

HRYHORIY LOZINSKY

The Feasts
of the Calendar in the
Book of Numbers

Forschungen
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
132

Mohr Siebeck

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132



Hryhoriy Lozinskyy

The Feasts of the Calendar in the Book of Numbers

Num 28:16–30:1 in the Light of Related
Biblical Texts and Some Ancient Sources
of 200 BCE–100 CE

Mohr Siebeck

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To

*My parents,
sister,
wife, and children*

With love and gratitude

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ApOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
b. Sukkah	Talmud Bavli Tractate Sukkah
BAI	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BiAth	Biblioteca di Athenaeum
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BBRSup</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements</i>
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BibMid	Biblioteca Midrásica
BThS	Biblich-theologische Schwerpunkte
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament

BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CahRB</i>	<i>Cahiers de la Revue Biblique</i>
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CeB	Century Bible
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentaries
ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
<i>COS</i>	<i>Context of Scripture</i>
<i>CahRat</i>	<i>Cahiers Ratisbonne</i>
<i>CuTe(Ba)</i>	<i>Cuadernos de teología (Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos. Buenos Aires)</i>
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i>
EcMa	Ecclesia Mater
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>Erlsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel. Archeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GApPs	Guides for Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JAAJ</i>	<i>Judaïsme Ancien – Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JCPS	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJ.S	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
LBPTest	Libri biblici. Primo Testamento
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LOS	London Oriental Series
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
<i>MEAH</i>	<i>Miscelánea de estudios arabes y hebraicos</i>
NBEsp	Nueva Biblia Española
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDB</i>	<i>New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
NTL	New Testament Library
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OrSyr</i>	<i>L'orient syrien</i>
OrSem	Orients Sémitiques
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PMS	Publications in Mediaeval Studies
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
<i>QC</i>	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>

RStBW	Routledge Studies in the Biblical World
RTFL	Recueil de travaux. Faculté des Lettres et Sciences, Université de Neuchâtel
<i>RThom</i>	<i>Revue thomiste</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SB	Sources Bibliques
<i>SBLSCS</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature. Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SCSer	Septuagint Commentary Series
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism and Late Antiquity
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SRivBib	Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StThH	Studia Theologica Holmiensis
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WCom	Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WZ(G).GS</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe</i>
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

Introduction

The annual festival legislation in Num 28:16–30:1 is the object of this study. This pericope deals with five annual feasts: Passover/Unleavened Bread (28:16–25), Day of the First Fruits (28:26–31), Day of Acclamation (29:1–6), Yom Kippur (29:7–11), and Sukkot (29:12–38). These feasts are treated within the calendar of Num 28:1–30:1 that, in addition to them, treats also the daily, Sabbath, and New Moon offerings in its first part (Num 28:3–15). It is moreover one of five calendars in the entire Pentateuch. If one takes into account that there is yet another calendar, namely Ezek 45:18–46:15, that bears witness to different calendrical and ritual data, the presence of such a variety of calendars catches one's attention and requires a more detailed study.

The most recent and detailed contribution on this topic is an article of Christophe Nihan, "Israel's Festival Calendars in Lev 23 and Num 28–29 and the Formation of 'Priestly' Literature", 2008. Some other contributions dealt with this pericope, although in more concise ways: Rost (1958), Gorman (1990), Swanson (2004), Wagenaar (2005). On the broader level, multiple studies have been offered on the rituals and sacrifices (Eberhart, Janowski, Marx, Milgrom, Schenker just to mention a few of the authors). Despite such an interest in the rituals, there is no monograph on Num 28:1–30:1, that is, on the text that can be labeled as the sacrificial calendar in the Pentateuch.

This paper thus attempts to offer an extensive study on Num 28:16–30:1, although several topics have not been included here and need to be treated separately. On the general level, at least three different but related topics are approached in this study: sacrifices, calendars, and feasts. In particular, this research should be located among the ones that try to show how Scripture was used to write the Scripture, in other words, how the scribes managed several extant biblical texts available to them to compose new ones. Num 28:1–30:1 is a good case study for such a purpose: it is situated in what is most likely the latest book of the Pentateuch, moreover, it is in the latest part of the Book of Numbers itself (chaps. 27–36). In summary, when Num 28:1–30:1 was being written, many if not most of the Pentateuchal texts existed already. Thus, one of the goals here is to try to read behind the text how it came to its final form, what new elements it contains, how the earlier texts have been reworked, and, finally, how the legal exegesis was in process.

