

DOMENICO LO SARDO

Post-Priestly Additions
and Rewritings in
Exodus 35–40

Forschungen
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
119

Mohr Siebeck

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Domenico Lo Sardo

Post-Priestly Additions and Rewritings in Exodus 35–40

An Analysis of MT, LXX, and Vetus Latina

Mohr Siebeck

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To

Professor Stephen Pisano[†]
Professor Federico Giuntoli
My Capuchin Franciscan Order
My Family

With love and gratitude.

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Rome, February 18th, 2018

Domenico Lo Sardo

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ActAnt	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wolfram von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981.
AIL	Ancient Israel and its Literature
A.J.	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
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
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
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>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDFSN	Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Noroccidentales
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>
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BJ	Bible de Jérusalem
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies

- BKAT Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
 BN *Biblische Notizen*
 Br.-M *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*. Vol. 1: *The Octateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940.
- BSSTB Biblioteca di Storia e Storiografia dei Tempi Biblici
 BT *The Bible Translator*
 BTS Biblical Tools and Studies
 BWA(N)T Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
 BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
 BZABR Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
 BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 volumes. Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006.
- CBET Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
 CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
 CBSC Cambridge Bible for School and Colleges
 CEI Bibbia – Conferenza Episcopale Italiana
 CF Classici della Filosofia
 CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
 CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Paris, 1881–
 CJZC *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*
 CnBi Connaissance de la Bible
 ConBNT Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
 ConBOT Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
 COU Commentaar op het Oude Testament
 CPJ *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Edited by Victor H. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
 CTA *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétique découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*. Edited by Andrée Herdner. Paris: Geuthner, 1963
- DJD Discoveries in the Judean Desert
 DMOA Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
 ECC Eerdmans Critical Commentary
 EdF Erträge der Forschung
 EHAT Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Edited by J. Nikel. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919
- ErIsr* *Eretz-Israel*
 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
 GEL *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 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

GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
HAG	Handbücher der Alten Geschichte
HALOT	<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
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBOT	Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Flacc.	<i>In Flaccum</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
ISBSup	Introduzione allo Studio della Bibbia. Supplementi
IThL	International Theological Library
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JBTh	Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> (Philadelphia, PA)
JSBLE	<i>Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KHAT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KStTh	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie
KTU	<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>
Legat.	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
LD	Lectio Divina
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
Lugd	<i>Lugdunensis</i> (^L cod 100)

LXX	Septuagint
MdB	Le Monde de la Bible
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
<i>Mon</i>	<i>Monacensis</i> (^{Lat} cod 104) (page/column/line)
<i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i> I, II
MT	Masoretic Text
MThSt	Marburger Theologische Studien
MuBi	El Mundo de la Bible
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
<i>NEAEHL</i>	<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
<i>NEAFB</i>	<i>The Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation Bulletin</i>
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
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
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
OpOr	Opere di Origene
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	Priesterschrift, sekundär (Postexilic Priestly Supplement)
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886
QE 1, 2	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i> I, II
QMHS	Quantitative Methods in the Humanities and Social Sciences
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RelI	reliqui
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</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
SLBA	Schweich Lectures of the British Academy
SOSup	Symbolae Osloenses, Fasciculus Suppletionis

SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
StBo	Studi Bompiani
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SThL	Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
StPohl	Studia Pohl
StudBib	Studia biblica
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
TB	Theologische Bücherei
Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
ThA	Theologische Akzente
ThWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2016
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> . Editus Auctoritate et Consilio Academicarum quinque Germanicarum [...], Lipsiae: Teubner, 1900–.
TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Vg	Vulgate
VL	<i>Vetus Latina</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WAWSup	Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WeversLXX	<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
Wirc	<i>Wirceburgensis</i> (L ^a cod 103)
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
α'	Aquila's Greek translation
Ⓞ ^B	Septuagint Greek translation (LXX) according to the <i>Codex Vaticanus</i> (B)
σ'	Symmachus's Greek translation
θ'	Theodotion's Greek translation

