

Leviticus 23:5-8a

5 בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים פֶּסַח לִיהוָה:

6 וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הָיָה חַג הַמִּצּוֹת לִיהוָה
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ:

7 בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא-קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם
כָּל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

8 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לִיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים

בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי מִקְרֵא-קֹדֶשׁ
כָּל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

Numbers 28:16-19a

16 וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח
לִיהוָה:

17 וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הָיָה חַג
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת יֹאכְלוּ:

18 בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא-קֹדֶשׁ
כָּל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

19 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה עֹלֶה לִיהוָה פָּרִים בְּנֵי-בָקָר
שְׁנַיִם וְאֵיל אֶחָד וְשִׁבְעָה כִבְשִׂים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה
תְּמִימִם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם:

Passover in the Hebrew Bible

A research on Textual Growth

Master Thesis Richard Santinge

This Master Thesis is part of the Master Course 'Origins of Abrahamic Religions, *Texts and Contexts*' at the University of Groningen.

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The cover contains a textual comparison of Leviticus 23:5-8a and Numbers 28:16-19a. This section is with Exodus 23:14-19 versus Exodus 34:18-26, Exodus 23:15 versus Deuteronomy and Ezekiel versus Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 28:16 part of my research in the case study: Passover and textual growth.

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Preface

In this preface special thanks must be made to my first advisor Dr. Michaël van der Meer. During my study in Groningen he was for several years an enthusiastic and stimulating guide through the broad field of Old Testament scholarship. Step by step he opened new 'diachronic' horizons. Also thanks to my second advisor Prof. Dr. Jacques van Ruiten. His sharp critiques made me better. David and Neeltsje Stephenson helped me with the linguistic part and my friend Leense Wagenaar with the layout. Thank you for that.

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1. Current Debate

Introduction

The question of the literary formation of the Hebrew Bible (textual growth) is a much debated question in contemporary Old Testament scholarship. In this thesis I will discuss several contemporary models that underlie recent reconstructions of the formation of the Hebrew Bible on the basis of an examination of the passages dealing with Passover. To be more specific: 'Do the Passover texts reflect a process of heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations by a collator or do the Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions?' This first chapter has two main goals. It starts with a focus on the method and approach of research on textual growth. Secondly it gives an overview of the current debate on how to approach the question of textual growth and how these contemporary models interrelate with each other.

1.1 Method and approach

I will start this research on textual growth with the data provided by scholars who influence the current debate. In current debate there are roughly two main theories of how most of the Biblical texts expanded. The oldest theory comprises the Documentary Hypothesis (1.2). A popular version of this theory is given by Richard Elliott Friedman in *'Who Wrote the Bible'*¹? Friedman is Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Georgia. In his book Friedman gives an overview of what is called Documentary Hypothesis which assumes that four heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations by a collator in the Persian Period were combined to what we now know as the Pentateuch². A contemporary version, neo-Documentary Hypothesis, is described by Yale Professor Joel S. Baden in *'The Composition of the Pentateuch'*³.

A somewhat different position is held by scholars who assume that the texts of the Hebrew Bible expanded due to a process of adaptations of previous traditions. Exponents of this theory respectively are Emanuel Tov (1.4), David M. Carr (1.5) and Karel van der Toorn (1.6). Between these two major positions, a middle-position is taken by the German Scholar Erich Zenger (1.3). After explicating and

¹ Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York 1997).

² It's important to recognize that the main focus of the Documentary Hypothesis concerns the Enneateuch (Genesis - 2 Kings) and especially the Pentateuch (Genesis - Deuteronomy).

³ Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch, Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven 2012).

contrasting these scholars on the subject of textual growth, these insights eventually will be related with the different Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible (chapter 4).

After a brief discussion on textual growth in current debate, I will give an overview of the Passover texts from a synchronic point view. Focusing on the question as to what are the Passover texts and what the inner tensions and discrepancies on place, offerings, focus and participants comprise. The synchronic approach will be followed by an overview of a diachronic approach of the Passover texts. This overview starts with the reconstructions of the Passover traditions offered by scholars such as Roland De Vaux, Herbert Haag, Peter Laaf and clarified by the synopsis of the laws of the Pentateuch prepared by Guy Lasserre (3.1). What do these scholars say about the narrative and legislative Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible?

The last phase of this research on textual growth will be a systematic analysis of the synchronic and diachronic approaches of the Passover texts and how this answers my research question.

1.2 Richard Elliott Friedman

The Documentary Hypothesis assumes that the Pentateuch is constituted of four different sources or documents: Jahwist source (950 BCE), Elohist source (800 BCE), Deuteronomistic source (622 BCE) and Priestly source (550 BCE) which were finally united as Pentateuch in 400 BCE⁴. There are several reasons to start this introduction on Documentary Hypothesis with Richard Elliott Friedman. First of all, according to Joel S. Baden, 'Friedman's work represents the standard presentation of the Documentary Hypothesis in the modern era'⁵. In *'Who Wrote the Bible?'* Friedman gives a brief overview of six hundred years of investigation. This investigation started with the assumption that Moses was not the only author of the Pentateuch⁶. The second stage began when Richard Simon (1638-1712) suggested that biblical writers had assembled their narrative out of old sources. Scholars explored doublets with specific characteristics that led them to conclude that there were two old source documents called after their specific God-name Jahwist (J) and Elohist (E)⁷. After this a large source of legal sections concerning priestly matters was called the Priestly source (P) and the fourth source 'Deuteronomy' (D) had a special relationship with the theology of Deuteronomy. Due to the process of investigation there is not one father of the Documentary Hypothesis although the name of Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) is probably the most well-known. His contribution was to bring all the pieces together in an organized synthesis. Friedman builds on this synthesis and is therefore

⁴ Erich Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (7. Auflage; Stuttgart 2008) 95.

⁵ Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (Tübingen 2009) 97.

⁶ Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 18-21.

⁷ Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 22-24.

convinced that the formation of the Hebrew Bible is based on four sources that were written in different timeframes by four different writers. The oldest sources are 'Jahwist' (J) and 'Elohist' (E). The Jahwist was written in the southern part of the country (Juda 848-722 BCE). The 'Elohist' source (E) was written in the northern part of the country (Israel 922-722 BCE). Due to the Assyrian destruction of northern Israel and the sacking of Samaria (722 BCE) Levite priests of the north fled to the south where the two sources were woven together into one 'JE source'. The 'Deuteronomistic history' (D) consists of the early prophets Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings and is based on the theology of the book of Deuteronomy. Some of the 'D' material was probably written before there were any kings of Israel and Juda and is placed in the courts of king Josia (640-609 BCE). The Priestly (P) source was according to Friedman probably written by an Aaronic Priest during the reign and reformation of king Hezekiah (722-609)⁸. P knew the JE source but gives an alternative priestly version of Israel's history.

Although there is a consensus on the fact that there are four major sources, scholars differ on the question as to how these sources interrelate with each other. For example, this diversity is seen by comparing Martin Noth (1902-1968) and Frank Moore Cross (1921-2012). Whereas Noth separates the Deuteronomistic history strictly from the Tetrateuch (Genesis-Numbers), Cross makes a major modification by assuming that there are two Deuteronomistic layers (D₁ and D₂)⁹. The fact that this discussion, as to how the different sources relate to each other has not reached its end is shown by two of the most recent studies: *'The Pentateuch, International Perspectives on Current Research'*¹⁰ and *'The Composition of the Pentateuch, Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis'*. In the later, Joel S. Baden postulates a revisions of some classical premises made by Julius Wellhausen¹¹. It is possible that this revision of Baden on the classical assumptions of the Documentary Hypothesis originates from the harsh critique of David Carr on the address of Baden (1.5).

1.3 Erich Zenger

An example of a middle-position is given by Erich Zenger and Peter Weimar in their 'Münsteraner Pentateuchmodell'. Zenger and Weimar assume that different stories (Northern, Southern and from other regions before 700 BCE) were woven together with pre-legal laws of the Covenant Code during the Jerusalem historiography, circa 650 BCE, in what is called the Hexateuch. A second major stage is

⁸ Friedman's assumption that P was written before D is according to Baden 'a significant stipulation': Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, 94.

⁹ Zenger, 195-197.

¹⁰ *The Pentateuch, International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas D. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, Baruch J. Schwarz (Tübingen 2011).

¹¹ Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 246-249.

called the (Deuteronomistic) Exilic Historiography or 'Enneateuch' and was constituted after 586 BCE. This contains Genesis 2:4b through 2 Kings, including the Covenant Code (Exodus 21-23) and the Deuteronomistic Code (Deuteronomy 12-26). The third major stage is the post-exilic Priestly historiography, which contains Genesis 1:1 through 2Chronicles 25. This contains a Priestly update of Israel's history and also is called Enneateuch¹². At some point in time after 400 BCE the Pentateuch and the Historical Books (Joshua-2Kings) were separated in order to create an independent legislative body of texts, now known as the Torah or Pentateuch¹³. One the one hand corresponds the theory of Zenger and Weimar with the major stages of the Documentary Hypothesis¹⁴. On the other hand Zenger illustrates in the 'Gesamtstruktur der Gezetskorpora' that different legislative codes show adaptations of previous traditions¹⁵:

	Bundesbuch	Heiligkeit Gesetz	Deuteronomisches Gesetz
Hauptgebot: Opferdabringung und ihr Ort	Ex.22:22-26	Lev.17	Dtn.12:1-14, 21
Soziale und kultische Einzelgebote	Ex. 21:1-23:19	Lev.18-20	Dtn.14:22-16:17
Ämter (Richter, Priester)		Lev.21-22	Dtn.16:18-18:22
Kultische und soziale Einzelgebote		Lev.23-25	Dtn.19-25
Segen und Fluch	Exodus 23:20-33	Lev.16	Dtn.27-28

Zenger formulates it this way:

'Die Makrostruktur der drei Korpora ist im Einzelnen unterschiedlich ausgestaltet, entsprechend der theologisch-rechtlichen Hauptidee, die dem jeweiligen Gesetzeskorpus zugrunde liegt (Bundesbuch: Schutz der Freiheit; Heiligkeitsgesetz: Heiligung des Alltags und der Welt; Deuteronomisches Gesetz: Verwirklichung von geschwisterlicher Solidarität). Dennoch ist überraschend, wie stark sich die drei Gesetzbücher bis in Einzelheiten hinein gleichen *und* wie sich dabei zugleich in Sprache und Sache unterscheiden¹⁶.

¹² It has to be said that Zenger and Weimar assume that an independent Priestly document (Pg) underlie the Priestly tradition and was interwoven in the greater literary composition in the post-exilic Priestly historiography.

¹³ Zenger, 99-106.

¹⁴ Except the assumption that the oldest stories originated in regions instead of just from source J or E.

¹⁵ Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 83.

¹⁶ Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 83.

1.4 Emanuel Tov

Emanuel Tov is relevant for the discussion due to his vision on textual diversity. In *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*¹⁷, Emanuel Tov challenges the clear distinction between textual criticism and literary criticism: 'Textual criticism deals with the nature and origin of all the witness of a composition or text, in our case biblical books'¹⁸. The stage before comparing textual witnesses belongs to the field of literary criticism. Tov: 'However, not all differences should be subjected to a textual evaluation. In our view, (groups of) readings that were produced at the literary growth stage of biblical books (literary or editorial variants) should not be subjected to textual evaluation, since they were not produced during the course of the transmissions of texts'¹⁹. In actual practice it is not always easy to distinguish between the two. The new amount of evidence of biblical texts found in the Judean desert especially shows cross-fertilization between the two. This evidence shows that the final stages of textual growth took place within the process of textual transmission. According to Tov there are two models which can be applied to the original texts. One model assumes that there were multiple pristine texts of equal authority. The other model assumes that there was more or less one original text and that the textual witnesses, the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP), the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint (LXX) and the Masoretic text group (MT) are twigs (different literary strata) of this original text²⁰. This means that we only have textual evidence of textual growth in the latest part of the formation of the Hebrew Bible. The difficulty in analyzing this process, 'is the assumption that textual transmission was operative before the completion of the final literary stage as defined'²¹. At some point books or scrolls started to circulate beyond the temple which explains the textual plurality found in the Judean Desert texts. Yet the Judean desert texts show a textual uniformity with the MT-group. This textual uniformity is probably due to the efforts of a socio-religious group that had a strong connection with the temple in Jerusalem²². Textual criticism of the biblical witnesses in the late second temple period leads to the conclusion that textual plurality and textual uniformity coexisted. The main goal for textual criticism is, according to Tov, to compare these witnesses. This textual diversity cannot only be imputed to the work of copyist-scribes. We have to look beyond the this stage to the work of authors/editors-scribes to search for keystones for this textual diversity. This is the stage of literary growth. The assumption of Tov is that there is scribal activity that reflect a process adaptations of previous texts that resulted in three major texts groups. If Tov is right about the

¹⁷ Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis 2012).

¹⁸ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 1.

¹⁹ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 2.

²⁰ In chapter seven Tov gives a summary of different literary strata in the late second temple period: Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 283-326.

²¹ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 166.

²² Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 27-31, 187.

overlap between textual and literary criticism, we should not ignore the evidence of the ancient textual witnesses (Qumran Scrolls, Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint) and take this textual evidence into account when dealing with the issue of textual growth of the Passover traditions.

1.5 David M. Carr

David M. Carr belongs to the group of Old Testament scholars who strongly disagree with the Documentary Hypothesis. On the one hand he calls Friedman's *'Who wrote the Bible?'* 'a popular example with a comprehensive picture'²³, but on the other hand an outdated approach of textual growth. His main goal is therefore to offer a new reconstruction for the developments of the Hebrew Bible:

'The mid - to late - twentieth century consensus that formerly held about the history and development of the Hebrew Bible - for example, various tradition-centers, and institutional contexts for the formation of early traditions, early J and E source documents for the Pentateuch, an exilic context for the formation of Deuteronomistic history, the assignment of the bulk of early prophetic writings to the prophets themselves (e.g., Amos, Hosea), etc. - no longer holds'... 'Few offer a comprehensive look at how new perspectives on archeology, Near Eastern literature, and dating of biblical traditions might lead to a new picture of the whole. This book is an initial attempt at that kind of comprehensive picture'²⁴.

Carr presupposes that the long and diffuse history of oral-written transmission of Israelite literature shows gradual growth and expansion 'that has blurred the contours of earlier recensions'²⁵. The approach of Carr contains three major sections. First he gives some examples of orally transmitted history in Israelite literature. Second he describes some documented cases of literal growth in transmission history (Gilgamesh epic, Temple Scroll, Mesopotamian literature, divergences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, divergent editions of the Pentateuch found in the Dead Sea caves, and the Qumran Community Role)²⁶. Although the evidence (both biblical and non-biblical) also shows evidence for curtailment, the general trend of textual history is towards expansion²⁷. These premises form the starting point for his research on the formation of the Hebrew Bible. He starts in the Hasmonean period, the latest period of textual growth, and ends in the earliest period of textual

²³ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 3.

²⁴ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 3-4.

²⁵ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 102.

²⁶ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 13-101.

²⁷ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 88.

growth: the Neo-Assyrian period. Despite his vision that the Documentary Hypothesis is an outdated approach to textual growth, there are still some elements that are useful:

‘The following chapters will draw, for example, on scholarship that has shown several blocks of legal material in the Pentateuch were formed (overall) sequence one after the other, for example, the Covenant Code, Deuteronomic code, Priestly instructional materials, and Holiness materials’²⁸. Furthermore, the following analysis benefits from relatively recent work on the relative independence of the non-Priestly primeval history from the following materials in Genesis, the original separateness of the different non-Priestly ancestral stories from each other, and the gradual joining of those ancestral materials with each other and the Moses story²⁹.

I want to comment on three of Carr’s premises. Firstly regarding his attacks on neo Documentarians, such as Baruch Schwarz and Joel Baden, with literary and textual evidence³⁰. This evidence is derived from comparing the Masoretic text (MT) with the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP) and the Septuagint (LXX). The question is, however, to what extent this textual comparison has any influence on the formation of the Pentateuch. This comparison of Pentateuchal texts is relevant for textual criticism, but less so for the Documentary Hypothesis, as most scholars agree that the bulk of the Pentateuch was already crystalized in the Persian period³¹. Secondly he rejects the idea of many major expansions, advocating two or three major stages instead³². On the other hand he speaks of ‘textual fluidity’ as a result of textual indicators getting lost in transmission history³³, which seems a bit contradictory. Thirdly, his approach to Documentary Hypothesis is a bit confusing. On the one hand, he attacks this theory very harshly, but on the other hand there is not much difference with the conclusions of Joel Baden in *‘The composition of the Pentateuch’*³⁴ when he formulates his reachable goals for reconstruction of transmission history³⁵. The biggest difference is probably his denial that the ‘sources J,E,D and P’ were independent, different sources that eventually were woven together by a redactor compilation.

²⁸ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 144.

²⁹ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 144-145.

³⁰ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 102-149.

³¹ Erich Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (7. Auflage; Stuttgart 2008) 127-132.

³² With ‘major’ Carr means blocks such as Covenant code, Deuteronomistic code and Priestly/Holiness instructions: Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 144-145.

³³ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 106.

³⁴ Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 246-249.

³⁵ Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 144-149.

1.6 Karel van der Toorn

Van der Toorn approaches the formation of the Hebrew Bible from the point of view of what he calls 'scribal tradition'. This scribal tradition was centered in the temple of Jerusalem and the writers were well educated Levite priests. According to Van der Toorn textual interventions were allowed on the basis of three conditions: (1) an occasion, (2) a motive and (3) a mandate³⁶. The occasion arose when a scroll deteriorated and had to be rewritten. The motive came into existence when there were new ideas and perceptions. The mandate came from an overseeing priestly authority. This leads Van der Toorn to the conclusion that 'the notion of an ongoing *Fortschreibung* is simply not consistent with Near Eastern scribal practice'³⁷. His remarks on the conditions of occasion, motive and warrant are helpful in understanding the principle of *aggiornamento*³⁸. In a sense *aggiornamento* can be compared to the contemporization process of the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-sixties of the twentieth century. This principal of attempting to make texts and traditions relevant to new ideas and perceptions is the essence of *aggiornamento*. The examples he uses are the formation of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. In my opinion he overstresses in his examples his three conditions. In a sense you can say that he compares this process with an union whereby the Law or Covenant Code (Exodus 22-23) forms the heart of the union. The other layers of Deuteronomy are formed by a controlled process of (1) an occasion, (2) a motive and (3) a mandate. I agree with him that the Covenant Code (Exodus 21-23) forms the basis of the Deuteronomy Code, but I doubt that we can determine four different stages of Deuteronomy are spread over two hundred years. In the case of Jeremiah I think that he overstresses his conditions by making Jeremiah into an extreme example of a 'fictive' writers product.

1.7. Conclusions

In this first chapter, different positions on textual growth of the Hebrew Bible, more specifically the Pentateuch, were discussed. Roughly I discern two major positions and a middle position. The first major position is called the Documentary Hypothesis. This position is held by scholars like Friedman and Baden. These scholars assume that textual growth of the Pentateuch is due to a process of heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations by a collator. Erich Zenger holds more or less a middle-position. On the one hand he postulates in the Munsternäner Pentateuchmodell mainly (except for the earliest stage) the same major developments as Friedman and Baden do, but on the

³⁶ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 146.

³⁷ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 149.

³⁸ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 154.

other he illustrates in his 'Gesamtstruktur der Gesetzkorpora' a process of a adoptions of previous traditions. A different position is held by Emanuel Tov, David M. Carr and Karel van der Toorn. Emanuel Tov showed that, within the late second temple period there was a coexistence picture of textual plurality and uniformity (250BCE-135CE). This shows that there was textual or editorial expansion within the second temple period. Tov assumes that there was more or less one original text and that the textual witnesses Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP), the 'Vorlage of the Septuagint' (LXX) and the 'Masoretic text group' (MT), are twigs (different literary strata) of this original text. The bulk of textual growth of the Pentateuch is, however, before the phase attested by these extant textual witnesses. The bulk of textual growth took place due to the work of authors/editors-scribes. David M. Carr presupposes that the long and diffuse history of oral-written transmission of Israelite literature shows gradual growth and expansion 'that has blurred the contours of earlier recensions'. Karel van der Toorn showed that textual growth was not an ongoing *fortschreibung*, but a controlled process of well-educated Levites who were mandated by the temple in Jerusalem. On the basis of (1) an occasion, (2) a motive and (3) a mandate older texts were updated (*aggiornamento*) to new circumstances.

In the next chapters, I will continue to research the question: 'Do the Passover texts reflect a process of heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations of a collator or do the Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions'? by giving a synchronic and diachronic overview of Passover texts within the Hebrew Bible. In chapter four the research question I will answer the research question and show how this relates to the different positions in the current debate.

Chapter two: Synchronic Approach

Introduction

In this chapter the Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible are followed in accordance with the narrative framework of the Pentateuch, the historical books and the prophets. I make a distinction between these texts on the basis of the place in the Hebrew Bible (Pentateuch, Historical Books or Prophets) and give an overview of discrepancies (place and date, offerings, focus and participants).

2.1 Overview Passover texts

The bulk of Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible is found in the Pentateuch (Exodus 12-13; 23:14-15; 34:18-20; Leviticus 23:4-8, Numbers 9:1-14, 28:16-25 and Deuteronomy 16:1-8; 16-17), in the Historical Books (Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 30; 35:1-19; Ezra 6:19-22) and the Prophets (Ezekiel 45:21-24). A special remark must be made on the Biblical distinction of Passover texts and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. In some cases they are treated as one and the same feast and in other cases they are distinguished as separate feasts. Probably they are at some point in time assembled as one feast and are therefore treated in this research on textual growth as one and the same feast with distinctive aspects.³⁹

2.1.1 The Pentateuch

2.1.1.1 Exodus 12-13

The bulk of the Passover texts in the Pentateuch is found in Exodus 12-13. These chapters are part of Exodus 1-18. In this part the Israelites are oppressed as slaves in Egypt and are about to be released by the might of God and brought under the leadership of Moses to the mountain Horeb (Exodus 19:1). The Passover texts are part of the story of the tenth plague: the death of the firstborn of Egypt. God passes the Israelite houses when he sees the blood of an one year old male sheep or goat (שֶׁה) on the doorframes. This Pesach meal (Exodus 12:1-14; 43-51) is connected with the Feast of Unleavened Bread (12:15-28). These legislative prescriptions are detailed and described within a narrative framework (Exodus 12:29-41). As a consequence the people of Israel must consecrate their

³⁹ Herbert Haag, *Von Alten zum neuen Pascha* (Stuttgart 1971) 35.

firstborn sons and animals for the Lord (Exodus 13:1-16). The context of the passages is Egypt with an emphasis on the family and local community, literally 'the whole community of Israel' (יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־עַדְתָּהּ). This community must slaughter the animal on the fourteenth of the first month of the year at twilight (הָעֶרְבָיִם בַּיּוֹם). This is probably the month Aviv (אָבִיב) - March/April - and means 'ears (of corn)'⁴⁰ (Exodus 13:4). No one is allowed to participate aside from the community of the Israelites (Exodus 12:43). Exceptions are made for circumcised slaves (12:44) and foreigners when all the males in his household are circumcised (Exodus 12:48). The focus of the festival seems to be apotropaic in the sense that the blood of a male animal is required to avert the judgment of the Lord (Exodus 12:12-13, 23, 29; 13:15) or the destroyer (הַמַּשְׁחִית 12:23). When the people enter the Promised Land the Festival of Unleavened Bread is an remembrance of the Passover (Exodus 13:3-10). The consecration of the firstborn is a confirmation of the apotropaic value of the blood (Exodus 13:1-2; 11-16).

2.1.1.2 Exodus 23:14-15

The Israelites stayed eleven months at Horeb (Numbers 10:11). This means that the Passover texts of Exodus 23:14-15; 34:18-20; Leviticus 23:4-8, Numbers 9:1-14 have their place within the narrative framework of the Pentateuch in the eleven months rest at mount Horeb (Exodus 19:1-Numbers 10:11). The Passover content of Exodus 23:14-15 is revealed to Moses and written down in the first covenant book (Exodus 24:7) before the tragedy of the golden calf (Exodus 32). For the first time the three annual festivals are mentioned (שְׁלֹשׁ רִגְלִים תִּחַג לִי בַשָּׁנָה). The Festival of Unleavened Bread (הַמַּצּוֹת), the Festival of First Fruits of the Harvest (חַג הַקָּצִיר בְּבוֹרֵי) and the Festival of Ingathering (חַג הַאָּסֵף). In this section we see that the Festival of Unleavened Bread has a clear relationship with Passover in the month Aviv (Exodus 23:14) and the other two with harvest festivals. Three times a year the Israelite men are to appear before the Lord. This suggests that there is a central cultic place for worship (בַּיַּת יְהוָה 23:19). The offering is to be without yeast and the fat of the animal must not be kept until morning.

2.1.1.3 Exodus 34:18-20

After the tragedy of the golden calf God renews his covenant with Moses (31:1-34:35). Concerning the Passover text (34:18-20) there are some iterations of the previous texts. The Festival of Unleavened Bread is to be celebrated in the month Aviv. The first offspring of every womb belongs to the Lord, with the possibility to redeem the donkey and the sons. For the first time the first harvest festival is called 'The Festival of Weeks' (חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת 34:22).

⁴⁰ Koehler & Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Volume 1* (Leiden 2001), 4.