A diachronic method is used in this study since one has to deal with several calendars dated from the pre-exilic times though at least the later Persian period. Several problems that these calendars raise are inserted into the synopsis. As a matter of principle, the text is better understood when it is read within the web

of the other parallel and related passages, and this holds especially true for the calendrical texts. Hence, the comparative approach seems unavoidable especially for the festival legislation: it is one of the best examples throughout the whole OT of legal parallels since various calendars trace the development of the festival legislation over several centuries. The current scholarship gave rise to several hypotheses on the relationship between these calendars, and thus the answer to such an issue remains rather a *desideratum*. This holds true especially when Lev 23:1–44, Num 28:1–30:1, and Ezek 45:18–46:15 are taken into account and rendered parallel to each other. The question of the relationship between these calendars cannot be reduced simply to the chronological priority of one over another. The relationship seems to be more complex and is rooted most likely in the final formation of what is now the Pentateuch, and in which one can discern the presence of more than one priestly tradition. Here a dialogue is established with various authors but especially with Nihan's contribution on one hand and Knohl's (1995) on the other: both these authors treat in detail the priestly calendars and represent a good point of departure for a further analysis.

This study is collocated along with other recent contributions that show an interest in the study of the Book of Numbers. In the current scholarship there are more and more reminders that there is a need for the study of the Book of Leviticus. When it comes to the Book of Numbers, there seems to be less attention paid to it. However, when one approaches the Book of Leviticus, there is almost automatically a need for the study of the Book of Numbers because of the affinity of the cultic materials found in these two books.

This study deals also with the ancient sources of ca. 200 BCE–100 CE. Since the annual festival legislation in Numbers represents one of the chronologically closest texts to the non-canonical compositions, it can be viewed as a bridge between earlier biblical calendars and these ancient sources that used the biblical data as sources. Each chapter presents first the literal translation of the Hebrew text in question; the *status quaestionis* of each feast as it is presented in the account in Numbers is provided; the passage in question is consequently studied in relationship with its counterpart in Lev 23:1–44 and other related biblical passages; and finally, this same pericope is placed within the history of interpretation. For this latter operation several texts are taken into consideration: the Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Deuterocanonical Books, and some ancient Jewish writers. Josephus' works represent a chronological extreme for this study. Here and there mention is made also of some literature of the Ancient Near East, NT, and some rabbinic texts. There are some handicaps that make the analysis of these ancient sources more difficult. First, several texts are fragmentary, and the restorations offered by the authors differ in several points. Moreover, the Book of Jubilees is one of the sources providing considerable information on the feast in question among the extra-biblical literature. Furthermore, the only DSS MS that deals more in detail with all the feasts taken into account is the Temple Scroll, but it is fragmentary in several places. Yet, the

advantage of the study of these texts is that one gets more information for the calendar practices in ancient Israel from extra-biblical sources than from the biblical texts. The study of these sources will be thus helpful in order to understand some problems that biblical texts raise, since several times these ancient sources try to clarify the biblical data.

When it comes to the boundaries of this study, some observations have to be made. It is not another contribution on all the feasts or each single feast treated here. It is impossible to deal with all the problems of all five feasts in all their aspects such as history, theology, and exegesis. There is already a variety of valuable contributions on these topics. One study cannot encompass all these problems, and each feast can certainly be studied separately. The goal here is to understand what the specific problems of the annual legislation in Num 28:16–30:1 are. These problems of course are approached better once all the calendars are compared, yet, the focus is on this specific calendar.

In sum, this study ventures to offer an extensive analysis of the annual festival legislation as it is found in one of the latest parts of the entire Pentateuch. In other words, it aims at offering a contribution on one of the most important and extensive sections in the Pentateuch as well as in the entire OT that deals with the sacrificial rituals prescribed for the annual feasts.

Chapter 1

Passover/Unleavened Bread

*Remember the commandments
that the Lord gave you regarding the Passover
so that you may celebrate it at its time
on the fourteenth of the first month,
that you may sacrifice it before evening,
and so that they may eat it at night
on the evening of the fifteenth
from the time of sunset.¹*
(Jub. 49:1)

MT

16 וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן
בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ
פָּסַח לַיהוָה:

17 וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה
חַג שִׁבְעַת יָמִים
מִצוֹת יֵאָכַל:

18 בְּיוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן
מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ
כָּל־מְלָאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

19 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אֹשֶׁה
עֹלָה לַיהוָה
פָּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר שְׁנַיִם
וְאֵיל אֶחָד
וְשִׁבְעָה כֹּבְשִׁים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה
תְּמִימִם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם:

Num 28:16–25²

16. And in the first month
on the fourteenth day of the month
[there will be] Passover to the Lord.

17. And on the fifteenth day of this month
[there will be] a feast seven days
unleavened bread will be eaten.

18. On the first day
[there will be] a holy convocation.
You will do no laborious work.

19. And you will bring an offering,
a whole burnt offering to the Lord:
two young bulls,
one ram,
and seven lambs a year old,
they will be for you without blemish.