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Preamble

One of the general characteristics of academic works of exegesis is the creation of a more or less self-contained introduction to the complete work, giving the reader a concise overview of the topic that the author is going to discuss. Given the complex textual and literary nature of Exod 35–40, which deal with the tabernacle – the topic of this study – it was thought appropriate to equip readers with the standard tools that each should have at his or her disposal. The essential elements are normally a map, a route, and the necessary tools for the journey (i.e., critical editions of the biblical texts, manuscripts, and versions). By contrast with other works, this introduction has been designed and realized on a wide and extensive scale. Firstly, it has been designed to provide each reader, whether an expert in the field or not, with knowledge of the issues raised in the chapters (§1.2). Secondly, identification of the literary context of the study has been necessary. In order to accomplish this goal, the following content has been laid out visually in tables and graphs: the content of Exod 35–40 and the relationship of this pericope with Exod 25–31, the textual differences between MT and LXX of these chapters; and the details, particularly for Exod 36–40, as they are presented in LXX, which are considerably less extensive than in MT (§1.3).

The goal of this study is summarized in §1.4, and the methodological approach used in §1.5. Our working hypothesis proposes that the hebrew text behind the *Vetus Latina* is earlier than that of the LXX and MT. In the examination of some variants, it will be possible to verify the particular role of the Old Latin. In this regard, we must begin with meticulous text-critical research, after which we can visualize the literary development and growth that took place in the expanded text form of MT.

1.2 Identification of the Textual and Literary Problem

As in the past, contemporary scholars are aware of the complexity of the book of Exodus within the Pentateuch.¹ The main issue that confronts the reader is the variety of the material. The book puts together narrative, legislative, and cultic texts that are not clearly related.

When seen as a whole, these texts appear to constitute a kind of chronicle of events that extend from the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt (Exod 1:1–22) to the moment when the glory of God dwells in the tent of meeting (Exod 40:34–38). The connections among these different materials are unclear, as it is not always easy to locate the central idea of the book of Exodus. The narrative begins with the Exodus from Egypt (Exod 1:1–15:21) and continues with a series of episodes about the first stages of Israel in the desert (Exod 15:22–18:27). The theophany (Exod 19:1–25; 20:18–21), the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17), and the Covenant Code (Exod 20:22–23:19) are connected with Sinai. From a narrative point of view and looking at the distribution of material, things get even more complicated after the proclamation of the Covenant Code owing to the introduction of instructions concerning entry into the promised land (Exod 23:20–33). This is a subject that surprises the reader of the book of Exodus. One would expect it to be found in the context of Num 10:11 and the book of Joshua. These instructions are followed by some rituals that conclude the section relating to the theophany and the proclamation of the law (Exod 24:1–11). The modern reader is surprised again when a break in the narrative sequence is encountered between the divine instructions given to Moses about the construction of the sanctuary (Exod 24:12–31:18) and its realization (Exod 35:1–40:38). The episode of the golden calf (Exod 32:1–35) and Moses's attempt to intercede with God to

¹ T. C. 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 Ps*, 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*, 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: 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, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid, eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

establish a new covenant with the people (Exod 33:1–34:35) is, in fact, situated between these two wide sections.²

In addition to its literary complexities, the book of Exodus has issues in a number of other areas, especially in terms of establishing the text. Research on MT has greatly intensified since the discovery of the Qumran scrolls in 1947. One of the first results achieved by scholars concerns the awareness that MT does not represent the only textual tradition. Lacunae or textual difficulties could now be addressed with reference to other manuscript traditions that contain a better, if not older, text. Among these, the ones held in high regard for their textual value are the texts of Qumran, SP, and LXX, as well as the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate, which represent the Latin tradition.