2.1.1.4 Leviticus 23:4-8

The book of Leviticus is also placed within the narrative framework of the eleven month camping at Horeb. The Passover text of Leviticus 23:4-8 is within a chapter that contains the appointed festivals of the Lord (מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה 23:2). These festivals are structured and written chronologically. The Passover offering (פֶּסַח) is to be prepared on the fourteenth of the first month (Aviv) at twilight (בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם). The Festival of Unleavened Bread begins on the fifteenth of Aviv. The people are not allowed to eat bread with yeast for seven days. The first day there is a holy assembly (מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ) during which no work is allowed. This prescription is repeated at the seventh day. A new element is associating the Passover offerings is אֲשֶׁה what means 'offering made by fire'⁴¹. The word for this offering that is used here does not express the kind of gift is required. For the first time the second harvest festival is called 'The Festival of Tabernacles' (חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת 23:34). Therefore the three annual festivals are The Festival of Unleavened Bread, The Festival of Weeks and The Festival of Tabernacles, where last originated from harvest feasts. This means that there is some kind of development of the festivals within the Pentateuch.

2.1.1.5 Numbers 9:1-14

The second description of Passover occurs in the book of Numbers (Numbers 9:1-14). The prescriptions come directly from God to Moses in the desert of Sinai in the first month in the second year after the exodus from Egypt (Numbers 9:1). The date of the festival corresponds with the story of Exodus 12-13. There is, however, an exception for travelers and people who are ceremonially unclean (Numbers 9:6-11). They are allowed to celebrate the festival on the fourteenth of the second month of the year. The place of the festival and the participants also corresponds with Exodus 12-13: the slaughter in the twilight of the fourteenth within the midst of the whole community, the eating at homes and the participants being natives, circumcised slaves, or foreigners (Numbers 9:14). When someone does not want to participate, he should be excluded from the community (Numbers 9:13). Because of the close connections and the emphasis on the prescriptions of Exodus 12-13, the focus of the festival is probably the same: remembrance and apotropaic.

2.1.1.6 Numbers 28:16-25

After the Passover festival of Numbers 9:1-14 and a stop of eleven months at Horeb, the people continued their journey to the Promised Land, on the twentieth day of the second month in the second year after they came from Egypt (Numbers 10:11). In the chronology of the book of Numbers, the people went from Horeb to the desert of Paran (Numbers 10:12), from where they explored the

⁴¹ Koehler & Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Volume 1* (Leiden 2001) 93.

Promised Land (Exodus 13-14). After Gods judgment they stayed approximately forty years in the desert of Sin in the surroundings of Kades (20:1) and Hor (20:22) through the land of the Amorites (20:31) in the direction of the plains of Moab (Number 22:1). In the plains of Moab Joshua is appointed as the successor of Moses (Numbers 27:12-21). At this moment, just before the death of Moses, God gives Moses some instructions (28-36) which lead to the Deuteronomic farewell speech of Moses (Deuteronomy 1:1).

Concerning the Passover texts Numbers 28:16-25 gives us some new information about the sacrifices. The date of Passover is still in line with the pervious texts: ‘on the fourteenth day of the first month the Lord’s Passover is to be held. On the fifteenth day of this month there is to be a festival; for seven days eat bread without yeast’ (Numbers 28:16-17). A question that cannot be answered directly from the text is the place of slaughter and eating of the Passover meal. Within the narrative frame work it is possible that the slaughter is within the community at twilight and the meals at the homes just like Exodus 12-13 because the setting of Numbers 28:15-28 is in the plains of Moab and therefore still within one community. But when we look at the specific offerings and requirements of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the context suggests a settled community, because no work is allowed and the firstfruits of the crops must be given to the Lord (Numbers 28:18, 25, 26). This context of settlement assumes a central place of worship at Gilgal (Josh 5:10-12). Therefore it is logistically not possible that the Passover meals are prepared within the own local community and eaten at their private homes.

It is obvious that Numbers 28:16-19a has a strong relationship with Leviticus 23:5-8a:

Leviticus 23:5-8a		Numbers 28:16-19a	
בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:	5	וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:	16
וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה תֵּגַּד הַמִּצֹּת לַיהוָה	6	וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה תֵּגַּד	17
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת תֹּאכְלוּ:		שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת יֹאכְלוּ:	
בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא־חֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם	7	בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא־חֹדֶשׁ	18
כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:		כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:	
וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אֹשֶׁה לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים	8	וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אֹשֶׁה עֲלֵה לַיהוָה פָּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר	19
		שְׁנַיִם וְאַיִל אֶחָד וְשִׁבְעָה כִבְשִׁים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה	
		תְּמִימִם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם:	
בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי מִקְרֵא־חֹדֶשׁ			
כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:			

Probably this could also be the case for Leviticus 23:37-38 and Numbers 28:19b-25 where the different offerings concerning the festivals are mentioned in Leviticus as a rough summary and that Numbers 28:19b-25 gives a more precise summary concerning the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread. On the first day of the Festival of the Unleavened Bread no work is allowed and the specific offerings are burnt offerings (אֹשֶׁה עֲלֵה) of two young bulls (פָּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר שְׁנַיִם), one ram

(וּשְׁבַעֲהָ) and seven one year old lambs (וּשְׁבַעֲהָ כְּבָשִׂים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה) without defect (תְּמִימִים). The bulls are accompanied by an offering (מִנְחָה) of three tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil, and the ram with two tenths of an ephah with oil and for the seven lambs one tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil. In addition, they were to bring a male goat (שְׂעִיר) as a sin offering (חַטָּאת) to make atonement (כִּפָּר). Each of the seven days of the festival the people were to bring an offering of bread (לֶחֶם) and a drink offering (נֶסֶךְ). A special remark is made that these offerings on the first day and each of the seven days of the festival are besides the regular daily burnt offering in the morning (Numbers 28:23). The focus of the festival can be derived from the different offerings. Burnt offerings (אֲשֶׁה עֹלָה) have a relationship with atonement and dedication, food offerings (מִנְחָה) honors God for his provision, and sin offerings (חַטָּאת) consecrate reconcile and cleans people (sometimes objects) for and to God⁴². Numbers 28:15-21 does not explicitly say anything about the participants of the festival. It ends with the remark that also on the seventh day is no work allowed.

2.1.1.7 Deuteronomy 16:1-8

The last section of the Pentateuch contains Deuteronomy 16:1-8. The annual Passover is in the month Aviv, contrary with the previous section the exact date (the fourteenth) misses. This is also absent with respect to the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Deuteronomy does not mention the offerings and the assembly on the first day of the Festival. It only mentions the assembly of the last day. Likewise, there are only six days of unleavened bread instead of the previously stated seven days. The focus of Deuteronomy is remembrance of the exodus out of Egypt (Deuteronomy 16:1,3,6). The Pesach offering is less precise than Exodus 12-13 prescribes. One can choose between small cattle such as sheep and goats (צֹאן) and cattle such as cows (בָּקָר). Deuteronomy is more specific about the location of sacrifice: 'and eat it at the place the Lord will chose as a dwelling for his name' (Deuteronomy 16:2, 5-6, 7). Therefore we can say that Deuteronomy is less precise with respect to dates and offering and more precise with respect to the centrality of the festival location. This is confirmed in Deuteronomy 16:17-18, where it is stated that 'three times a year all your men must appear before the Lord at the place your God will chose'. 'All men' probably encompasses all Israelite men and the circumcised slaves and foreigners (Exodus 12:43-50). These men may not come empty handed. Everyone must bring a gift 'in proportion the Lord your God has blessed you'. Here we see the confirmation that Deuteronomy is less precise with regard to offerings. It uses the word 'proportion' (אִישׁ כְּמִתְנַת יָדוֹ כְּכֹרֶכֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּ), which lays more emphasis on the heart instead of the rule. Finally, Deuteronomy 16:16 gives for the first time in the Pentateuch the official and best

⁴² J.C Bette (red.), *Bijbelcommentaar Genesis-Exodus. Studiebijbel Oude Testament, deel 2* (2004 Veenendaal) 1165-1180.

known names of the three festivals: Feast of Unleavened Bread (חַג הַמַּצּוֹת), Feast of Weeks (חַג הַשָּׁבֻעוֹת) and Feast of Tabernacles (וַיִּבְחַן הַסֻּכּוֹת).

2.1.2 The Historical Books

2.1.2.1 Joshua 5:10-12

Deuteronomy ends with the death of Moses and the books of Joshua starts with his successor Joshua (Joshua 1:1-18). When the Israelites crossed the river Jordan and entered the land the important religious requirements of circumcision and Passover were confirmed at Gilgal (Joshua 5:2-12). The date of Passover was on the fourteenth of the first month. The focus of the festival seems to be on the promise of entering the new land. Whereas the exodus out of Egypt focused on protection of wrath and redemption of slavery, the Passover of Joshua celebrates the first Passover in the Promised Land and mentions that they ate unleavened bread and grain from their first harvest of the land. From that time the manna stopped. The place is Gilgal nearby Jericho.

2.1.2.2 2 Kings 23:21-23

From Joshua we take a giant leap to king Josiah (640-609 BCE). 2 Kings 23:21-23 mentions briefly what is more described in more detail in 2 Chronicles 35:1-19: ‘celebrate the Passover to the Lord your God, as it is written in the Book of the Covenant’ (כְּכָתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה)⁴³. The indications ‘this Book of the Covenant’ points at 2 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 34 where the high priest Hilkiah finds this book in the temple and it becomes the foundation of Josiah’s reforms. The statement: ‘Neither in the days of the judges who led Israel nor in the days of the kings of Israel and the kings of Judah had any such Passover been observed. But in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, this Passover was celebrated to the LORD in Jerusalem’ (2 Kings 23:22-23) is contradicts the statement of 2 Chronicles 30:23 were the festival is contrasted with the days of king Solomon.

2.1.2.3 2 Chronicles 30:1-19

Another reform minded king is Hezekiah (2 Chronicles 30). Hezekiah reigned from 729-686 BCE in Jerusalem. It is remarkable that King Hezekiah is not related to Passover in the book of Kings (2 Kings 18-20). He was twenty-five years old when he ascended to the throne and ‘he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, just as his father David had done’ (2 Chronicles 29:1-2). The restoration of Passover was an aspect of much greater of Hezekiah. He invited the divided country (Israel and

⁴³ 2 Kings 23:21.

Judah) as a whole to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 30:1-5). This invitation was - judging from the content of the letter - sent after the Assyrian exile:

‘People of Israel, return to the LORD, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel, that he may return to you who are left, who have escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria. Do not be like your parents and your fellow Israelites, who were unfaithful to the LORD, the God of their ancestors, so that he made them an object of horror, as you see. Do not be stiff-necked, as your ancestors were; submit to the LORD. Come to his sanctuary, which he has consecrated forever. Serve the LORD your God, so that his fierce anger will turn away from you. If you return to the LORD, then your fellow Israelites and your children will be shown compassion by their captors and will return to this land, for the LORD your God is gracious and compassionate. He will not turn his face from you if you return to him⁴⁴.

This means that the Chronistic focus of the Passover was repentance and formation of Israel’s religion according the revelations of Moses and David (2 Chronicles 30:16, 21). The date of Passover deviates from the fourteenth on the first month. The reason for this deviation is a lack of consecrated priests and lack of time for the people of Israel to assemble in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 30:3). The fourteenth of the second month is in line with the regulations of Numbers 9:9-11). The Levites slaughtered the Passover offerings (פֶּסַחִים) for those people who were ceremonially unclean. The plural Passover offerings probably mean that every man or house had to bring a Passover offering on the fourteenth of the month. Hezekiah prays for these unclean people who ate despite their uncleanness from the Passover offering. God answered his prayer with grace (2 Chronicles 30:17-20). The tight connection between Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread is seen by the usages of the names. 2 Chronicles 30:1-12 describes the preparations for Passover and when the festival actually starts the name Feast of Unleavened Bread is used (2 Chronicles 30:13). The other offerings made during the festival are called fellowship or peace offerings (זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים). These offerings differ from the required Passover offerings in Numbers 28:16-25. The fellowship offerings mentioned in Chronicles emphasize the restored relation between God and his people⁴⁵. They were so joyful with this restored relationship that the whole assembly agreed to celebrate the festival seven more days. The participants of the festival consisted of Israelites from the North and South, Priest and Levities and the aliens from Israel and Judah. Chronicles does not explicitly speaks about circumcised aliens as the Pentateuch does. Probably the circumcision of the aliens is assumed here. Chronicles ends with the statement that since the days of Solomon there never was something like this (2 Chronicles

⁴⁴ 2 Chronicles 30:6-9.

⁴⁵ J.C Bette (red.), *Bijbelcommentaar Genesis-Exodus. Studiebijbel Oude Testament, deel 2* (2004 Veenendaal) 1165-1180.

30:26). The mentioning of Solomon, the last king of the unified kingdom, emphasizes the status of Hezekiah as the proposed restorer of the unified kingdom.