¹ The English translation is taken from James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees 2*, vol. 2 of *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Sidnie W. Crawford, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2018), 1166. The same edition is used for all the other quoted passages of the Book of Jubilees, unless explicitly indicated. Almost the same translation is given in VanderKam's earlier work: *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO.Ae 511; Leuven: E. Peeters, 1989), 324–5.

² For all the sections of Num 28:1–30:1 the literal translation will be provided.

20 וּמִנְחָתָם
 סֵלֶת בְּלוּלָה בַשֶּׁמֶן
 שְׁלֹשָׁה עֲשָׂרִים לַבַּר
 וּשְׁנֵי עֲשָׂרִים לְאֵיל תַּעֲשׂוּ:

21 עֶשְׂרוֹן עֶשְׂרוֹן תַּעֲשֶׂה
 לְכֹבֵשׁ הָאֶחָד
 לְשִׁבְעַת הַכֹּבָשִׁים:

22 וְשַׁעִיר חַטָּאת אֶחָד
 לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיכֶם:

23 מִלֶּבֶר עֲלֵת הַבֶּקָר
 אֲשֶׁר לְעֹלֵת הַתָּמִיד
 תַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־אֲלֵהָ:

24 כָּאֵלֶּה תַעֲשׂוּ
 לְיוֹם שִׁבְעַת יָמִים
 לֶחֶם אֲשֶׁה רֵיח־נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה
 עַל־עוֹלֹת הַתָּמִיד יַעֲשֶׂה וְנִסְכּוֹ:

25 וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי
 מִקְרֵא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם
 כָּל־מְלָאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: ס

20. And their cereal offering [shall be of] fine flour mixed with the oil: you will do three tenths for the bull, and two tenths for the ram.

21. You will do one tenth for one lamb, for seven lambs.

22. And one goat [as] a sin offering³ to make atonement for you.

23. You will do them in addition to the whole burnt offering of the morning which is for the daily whole burnt offering.

24. [Offerings] like these you will do on each day for seven days, food of an offering of soothing odour to the Lord. It will be made in addition to the daily whole burnt offering and its libation.

25. And on the seventh day you will have a holy convocation. You will do no laborious work.

Num 28:1–30:1 can be defined as a *sacrificial* calendar. Most likely, on its general outline, it constitutes a literary unity, especially when it comes to the annual festival legislation in Num 28:16–30:1.⁴ Following the dispositions for the day, Sabbath, and New Moon, Num 28:16–25 deals with its first annual occasion, that is, Passover (28:16) and Unleavened Bread (28:17–25).

³ On the difficulty of translating the חַטָּאת as sacrifice, see Adrian Schenker, “Les sacrifices dans la Bible”, in *Recht und Kult im Alten Testament*, OBO 172 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 2000), 12–5. The translation “sin offering” is preferred here and elsewhere, for more discussion on this sacrifice and its translation see § 2.3.2.6.

⁴ These are some of the authors that claim the literary unity of this calendar: Martin Noth, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri*, ATD 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 190; Eryl W. Davies, *Numbers*, NCBC (London: Marshal; Pickering: Eerdmans, 1995), 307; Christophe Nihan, “Israel’s Festival Calendars in Lev 23 and Num 28–29 and the Formation of ‘Priestly’ Literature”, in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*, ed. Thomas Römer, BETL 215 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 186–7. As for the authors that deal with the editorial additions in the calendar, see Ludwig Schmidt, *Das Vierte Buch Mose. Numeri 10,11–36,13 übersetzt und erklärt von Ludwig Schmidt*, ATD 7.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 175 who claims Num 28:3–8 is secondary; Horst Seebass, *Numeri 22,2–36,13*, BKAT 4,3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2007), 239 who states 28:6 and 28:23 are secondary.

One of the first impressions that Num 28:16–25 leaves is the precision and consistency of the exposition of the arguments that come along with this passage. Indeed, it is well structured, the questions it treats are arranged in a well-defined consequence, and thus its literary flow appears to be smooth. This precision is especially noticeable in two issues: first, the days for Passover and Unleavened Bread are fixed, showing when the sacred occasions of the first month fall; second, the offerings are specified in detail. Thus, the passage in question furnishes the exact days of the feast, and, moreover, the kind of the sacrifices that have to be offered.

