

DOMENICO LO SARDO

P Conclusion and
Post-P Rearrangements
in Exodus 25–31 and
Leviticus 8–9

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166*

Mohr Siebeck

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166



Domenico Lo Sardo

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Rearrangements in Exodus 25–31
and Leviticus 8–9

A Textual and Literary Criticism Study
on the Pentateuch Formation

Mohr Siebeck

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To

*My Capuchin Franciscan Order
My Family & Friends*

With love and gratitude.

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Rome, February 11th, 2025

Domenico Lo Sardo

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AABNER	<i>Advances in Ancient, Biblical, and Near Eastern Research</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	The Anchor Bible Reference Library
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Edited by Wolfram von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981.
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
ALBO	Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia
A.J.	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
AJSL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnCl	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ASBF	Analecta: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
B.J.	<i>Bellum judaicum</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BA	<i>La Bible d'Alexandrie</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . 5th ed. Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
Bibe.NF	Biblische Beiträge. Neue Folge
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia

BJ	Bible de Jérusalem
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BOLZ	Beigabe zur Orientalistischen Literatur-Zeitung
Br.-M	<i>The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint</i> . Vol. 1: <i>The Octateuch</i> . Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940.
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 vols. Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006.
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for School and Colleges
CEI	Bibbia – Conferenza Episcopale Italiana
CHCB	Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> . Paris, 1881–
CJZC	<i>Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika</i>
CnBi	Connaissance de la Bible
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COut	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétique découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> . Edited by Andrée Herdner. Paris: Geuthner, 1963
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Edited by J. Nikel. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919.
ErIsr	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ETR	Études théologiques et religieuses
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
F ^b	Korrekturen in F (F ^a –F ^b) für Unzialhandschrift F (Mailand, Bibl. Ambr., S.P. 51)
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GE	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek (Greek-English [GE])</i> , Edited by F. Montanari et al. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018.

<i>GEL</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , by H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, et al. 9th ed. 2 vols. Edited by H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968
<i>GKC</i>	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
<i>HAG</i>	Handbücher der Alten Geschichte
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001
<i>HAT</i>	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
<i>HB</i>	Hebrew Bible
<i>HBOT</i>	Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation
<i>HBS</i>	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>HCOT</i>	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HdO</i>	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HeBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
<i>HKAT</i>	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HThKAT</i>	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEKAT</i>	Internationaler Exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JAJSup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie
<i>JDS</i>	Judean Desert Studies
<i>JHebS</i>	<i>The Journal of the Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSBLE</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KHAT</i>	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
<i>KHC</i>	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KP</i>	Pentateuchal Komposition
<i>KStTh</i>	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie
<i>KTU</i>	<i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald

	Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. AOAT 360.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013
LASBF	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LB	Lire la Bible
LMS	Lexham Methods Series
Lugd	<i>Lugdonensis</i> (^{Lat} cod 100)
LXX	Septuagint
MdB	Le Monde de la Bible
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
Mon	<i>Monacensis</i> (^{Lat} cod 104) (page/column/line)
Mos.	<i>De vita Mosis</i> I, II
MT	Masoretic Text
MuBi	El Mundo de la Biblia
MUPPBS	The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Publications of the Babylonian Section
NEAEHL	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Ephraim Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993
NEchtB	Die Neue Echter Bibel
NET	New English Translation of the Bible
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title</i> . Edited by A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NSKAT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar, Altes Testament
NVBTA	Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OC	Orientalia et Classica
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
Orh	Origen's Hexaplar section (※) of Exod 36:8aβ–34
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
P ^g	Priester-Grundschrift (Exilic Priestly Writing)
P ^s	Priester-Sekundärschrift (Postexilic Priestly Supplement)
PG	Patrologia Graeca (= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca). Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886
PHebSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts
RB	Retorica Biblica
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RelI	reliqui
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RivBib.S	Supplementi di Rivista Biblica
RP	Pentateuchal Redaction
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
RStB	Ricerche storico bibliche
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>Schol</i>	<i>Scholastik</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SD	Septuaginta Deutsch I
SELVOA	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici del Vicino Oriente Antico
SLBA	Schweich Lectures of the British Academy
SOSup	Symbolae Osloenses, Fasciculus Suppletionis
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SS	Studi Semitici
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
StBo	Studi Bompiani
StBoT	Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>StTh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2016
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> . Editus Auctoritate et Consilio Academicarum quinque Germanicarum (...), Lipsiae: Teubner, 1900–.
<i>TRev</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UTB	UTB für Wissenschaft
Vg	Vulgate
<i>VL</i>	<i>Vetus Latina</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WAWSup	Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
Wevers-LXX	<i>Exodus</i> . Volume II/1 of <i>Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum</i> . Edited by J. W. Wevers. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991
<i>Wirc</i>	<i>Wirceburgensis</i> (Lat ^c od 103)
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
α'	Aquila's Greek translation
Ⲑ ^B	Septuagint Greek translation (LXX) according to the <i>Codex Vaticanus</i> (B)
σ'	Symmachus's Greek translation
θ'	Theodotion's Greek translation