2.1.2.4 2 Chronicles 35

As said before, the more extended version of Passover in the days of King Josiah is described in 2 Chronicles 35. Contrary to Hezekiah Josiah not only centralized the festival in Jerusalem but also celebrated at the proper time: the fourteenth of the first month. We can even name the year in which this Passover is celebrated: 622 BCE (2 Chronicles 35:19). The centralization of the temple is confirmed in the remark on the ark: 'put the ark in the temple that Salomon son of David king of Israel built. It is not to be carried about on your shoulders (2 Chronicles 35:3). The Hebrew phrase that is translated with 'put', is (תָּנַח) and is a qal, imperative, masculine, plural form the word (נָחַ) what actual means 'give'⁴⁶. In the context of Josiah's reforms and centralization of the cult this imperative 'give' means that the Levites have to surrender their old desert wandering claims on the ark to the temple as the new authoritative institution. This distinction between temple en Levites is also made clear in the task of the priests and the Levites. The Priests are appointed for duties in the temple (where the ark is) and the Levities are appointed to instruct the people of Israel (2 Chronicles 35:2-3) and to serve the priests (2 Chronicles 35:10-15). Another example that emphasizes the stress on centralization is shown in the preparation for the Passover. The Levities have to prepare themselves in divisions according to David and Solomon (2 Chronicles 35:4) and slaughter the Passover (הִפְסִיחַ) according to Moses (2 Chronicles 35:6). This means that there is a shift from 'all man have to slaughter the Passover at the twilight' (Exodus 12:3,6,21) to 'the Levites will slaughter it for you' (2 Chronicles 35:6). This shift is not only understandable from a centralistic point of view, but also from a logistic point of view due to the number of offerings (2 Chronicles 35:7-14). The offerings that must be given are: Passover (הִפְסִיחַ), burnt offerings (עֹלֹת), cattle (בָּקָר), boiling (בָּשַׁל) of the holy offerings in pots, caldrons and pans. The priest and Levites had to serve them 'quickly' (יָרִיעוּ) to the people. After this they made preparations for themselves and the priest because the priests sacrificed all night burnt offerings and the fat (חֵלֶב) until the nightfall. It looks as if Josiah combines different elements from the Pentateuch (Moses) and historical books (David and Solomon) and portrays them as the commandments of Josiah (פְּקֻדֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ יוֹשִׁיָּהוּ)⁴⁷. This combination of different elements from the Pentateuch is not very precise and at some points contradictory in relationship to the Pentateuch as we know it today. In Exodus 12:8-9 the meat must be roasted (צָלִי-אֵשׁ) and not boiled (בָּשַׁל). By contrast, 2 Chronicles 35:13 prescribes that the meat must be boiled (בָּשַׁל). The explicit burning of the

⁴⁶ Koehler & Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Volume 1* (Leiden 2001) 733.

⁴⁷ 2 Chronicles 35:16.

fat (2 Chronicles 35:14) is prescribed only in Exodus 23:18. What is remarkable is that the offering prescriptions of Numbers 28:16-25 are not mentioned here. Josiah focusses on the Passover, mentioning the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a passing remark: 'The Israelites who were present celebrated the Passover at that time and observed the Feast of Unleavened Bread for seven days'⁴⁸. These examples on the one hand, evoke the idea that Josiah wants to be very precise in restoring the Passover according to the prescriptions of Moses, David and Solomon as the commands of Josiah. On the other hand there are some contradicting prescriptions.

2.1.2.5 Ezra 6:19-22

The last Passover section in the Historical Books is written by Ezra (6:19-22). This section is written after the Babylonian exile (586 BCE), more specifically, on March twelfth, 516 BCE; seventy years after the destruction of the first temple (Ezra 6:15). The rebuilding of the temple excelled due to the decree of king Darius and the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (Ezra 6:13-14). Shortly after the dedication of the temple the first Passover in the second temple was celebrated on the fourteenth of the first month, which approximately means April twenty-first, 516 BCE (Ezra 6:19). The ceremonially cleansed Priests and Levites together slaughtered (כִּפְּרוּ) the Passover lambs for all the exiles (Ezra 6:20). There is a double focus on the Passover in Ezra. Firstly, the Passover is a dedication and initiation of the second temple. Secondly, it functions as an identity marker for the exiles. In the Passover they separate themselves from the unclean practices of their pagan neighbors (גוֹיֵהָאֲרָמִי). After the Passover, they celebrated with joy the Festival of Unleavened Bread for seven days (Ezra 6:22). Ezra does not speak about the type offerings. The participants are Israelites who came from exile. In the Pentateuch Passover was to some extent open for foreigners. In Ezra the contrast between cleansed Israelites and pagan neighbors is more emphasized.

2.1.3 The Prophets

There is only one Passover text in the Prophets: Ezekiel 45:21-24. The book of Ezekiel is marked by a strong emphasis on dates⁴⁹. Ezekiel 45:21-24 is part of the vision of the future that is cast on April twenty-eight 573 BCE, seven years before the destruction of the first temple in 586 BCE:

In the twenty-fifth year of our exile, at the beginning of the year, on the tenth of the month, in the fourteenth year after the fall of the city—on that very day the hand of the LORD was on me and he took

⁴⁸ 2 Chronicles 35:17.

⁴⁹ Ezekiel 1:1-2; 3:16; 8:1; 20:1-2; 24:1; 26:1; 29:17; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1,17; 33:21; 40:1.

me there. In visions of God he took me to the land of Israel and set me on a very high mountain, on whose south side were some buildings that looked like a city. He took me there, and I saw a man whose appearance was like bronze; he was standing in the gateway with a linen cord and a measuring rod in his hand. The man said to me, 'Son of man, look carefully and listen closely and pay attention to everything I am going to show you, for that is why you have been brought here. Tell the people of Israel everything you see'⁵⁰.

The vision that Ezekiel casts, is a vision of the new temple in a time of the restoration of Israel. Then the Passover is held in Jerusalem on the fourteenth of the first month (Ezekiel 45:21), a feast of seven days during which they shall eat bread without yeast (Ezekiel 45:22). A new element with respect to Passover is the role of the Prince (הַנָּשִׂיא) who is to provide a bull (פָּר) as a sin offering (חַטָּאת) for himself and the people (Ezekiel 45:22). Every day during the seven days, the Prince must bring another seven bulls (שִׁבְעַת פָּרִים) and seven rams (שִׁבְעַת אֵילִים) without defect as a burnt offering (עֹלָה) and a male (שְׂעִיר) or female goat (עֵז) for a sin offering (חַטָּאת). The seven bull and rams are to be accompanied by a grain offer (מִנְחָה) with a hin of oil (שֶׁמֶן הַיַּיִן). This is to be repeated each of the seven days (Ezekiel 45:25).

2.2. Overview of discrepancies

The sections above showed that there is unity and diversity in place/date, offerings, focus and participants according to the different Passover text. This paragraph gives an overview of these different Passover aspects.

2.2.1 Place, date and time

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
Exodus 12-13	14 Aviv at twilight in Egypt at home in their local community.	-
Exodus 23:14-15	-	15-22 Aviv.
Exodus 34:18-20	-	15-22 Aviv.
Leviticus 23:4-8	14 Aviv at twilight.	15-21 Aviv. Holy assembly on 15 and 21 Aviv.
Numbers 9:1-14	14 Aviv at Horeb or 14 Zwi (second	-

⁵⁰ Ezekiel 40:1-4.

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	month April/May) at twilight.	
Numbers 28:16-25	14 Aviv.	15-21 Aviv. Holy assembly on 15 and 21 Aviv.
Deuteronomy 16:1-8	In Aviv at the place God will chose.	In Aviv for six days at the place God will chose.
Deuteronomy 16:16-17	-	-
Joshua 5:10-12	14 th of the month at Gilgal.	-
2 Chronicles 30	14 th Zwi in Jerusalem first temple.	In the month Zwi in Jerusalem first temple.
2 Kings 23:21-23	-	-
2 Chronicles 35:1-19	14 th Aviv in Jerusalem.	The month Aviv in Jerusalem first temple.
Ezra 6:19-22	14 th Aviv in Jerusalem second temple.	Seven days in Jerusalem second temple.
Ezekiel 45:21-24	14-20 Aviv.	-

2.2.2 Offerings

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
Exodus 12-13	One year old small cattle (שֶׁה), either from sheep (כֶּבֶשׂ) or goat (עִז) without defect. This lamb must be roasted with head, legs and inner parts and eaten with bitter herbs (מַרֵּר) and bread without yeast (מֵצוּה). The lamb may not be cooked in water (בַּשֵּׁל) but only roasted by fire (בְּאֵשׁ). Leftovers must be burnt before the morning. Not one of the bones is to be broken. The people must eat it inside their	When the people enter the Promised Land, they must give the Lord the first offspring of every womb. Donkeys (as small cattle) and children can be redeemed. In this section, no price is mentioned for the children. Numbers 18:16 speak about five shekels of silver when they are a month old.

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	houses in a state of hurry with the coat tucked into the belt, sandals on the feet and staff in hand. The blood of the Lamb must be put on the doorframes with a bunch of hyssop. The men must choose the animals and slaughter them at twilight.	
Exodus 23:14-15	-	No one has to appear empty handed.
Exodus 34:18-20	The Passover (הַפֶּסַח).	The first offspring of every womb belongs to the Lord. No one may appear empty handed before the Lord.
Leviticus 23:4-8	-	For seven days present the Lord an offering made by fire (אֵשֶׁה). Leviticus does not explicitly say what kind offerings these are.
Numbers 9:1-14	Along with its rules and regulations. Numbers is probably pointing here at the rules and regulations of Exodus 12-13 (Numbers 9:11-12).	-
Numbers 28:16-25	-	In addition to the regular offerings the people must bring during the seven days an offering of bread (לֶחֶם) and a drink offering (נִסְךְ). On the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread no work is allowed and the specific offerings are a burnt offering

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
		<p>(אֵשֶׁה עֲלֶיהָ) of two young bulls (פָּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר שְׁנַיִם), one ram (וְשִׁבְעָה) and seven one year old lambs (וְשִׁבְעָה כֹּבָשִׁים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה) without defect (תְּמִימִים). The bulls are accompanied by an offering (מִנְחָה) of three tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil, and the ram with two tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil and for the seven lambs one tenth of an ephah fine floor mixed with oil. In addition, they must bring a male goat (שְׂעִיר) as a sin offering (חַטָּאת) to make atonement (כִּפּוּר).</p>
Deuteronomy 16:1-8	Sacrifice as the Passover (הַפֶּסַח) to the Lord your God an animal from your flock (צֹאן) or herd (בָּקָר). Do not let any of the meat you sacrifice on the evening of the first day remain until morning.	-
Deuteronomy 16:16-17	-	No man should appear before the Lord empty handed: Each of you must bring a gift in proportion to the way the Lord your God has blessed you.
Joshua 5:10-12	The Passover (הַפֶּסַח).	-
2 Chronicles 30	A special reference is made regarding priest and Levites. Not all priests (30:3) and Levites (30:15)	In 2 Chronicles 30 read for the first time a special form sacrifice: worship (30:21).

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	<p>had consecrated themselves for the Passover (הַפֶּסַח). They had to consecrate themselves and therefore they brought burnt offerings (עֹלֹת). After that they took up their positions according the regulations as prescribed in the Law of Moses the man of God. It was the priests who sprinkled the blood handed over by the Levites who had killed the animals (30:16-17). Another special reference is made to the role of King Hezekiah. He was aware that not all actions made by the temple and people were according the Law of Moses. Were in previous situations the wrath of God was showed Hezekiah prayed on behalf of the merci God for the people. The Lord answered the prayer of Hezekiah (30:18-20).</p>	<p>Hezekiah makes a special contribution to the Levities who showed good understanding of the service of the Lord for they brought seven days fellowship offerings (שְׁלָמִים וְזִבְחֵי). After these seven day they decided to celebrate for another seven days. King Kizekiah provided thousand bulls (בָּקָרִים) and seven thousand sheep and goats (צֹאן). The officials (הַשָּׂרִים) provided thousand bulls and then thousand sheep and goats (צֹאן).</p>
2 Kings 23:21-23	-	-
2 Chronicles 35:1-19	<p>The Passover (הַפֶּסַח). Here the priests are ordered to slaughter the Passover for their fellow countrymen (35:6). It is Josiah himself who provided all the Passover offerings for the Israelites: thirty thousand sheep and goats (צֹאן כֶּבֶשִׂים וּבְנֵי-עִזִּים) and three thousand cattle (בָּקָר). The administrators (וְגִידֵי בַיִת) of the</p>	-

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	<p>temple (Hilkiah, Zechariah and Jehiel) gave the priests twenty-six hundred cattle (בָּקָר). The leaders of the Levites (Coniah, Shemaia, Nethanel and his brothers, Hashabaiah, Jeiel and Jozabad) provided five thousand Passover offerings and five hundred head of cattle for the Levites. The Levites slaughtered (35:5-6) and skinned the animals (35:11) and the priests sprinkled the blood. They set aside the burnt offerings (עֹלָה) and cattle to give them to the people to sacrifice (35:12). In previous texts is shown that there is a discrepancy between the roasting (בָּשָׁל) and the cooking (אָש) of the Passover (Exodus 12:8-9 versus Deuteronomy 16:7). In 2 Chronicles 35:13 there is a combinations of the cooking and roasting 'and they cooked the Passover in the fire' (וַיִּבְשָׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בְּאֵשׁ). After this the Levites prepared themselves and the priests because the priest, the descendants of Aaron, were sacrificing the burnt offerings (עֹלָה) until nightfall. Besides the work of priests and Levites a reference is made to the musicians and gatekeepers. All these regulations are prescribed by King Josiah</p>	

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	(35:16).	
Ezra 6:19-22	The Passover (הַפֶּסַח). The Levites slaughtered all the Passover lam for all the exiles, for their brothers the priests and for themselves.	-
Ezekiel 45:21-24	The Passover (הַפֶּסַח).	Not the priest or Levites but the prince (נָשִׂיא) is to provide a sin offering (חַטָּאת) form himself and the people of the land. Every day during the seven days the Prince has to bring another seven bulls (שִׁבְעַת בָּקָרִים) and seven rams (שִׁבְעַת אֵילִים) without defect as a burnt offering (עֹלָה) and a male (שְׂעִיר) or female goat (עִז) for a sin offering (חַטָּאת). The seven bull and rams are to be accompanied by a grain offer (מִנְחָה) with a hin of oil (שֶׁמֶן תֵּינִן). This must be repeated each of the seven days (Ezekiel 45:23).