The section of Exodus most affected by textual problems is that dedicated to the construction of the sanctuary – namely, the thirteen chapters that describe the project (Exod 25–31) and narrate its construction (Exod 35–40), occupying about a quarter of the book. The most striking case is Exod 35–40. In itself, MT does not present substantial difficulties, but a great number of differences emerge when it is compared with LXX; these were already the object of attention by Origen.³ While Exod 35–40 in MT follows the order of the instructions given in Exod 25–31 in an almost slavish and monotonous way, Exod 35–40 in LXX (Exod 36:8–39:23) differs significantly concerning the extent of the material and its distribution among the various chapters. Thus, Exod 35–40 in the Greek text of LXX is shorter, because it is missing the following verses of MT: Exod 36:10–34; 37:10, 12, 14; 37:25–28; 38:6–7; 39:34, 39. (These differences are recorded in the critical editions, in particular in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.⁴) The same phenomenon, *mutatis mutandis*, presents itself also in MT, albeit to a lesser degree. Syntactically more complex in LXX, Exod 38 proves to be more concise in MT, but Exod 38:18–20, which are present in LXX, are not present in MT. The omission of Exod 39:12–13, present in LXX, is attested by MT. Furthermore, even if Exod 38 in LXX contains all the elements that are found in MT, the pericope of the incense altar (MT Exod 37:25–28) is missing completely in 37:1–38:8.

In the way that it is presented to its readers, therefore, Exodus is a book that is already rich in difficulties. Its process of transmission and textual tradition show further difficulties. Questions regarding the reasons for this phenomenon are being asked even today. Although it is the most obvious and singular case

² Römer and Nihan, “Le débat,” 67–84.

³ Origen, *Ep. Afr.* See M. Harl and N. de Lange, eds., *La lettre à Africanus sur l’histoire de Suzanne*, SC 302 (Paris: Cerf, 1983), 532–33.

⁴ 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.

within the Pentateuch, it is not the only one in the Old Testament; for example, there is a similar case in the book of Jeremiah.⁵

1.3 Previous Problem in Exod 25–31 and 35–40 Sections

Now that we have identified the problem and its nature, we shall try to illustrate it by creating visual outlines to assist the reader in comprehending the questions pertinent to the description and construction of the sanctuary. Tables 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the distribution of the material of the two sections in MT and in the LXX translation, as well as the textual differences between MT and LXX. For this purpose, we show some results in the following tables that are more suitable for the goals of our research than the kind of classification used by H. B. Swete, A. H. McNeile, and T. B. Dozeman⁶. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the formal differences between the sections in question – that is to say, the literary context regarding their differences within the frame of Exod 35–40 compared with Exod 25–31.

Table 1: Synoptic overview between the two sections of MT Exod 25–31 and 35–40

Exod 35–40 // Exod 25–31	
Introduction	35:1–3 observance of the Sabbath (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.
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); 37:25–28 altar of incense (30:1–10); 37:29 oil of unction and incense (30:22–38); 27:20–21 oil for the light (absent).
Structure	26: 1–14 (curtains); 26:15–30 (frame); 26:31–35 (veil); 26:36–37 (curtain) – absent 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).

⁵ In the book of Jeremiah, the material is distributed differently among the various chapters and a much shorter text in LXX compared with MT; see P.-M. Bogaert, *Le livre de Jérémie. Le prophète et son milieu. Les oracles et leur transmission*, BETL 54/1 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997) and Bogaert, *Le livre de Jérémie en perspective. Les deux rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours* (Paris: Gabalda, 1994).

⁶ H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 235; A. H. Finn, “The Tabernacle Chapters,” *JTS* 16 (1915): 466–78; Wevers LXX 52; A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (London: Methuen, 1908) 224–25; and T. B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, ECC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 600, 602–3.

Account of metals	38:21–31 summary (absent); 38:24 gold (absent); 38:25–28 silver (absent); 38:29–31 bronze (absent).
Vestments	39:2–7 ephod (28:6–14); 39:8–21 breastplate (28:15–29); 28:30 Urim and Thummim (absent); 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); 29:1–30 Ordinations (absent); 30:11–16 census tax money (absent).
Delivery	39:33–43 delivery of completed items; 39:33–43 delivery of completed items.

Table 1 shows the synoptic relationship of the material from both sections, as it occurs in MT. The first part (Exod 25–31) begins with the collection of building material necessary for construction and proceeds to the command to rest on the Sabbath, moving from the inside of the structure toward its outside. Although Exod 35–40 follows the same movement, some elements are not placed in the same sequence as in Exod 25–31. The main difference concerns the position of the elements within Exod 30–31. In fact, everything from the incense altar to the observance of the Sabbath is located differently in Exod 35–40.