Foreword

In the last few decades, the exegetical debate on the ‘formation of the Pentateuch’ and its literary sources has experienced a remarkable revival. One of the most significant and recent contributions to this discourse is *The Formation of the Pentateuch*, edited by Jan G. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid, published in 2016.¹ This comprehensive volume examines the development of biblical scholarship and presents different perspectives on the origins and composition of the Pentateuch. It shows how scholarly traditions from different regions – European, Israeli, and North American – have shaped theories of the Pentateuch’s formation. Each of these academic communities has made unique contributions to the study of the Pentateuch’s origins, and the volume seeks to bridge the methodological and theoretical gaps between these different traditions of scholarship.

The four editors of the volume reserve for themselves the introductory chapter entitled ‘The Genesis and Goals of This Volume’, in which they highlight the long-standing debates surrounding the Pentateuch traditionally attributed to Moses, with particular emphasis on its composition and authority. The chapter addresses the ‘Documentary Hypothesis’, a framework that has profoundly influenced Pentateuchal scholarship. It also considers alternative theories which emphasize the complex process of redaction and the role of oral tradition in shaping the final form of the Pentateuch.

The editors emphasize that, despite the differences across academic traditions, there are notable areas of convergence among scholars. For example, there is widespread agreement that the Pentateuch is not the product of a single redaction or author, but rather a composite work, drawing from multiple texts of diverse origins that were edited and reworked over time. While source theories, including the traditional Documentary Hypothesis, have been subject to scrutiny and revision, the overarching consensus remains that the Pentateuch is the result of a complex historical process of composition and redaction. Despite these points of convergence, significant divergences persist among scholarly schools of thought regarding key aspects of the Pentateuch’s formation. European scholars, for instance, typically emphasize a historical-critical approach, focusing on the text’s historical context and development. In contrast, Israeli scholars often seek to explore the Pentateuch’s connection to the history of Israel as a nation,

¹ J. C. Gertz et al., eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

considering its role in shaping national identity. North American academics, by comparison, are increasingly influenced by interdisciplinary methodologies, incorporating the analysis of oral traditions, cultural and social dynamics, and the reception history of the text. In recent decades, there has also been a resurgence of interest in the Documentary Hypothesis, now revitalized in what is termed the ‘New Documentary Hypothesis’.

A recurring theme in the opening pages is the challenge of reconciling the divergent theories on the formation of the Pentateuch, especially in the context of the increasing specialization of different critical approaches. While some scholars prioritize the dating and structural analysis of the text, others focus on the social and cultural dynamics that shaped its composition. The authors suggest that, despite these differences, an ongoing dialogue between academic traditions could foster a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the Pentateuch’s origins and development.

The chapter concludes with a reflection on the future direction of Pentateuchal studies. The authors suggest that an integrated approach, one that synthesizes the different schools of thought, may hold the key to resolving current theoretical tensions and advancing our understanding of both the formation and the meaning of the Pentateuch. They argue that international collaboration among scholars from different academic traditions is crucial for the continued progress of the field.

Within the broader debate on the formation of the Pentateuch, which has been revisited in recent years², research has increasingly focused on the Priestly Writing (P) as a key component in the Torah’s composition history. Several aspects of this focus have been more thoroughly explored, including: (1) the nature and literary identity of P³; (2) the ongoing debate over the conclusion of the earliest layer of P (P⁸)⁴; (3) the relationship between P material and non-P material, especially in relation to earlier (pre-P), and later (post-P)⁵ literary layers; and (4)

² K. Schmid, *The Scribes of the Torah: The Formation of the Pentateuch in Its Literary and Historical Contexts*, 21st ed. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 45 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2023).

³ S. Boorer, *The Vision of the Priestly Narrative: Its Genre and Hermeneutics of Time*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 28 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2016). She insisted on the conclusion of P because of the promise of the Land in a previous work; see *The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch*, BZAW 205 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992). According to her analysis, the promise of the land – especially God’s promise to Abraham and his descendants – should not be understood as a mere geographical element. Rather, it represents a sacred and enduring covenant that God makes with Israel. This ‘oath’ of God thus becomes a central theme for understanding the structure and coherence of the Pentateuch.

⁴ J. Hutzli, *The Origins of P: Literary Profiles and Strata of the Priestly Texts in Genesis I – Exodus 40*, FAT 164 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2023); and B. Velčić, *The Priestly Narrative in Numbers 13–14: A Contribution to the Debate on the Extent of Pg*, FAT 2. 162 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2025).