2.2.3 Focus

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
Exodus 12-13	There is tripartite focus in Exodus 12-13. The first is the might of God against the gods of Egypt. Secondly the redemption out of slavery and the promise of a prosperous and free country. Thirdly the apotropaic value of the blood	Here is also tripartite focus. First of all it is a feast of remembrance what God had done. Secondly there is a focus on hope and promise: God promised us the land of Israel. Thirdly it secures the apotropaic protection of the

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	which means protection of the Lord.	Lord by giving the firstborn to the Lord.
Exodus 23:14-15	-	It is a festival for the Lord and therefore man has a responsibility to show up at the proper time and place, and not empty handed.
Exodus 34:18-20	-	Remembrance and to show gratefulness to the Lord.
Leviticus 23:4-8	Sacred assembly.	Sacred assembly.
Numbers 9:1-14	What to do with persons who cannot participate at the prescribed date and aliens?	-
Numbers 28:16-25	It is the Lords Passover.	What and how to offer?
Deuteronomy 16:1-8	The right place.	-
Deuteronomy 16:16-17	-	Right time, place and offering to the Lord.
Joshua 5:10-12	The manna stopped and the people offered and ate from the produce of the Promised Land.	-
2 Chronicles 30	The centralization of the temple and the role people, king, priest and Levites played in this.	Rejoicing, worship and fellowship.
2 Kings 23:21-23	Reformation. The restoration of what is written in the Book of the Covenant; something that was not done since the days of the judges. The focus is on king Joshua as the initiator of true celebration of Passover.	-

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
2 Chronicles 35:1-19	The centralization of the temple and the role people, king, priest and Levites played in this. The focus here is on King Hezekiah and his announcement to the northern tribes.	Rejoicing, worship and fellowship.
Ezra 6:19-22	Identity. Exiles are separated from the Gentiles.	Joy over what God has done for them.
Ezekiel 45:21-24	The prince who provides a sin offering for himself and the people.	The kind of offering.

2.2.4 Participants

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
Exodus 12-13	All the community of Israel. Foreigners and aliens who, and along with their male household, are circumcised.	-
Exodus 23:14-15	-	-
Exodus 34:18-20	-	-
Leviticus 23:4-8	-	-
Numbers 9:1-14	All Israelites who are ceremonially clean. Aliens are allowed to participate but only on the same basis as the Israelites.	-
Numbers 28:16-25	-	-
Deuteronomy 16:1-8	-	-
Deuteronomy 16:16-17	-	All your men.
Joshua 5:10-12	The Israelites.	-
2 Chronicles 30	Very large crowd of Israel and	Very large crowd of Israel and

Scripture	Passover	Feast of Unleavened Bread
	Judah assembled in Jerusalem, including the aliens who had come to Israel and those who lived in Judah.	Judah assembled in Jerusalem, including the aliens who had come to Israel and those who lived in Judah.
2 Kings 23:21-23	-	-
2 Chronicles 35:1-19	The Israelites who were present in Jerusalem.	The Israelites who were present in Jerusalem.
Ezra 6:19-22	Returned exiles, together with all who had separated themselves from the unclean practices from the Gentiles.	Returned exiles, together with all who had separated themselves from the unclean practices of the Gentiles.
Ezekiel 45:21-24	The prince and all the people of the land.	The prince and all the people of the land.

2.3 Conclusions

A close and synchronic reading of the Passover texts show that some of the texts fit well in the narrative framework of the Pentateuch, Historical Books and Prophets and some do not. Exodus 12-13 for example connects the texts with the liberation of a people in slavery but they differ with the other Exodus texts (Exodus 23:14-15; 34:18-20) in length, offerings, focus and participants. Another example is from the book of Numbers. On the one hand it is chronologically logical that they celebrated Passover a year after Exodus 12-13 in Numbers 9:1-14. On the other hand it is confusing that Numbers 28:16-25 gives a detailed elaboration regarding how to offer sacrifices during the Feast of Unleavened Bread with a style and vocabulary very similar to that used in Leviticus (Leviticus 23:5-8a and Numbers 28:16-19a). These regulations fit more in a priestly environment than a forty year wandering in the desert. Although the Historical Books and the Prophets fit chronologically well within the narrative framework of the Old Testament, they differ from the Pentateuch in place, offerings and focus, as the next overview shows:

Concerning *place and date* the Passover texts do point unanimously to the fourteenth of the month Aviv. The Feast of Unleavened Bread follows on the fifteenth of Aviv. The only discrepancy with respect to the dates is Deuteronomy 16:1-8 due to the remark that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is a six day festival instead of the usual seven days festival. An alternative date is proposed in Numbers

9:1-14, when people for some reason are not ready to celebrate at the regular time. Then it is allowed to celebrate on the fourteenth of the second month (Zwi), as is done in 2 Chronicles 30. The texts shows development in the place of worship. The place of origin was Egypt (Exodus 12-13). One year later it was celebrated at Horeb (Numbers 9:1-14). When they entered the land they celebrated at Gilgal (Joshua 5:10-12). Deuteronomy prescribes the element of one singular place of worship and prohibits the communal celebrations at home⁵¹. The Historical books and Ezekiel show that this centralized place is Silo and eventually Jerusalem.

Concerning the *offerings* a clear distinction is made between the Passover sacrifice and the offerings during the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Exodus 12-13 prescribes for the Passover that a one year old lamb without defect must be roasted whole over fire and not cooked in water. The slaughtering must be done by the men of the community at twilight. Not one of its bones ought to be broken. Leftovers must be burnt before the morning. The eating must be done in the houses. According to Deuteronomy not only lambs (small cattle) are accepted but also large cattle from the herd. In the books of Kings and Chronicles the Passover is centralized as Deuteronomy prescribes and carried out by priests and Levites. Another discrepancy appears when it comes to roasting and cooking. Exodus 12-13 prohibits cooking in water, but Deuteronomy 16:7 prescribes it. 2 Chronicles 35:13 gives a combination of the two: 'and they cooked the Passover in the fire'. With regard to the Feasts of Unleavened Bread Exodus 12-13 prescribes that the first offspring of every womb is for the Lord. Donkeys and children can be redeemed, which repeats what is found in Exodus 34:18-20. Exodus 23:14-15 prompts that no man may appear empty handed before the Lord. Leviticus 23:4-8 makes a remark that this must be an offering that is made by fire and Numbers 28:16-25 is the most detailed part concerning the offerings that must be brought at the festival. Deuteronomy 16:6-7 is, contrary to Numbers 28:16-25, not so strict when it says 'each of you must bring a gift in proportion to the way the Lord your God blessed you'. 2 Chronicles emphasizes the temple worship (music) and seven days of fellowship offerings. Ezekiel is, like Numbers 28:16-28, very strict as to how to offer and shows some similarity in the types of offerings. It differs on the aspect of who must take the offer. In Ezekiel this must to be done by a the Prince.

Concerning *the focus*, Exodus 12-13 is one of the most comprehensive texts, giving three different aspects: remembrance of what God has done, the might of God and an apotropaic protection of the Lord. Other aspects are responsibility (Exodus 23:14-15), gratefulness (Exodus 34:18-20), sacred assembly (Leviticus 23:4-8), ceremonial cleanliness (Numbers 9:1-14), what and how to offer

⁵¹ This emphasis on centralization of the cult is probably also seen in Exodus 23:14-15 where the people are prompted no to appear empty handed before the Lord.

(Numbers 28:16-25), the right place (Deuteronomy 16:1-8; 16-17), products of the Promised Land (Joshua 5:10-12), the function of the temple and the greatness of Hezekiah and Josiah (Kings and Chronicles), joyfulness and holiness (Ezra), the future role of the temple and who, what and how to offer (Ezekiel).

Concerning *the participants*, there is a strong divergence between Exodus 12-13 and the other Passover texts due to the emphasis of Exodus 12-13 on the own local community and family. After this, the focus shifts to a more centralized form of worship. By contrast, the Passover texts show much agreement on who may participate: all Israelites who are ceremonially clean. Aliens and foreigners may participate when they are circumcised.

Having said this, it is also clear that the Passover texts show discrepancies and development according to place and date, offerings, focus and participants within the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Bible as a whole. The question is, however, if these discrepancies and development, and especially those within the Pentateuch, reflect a process of heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations of a collator or do the Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions? To answer this question it is not only important to approach the Passover texts from a synchronically point of view but also from a diachronical point of view. The next chapter gives an overview of a diachronic approach to Passover texts.

Chapter three: Diachronic Approach

Introduction

As seen in the previous chapter the Passover texts show at some points resemblance and at other points diversity and discrepancies. In this chapter the Passover texts are approached from a diachronic point of view. This means that the focus shifts from a narrative chronology to a mere contextual approach in which the texts are assumed to be written or redacted (see chapter one for the different positions in the current debate). The criteria for this approach are discussed in the section Major Stages (3.2). This chapter starts with an overview of diachronic approaches of the Passover texts as suggested by respectively: Roland De Vaux, Peter Laaf, Herbert Haag and Guy Lasserre.

3.1 Overview of Diachronic Approaches Passover Texts

Roland De Vaux has dealt with the history of the Passover (texts) in his seminal work *'Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions'*⁵². In this book he gives an overview of the institutions of Israel and how they functioned in daily life. Peter Laaf⁵³ and Herbert Haag⁵⁴ dedicated their research completely to a diachronic approach of the Passover texts in the (Hebrew) Bible. Guy Lasserre⁵⁵ has written a synopsis of the Pentateuch. These works are helpful in comparing the different methods how to approach Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible and their vision on textual growth.

3.1.1 Roland De Vaux

In the second half of twentieth century, Roland De Vaux wrote in *'Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions'* about the daily and religious life of Ancient Israel. His presentations of the development of the Passover traditions forms a succinct and useful synthesis of the views on the development of ancient Israelite religion and literature that have become widely accepted since the publications by

⁵² Roland De Vaux, *Ancient Israel, Its life and Institutions* (London 1960). The original version of De Vaux in 1958 was written in French. If possible, I will use in this Master Thesis English or German editions.

⁵³ Peter Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israel* (Bonn 1970).

⁵⁴ Herbert Haag, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha* (Stuttgart 1971).

⁵⁵ Guy Lasserre, *Synopse des lois du Pentateuque* (Leiden 1994).

Julius Wellhausen. For my research question the sections *'The Liturgical Calendar'* and *'The Ancient Feasts of Israel'*⁵⁶ are helpful. According to De Vaux, the regular word for festival (mo'ed) is different from that for the three annual festivals (hag). There are several festival lists in the Hebrew Bible: (a) Elohist Covenant Code (Exodus 23:14-17), (b) Jahwist Covenant Code (Exodus 34:18-23), (c) Deuteronomium (16:1-7; 16-17), (d) Holiness Code (Leviticus 23), (e) Ezekiel (45:18-25), (f) sacrificial laws (Numbers 28-29) and (g) post-exilic festivals⁵⁷. De Vaux starts with the youngest Passover texts because they are the most extended versions and therefore the most easy to recognize as a product of a Priestly tradition (Leviticus 23:5-8; Numbers 28:16-25; Exodus 12:1-20, 40-51). In these Priestly texts Passover and the festival of Unleavened Bread are presented as one festival. Deuteronomy is written before the Priestly tradition. In Deuteronomy, the connection between Passover and the festival of Unleavened Bread seems even more tight than the Priestly tradition but the two festivals are probably interconnected with each other in the timeframe of king Josiah⁵⁸. The Priestly tradition and Deuteronomy are preceded by the oldest calendars: Elohist Covenant Code (Exodus 23:14-17) and Jahwist Covenant Code (Exodus 34:18-23). In these oldest passages the emphasis lies on the Festival of the Unleavened Bread. The reason for this separation between Passover and the three annual festival concerns the origins of the festivals. Passover originated concerning herdsmen initiation rites and the three annual festivals are original harvest festivals. In the salvation history of the religion of Israel these Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals were interconnected with the myth of the Exodus⁵⁹. Although his views on independent Elohist and Jehovistic codices (3.2.1) are no longer shared by other biblical scholars, his view on the development of the Passover traditions as *aggiornamento* is still widely accepted⁶⁰.