Most commentators have considered this passage as well as the whole calendar as relevant to the Priestly material or as supplementary to the Priestly literature.⁵ Furthermore, since Num 28:16–25 is one of a series of passages that regulate the Passover/Unleavened Bread dispositions,⁶ a textual dependency and consequently the relative chronology could be established between them. Where can this text be placed chronologically within the cluster of other texts treating Passover/Unleavened Bread? Could its length, since it is the longest legal text dealing with the Passover/Unleavened Bread, and detailed sacrificial dispositions, point to a rather late date of composition?⁷

⁵ Those who generally claim that it belongs to the priestly material: George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, ICC, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1965): xxxviii; Jules de Vaulx, *Les Nombres*, SB (Paris: Gabalda, 1972), 19; Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, WBC 5 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), xviii, 312–4; Davies, *Numbers*, 306; Shimon Gesundheit, *Three Times a Year: Studies on Festival Legislation in the Pentateuch*, FAT 82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1. On the other hand, it is considered also as a supplement to P, see John Sturdy, *Numbers*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 200.

⁶ From now on the expression Passover/Unleavened Bread with the slash will be used for convenience, unless only Passover or only Unleavened Bread are meant in the text. The concern here is not to solve the difficulty treated by many authors about the relationship between these two feasts, that is when they existed separately and at what time they became united. Although a reference will be made to such a problem, in this study the position is that at the time of the drafting of Num 28:1–30:1, the two occasions were merged into one: on the first day the Passover and the following seven days of the Unleavened Bread.

⁷ There can be a long discussion about the phenomenon of the Rewritten Bible (some scholars prefer the term Rewritten Scripture, justifying this usage by claiming there was no tripartite canon till the II century CE). Indeed, Num 28:16–25 is only *one* text among several others that treat the Passover/Unleavened Bread regulations and thus represents a case for such a phenomenon. The question of textual dependency between the texts containing the Passover/Unleavened Bread law will be treated later on. The concern here is just to hint that the tendency of the scribes to “smooth out” the inconsistencies of the older texts and to extend them making recent texts more even, is usually seen by scholars as one that can be helpful in determining how two or more similar texts refer to each other. See Dominique Barthélemy, Alexander R. Hulst, William D. McHardy et al., *Pentateuch/Pentateuque*, vol. 1. of *Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project/Compte*

Here an attempt will be made to establish the textual relationships with other related canonical and non-canonical texts. It will be especially useful to determine what relative chronology can be drawn among the biblical calendrical texts, and how this passage has been read by the following literature. The argumentation will proceed as follows. First, the preliminary issues will be drafted. Num 28:16–25 has as its closest parallel Lev 23:5–8 and thus the study will start with the comparison between these two. Furthermore, both the similarities and the divergences will be delineated. This will help to determine how the texts grew and what accents developed in the process of growing. Moreover, the analysis of the divergences of these two very close passages will be presented as well as other similar biblical texts. An attempt will be made to show how the scribal work in the Book of Numbers can be faithful to the preceding traditions and yet innovative at the same time. Finally, the passage in question will be inserted into a broader context of several compositions from the ancient sources of ca. 200 BCE–100 CE.⁸ The aim of the last task is to understand whether this passage could have an influence on the subsequent literature since it is only one among many others that deal with the Passover/Unleavened Bread.

1. Num 28:16–25: *Status Quaestionis*

Num 28:16–25 presents a series of questions, both when it is read alone, and especially when it is compared with other related texts. The question of the rationale of one more Passover/Unleavened Bread text arises. The difficulty increases when one realizes that a legal text is at stake. In fact, one finds the feast of the Passover/Unleavened Bread within the Pentateuch in all the calendars contained there. Hence, Num 28:16–25 has to be read within the context of other similar legal passages.

Furthermore, Num 28:16–25 deals with the sacrifices in detail. In this case it represents a unique tradition in the entire Pentateuch. Outside of the five books of Moses, there is also another text, that is, Ezek 45:21–24, that addresses the same issue: what kind of offerings must be offered, and in what

rendu préliminaire et provisoire sur le travail d'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu (New York: United Bible Societies, 1979), xi; Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts", *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29; *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012) 258, 279; Anders K. Petersen, "Textual Fidelity, Elaboration, Supersession or Encroachment? Typological Reflections on the Phenomenon of Rewritten Scripture", in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, *JSJS* 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 25.

⁸ The period of time designated by 200 BCE–100 CE in all its occurrences has to be intended as approximate and not exact.

quantity, during this sacred occasion. Here other questions arise: what is its relationship with the calendar in Numbers? Why do the sacrificial dispositions differ in some points: different numbers and animals in both the traditions? Is there any source from which Num 28:16–25 takes all the information for the sacrifices?

