendar in Leviticus 23 and the Sukkot Festival in Other Biblical Texts*. FAT 2/4. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- White Crawford, Sidnie. 2011. "The Pentateuch as Found in the Pre-Samaritan Texts and 4QReworked Pentateuch." Pages 123–36 in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala and Marko Marttila. BZAW 419. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- White Crawford, Sidnie, and Christopher A. Hoffmann. 2008. "A Note on 4Q365, Frg. 23 and Nehemiah 10:33–36." *RevQ* 23 (3):429–30.
- Whitekettle, Richard. 1991. "Leviticus 15:18 Reconsidered: Chiasm, Spatial Structure and the Body." *JSOT* 16 (49):31–45.
- Whitters, Mark F. 2001. "Some New Observations about Jewish Festal Letters." *JSJ* 32 (1):272–88.
- Williams, Bernard. 2006. *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*. 3rd ed. London/New York: Routledge. Original edition, 1985.
- Williamson, Hugh G. M. 1987. *1 and 2 Chronicles*. Grand Rapids, MI/London: Eerdmans/Marshall-Morgan & Scott.
- . 1999. "The Belief System of the Book of Nehemiah." Pages 276–87 in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times*. Edited by Bob Becking and Jan Hendrik. OtSt 42. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.
- Wöhrle, Jakob. 2011. "The Integrative Function of the Law of Circumcision." Pages 71–87 in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach, Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle. BZABR 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

- Wright, David P. 1987. *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature*. SBLDS 101. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- . 1990. "Observations on the Ethical Foundations of the Biblical Dietary Laws: A Response to Jacob Milgrom." Pages 193–98 in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*. Edited by Edwin Firmage, Bernard G. Weiss and John W. Welch. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . 1992. "Holiness (Old Testament)." Pages 237–49 in vol. 3 of *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday.
- . 1999. "Holiness in Leviticus and Beyond: Differing Perspectives." *IBC* 53 (4):351–64.
- Wright, Jacob L. 2004. *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah-Memoir and Its Earliest Readers*. BZAW 348. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Wunsch, Cornelia. 2013. "Glimpses on the Lives of Deportees in Rural Babylonia." Pages 247–60 in *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.* Edited by Angelika Berlejung and Michael P. Streck. Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Würthwein, Ernst. 1984. *Die Bücher der Könige: 1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25*. ATD 11/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wyatt, Nick. 2002. *Religious Texts from Ugarit*. 2nd ed. BibSem 53. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press. Original edition, 1998.
- Yadin, Yigael. 1983. *The Temple Scroll*. Rev. and English ed. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Yadin, Yigael, Yohanan Aharoni, Ruth Amiran, Pirhiya Beck, Moshe Dothan, Trude Krakauer Dothan, . . . Ora Negbi. 1989. *Hazor III–IV: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958: Text*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Zahn, Molly M. 2011. *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*. STDJ 103. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2012. "4Q Reworked Pentateuch C and the Literary Sources of the 'Temple Scroll': A New (Old) Proposal." *DSD* 19 (2):133–58.
- Zangenberg, Jürgen K. 2012. "The Sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Observations on the Results of 20 Years of Excavation." Pages 399–418 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. mill. BCE): Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Zenger, Erich. 1983. *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken: Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie der priesterschriftlichen Urgeschichte*. SBS 112. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- . 1995. "Die Bücher der Tora/des Pentateuch." Pages 34–123 in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Edited by Erich Zenger. Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 1,1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- . 1997. "Priesterschrift." Pages 435–46 in vol. 27 of *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller. 36 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976–2004.
- . 1999. "Das Buch Levitikus als Teiltex t der Tora/des Pentateuch. Eine synchrone Lektüre mit diachroner Perspektive." Pages 47–83 in *Levitikus als Buch*. Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling. BBB 119. Bodenheim: Philo.
- Zenger, Erich, and Christian Frevel. 2008. "Die Bücher Levitikus und Numeri als Teile der Pentateuchkomposition." Pages 35–74 in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*. Edited by Thomas Römer. BETL 215. Leuven: Peeters.
- Zertal, Adam. 1990. "The Pahwah of Samaria (Northern Israel) during the Persian Period. Types of Settlement, Economy, History and New Discoveries." *Transeu* (3):9–15.
- . 2001. "The Heart of the Monarchy: Pattern of Settlement and New Historical Considerations of the Israelite Kingdom of Samaria." Pages 38–64 in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*. Edited by Amihai Mazar. JSOTSup 331. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 2003. "The Province of Samaria (Assyrian Samerina) in the Late Iron Age (Iron Age III)." Pages 377–412 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

- Zerubavel, Eviatar. 1981. *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life*. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2003. *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Zimmerli, Walther. 1980. "‘Heiligkeit’ nach dem sogenannten Heiligkeitsgesetz." *VT* 30:493–512.
- . 1983. *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Chapters 25–48*. Translated by James D. Martin. *Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. Original edition, 1979 (German).
- Zimmern, Heinrich. 1904. "Sabbath." *ZDMG* 58 (1):199–202.
- Zuckerman, Sharon. 2012. "The Temples of Canaanite Hazor." Pages 99–125 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. mill. BCE): Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.