A second observation concerns the chiasmic structure of the passage between the end of Exod 25–31 (Exod 31:1–17) and the *incipit* of Exod 35–40 (35:1–35): Exod 25–31 concludes with the laborers (31:1–6), the completed works (31:7–11), and the Sabbath (31:12–17), and these same elements introduce Exod 35–40 in inverse order, the focal point being the observance of Sabbath rest.

- A** (1) laborers (31:16) – things to do (31:7–11)
B Sabbath (31:12–17)
B' Sabbath (35:1–3)
A' (2) things to do (31:4–29) – laborers (35:30–36:1)

Exod 35–40 also differs in (a) the position of the incense altar (Exod 37:25–28) and the basin (38:8); (b) an account of the metals, which is completely absent in Exod 25–31 (38:21–31); and (c) the lack of references to the census tax (30:11–16) and to the Urim and Thummim (28:30). The absence of the investiture of the priests (Exod 29:22–30) after the manufacture of the priestly vestments in Exod 35–40 is also noteworthy. Meanwhile, it is obvious that Exod 25–31 does not report the details of the delivery of the executed works to Moses (Exod 39:33–42). Although it is not possible to find many differences between the two sections, Table 1 makes clear that the synopsis is more harmonious in its central parts; that is, regarding the supplies, the structure, the courtyard, and the priestly garments.

Table 2: Differences of order in MT and LXX

MT	LXX
	36:8b–38 (vestments)
36:8–19 (curtains)	37:1–2 (curtain - fragments)
36:20–34 (frame)	
36:35–38 (veil and curtain)	37 :3–6 (veil and curtain)
	37:7–18 (courtyard)
	37:19–21 (summary)
37:1–9 (ark)	38:1–8 (ark)
37:10–16 (table)	38:9–12 (table)
37:17–24 (candlestick)	38:13–17 (candlestick)
37:25–28 (incense altar)	
	38:18–21 (works in metal)
37:29 (oil of unction and incense)	38:22–24 (bronze altar)
38:1–7 (altar of burnt offering)	38:25 (oil of unction and incense)
38:8 (basin)	38:26–27 (basin)
38:9–20 (courtyard)	
38:21–31 (summary)	
38:24–31 (account of metals)	39:1–12 (account of metals)
39:33–43 (delivery to Moses)	38:13–23 (delivery to Moses)

Table 2 highlights the great differences between MT and LXX in Exod 35–40 that is, the differences of order. The most significant details, marked in Table 2 by (a), (b), and (c), establish the basic differences between MT and LXX. The form of Exod 35–40, then, differs between the two texts in the position of the pericope on priestly garments (LXX Exod 36:8b–40 // MT Exod 39:1–31), in its relation to the courtyard summary (37:7–21 // 38:9–23), and in the pericope on metal works (38:18–20, absent in MT). The formal discrepancy is supplemented by a disparity in content; that is, the absence of a substantial number of elements in the Greek text presenting a very thinned out Exod 35–40 compared with the Hebrew text. The description of the structure of the dwelling (MT Exod 36:10–34) is completely absent, and some aspects are placed differently in LXX. The dwelling is dealt with in only two verses in the Greek text (LXX Exod 37:1–2); also omitted are the incense altar (MT Exod 37:25–28) and the table for the breads of offering (MT Exod 37:10b–15). Finally, there are more limited omissions, including the covering of sheepskin (MT Exod 39:34), the bronze altar with its grill (MT Exod 39:40), the position of the basin with the water between the tent of meeting and the altar (MT Exod 40:7), the layout of the enclosure with the curtain at the entrance door (MT Exod 40:8), and the anointing of the basin with its base at the consecration of the sanctuary (MT Exod 40:11).