⁵ F. Giuntoli and K. Schmid, eds., *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch: New Perspectives on its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles*, FAT 101 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015); A. Freidenreich, *Mutual Influence in Priestly and Non-Priestly Pentateuchal Narratives*, FAT 2. 153 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024).

the role of the priestly authors in both the composition and redaction of the Pentateuch. To date, the most significant point of consensus among scholars in this field is the near-unanimous agreement on the central role of the Priestly Writing in the Pentateuch's formation.

The research presented in this volume, which examines Exod 25–31 (First Tabernacle Account) and its relationship to Leviticus 8, challenges the previously held hypothesis that the Priestly Writing (P) played a significant role in the composition and redaction of the Pentateuch. More specifically, while it is clear that the Priestly Writing did indeed have a significant influence on the composition of the Torah, this influence predates the conceptualization of the final, five-book structure of the Pentateuch. If, as is increasingly accepted by scholars, the latter sections of Leviticus (Lev 17–26) can be attributed to post-P authors⁶, it logically follows that questions must be raised not only about where the Priestly Writing ends but also about how to account for the presence of material that appears to be attributable to P beyond that point, particularly in other sections of the Pentateuch, such as in the Book of Numbers.

The methods of textual and literary criticism employed in this study reveal the presence of an ancient priestly layer (P^g) within Exodus, but it does not extend beyond this point. This layer appears uncompleted but remains distinct from other literary material. The original P^g is best characterized as a work in progress, a 'construction site' where the agency is focused on creating a space to house the divine presence. It reflects a process of historical-literary development that unfolds in 'multistages'⁷. This same agency is subsequently taken up by the later Priestly Writing, which expands and completes the initial project up to Lev 8 by incorporating all the necessary elements for the encounter with the divine presence, now dwelling in a 'Tabernacle/Temple'. Later priestly authors (post-P) aligned this agency with their own, and the texts they incorporated were used to reinforce their authority and consolidate their leadership, especially the Aaronide Priesthood, within the singular institution that makes the 'divine presence' both visible and permanent: the 'Temple of Jerusalem'.

This kind of 'hermeneutic' and, above all, redactional activity is not characteristic of the Persian period but rather belongs to a later era, extending into the Hellenistic-Hasmonean period.⁸ The literary and redactional activity of these scribes is the real driving force behind the Torah/Pentateuch project, which is defined primarily by the reuse of earlier material, terminology, and concepts (P).

⁶ On these chapters see the recent valuable publication by J. Rhyder, *Centralizing the Cult: The Holiness Legislation in Leviticus 17–26*, FAT 134 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019); Julia Rhyder's work argues that Leviticus chapters 17–26 belong to a post-Priestly (post-P) phase, rather than to the Priestly Writing (P) traditionally associated with an author from the exilic or post-exilic period.

⁷ E. Blum, "Once Again: The Literary-Historical Profile of the P Tradition," in *Farewell to the Priestly Writing? The Current State of the Debate*, eds., F. Hartenstein and K. Schmid, *Ancient Israel and Its Literature* 38 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2019): 27–61, about the 'assumption of a multistage production history for P' (espec. 48).

⁸ On these aspects see the recent study of N. MacDonald, *The Making of the Tabernacle and the Construction of the Priestly Hegemony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

These elements were rewritten, reformulated, and expanded in order to achieve a specific purpose and ideological (and hermeneutical) agenda better suited to the historical context in which the scribes worked

Chapter 1

Introduction

The title of this monograph suggests a survey not only of Exod 25–31 but also of Exod 35–40. In fact, it constitutes a continuation of an earlier published study, which centers specifically on the second account of the Tabernacle (Exod 35–40).¹ That earlier work presents a textual and literary critical analysis of Exod 35–40. The present study expands upon the research conducted in that volume and corroborates many of the hypotheses advanced in the earlier publication.

From an editorial perspective, the chapters of Exod 25–31 are positioned as after an initial literary framework introduced in Exod 35–40. The thesis put forth in “*Post-Priestly Additions and Rewritings in Exodus 35–40*” argues the following points: (1) originally, there existed a simplified plan for making the Tabernacle, detailed in Exod 37–38*; (2) Exod 25–31 only includes part of chapter 26* and materials concerning the מוֹעֵד אֱהָל מוֹשֶׁה; (3) everything related to the מִשְׁכָּן was introduced and elaborated later, representing a tradition different from the מוֹעֵד אֱהָל מוֹשֶׁה; (4) Exod 25–31 was subsequently conceived to justify the Temple construction described in Exod 35–40; (5) after establishing the divine commands in Exod 25–31, the final editors definitively completed Exod 35–40.