3.1.2 Peter Laaf

Peter Laaf has written an extensive work on Passover. In the first chapter he gives a critical literary overview of the different Passover texts. In Chapter two he compares the texts on the base of unity and discrepancies. In the third chapter he gives an overview of the different stages in which Passover has developed. In the first chapter he formulates his position in the research of Passover:

'In letzten größeren Werk über das alttestamentliche und jüdische Pascha lehnt der Verfasser (J.B. Segal), wie ich in der Einleitung bereits gesagt habe, die Aufteilung des Pentateuchs in mehrere Quellen ab, wobei er sich vor allem auf Arbeiten der englischen und skandinavischen Schule stützt, die auch im Alten Testament ein Schema (pattern) zu erkennen glaubt, das in der ganzen nahöstlichen

⁵⁶ De Vaux, 468-474, 484-506.

⁵⁷ De Vaux, 468-474.

⁵⁸ De Vaux, 484-493.

⁵⁹ De Vaux, 496-502.

⁶⁰ See Herbert Haag (3.1.3) for a chronologically summary of the Passover texts.

Welt belegt sei. Jedoch finden sich im Pentateuch Unstimmigkeiten und Wiederholungen, die sich ohne eine Aufteilung in verschiedene Überlieferungsstränge schwerlich erklären lassen⁶¹.

The *Überlieferungsstränge* of Laaf contains different traditions such as ‘the (pre) Jahwist, (pre) Deuteronomic, Priestly and Chronistic traditions⁶². These traditions do not only rewrite older Passover texts in a new *aggiornamento*-like manner. An example of *aggiornamento* is Joshua 5:10-12. According to Laaf, Joshua 5:10-12 is a relatively old text with a latter Priestly addition ‘on the fourteenth day of the month’. This means that this supplement is actually a literary anachronism⁶³. In the thesis of Laaf Passover, Unleavened Bread and the Law on the firstborn where in the pre-Jahwistic phase three separated institutions that were united as one in the course of Israel’s salvation history. It was the Exodus event that brought them together. In other words, the Exodus event constituted the developments of the separated institutions in their editorial form. This could be the reason why Exodus 12-13 is a melting pot of different sources. In his analysis of Exodus 12 he explicates the idea that Exodus 12 consists out of a Jahwist (12:21-23; 27b), Priestly (12:1-14) and Deuteronomist source (24-27a) and that these separate sources show traces of an internal development⁶⁴. This is for example shown in an old pre-Jahwist apotropaic blood ritual that eventually is interconnected with Passover due to the Exodus event⁶⁵. Another example is the comparing of an old private (burnt) offering without blood (זָבַח) with (טֶשֶׁת) what is originally a blood (slaughter) offering and used in Exodus 12:6, 21. According to Laaf, (זָבַח) could become the common word for the Passover offering in the Deuteronomistic history because the apotropaic function of blood did not play a role anymore at that time. In the Chronistic history the word for offering is called (זָבַח שְׁלָמִים) due to a Priestly *aggiornamento* who wanted contrary to the Deuteronomist emphasize the character of an blood offer. This actually means that Deuteronomistic and Priestly influences are traced in the development of the Passover offering⁶⁶. Remarkable is that Herbert Haag gives a slightly different nuance to the same words by saying that the priests wanted to increase the element blood slaughtering at the expense of an offering function:

‘Gewiß hatte das Schlachten des Pesachtieres seit ältester Zeit Opfercharakter. Während aber die Priesterschrift daran interessiert ist, diesen Opfercharakter zu verwischen, spüren wir in der deuteronomischen Gesetzgebung das Bestreben, gerade darauf zu insistieren und das Pesach durch

⁶¹ Laaf, 3.

⁶² Laaf, 116-141.

⁶³ Laaf, 86-91.

⁶⁴ Laaf, 10-38.

⁶⁵ Laaf, 116-117.

⁶⁶ Laaf, 127-129; 166-167.

seine Bindung an den Tempel in den Rhythmus des dortigen Opferkultus einzuordnen. Dies ging natürlich wiederum auf Kosten des ursprünglichen familiären Gepräges des Festes⁶⁷.

However, De Vaux on the contrary assumes that the name (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים) is a priestly qualification but used in different ways and that the name for a (burnt) offering without blood is (עֹלָה כֹלֵל). Perhaps Laaf and Haag overstress here the conclusion on the basis of literary analysis.

3.1.3 Herbert Haag

Herbert Haag not only gives an overview of Passover developments in the Hebrew Bible, but also from extra-biblical sources such as Elephantine, Jubilees, Qumran, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Philo from Alexandria, Flavius Josephus and the Mishnah. Haag divides the Old Testament Passover texts in legislative and historical texts and texts about the Festival Unleavened Bread. In his abridged overview he starts with the oldest texts (Exodus 23:18, 34:25) and ends with the Chronistic texts (2 Chronicles 30, 35:1-19; Ezra 6:19-22). The *Überlieferungsstränge* of Haag contains the origins of Passover, (pre) Deuteronomistic and (post) exilic. With regard to the origins of Passover there are three assumptions⁶⁸: (1) A nomadic festival to celebrate a new season (Wellhausen, Rost, Noth, De Vaux and Arabic parallels), (2) a Canaanite harvest festival (Hooke), and (3) a combination of these two origins in a single event to postulate that Passover and Unleavened Bread where from the beginning one festival (Segal). The difference between Israel and the nations is that these festivals were interconnected with history and became eventually salvation history⁶⁹. The merge of Passover and the origin annual Festival Unleavened Bread into a centralistic family festival was due to the intervention of the Deuteronomistic tradition⁷⁰ and especially due to the Josianic Reform⁷¹. After the Babylonian exile the Priestly tradition was responsible for the *aggiornamento* of Exodus 12:1-14 that had its origin in Exodus 12:21-23⁷². Herbert Haag gives the following chronological summary of the Passover texts in which he makes a distinction between legislative texts and historical texts. The assumed legislative chronologically order is: Exodus 23:14-15 (Covenant Code), Exodus 34:18-20 (Cultic Code), Exodus 12:21-17 (oldest narrative part), Deuteronomy 16:1-8 (Deuteronomistic Code), Exodus 12:1-14; Exodus 12:43-49; Numbers 9:1-14 (Priestly narratives), Leviticus 23:4-8 (Holiness Code), Numbers 28:16-25 (Holiness Code related offering list), and Ezekiel 45:21-24). The assumed

⁶⁷ Haag, 75-76.

⁶⁸ Haag, 43-57.

⁶⁹ Haag, 58-63.

⁷⁰ Haag, 64-67.

⁷¹ Haag, 72-83.

⁷² Haag, 84-87.

chronological order of historical texts is: Joshua 5:10-12, 2 Kings 23:21-23, 2 Chronicles 35:1-19, 2 Chronicles 30:1-27, Ezra 6:19-22⁷³.

3.1.4 Guy Lasserre

Guy Lasserre has published a synopsis of the laws of the Pentateuch. Lasserre starts his overview with the three annual festivals Deuteronomium 16:16-17 (Deuteronomistic Code), Exodus 23:14-18 (Covenant Code) and Exodus 34:23-25 (Other lists). These annual festivals are also mentioned in 1 Kings 9:25 and 2 Chronicles 8:13. For this research on Passover and textual growth section 36 'Les trois pèlerinages annuels', section 37 'La Pâque ou les Pains sans levain' important and section 38 'Interdiction de se présenter devant Dieu les mains vides'⁷⁴ are helpful. This overview shows that some sentences and words are interrelated with each other as for example is seen the comparison of Exodus 23:14-19 and Exodus 34:18-26 (3.2.1).

3.1.5 Conclusions

On the basis of the previous chapters an overall conclusion can be made that on the one hand De Vaux, Laaf, Haag and Lasserre agree with each other on the major stages or tradition that shaped the text of the Hebrew Bible. De Vaux, Laaf, Haag and many other scholars all assume a development of the Passover traditions in basically five stages: (1) a pre-Jahwistic stage, in which a nomadic new moon festival was blended with a Canaanite harvest festival, (2) a Jahwistic and/or Elohist tradition, (3) Deuteronomistic tradition, (4) Priestly tradition and a (5) Chronistic tradition. In these traditions Passover developed and the texts emerged on the base of *aggiornamento*. On the other hand, they disagree with each other on a more detailed level on questions as to 'how do the older sources (Exodus 23 and 34) interrelate to each other? Can we divide them into respectively Elohist and Jahwistic sources as De Vaux does? How did the Passover offering develop? (Laaf versus Haag). In the next section the focus will be on the major stages of Passover developments.

3.2 Major Stages

In this section the major stages in which textual growth took place are described. I make a distinction between the different codes. On the one hand the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22-23:33), Deuteronomistic Code (Deuteronomy 12-26) and Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26) and other legislative list (Exodus 34:18-25; Numbers 28:16-25) and on the other hand the narrative texts (Exodus 12-13; Numbers 9:1-14; Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 30; 35:1-19 and Ezra

⁷³ Haag, 29-35.

⁷⁴ Lasserre, 60-65.

6:19-22). The reason for this is that the different codes show an inherent development and are strongly related with the two other lists (Covenant Code with Exodus 34:18-25 and Holiness Code with Numbers 28:16-25). The narrative texts probably underwent editorial expansion.

3.2.1 Covenant Code

The Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22-23:33) is probably the oldest code of the Pentateuch. The most convincing arguments are: (1) the different types of alters and places of worship (Exodus 20:24-25), (2) the harvest names of the three annual festivals (Exodus 23:14-17), (3) the prescription that only the men have to appear for the Lord (Exodus 23:17) and (4) the loose structure of the connection between Passover and Unleavened Bread (Exodus 23:14-19). According to Erich Zenger the formation of this originally independent Law or Covenant Code is a much debated question. There is however a broad consensus that there are different stages of development in which the casuistic part (Exodus 21:12-22:16) constitutes the oldest part⁷⁵. Schwienhorst-Schönberger assumes that Exodus 23:20-33 'im Grundbestand vordeuteronomistisch ist, oder zumindest doch einer vordeuteronomistische Tradition enthält'⁷⁶. Regarding the Passover texts there is a close connection between Exodus 23:14-19 and Exodus 34:18-26⁷⁷:

Exodus 23:14-19		Exodus 34:18-26	
שְׁלֹשׁ רִגְלִים תִּחַג לִי בַשָּׁנָה:	14		
אֶת־תִּחַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר	15	אֶת־תִּחַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר	18
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת		שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת	
כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךְ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב		אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךְ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב	
כִּי־בֹ יֵצְאֶת מִמִּצְרַיִם		כִּי בְחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יֵצְאֶת מִמִּצְרַיִם:	
		כָּל־פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם לִי	19
		וְכָל־מִקְנֶה תִזְכֹּר פֶּטֶר שׁוֹר וְשֵׂה:	
		וּפֶטֶר חֲמֹר תִּפְדֶּה בְּשֵׂה	20
		וְאִם־לֹא תִפְדֶּה	
		וְעִרְפָּתוֹ	
		כָּל בְּכוֹר בְּלִיד תִּפְדֶּה	
		וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פְנֵי רִיקָם:	
וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פְנֵי רִיקָם:			
		שֵׁשַׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד	21
		וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי תִשְׁבֹּת	
		בְּחֵרִישׁ וּבְקִצִיר תִּשְׁבֹּת:	
וְתִחַג הַקִּצִיר בְּכוֹנֵי מַעֲשֵׂיךָ	16	וְתִחַג שִׁבְעַת תַּעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ בְּכוֹנֵי קִצִיר חֲטָיִם וְחַג הָאֲסִיף תִּקְוַפֶת הַשָּׁנָה:	22
אֲשֶׁר תִּזְרַע בַּשָּׂדֶה			
וְחַג הָאֲסִיף בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה			
בְּאֲסִיֶּפֶךָ אֶת־מַעֲשֵׂיךָ מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה:			

⁷⁵ Zenger, 185-187.

⁷⁶ Ludwig Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch* (Berlin 1989) 410.

⁷⁷ Laaf, 48.