Table 3: Differences in material and texts *absent* in LXX and MT

36:10–34	MT > LXX
37:10b–15 ⁷	MT > LXX
37:17b–28 ⁸	MT > LXX
39:34 ⁹	MT > LXX
39:39 ¹⁰	MT > LXX
38:18–20	LXX > TM
39:12	LXX > TM

Table 3 offers a very clear view of what is absent in LXX compared with MT, as well as what is absent in MT compared with LXX. It visualizes the elements involved in the relationship of the pluses and minuses between the two major textual witnesses in question. The table clearly shows that Exod 36–40 in LXX are considerably less extensive than in MT, a factor that has occupied several authors in the history of research. In fact, as can be seen from the *status quaestionis* offered in chapter 2, most authors tend to prefer the MT, attributing the responsibility for the copious differences in the text of LXX to the translator (or translators).

1.4 Working Hypothesis of the Monograph

The range of issues noted in the textual relationships of Exod 35–40 (*ad intra* Exod 25–31//35–40 in MT and *ad extra* Exod 35–40 LXX//MT) has prompted significant attraction and curiosity on the part of scholars as far back as Origen. The first part of this work contains a discursive *status quaestionis* (see chapter 2), which examines the most significant exegetical hypotheses for resolving the well-known issues from both a text-critical and a literary-critical point of view. This history of research is not merely a list of works and authors; rather, it attempts to help the reader become familiar with the direction research has taken over time. We therefore discuss the most influential proposals that have become touchstones in the conversation, ideas with which later scholars have either agreed or disagreed.

The third and fourth parts of the volume present the distinctive data and the proposed working hypothesis. The main purpose of these two chapters is to prove

⁷ MT Exod 37:10–16 is more extensive than LXX Exod 38:9–12.

⁸ The description of the candlestick is much more extensive in MT (Exod 37:10–24) compared with LXX (Exod 38:13–17). The MT, moreover, then adds the description of the altar of perfumes and the oil of the anointing (Exod 37:25–29).

⁹ The text of MT Exod 39:34–36 is more extensive than LXX Exod 39:13–15.

¹⁰ From MT Exod 39:39–41, there is a different and more expanded order compared with LXX Exod 39:16–21.

(a) the editorial priority of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX, which was introduced into the circuit of textual transmission before the canonical form of MT was written (see chapter 3) and (b) the *post-priestly* work of reinterpretation and rewriting carried out in a rather late period (fourth through second centuries BCE) (see chapter 4). It should also be noted that so-called post-priestly scribal activity entails not only editorial expansions (MT Exod 36:8b–34; 37:10b–15, 17b–28; 39:34, 39) but also significant omissions (MT Exod 38:18–20; 39:12).¹¹ The different distribution of the material in Exod 36–39 MT compared with the shape of that in LXX also suggests that scribes actively elaborated and editorially adapted it in order to place more attention on a specific part of the mobile sanctuary; that is, the מִשְׁכָּן. Instead, the textual form of LXX preserves an editorial connection between the two sections, Exod 25–31 and 35–40, that is supported by the rhetorical figure of chiasmus. Interests, intentions, and objectives therefore guided a revision of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX that produced what is now present in MT.

From a literary point of view, two different traditions of a mobile sanctuary emerge, identified by two different terms אֱהָל מוֹעֵד and מִשְׁכָּן; each refers to a different theo-ideology. The אֱהָל מוֹעֵד, which is a little less oriented toward temple ideology, conveys the theological idea of divine transcendence and the relative approachability of God regardless of the place of worship. The tradition of the מִשְׁכָּן, on the contrary, is associated with the divine immanence directly connected with a single place of worship, such as the temple in Jerusalem. The co-existence of these two literary traditions used in connection with the same architectural project requires a literary-critical and redaction-critical investigation of the origin and purpose of each. The exegetical investigation carried out on Exod 33:7–11* (and further texts that refer to the prophetic-oracular tent: Num 11:16, 24, 26*; Deut 31:14–15, 23*) will lead to the conclusion that the literary tradition of the אֱהָל מוֹעֵד, which is prior to that of the מִשְׁכָּן, has been inherited and borrowed from this context. The authors of the so-called priestly text, who were responsible for the first redaction of the sections in question, carried out a literary and hermeneutical operation: the purely oracular etiology of the pre-P text of Exod 33:7–11* was to become specifically cultic in the sections on the tabernacle, starting, above all, from Exod 29:42–43.