The thesis underpinning these conclusions employs both textual and literary critical methodologies. These chapters are well-known in research history for textual issues across different forms: MT, LXX, and VL. This second study aims to complete the research on the entire section of Exod 25–31 and Exod 35–40. It will primarily focus on the section of divine commands, applying the aforementioned dual methodology. The study’s objective is to demonstrate how the collection of Exod 25–31 was editorially organized in relation to Lev 8–9 and the implications for the formation and composition of the Pentateuch.

The aim of the present study is also to propose a new framework for understanding the identity, as well as the literary and editorial evolution, of what is commonly referred to as Priestly Writing, particularly in its well-known variants such as P^g, P, P^s, or post-P. The text critical analysis of specific pericopes, such as the altar of incense, the priestly garments, and the Sabbath command, reveals a basic text (hypothetical P^g) that was in the process of evolution rather than being a completed entity. Consequently, the hypothesis of a fully formed ancient P^g extending through Lev 16 and Num 21 (or possibly even Num 27) is

¹ D. Lo Sardo, *Post-Priestly Additions and Rewritings in Exodus 35–40: An Analysis of MT, LXX, and Vetus Latina*, FAT 2. 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

effectively refuted.² It becomes evident that there exists an early form of Priestly Writing that is neither complete nor static, but rather in a state of continuous, open construction, albeit with established guidelines and overarching goals. In other words, a ‘divine’ and ‘literary’ plan of development emerges, both for the construction of the Tabernacle and for a broader, more expansive project.

From the earliest layers of Priestly Writing, particularly within the sections concerning the Tabernacle, one can discern that the central project and goal of P^g is to reconstruct a divine space inhabited by God, and to restore moments or conditions of encounter with His presence – worship. Space, time, and divine presence emerge as the three core trajectories and foundational leitmotifs of P^g, which are progressively refined, expanded, and perfected over time, ultimately evolving into what can be attributed to the later Priestly tradition (P)³. The notion of initial layers or fragments, which will gradually expand and develop, offers the most fitting characterization of what is known as Priestly Writing. The third phase of this process, both literary and compositional, culminates in a final editorial revision (KP-RP), aiming at the broad integration of Priestly Writing into a larger, unified project: the Pentateuch.⁴

A central focus of this study is the Priestly Writing, commonly referred to as P. The primary objective of this scribal tradition is manifestly the establishment of cultic practices, specifically the detailed prescriptions required for the proper conduct of worship. These prescriptions encompass the construction of the Tabernacle, the necessary ritual implements, the role of the priests, and the procedures of the rituals themselves. In essence, the reconstruction of Jewish identity following the return from exile is grounded primarily in YHWH’s covenantal promises to Abraham: the assurance of a descendant, the gift of land, and the blessing of all nations through that descendant. Scholars generally find little contention regarding the fulfillment of the first and third of these promises.

The history of research has been more contentious when it comes to the biblical texts and related sources from which the fulfillment of Israel’s entry into the Promised Land is definitively inferred. The theology surrounding the divine presence, along with the centrality of the cult and its associated temple, is prominently featured both in the Priestly P^g layer and in the subsequent Priestly expansions. This suggests that Lev 8 serves as both the textual and contextual focal point for the fulfillment of this promise, coinciding with the cultic inauguration.

² In this regard, refer to recent publications that address this topic; Hutzli, *The Origins of P*; Velčić, *The Priestly Narrative in Numbers 13–14*.

³ P. R. Davies, “Monotheism, Empire, and Cult(s) of Yehud in the Persian Period,” in *Religion in the Achaemenid Persian Empire: Emerging Judaism and Trends*, ed. D. Edelman, A. Fitzpatrick-McKinley, and P. Guillaume, ORA 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 24–35, esp. 32–33.

⁴ Here we share the views of E. Blum, “Once Again: The Literary-Historical Profile of the P Tradition,” in *Farewell to the Priestly Writing? The Current State of the Debate*, eds., F. Hartenstein and K. Schmid, *Ancient Israel and Its Literature* 38 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2019): 27–61, about the ‘assumption of a multistage production history for P’ (espec. 48).

The completion of the temple-cult project, therefore, aligns with the culmination of creation, which is understood as the establishment of divine space – a sanctified domain where God’s presence dwells and where humanity coexists with the divine.

1.1 Divine Orders Plane in Exod 25–31

The literary center of the second Tabernacle account in Exod 35–40 is marked by the detailed description of the altar of incense in Exod 37:25–29. Notably, this section (Exod 37:25–29) forms the midpoint of two nearly equal halves: Exod 35–37, comprising three chapters and 102 verses, and Exod 38–40, comprising three chapters and 112 verses. Why is this structural alignment apparent in Exod 35–40 but not in the literary framework of Exod 25–31? One might have expected the description of the altar of incense to appear between Exod 27 and Exod 28. However, it is, somewhat inexplicably, delayed until Exod 30:1–10, thereby subverting conventional narrative logic.