Exodus 23:14-19		Exodus 34:18-26	
שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֵה כָּל־זְכוּרָךְ אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה:	17	שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֵה כָּל־זְכוּרָךְ אֶת־פְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	23
		כִּי־אוֹרִישׁ גּוֹיִם מִפְּנֵיךָ	24
		וְהִרְחַבְתִּי אֶת־גְּבוּלְךָ	
		וְלֹא־יִחַמְדוּ אִישׁ אֶת־אַרְצְךָ	
		בְּעֵלְתְּךָ	
		לְרֹאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה:	
לֹא־תִזְבַּח עַל־חֶמֶץ דִּם־זִבְחֵי	18	לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־חֶמֶץ דִּם־זִבְחֵי	25
וְלֹא־יֵלֵךְ לִבְקָרְךָ עִד־בִּקְרֶיךָ:		וְלֹא־יֵלֵךְ לִבְקָרְךָ זָבַח חֵג הַפֶּסַח:	
רֵאשִׁית בְּכוּרֵי אֲדָמָתְךָ תָּבִיא בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	19	רֵאשִׁית בְּכוּרֵי אֲדָמָתְךָ תָּבִיא בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	26
לֹא־תִבְשֹׁל גְּדֵי בַחֲלָב אִמּוֹ:		לֹא־תִבְשֹׁל גְּדֵי בַחֲלָב אִמּוֹ:	

This leads De Vaux to the conclusion that the first is the Elohist Covenant Code (Exodus 23:14-17) and the latter the Jahwist Covenant Code (Exodus 34:18-23). Peter Laaf and Herbert Haag call them respectively Covenant Code (Bundesbuch) and Cultic Code (Kultischen Dekalog). Both sections show much literary overlap with each other. Laaf poses the question: which one is the oldest? Some say Exodus 23 and others Exodus 34. A third option is given by Jespen that both sections depend on an older source and Noth speaks about two independent sources that later on were interrelated. These four options give an indication that there is no consensus regarding the origins of the Covenant Code. This makes Peter Laaf cautious to declare Exodus 34:18-23 Jahwistic. Herbert Haag assumes that Exodus 34 is an *aggiornamento* of Exodus 23 to upgrade the Cultic Code. It is the work of a redactor who wanted to complete the Cultic Code. But Exodus 34:25 also reveals an *aggiornamento* of the Deuteronomistic Code due to the anachronism (זָבַח חֵג הַפֶּסַח). In 34:25a 'Do not offer the blood of a sacrifice (זָבַח) to me along with anything containing yeast', can hardly be the same as 34:25b 'and do not let any of the sacrifice from the Passover Festival (זָבַח חֵג הַפֶּסַח) remain until morning' otherwise this Passover specification would already be made in 34:25a. Passover becomes an annual pilgrims festival (חֵג) in the Deuteronomistic Code. Peter Laaf also holds the position that Deuteronomistic influence made Passover an annual festival. This leads the conclusion that one has to be very careful to determine the Covenant Code precisely. If this is the case then must we not also be careful to determine the annual Passover in Exodus as a Deuteronomistic *aggiornamento*? When we start with the oldest texts Exodus 23, 34, 12:21-23, Passover and Unleavened Bread belong to each other but are described separately. Passover is described as an offer (שְׁחִטוּ הַפֶּסַח) with an apotropaic function (12:23). In Exodus 23:18 'the blood offer without yeast' (לֹא־תִזְבַּח עַל־חֶמֶץ דִּם־זִבְחֵי) is probably the Passover assumed and in Exodus 34:35 (הַפֶּסַח לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־חֶמֶץ דִּם־זִבְחֵי וְלֹא־יֵלֵךְ לִבְקָרְךָ זָבַח חֵג). This means that all ingredients for three annual festivals and a Passover offering are already manifested in the oldest texts. I agree with Herbert Haag that in the Deuteronomistic tradition the festival centralized but that doesn't mean that the Passover quotes in Exodus 23:18 and 34:25 have to be

Deuteronomistic *aggiornamento*. Therefore I conclude that that the ingredients of Passover and the three annual festivals are already mentioned in the oldest texts but we have to be cautious how they interrelated with each other in this stage of the Covenant Code with a decentralized cult (Exodus 20:24-26). It is possible that Passover and the three annual festivals were separated events in this stage but it also possible that the Exodus event interconnected them already in this early stage. In other words, the literary separation of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Covenant Code does not have to mean that they were religiously separated within the cultus of Israel at this stage. With regard to the textual growth I assume that the Covenant Code forms the oldest, smallest, roughest and least detailed layer of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Deuteronomistic code is the next stage of development and *aggiornamento*.

3.2.2 Deuteronomistic Code

In his work *'Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School'* Moshe Weinfeld gives an overview of typical Deuteronomistic phraseology⁷⁸. Weinfeld discerns: (1) the struggle against idolatry, (2) centralization of worship, (3) Exodus, covenant and election, (4) the monotheistic creed, (5) observance of the law and loyalty to the covenant, (6) inheritance of the land, (7) retribution and material motivation, (8) the fulfillment of prophecy, (9) the Davidic dynasty and (10) rhetoric and parentic phraseology. All these different elements do more or less have a relationship with Jerusalem as the heart of Israel's religion. Erich Zenger assumes that this focus on cultic centralization started in the days of king Hezekiah from Judah (725-697 BCE) due to the Assyrian threat. Judah would be lost in the open field and therefore it was better to bring the cult within the safe walls of Jerusalem. King Josiah from Judah (640-609 BCE) took this process of centralization one step further when he reformed the cultus on the uncovered Law Code. It was after all forbidden to worship other gods (Exodus 34:13; 23:24; Deuteronomy 7:5; 12:2) and in those days Israel's religion became more and more syncretic. In 2 Kings 22-23 a law book is found from the days of King Josiah. This was probably an earlier version of Deuteronomy 5-28 and the Deuteronomistic history (Joshua-2Kings), and completed in the post-exilic period⁷⁹. The Deuteronomistic Code contains the chapters 12-26. Weinfeld holds the same position as De Vaux, Laaf and Haag regarding the interconnection of Passover and the Unleavened Bread due to Deuteronomistic centralistic influence⁸⁰. Herbert Haag gives a summary of six Deuteronomistic *aggiornamento*'s (1) from now on it is no longer allowed to offer only small cattle but also large cattle, (2) the cultus is centralized, (3) the Passover offering has to be a burnt offering instead of a blood sacrifice offer, (4) contrary to Exodus 12:9 and Numbers 9:12 the

⁷⁸ Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford 1972) 320-365.

⁷⁹ Zenger, 143-144.

⁸⁰ Weinfeld, 210-217.

Passover offering is allowed to be cooked and divided in parts; probably due to fact that from now on large cattle is permitted, (5) no specific date is mentioned; only the month Aviv, (6) Passover becomes a national feast (Deuteronomy 12:12) contrary the older prescription that only men have to appear before the Lord (Deuteronomy 16:16-17). With regard to textual growth Deuteronomy 16:16-17 is supposed to be the basic text of the Deuteronomistic Passover which lay heavily on Exodus 23:14-15 and 34:19-20⁸¹:

Exodus 23:15	Deuteronomy 16:16
	שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעֻמִּים בְּשָׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרָךְ אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר
	בַּחֹג הַמִּצּוֹת וּבַחֹג הַשְּׂבָעוֹת וּבַחֹג הַסִּפּוֹת
אֶת־חֹג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שְׁבַעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת	
כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךְ לְמוֹעֵד תִּדְּשׁ הָאָזִיב	
כִּי־בֹ יֵצְאֶת מִמִּצְרָיִם	
וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה רִיקָם:	וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה רִיקָם:

It is remarkable that the Deuteronomist on the one hand quotes the text regarding Passover in the Covenant Code on Passover, including the ‘men part’ (כל־זכוּרָךְ) and on the other hand prescribes that it is a family festival including sons, daughters, men and made servants and the Levites in your towns (אתם ובניכם ובנותיכם ועבדכיכם ואמהתיכם והלוי אשר בשעריכם). This means that the Deuteronomist on the one hand builds upon older work (Covenant Code) and on the other hand loosely makes some *aggiornamento’s* as seen in my synchronic approach (2.1.1) and the six points from Haag as describes above. This looseness is contrary to the strict idiom of the Priestly tradition as shown in the next section.

3.2.3 Holiness Code

The Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26) is part of the larger Priestly tradition. Erich Zenger quotes Gerhard von Rad when he compares Deuteronomy with the Priestly tradition:

‘Wer von Deuteronomium herkommt, muß sich zuerst einmal mit den nüchtern Strenge auseinander setzen, mit der Priesterschrift ihre Stoffe vorlegt. Das Deuteronomium hat etwas Herzandrängendes; aber es kommt auch dem Verstand dadurch entgegen, daß es fortgesetzt aufs bereitwilligste erklärt.

⁸¹ Lasserre compares Deuteronomy 16:16-17 with Exodus 23:15 and 34:19-20. I compare Deuteronomy 16:16 with Exodus 23:17 because of their similarity. See

Mit einem Wort: es ist völlig auf seinem Leser oder Hörer und auf dessen theologischen Fassungsvermögen eingestellt. Bei der Priesterschrift vielt dieser lebendige Deutungswille ganz⁸².

Zenger describes the characteristic traits of the Priestly idiom as follows: (1) ‘Vorliebe für Formeln, stereotype Formulierungen und Wiederholungen, (2) Zurücktreten des plastischen Elements bei Handlungsabläufen du bei der Charakteristik von Personen, (3) Vorliebe für Elemente, die einen Ordnung der Welt, der Geschichte und des Lebens insinuieren, (4) Interesse an kultischen und rituellen Phänomenen, (5) Schema Auftrag-Ausführung bzw. Ankündigung-Erfüllung und (6) Vorliebe für theologische Fachsprache⁸³. Although in current research there is a lack of consensus on the question as to how they interrelate in an exact way. Within German Old Testament scholarship it is still customary to distinguish within the texts characterized by these priestly idiomatic features (1) remnants of an originally independent Priestly history (a so-called ‘Grundschrift’) (P^G), (2) secondary additions to this Grundschrift (P^S) and (3) the Holiness Code (H) which combines priestly and Deuteronomistic characteristics in Lev 17-27. The difficulty to determine these different layers is due to the long formation history of these different strata. In current debate there is discussion on the Priestly tradition as a whole as an independent tradition⁸⁴. With regard to Passover and textual growth there is a strong relationship with the Holiness Code (17-26) and the list of Numbers 28:16-25:

Leviticus 23:5-8a		Numbers 28:16-19a	
בַּחֲדָשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֶרְבַיִם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:	5	וּבַחֲדָשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:	16
וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ הַזֶּה תִּגַּד מִצֹּת לַיהוָה שְׁבַעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת תֹּאכְלוּ:	6	וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ הַזֶּה תִּגַּד מִצֹּת יָמִים מִצֹּת יֹאכְלוּ:	17
בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא־חֲדָשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:	7	בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרֵא־חֲדָשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:	18
וּהַקִּרְבָּתִם אֲשֶׁה לַיהוָה שְׁבַעַת יָמִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי מִקְרֵא־חֲדָשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:	8	וְהַקִּרְבָּתִם אֲשֶׁה עֲלֵה לַיהוָה פְּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר שְׁנַיִם וְאַיִל אֶחָד וְשִׁבְעָה כִּבְשִׂים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה	19
		תְּמִימִם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם:	

Here we see the same pattern as seen before in the Covenant Code with the parallels between Exodus 23:14-15 and 34:18-20). Some differences are: (1) time of offering at twilight (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַיִם), (2) the name of the Festival (תִּגַּד מִצֹּת) in Leviticus 23:5-8a and (3) the specification on the offerings in Numbers 28:19 (פְּרִים בְּנֵי־בָקָר שְׁנַיִם וְאַיִל אֶחָד וְשִׁבְעָה כִּבְשִׂים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה). It is possible that these two texts, just

⁸² Zenger, 156.
⁸³ Zenger, 157-158
⁸⁴ Zenger, 159-161. See also chapter 1.3 and comments on Frank Moore Cross.

as Exodus 23:14-15 and 34:18-20, influenced each other. According to Herbert Haag this is the case whereby Numbers 28:16-19a is the oldest of the two⁸⁵.

3.2.4 Narrative texts and Ezekiel

Most of the narrative texts have a connection with the major stages of development as described above although there is the lack of consensus as to how to determine every text in detail. It is remarkable that the historical books (Joshua, Samuel and Kings) of the Enneateuch (Pentateuch + Joshua, Samuel and Kings) refer to Passover only briefly on two occasions (Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23) which corresponds with the two remarks in Chronicles that 'Passover wasn't celebrated this way since the days of Salomon (2 Chronicles 30:26) and Samuel (2 Chronicles 35:18)'. In current debate there is no consensus anymore about their being an independent and unite Chronistic history (Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah) as Peter Laaf and Herbert Haag assumed in the seventies⁸⁶, because there is besides similarity also diversity, in for example, theological concepts⁸⁷. Georg Stein formulates it this way:

'Die Chronik ist nicht nur Auslegung von Sam/Kön, sondern ein eigenständiges Werk; die altern biblischen Bücher dienen neben außerbiblischen Texten als Quelle. Zugleich setzt die Chronik bei den Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten eine große Vertrautheit mit den älteren biblischen Büchern voraus. Vieles, wie die Genealogien in 1 Chr 1-9, wäre ohne diese Kenntnis gar nicht verständlich; 1 Chr 1,27 spielt z.B. auf die Umnamung Abrahams und damit die ganze Abrahamsgeschichte der Gen an. In diesem Sinne ist die Chronik 'rewritten bible', eine 'Nachschrift' älterer Bücher⁸⁸.