Moreover, the relationship between Passover on one hand and Unleavened Bread on the other has to be clarified. How can one define the boundary between these two sacred occasions that originally were distinct? Most likely, for the first time an attempt to unite them has been made in Deut 16:1–8.⁹ That is why one should ask to what kind of connection between two occasions, if there is one, does Num 28:16–25 bear witness? What kind of operations are recognizable in the text that testify in favor of one or another type of relationship?

On a broader level, one must address also the question of two extensive calendars in the Pentateuch: Lev 23:1–44 and Num 28:1–30:1. Many elements are the same, albeit several divergences are found too. In fact, a closer look reveals that they differ in a series of details. So how should they be read: what kind of relationship can be perceived here – does one replace another, or are they complementary; did they exist as two separate traditions both knowing each other, or was there some other kind of connection?

2. Num 28:16–25 in the Light of Lev 23:5–8 and Other Biblical Texts

A close relationship between Num 28:16–25 and Lev 23:5–8 is evident and thus the research can start from the comparison between these two texts.¹⁰ In his contribution, Müller discussed this relationship and tried to offer a solution on the question of the literary connection between the two passages.¹¹ Some of the conclusions he came to can be summarized as follows:

(1) Num 28:16–25 makes use of Lev 23:5–8 and “there is no evidence to assume that he [author of Num 28:16–25] used the other Passover laws as well”.¹²

⁹ For more details see § 2.3.1 № 2.

¹⁰ For the relationship of Num 28:16–25 with other related texts, see §§ 2.3.2.3–2.3.2.4.

¹¹ Reinhard Müller, Juha Pakkala, and Bas ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing. Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBS 75 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 27–33. Professor R. Müller kindly informed me that all three authors, himself, J. Pakkala and B. Ter Haar Romeny, wrote all passages together in *Evidence of Editing*. For convenience, only one of them, the first in the list, will be mentioned.

¹² Müller, Pakkala, and ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing*, 28.

(2) Some differences are shown between the two texts, such as an expansive sacrificial part in Numbers, a different name of the festival in the two passages, and some other minor differences.

(3) The expression **בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים** in Lev 23:5, namely “at twilight”, was inserted in Leviticus 23 after Num 28:16–25 made use of Lev 23:5–8 as a source.¹³

Müller’s work is well-researched and thus constitutes a good contribution to the question of the textual connection between these two passages in question. It seems, however, that some other issues have to be faced that he himself only touches on or does not broach at all.

The first matter concerns the expression **בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים** that occurs in Lev 23:5 but is lacking in Num 28:16. Indeed, if one compares the use of this expression in all its occurrences of the Passover/Unleavened Bread law, then Müller’s conclusion has to be opened up for discussion. It is also true that beside Lev 23:5 and Num 28:16 he treats two other cases, namely Exod 12:6 and Num 9:2–11, where the expression **בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים** occurs. However, there is a series of other texts that have to be considered: they provide a wider panorama on the time of the celebration and thus help to understand why it is not found in Num 28:16.

The second issue is the matter of the origin of the offerings that Num 28:19–24 prescribes. The sacrificial part is something essential: Num 28:19–24 contains the sacrificial material that is not found in Lev 23:5–8. So much attention is paid to the sacrifices that a question arises: why is the sacrificial part considerably longer (28:19–24) than the framework of the feast itself (28:16–19a.25)?

Furthermore, and it could be the other side of the coin of what has been just stated: the contents of the expanded part are not insignificant. A detailed list of both the animal sacrifices and cereal offerings is provided, the way they must be offered is specified, and it is prescribed as well that these offerings must be presented beside the whole burnt-offering of the morning (28:4–7.23). Why then did the scribe give so much importance to this expansive part since he had presented it in such detail?¹⁴ Müller only touches the issue of the

¹³ Müller, Pakkala, and ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing*, 32.

¹⁴ Here and elsewhere in this study the term “scribe” refers to those who composed the calendar in Num 28:1–30:1, as well as other related passages. The relationship between the scribes’ work and authors’ work is not always easily identifiable. Illustrative in this case would be the comment made by M. Fishbane: “The boundary-line between scribes and authors is often quite difficult to draw in biblical literature, and, in some cases, involves precarious judgements”, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 85. On the distinction of the roles between the terms redactor, editor, compiler, author, and reviser, see Innocenzo Cardellini, *Numeri 1,1–10,10: Nuova versione, introduzione e commento*, LBPTest 4.1 (Milano: Paoline, 2013), 36–41.

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