The hypothetical literary center between Exod 27 and 28 in the first Tabernacle account is comprehensible only when Exod 29 is excluded from consideration. Notably, by disregarding Exod 29 – given its closer thematic affinity with Lev 8 – the literary center of the first account can be identified between Exod 27 and 28, with Exod 25–27 comprising 98 verses, and Exod 28, 30–31 comprising 99 verses. The obvious misplacement of the altar of incense, coupled with the thematic overlap between Exod 29 and Lev 8, lends support to compositional and redactional hypotheses that substantiate the arguments proposed above. We now proceed with a detailed literary analysis of the first Tabernacle account.

The first Tabernacle account concerned has a structured layout but differs from Exod 35–40 in its distribution of material. Let’s summarize the content of each section across different chapters and then present them in a table:

(1) Exod 25:

- vv. 1–9: Contribution for the construction of the sanctuary
- vv. 10–22: Ark, mercy seat, cherubim
- vv. 23–30: Table of the showbread
- vv. 31–40: Lampstand and its lamps

(2) Exod 26:

- vv. 1–14: The Tabernacle with fabrics and coverings
- vv. 15–30: Framework
- vv. 31–37: Veils of separation

(3) Exod 27:

- vv. 1–8: Altar of burnt offering
- vv. 9–19: Courtyard
- vv. 20–21: Oil for the lampstand

(4) Exod 28:

- Priestly garments

(5) Exod 29:

- vv. 1–9: Consecration of Aaron and his sons
- vv. 10–21: Offerings
- vv. 22–30: Ordination of the priests
- vv. 31–35: Meal offering
- vv. 36–37: Consecration of the altar of burnt offering
- vv. 38–46: Daily burnt offering

(6) Exod 30:

- vv. 1–10: Altar of incense
- vv. 11–16: Census tax
- vv. 17–21: Basin
- vv. 22–33: Anointing oil
- vv. 34–38: Incense

(7) Exod 31:

- vv. 1–11: Artisans of the sanctuary
- vv. 12–17: Sabbath command
- v. 18: Delivery of the tablets of the Testimony to Moses

This table offers a clearer representation of the distribution of both the divine commands and the construction of the sanctuary in literature:

Table 1: Synoptic Overview Between MT Exod 25–31 and Exod 35–40

	Exod 35–40 // Exod 25–31
Introduction and Conclusion	35:1–3 Sabbath command (31:12–17); 35:4–9 material offered (25:1–9); 35:10–19 summary of things done (31:7–11); 35:20–29 offerings and those offering; 35:30–35 laborers (31:1–6); 36:1–2a delivery of material to laborers; 36:2b–7 overflow of offerings; <u>31:18</u> delivery to Moses of the Tables of Testimony (<u>absent in Exod 35–40</u>).
Furnishings	37:1–5 ark (25:10–16); 37:6–9 propitiatory (25:17–22); 37:10–16 table (25:23–30); 37:17–24 candlestick (25:31–40); <u>37:25–28</u> altar of incense (<u>30:1–10</u>); 37:29 oil of unction and incense (30:22–38); <u>27:20–21</u> oil for the light (<u>absent</u>).
Structure	26:1–14 (curtains); 26:15–30 (frame); 26:31–35 (veil); <u>26:36–37</u> (curtain) – <u>absent</u> in 36:8–34.
Courtyard	38:1–7 bronze altar (27:1–8); 38:8 basin (30:17–21); 38:9–20 curtains and materials for courtyard (27:9–19).
Account of Metals	<u>38:21–31</u> summary (<u>absent</u>); <u>38:24</u> gold (<u>absent</u>); <u>38:25–28</u> silver (<u>absent</u>); <u>38:29–31</u> bronze (<u>absent</u>).
Vestments	39:2–7 ephod (28:6–14); 39:8–21 breastplate (28:15–29); <u>28:30</u> Urim and Thummim (<u>absent</u>); 39:22–26 mantle of the ephod (28:31–35); 39:30–32 gold leaf (28:36–39); 39:27–29 other vestments (28:40–43); <u>29:1–30</u> Ordinations (<u>absent</u>); <u>30:11–16</u> census tax money (<u>absent</u>).
Delivery	39:33–43 delivery of completed items; 39:33–43 delivery of completed items.

The distribution of material regarding the divine orders for the construction of the sanctuary spans seven chapters, while the section from Exod 35 to 40, which describes the execution of these orders, extends over six chapters. The discrepancy in the number of chapters between the orders and their realization may be due to several factors, including the detailed description of the divine orders compared to their practical implementation:

- (1) chapter 26 is longer than chapter 36;
- (2) the note on the oil for the lampstand in Exod 27:20–21 is absent in Exod 35–40;
- (3) contrary to the identical number of verses, the section on the priestly garments (chapter 28) is longer than the description of their realization (chapter 39);
- (4) the liturgical-cultic dimension ordained in chapter 29 is not addressed in Exod 35–40;
- (5) chapter 30 is significantly longer than chapter 37, with a ratio of 38 verses to 12;
- (6) chapter 38 provides an account of the metals used for construction, logically absent in Exod 25–31;
- (7) chapter 31 concludes with a note concerning the Tablets of the Law that connects more with Exod 24:12–18 than with Exod 25–31.