Due to the lack of historical indications, the book of Chronicles is dated between sixth to the second century BCE. Torah, kingship and the temple play an important role in the Chronistic history and there is therefore a strong thematical relationship with the book of Ezra⁸⁹. It seems that Chronicles and Ezra interrelate the land and centralization themes of Deuteronomy with the Priestly regulations. Remarkable is the role of the Levites who seems to play a more important role than elsewhere in the Bible (2 Chronicles 30:15,17,22,27; 35:3-11,14-15,18). Regarding to textual growth Laaf and Haag both assume that there is close relationship concerning content between 2 Chronicles 35:1-19 and Ezra. These two texts give a post-exilic expression to the small Deuteronomistic part in 2 Kings 23:21-

⁸⁵ Haag, 33.

⁸⁶ Laaf, 94-95; Haag, 97-98.

⁸⁷ Zenger, 254-255.

⁸⁸ Zenger, 258.

⁸⁹ Zenger, 260-262.

23⁹⁰. It is debatable whether there is a historical background for the narrative of the Hezekiah reform as narrated in 2 Chronicles 30, given the fact that there is no counterpart to this story in the earlier narratives of 2 Kings, whereas the differences in the role of the Levites and the relation of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread make it plausible that the story in 2 Chronicles 30 is a free literary composition by the book of Chronicles⁹¹. Taking the comments of Laaf and Haag in account I assume that the stories in Chronicles are a Priestly or Levitical *aggiornamento* of the Deuteronomistic account of Josiah (2 Kings 23:21-23) and Ezra a description of how Passover functioned at the beginning of the second temple period. Ezekiel is textually related with the Priestly texts (Leviticus 23:4-8; Numbers 28:16-25). For example⁹²:

Ezekiel 45:21a	וּבְחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַפֶּסַח חֹג שִׁבְעוֹת יָמִים מִצּוֹת יֵאָכְלוּ:
Leviticus 23:5	בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:
Numbers 28:16	וּבְחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:

Laaf and Haag both assume that Ezekiel on the one hand rests on the Priester/Holiness Codex and on the other hand gives an own and unique interpretation on for example the role of the Prince⁹³.

3.2.5 Conclusions

After this overview I will give a summary of some plausible developments of Passover and textual growth. First of all there is a pattern in the developments of the three legislative codices, respectively the Covenant Code, Deuteronomistic Code and the Holiness Code. These codes are written in a specific timeframe in which the religion of Israel developed. In these codices the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread had their own developments. In the Covenant Code the festivals are separated, in the Deuteronomistic Code interconnected and in the Holiness Code they are approached as one. At some point in this development the two festivals were connected with the Exodus event. Apparently early in the tradition, since we find the connection already in the presumably oldest stages. It is possible that the festivals were pre-Mosaic but this conclusion cannot be drawn from a textual approach. However, the connection between the festivals and the Exodus event had its own narrative development and mostly centered in the Passover bulk of Exodus 12-13. In this narrative it is possible to divide three different festivals: Passover (Exodus 12:1-14; 12:21-28; 12:43-51), Unleavened Bread (Exodus 12:15-20; 13:3-10) and the Law of the Firstborn (13:2; 13:11-16).

⁹⁰ Laaf, 98-99; Haag 99-102.

⁹¹ Laaf, 95-96, Haag 103-107.

⁹² Laaf, 101-102.

⁹³ Laaf, 100-102; Haag 91-92.

These narrative festivals have their legislative prescriptions in the Covenant Code: Passover (Exodus 23:18; 34:25), Unleavened Bread (Exodus 23:14-15, 34:18) and the Law of the Firstborn (Exodus 22:28-29; 34:19-20) whereby it is not possible to determine to what extent the Covenant Code (Exodus 20-23) and the Cultic Code (Exodus 34) influenced each other. Further on in the process of *aggiornamento* of the Covenant Code in the Deuteronomistic Code (Deuteronomy 12-26), we see the same pattern: Passover (Deuteronomy 16:1-2, 6-8), Unleavened Bread (Deuteronomy 16:3-5, 8) and the Law of the Firstborn (Deuteronomy 15:19-20). Finally this pattern is seen in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26): Passover (Leviticus 23:5), Unleavened Bread (Leviticus 23:6-8) except and the Law of the Firstborn which is written in another Priestly legislative list (Numbers 18:15-18). But as previously shown, there is a strong textual relationship between Leviticus 23:4-8 and Numbers 28:16-25. This shows that different legislative elements are rewritten in a new context with different accents. These rewritten analog legislative codices are explored in different narrative stories that are based on the exodus event or later stories (Joshua, Hezekiah, Josiah and Ezra). These narratives also have their own *aggiornamento's*, for example the assumed Priestly and Deuteronomistic elements in respectively Exodus 12:1-14 and Joshua 5:10-12.

Looking at (1) the Gesamtstruktur of the three codes, (2) the developments of the major stages according to De Vaux, Laaf and Haag (3) the synopsis of Lasserre, (4) the Deuteronomistic en Priestly indicators respectively set by Weinfeld and Zenger, (5) the comparison of Exodus 23:14-19 with 34:18-26, (6) the comparison of Exodus 23:15 with Deuteronomy 16:16, (7) Leviticus 23:5-8a with Numbers 28:16-19a, and (8) the comparison of Ezekiel 45:21a with Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 28:16, I conclude - on the basis of a diachronic approach - that the Passover texts reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions.

Chapter four: Conclusions

In this final chapter on textual growth I will answer my research question 'Do the Passover texts reflect a process of heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations out of a collator or do the Passover texts reflect a process of adoptions of previous traditions'? This answer consists of three stages. The first stage contains the conclusions that can be made from a synchronic approach of the Passover texts (chapter 2). The second stage contains the conclusions that can be made from a diachronic approach of the Passover texts (chapter 3). The third stage relates these outcomes with the different positions on textual growth that are held in current debate (chapter 1).

First of all: what does a synchronic approach contribute to my research question? There are at least four major elements that have drawn my attention after reading the Passover texts in a synchronical way: (1) the narrative framework in which the Passover texts are transferred, (2) the discrepancies on subjects as place, date and time, offerings, focus and participants, (3) the interrelation between Passover, the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Law of the Firstborn (4) the difficulty to approach the different Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible as one and the same. In other words, the Pentateuch on the one hand and the Historical Books/Prophets on the other hand have their own dynamics regarding their narrative framework, discrepancies and interrelation of the Festivals. Therefore I will approach these three major elements separately.

Concerning the narrative framework of the Pentateuch it is remarkable that on the one hand the narrative framework suggests that the Passover texts are ordered in a chronological way and on the other hand ignores this suggested chronological order. The narrative framework in the Pentateuch for example starts with the Exodus event (Exodus 12-13). The texts between Exodus 19:1 till Numbers 10:11 belong to the eleven month period when the people of Israel stayed at Mount Horeb or Sinai (Exodus 23, 34; Leviticus 23:4-8; Numbers 9:1-14). The first Passover was in Exodus 12-13, the second in Numbers 9:1-14. These Passover festivals could be the chronological order but they contradict the legislative texts of Exodus 23 (and 34) and Leviticus 23 that are put together within the same narrative framework. First of all, there is a striking resemblance between Exodus 23 and 34 but the narrative framework does not explicate why they resemble and why these two sections should fit in the suggested eleven months at Horeb. The same can be said about the text of Leviticus 23. This text also belongs to the eleven months period at Horeb. Why have three legislative sections in an eleven month time frame with at least two different kinds of idioms? Secondly, there is the element of the discrepancies on place, date and time, offerings, focus and the participants in a forty year timespan from Egypt to the desert east of the Jordan (Deuteronomy 1:1). Thirdly, there is the

question how Passover, The Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Law of the Firstborn interrelate with each other. According to Exodus 12-13, they have a close relationship with each other but this is not shown in the other Passover texts. The Law of the Firstborn is not related with the other two in any of the other Passover texts. The relation between Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread is not seen in Exodus 23, Exodus 34, or in Numbers 9:1-14. In Deuteronomy there is a gap between them when they are instructed to go home after the Passover offering (Deuteronomy 16:7). In Leviticus 23, Numbers 28 and in Joshua they are united as one starting with Passover on the fourteenth and followed by the Festival on the fifteenth till the twenty-first.

Regarding the Historical Books and the Prophets the three elements of narrative framework, discrepancies and interrelation of the festivals have their own dynamics. It starts with the first Passover in the promised land (Joshua 5:10-12) and makes from there a giant leap to 2 Kings 23:21-23 where king Josiah restores Passover on the base of the Book of the Covenant. 2 Chronicles 35 gives a more detailed description of the Passover of Josiah. It is remarkable that the Hezekiah versions in 2 Chronicles 30 is missing in the book of Kings. The next Passover text is related with Ezra and the rebuilding of the temple. The description that is given by the prophet Ezekiel is probably a visionary temple that is not come into existence yet. Regarding the discrepancies it is obvious that 2 Chronicles texts are the largest texts where the older (pre-Pentateuch) legalistic and newer elements of Passover, such as the role of the Levites and temple worship, are intertwined within a narrative context. Regarding the interrelation of the feasts it is clear that Passover (14th) and the Festival of Unleavened Bread (15-21) are seen as a united festival and separated from the Law of the Firstborn.

Having said this, I conclude that it is difficult to answer my research question on behalf of all the Passover texts in the Hebrew Bible from a synchronic point of view. Concerning the Pentateuch I conclude that there were probably more than one writer and more than one collator involved in constituting the Pentateuch. Regarding the Historical Books, I conclude that the book of Kings has different interests and serves a different purpose than the books of Chronicles and therefore probably has different origins, goals and authors. From a synchronic point of view however, it is difficult to conclude if the Passover texts reflect either a process of whether heterogeneous documents or a process of adaptations of previous texts. To answer this question, a diachronic approach is necessary.

Although there is no general consensus concerning the precise diachronic development of the Passover texts there is a broad consensus among scholars on the major stages of the development of the Law codices in which these Passover texts are found. The Covenant Code represents one of the oldest sources in the Pentateuch. For the reconstruction of the Passover traditions in the Hebrew Bible it is not very important to divide this first stage into independent Jahwistic and Elohist sources, as De Vaux does, or to distinguish, within in this stage, different regional sources as Zenger

and Weimar do in their Münsteraner Pentateuchmodell. The most important element is that the Covenant Code is the oldest part of the codes and stands as the example for respectively the Deuteronomistic and Holiness Code.

The diachronic development of these codes forms the basis for answering my research question. Zenger has made clear that these different codes on the one hand show some mutual elements and on the other hand time related *aggiornamento's*. Mutual elements are: (1) Hauptgebot, (2) Soziale und kultische Einzelgebote, Ämter, Kultische und soziale Einzelgebote, und (3) Segen und Fluch, in what he calls 'Gesamtstruktur der Gesetzkorpora'. The time related elements are for example - the place of offering and their specific idiom. The question that remains is if this process of adaption of older traditions is also valid for the narrative Passover texts. This question is less easy to answer because narratives have a more loose or fluid structure than the codes. But looking at (1) the Gesamtstruktur of the three codes, (2) the developments of the major stages according to De Vaux, Laaf and Haag (3) the synopsis of Lasserre, (4) the Deuteronomistic en Priestly indicators respectively set by Weinfeld and Zenger, (5) the comparison of Exodus 23:14-19 with 34:18-26, (6) the comparison of Exodus 23:15 with Deuteronomy 16:16, (7) Leviticus 23:5-8a with Numbers 28:16-19a, and (8) the comparison of Ezekiel 45:21a with Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 28:16, I conclude - on the basis of a diachronic approach - that the Passover texts reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions.

The last stage in answering my research questions relates with current debate. In chapter one I described the different contemporary models concerning textual growth. A question that remains is how these models relate to the Passover texts. Some general remarks can be made: (1) The Documentary Hypothesis (Friedman and Baden) assume that the Pentateuch consists due to a process where four heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations were interwoven, (2) Zenger holds a middle-position in the sense that he agrees foremost with Friedman and Baden on the developments of the major stages, but also sees a process of adaptations of previous traditions (Gesamtstruktur der Gesetzkorpora), (3) Tov assumes, on the basis of the Judean Desert texts, that the textual diversity in the late second temple period are twigs from an earlier period in what he calls the stage of authors/editors-scribes, (4) Carr presupposes that the long and diffuse history of oral-written transmission of Israelite literature shows gradual growth and expansion 'that has blurred out the contours of the earlier recensions, and (5) Van der Toorn supposes that there was not something like an ongoing *fortschreibung* but a controlled process. This means that only defenders of the Documentary Hypothesis assume that there was a process wherein heterogeneous documents with minimal adaptations were interwoven as one. The relation between Passover and current debate on textual growth is complex for several reasons. First of all, the different models on textual growth handle bigger perspectives on textual growth than a case study on the developments of Passover

does. Secondly, there is not something like textual witnesses or evidence for the development of Passover. Putting these difficulties aside, I conclude - on the basis of a diachronic approach - that the Passover texts reflect a process of adaptations of previous traditions.

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