The fifth part of this study (chapter 5) will focus, firstly, on the post-priestly expansion of MT Exod 36:8b–34 in Exod 35–40. This is understood as a sort of simultaneous redactional reworking of Exod 26 (the corresponding chapter in Exod 25–31) in order to clarify the identity and purpose of P^G, P and P^S, compositional layers that are commonly found in the Pentateuch in general and of

¹¹ For more information and details on post-priestly scribal activity, see F. Giuntoli, *L'officina della tradizione. Studio di alcuni interventi redazionali e del loro contesto nel ciclo di Giacobbe (Gn 25,19–50,26)*, AnBib 154 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2003).

Exodus in particular.¹² Secondly, the redaction-historical context will be outlined as a framework within which the changes of form between the textual witnesses took place. In this regard, it will be possible to grasp the relationship between theology and ideology and how the process of elaboration involved reinterpreting the texts. As a last step, we shall give voice to possible hermeneutics and to the two literary traditions, dealing with the אֱהָל מוֹעֵד and the מִשְׁכָּן, involved in the editorial process and the single elements out of which they are constituted. In this way, the functional and literary aspects of the sections on the tabernacle (compared with the symbolic aspect) will be shown to be directly related both to the closer context (the role of the tabernacle in the book of Exodus) and the wider context (the implication of the sections in question for the composition of the Pentateuch).

1.5 Working Methodology: Text and Literary Critical Method

It is neither simple nor quick to determine when the composition of a biblical text has been completed and when the process of transmission of the text has begun, and we do not exclude the possibility that these two aspects overlap, further complicating the terrain and the conditions of research. So, from a methodological point of view, our work will consist in trying to understand not only when the composition of the sections in question was completed and what the shape of the sections was at that stage, but also what happened in the process of transmission to produce such dissimilarities between the same sections in the various textual witnesses. Because we are faced with such a diverse textual picture in Exod 35–40, the first purpose of this work will be to establish which textual witness can be identified as *der älteste Zeuge*. In other words, it must be demonstrated – and this will be the first methodological step – whether or not the text of LXX in its canonical form (G^B) is prior to the canonical form of MT.

Scholars throughout the history of research who have taken up exegetical study of the sections in question have alternated between text-critical and literary-critical approaches. The nature of the problem, however, does not require a binary choice, as has actually happened in most of the studies published on the subject. The only author who has dealt with the *vexata quaestio* of the sections of the tabernacle using both methods at the same time was J. Popper (see §

¹² N. Lohfink, “Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte,” in *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977*, VTSup 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 189–225; E. Zenger, et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 8th ed., KStTh 1/1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 189–213; Pola, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift*, 213–98; and E. Otto, “Forschungen zur Priesterschrift,” *TRu* 62 (1997): 1–50.

2.2).¹³ While Popper started with the literary-critical approach, we will proceed in the opposite way, moving from the text-critical to the literary-critical approach.

The method of the *critica textus* applied to the analysis of some of the more significant (quantitative and qualitative) variants will show that the textual form of LXX is to be preferred to MT. In this connection, the textual comparison will be extended to some manuscripts from *VL* and from Qumran. This wealth of witnesses will be able to provide a solid basis for demonstrating that the process of literary composition of the tabernacle sections has had a fairly troubled history, and that the LXX version, when compared with MT, is an image of this process (see chapter 3). Once we have established the question of textual priority, the literary criticism will be concerned with showing what happened, from a literary and editorial point of view, between the form of LXX and the current form of MT. In this sense, the guidelines of *Redaktionsgeschichte* will prove to be much more appropriate and useful than those of *Literarkritik* in reconstructing a possible history of composition and editing. In other words, it will show how we went from the so-called short Hebrew *Vorlage* underlying LXX, through insertions, expansions, elaborations, and rewritings, until we arrived at the current MT, as well as what purposes drove this process.

¹³ J. Popper, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Composition und Diaskeue des Pentateuch* (Leipzig: Heinrich Hunger, 1862).

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