In conclusion, when compared to Exod 35–40, the section containing the divine instructions exhibits the following characteristics: (a) it is more comprehensive; (b) it is richer in detail; (c) it follows a consistent logical progression throughout the plan of instructions, moving from the innermost sacred spaces outward; (d) it gives the impression of having been meticulously crafted from a more preliminary draft (Exod 35–40); and (e) the literary correspondence between Exod 31 and Exod 35, particularly through the rhetorical device of chiasmus, suggests a deliberate and carefully executed editorial design.

The most critical aspect of this structure lies in the fundamental principle guiding the sequence of commands. In Exod 25–31, the narrative unfolds systematically, beginning with the Holy of Holies and its primary furnishings – the ark and cherubim –, and progressively moving outward toward the less sacred areas, namely the Holy Place, with its associated items, such as the table of showbread and the lampstand. The sequence of instructions continues further, addressing the coverings that surround these two inner spaces, gradually expanding from the interior to the exterior. Subsequently, the order extends to the courtyard and the altar of burnt offering.

However, an anomalous feature that deviates from this progression is the placement of divine instructions pertaining to the oil for the lampstand (Exod 27:20–21), the altar of incense (Exod 30:1–10), and the basin for ablutions (Exod 30:17–21). These commands do not align with the expected order: the first two instructions would more logically follow Exod 25:40 (in the Holy Place), while the command regarding the basin would be anticipated after Exod 27:19 (in the courtyard).

1.2 Textual and Literary Problems in Exod 25–31

For the history of research, Exod 35–40, in relation to the composition of the Pentateuch, has been extensively studied, whereas Exod 25–31 has received less attention.⁵ This observation stems from the fact that for Exod 35–40, the textual tradition is diverse. Indeed, the MT, the LXX, and the *Vetus Latina* present different forms for Exod 35–40. In contrast, the section of the divine orders (Exod 25–31) has primarily been studied to demonstrate that the entirety of Exod 25–31 and Exod 35–40 constitutes priestly material (P). Even in more recent studies, there is a persistent emphasis that this large section is the work of P, excluding the possibility of post-Priestly editorial activity (post-P).⁶

From a textual standpoint, significant differences between the MT and the LXX in Exod 35–40 are highlighted in: Exod 36:10–34 (absent in LXX); Exod 37:10b–15 (absent in LXX); Exod 37:25–28 (absent in LXX); Exod 39:34, 39 (absent in LXX); LXX Exod 38:18–20 (absent in MT); LXX Exod 39:12 (absent in MT). In my previous study (*Post-Priestly Additions and Rewritings in Exodus 35–40: An Analysis of MT, LXX, and Vetus Latina*) I used the *Vetus Latina* as a witness to Exod 36–40 for the text critical analysis of these variants. Regarding the section on divine orders, however, the *Vetus Latina* can only be consulted for the chapters of Exod 31:15–33:7. Though, apart from the *Vetus Latina*'s testimony, the section from Exod 25–31 presents numerous textual issues where substantial differences from the MT are evident. Therefore, this study will address some of these issues:

- (1) Exod 37:25–28 (absent in LXX);
- (2) LXX-SP Exod 25:8–10 (≠ MT);
- (3) Exod 26:35 (SP + 30:1–10) (≠ MT, LXX, Vg, Pesh);
- (4) LXX Exod 27:19 and SP (≠ MT);
- (5) Exod 28:26–28 (absent in LXX).

⁵ T. Römer and C. Nihan, “Le débat actuel sur la formation du Pentateuque,” in *Introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, ed. T. Römer, MdB 49 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2004), 85–113; T. Pola, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift. Beobachtungen zur Literarkritik und Traditionsgeschichte von P^s*, WMANT 70 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995), 213–98; C. Nihan, “L'écrit sacerdotal comme réplique au récit deutéronomiste des origines. Quelques remarques sur la ‘bibliothèque’ de P,” in *La Bible en récits. L'exégèse biblique à l'heure du lecteur*, ed. D. Marguerat, MdB 48 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2003), 196–212; T. Römer, “Nouvelles recherches sur le Pentateuque. A propos de quelques ouvrages récents,” *ETR* 77 (2002): 69–78; R. Michaud, *Débat actuel sur les sources et l'âge du Pentateuque* (Paris: Médiaspaul, 1994), 50–93; and R. G. Kratz, “The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate,” in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. T. B. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. J. Schwartz, FAT 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 31–61. For an overview see E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), see J.-L. Ska, “Un nouveau Wellhausen?” *Bib* 72 (1991): 253–63. Among the most recent publications on the composition of the Pentateuch see, J. C. Gertz, et al., eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

⁶ Lo Sardo, *Post-Priestly Additions*.

Let us briefly summarize the specific textual divergences:

(1) in Exod 37:25–28, the LXX completely omits the description of the altar of incense⁷;

(2) in Exod 25:8–10, the LXX uses verbs in the 2nd person singular, while the MT uses 2nd person plural; in verse 8, the LXX translates וְשָׁכַנְתִּי as ὁφθήσομαι; in verse 9, the LXX and SP add ἐν τῷ ὄρει;

(3) in Exod 26:35, the SP includes the passage from Exod 30:1–10 concerning the altar of incense, which stands in stark contrast to all other textual witnesses;

(4) towards the end of the description of the courtyard, the LXX, SP, and some minor manuscripts extend the passage of Exod 27:19 to include details about the priestly garments;

(5) in the description of the priestly garments, the LXX omits Exod 28:26–28 from the MT, which contains details about the breastplate;

(6) the phrase in MT Exod 30:6ba concerning the altar of incense is absent in the SP, LXX, and 10 manuscripts; instead of אֶנְצִי (“I will meet you”), the LXX translates it as γνωσθήσομαι (“I will make myself known to you”); the same phenomenon is also present in Exod 25:21 and Exod 29:42.

The variants listed are indeed among the most significant and worthy of attention. However, a glance at the critical apparatus of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS)⁸ reveals many more variants. Some of these, though minor, highlight issues related to the composition and transmission of the text. Others are attributed to interpretative problems arising from translators or copyists. In several cases, as we will see, many readings that diverge between the LXX and MT surprisingly align with the SP or Qumran texts. Ultimately, we face both additions and omissions in these readings, as well as variations in quality.

The literary analysis of Exod 25–31 may initially appear less complex compared to Exod 35–40, yet this section poses greater challenges for textual criticism. The non-linear arrangement of certain passages and their connections to both chapter 24 and chapter 35 suggest a more intricate editorial process than might be assumed. Based on previous studies, it is plausible to consider that segments of Exod 26–27 (paralleling Exod 37–38) aided as foundational elements during the composition phase. Furthermore, a previously proposed editorial hypothesis contends that, at an earlier stage in the composition of the Exodus

⁷ According to critical apparatus of BHS: || 25^a 25–28 > 6.

⁸ See BHS, 148 n. b related to Exod 36:8. See also E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 303 and M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 173–74.

narrative, Exod 33:7–11 may have originally been integrally linked to Exod 19:12–16, potentially predating the establishment of the divine commandments.

From a literary perspective, it is crucial to assess the relationship between Exod 24:12–18 and other passages: is it Exod 25:1–9 that establishes a connection with Exod 24:12–18, or vice versa? Secondly, the composition sequence of chapters 31 and 35 warrants examination: which was written first, and were they authored by the same individual or different authors? Additionally, is there a thematic connection between the Sabbath commandment in Exod 31:12–17 (paralleling Exod 35:1–5) and Gen 2:2–3 (or Exod 20:8)?

These questions underscore the complexity of the literary structure and editorial decisions within Exodus, revealing layers of textual interplay and thematic continuity that require further exploration.

1.3 Working Hypotheses of the Monograph

The primary aim of this study is to substantiate the following hypotheses:

(1) A more ancient textual form existed prior to the current MT, not only for Exod 35–40 but also for Exod 25–31.

(2) The sections concerning the priestly garments and the rites of consecration for Aaron and his sons in the Priestly stratum (P^s) likely comprised a much more concise description, which was later expanded and enriched by the Priestly Writing (P).

(3) The literary development of Exod 29 is editorially linked to Lev 8, and Lev 8, in turn, is interconnected with Exod 40.

(4) A clearer distinction must be drawn between the conclusion of the Tabernacle sections, the conclusion of the Book of Exodus, and the relationship of this conclusion to Lev 8.

(5) The first priestly stratum (P^s) was not a fully realized literary and narrative composition, but rather a work with clear and precise objectives, which progressively moved toward completion.

(6) The scribal entourage of the Priestly Writing (P) brought the initial priestly project to completion by finalizing the temple, ritual, and cultic constructs, with this literary, theological, and hermeneutical culmination clearer in Lev 8 than in Lev 9 (or Lev 16).

(7) Numerous literary and editorial refinements (KP-RP) are subsequent and pertain to post-Priestly authors who were active during the Hellenistic-Hasmonean period.

Concerning the investigation of texts related to the altar of incense, the following points will be demonstrated:

(a) In its initial form, the altar of incense did not exist in Exod 35–40;

(b) The only altar present in the original Priestly composition was the altar of burnt offering, as attested by textual witnesses that reflect an earlier Hebrew Vorlage, both in the Tabernacle sections and in Lev 1–8;

(c) This earlier Hebrew Vorlage reveals that the altar of incense was originally located in the Holy of Holies and was only later moved to the Holy (Lev 16).

With regard to the texts concerning the priestly garments, it will be argued that due to the elements present in Exod 28 but absent in Exod 39, the initial description was more concise. Subsequently, it was expanded and enriched with additional details, some of which are explicitly visible, while others remain implicit. Certain textual and literary indicators of these later modifications are evident at the conclusion of Exod 27, where the connection to Exod 28 is tenuous, as well as in the later, visibly added reference to Urim and Thummim at the end of Exod 28.

A particularly important focus will be the literary analysis of Exod 29 and Lev 8, and the compositional history that emerges. Just as the conclusion of the Book of Exodus is complex and unresolved, it remains narratively open and is intricately linked to Lev 8.

The chiasmic structure between Exod 31 and Exod 35 presents a compelling feature, particularly when considered in conjunction with other texts that exhibit a distinct Priestly style. While the process of completing this composition reveals considerable complexity in its editorial and compositional development, it remains relatively straightforward in terms of the hermeneutical and theological frameworks it embodies. Textual layers emerge as discrete narrative blocks, and literary sections are progressively expanded and refined through subsequent additions and supplements, ultimately culminating in a cohesive and fully realized editorial work.

1.4 Interaction of Working Methods

While Exod 25–31 presents challenges in textual criticism, this aspect is less pronounced compared to Exod 35–40. In the section detailing the construction of the Tabernacle, the divergence in textual forms among the MT, LXX, and *VL* is particularly notable. Indeed, both the scope and arrangement of the various pericopes vary significantly across these textual traditions. From the MT to the LXX and then to the *VL*, the textual content of Exod 35–40 progressively diminishes, and the arrangement of chapters varies considerably.

In Exod 25–31, the issue of textual differences is less prominent, but the literary complexity arises from considering the contribution of Exod 35–40 to the composition history. If, as suggested in studies on *Post-Priestly Additions*, the origins of Exod 35–40 can be traced to the core elements found in chapters 37–38, with even fewer elements originating from chapters 26–27, it becomes necessary to explore how these sections developed and were composed. It has also been noted that once the section on divine orders was structured, it likely served as a foundation for organizing Exod 35–40 anew.

To address the inherent problems in Exod 25–31, both textual and literary, the methodology will be chosen accordingly. In *Post-Priestly Additions*, the

textual critical method was initially employed to establish the earliest textual form of Exod 35–40 across various textual witnesses. This approach aimed to demonstrate several key findings: (a) the *VL* preserves the earliest textual form of a pre-Masoretic Hebrew text; (b) *LXX* represents a composite text striving to approximate what later stabilized as the *MT*; (c) significant differences and modifications between the current *MT*, *LXX*, and *VL* can be attributed to scribes known as post-Priestly (post-P).

As the *Status Quaestionis* in *Post-Priestly Additions* demonstrates,⁹ the history of research has been marked by the methodologies applied to the Tabernacle sections. Most authors have favored the literary-critical method, and it was only in the latter half of the previous century that text-critical study gained broader acceptance. However, integrating both methods addresses two fundamental questions inherent in the history of composition: (a) Which specific text is being referred to, considering the diverse readings present in the various textual witnesses? (b) What occurred in the literary and editorial processes that led to the composition of Exod 25–31 and Exod 35–40?

Unlike the preceding work, this study does not intend to separate the analysis into distinct phases based on the methods used. Therefore, for each textual issue addressed, the literary and editorial data will also be highlighted, in relation to both its immediate context and the entire sections. In order to address the textual and literary challenges within Exod 25–31 adequately, the study's methodology will be chosen accordingly.

In the study of textual criticism, different texts with varying readings are compared, without always favoring the *MT*. Sometimes, readings from secondary witnesses are preferred over the *MT*, as will be shown. Also, for several sections, extra-biblical literature is very helpful. Biblical authors weren't always completely original, so comparing with other texts (like ANE literature, post-biblical sources, and rabbinic literature), and sometimes analyzing language similarities, can reveal connections or influences from earlier or contemporary texts.

From a literary-critical perspective, we will discuss insights from scholars who have analyzed each text. We will primarily engage with proponents of the Documentary Hypothesis, though we do not assume their conclusions. Furthermore, we will focus on ideas put forth by scholars of *Redaktionsgeschichte*. This approach is more suitable and compelling for studying the Pentateuch and its composition. The idea that the biblical text originated from small cores and fragments, which developed over time with additions, explains the complex and varied nature of the literary work that includes both the sections on the Tabernacle and the Pentateuch.

⁹ Lo Sardo, *Post-Priestly Additions*, 11–25.

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