

The Role of the Priests in Israelite Identity Formation in the Exilic/Post-Exilic  
Period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a

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## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I declare that this Ph.D. thesis on the title: *The Role of the Priests in Israelite Identity Formation in the Exilic/Post-Exilic Period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a* is my own work, and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

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SIGNATURE

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DATE

DEDICATION

*To my father;  
my Heavenly Father;  
and my professor.*

‘It isn’t right to take food from the children and throw it to the dogs,’ he said. ‘Yes Lord,’ she replied, ‘but even dogs are permitted to eat crumbs that fall beneath their master’s table.’ ‘Woman,’ Jesus said to her, ‘your faith is great. Your request is granted.’

– Matthew 15:26-28, *New Living Translation*

‘And no one puts new wine into old wineskins. For the new wine would burst the wineskins, spilling the wine and ruining the skins. New wine must be stored in new wineskins. But no one who drinks the old wine seems to want the new wine. “The old is just fine,” they say.’

– Luke 5:36-39, *New Living Translation*

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*Abstract**English*

*The Role of the Priests in Israelite Identity Formation in the Exilic/Post-Exilic Period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a.*

Source-criticism of the Pentateuch suggests that the priests (Source P) alone authored the Holiness Code – the premise being that Source P forms *one* religious, literate and elite group of several. Through the endeavor to *redefine* Israelite *identity* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE, *various* ideologies of Israelite identity were produced by various religious, literate and elite groups.

Possibly, the Holiness Code functions as the *compromise* reached between two such groups, these being: the Shaphanites, and the Zadokites. Moreover, the Holiness Code functions as the basis for the *agreed* identity of Israel as seen by the Shaphanites and the Zadokites. Specifically, in Leviticus 19:1-19a – as being the Levitical decalogue *of* the Holiness Code, and which forms the emphasis of this thesis – both Shaphanite and Zadokite ideologies are expressed therein.

The Shaphanite ideology is expressed through the Mosaic tradition: i.e., through the *Law*; and the Zadokite ideology is expressed through the Aaronide tradition: i.e., through the *Cult*. In the debate between the supremacy of the Law, or the Cult – i.e., Moses or Aaron – the ancient Near Eastern convention of the ‘rivalry between brothers’ is masterfully negotiated in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

*Afrikaans*

*Die Rol van die priesters in die Israelitiese Identiteitsvorming tydens die Ballingskaps-/ Naballingskapstydperk met spesiale verwysing na Levitikus 19:1-19a.*

Volgens die bronnekritiek van die Pentateug word van die standpunt uitgegaan dat die priesters (Bron P) alleen die Heiligheidskode geskryf het – die uitgangspunt is dat Bron P ‘n godsdienstige, geletterde en elite groep vorm, *een* van verskeie ander.

Weens die strewe na ‘n herdefiniëring van Israelitiese identiteit en die bewaring daarvan tydens die Neo- Babiloniese Ryk van 626-539 vC en die Achaemenidiese Persiese Ryk van 550-330 vC, het verskeie ideologieë van Israelitiese identiteit in godsdienstige, geletterde en elite groepe bestaan.

Dienooreenkomstig funksioneer die Heiligheidskode as die kompromis wat aangegaan is tussen twee sulke groepe, naamlik die Safaniete en die Sadokiete. Bowendien funksioneer die Heiligheidskode as die basis van die ooreengekome identiteit van Israel tussen die Safaniete en die Sadokiete. In die besonder word in Levitikus 19:1-19a, wat die dekalog van die Heiligheidskode is en wat ook die fokus van hierdie tesis vorm, aan dat die Safanitiese en Zadokitiese ideologieë uitdrukking gegee.

Die Safanitiese ideologie word deur die Mosaïese tradisie verwoord, naamlik deur die Wet; en die Zadokitiese ideologie vind uitdrukking in die Aaroniete tradisie, naamlik die Kultus. In Levitikus 19:1-19a word die debat oor wat botoon voer, die Wet of die Kultus – Moses of Aaron – die ou Nabye Oosterse konvensie omtrent die ‘wedywering tussen die twee broers,’ meesterlik verhandel.

*Keywords and Unfamiliar Terms*

Biblical *Tradition*; Biblical *History*; Priestly factions: – Levites, Zadokites, and Aaronites; Ezekiel tradition; Source P; Shaphanites; Jeremiah tradition; Source D; Pentateuch; Prophets; Deuteronomic History; Law Codes: – Covenant Code, Priestly Code, Deuteronomy Code, and Holiness Code; Pentateuchal Decalogues: – *The Decalogue* (Ten Commandments) of Exodus 20:1-17; Deuteronomy decalogue of Deuteronomy 5:1-21; Levitical decalogue of Leviticus 19:1-19a; diachronic; Historical-critical method; Literary-criticism; Pentateuchal-criticism; Documentary Hypothesis; Sources JEDP; textual analysis; synchronic; final-form; immanent reading; Narrative-criticism; Hebrew patterning; Israelite identity-formation; Babylonian exile of 586 BCE; Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE; Israelite, *exilic* period of 608–538 BCE (or 586–516 BCE); Achaemenid Persian Empire 559–331 BCE; Israelite, *postexilic* period of 516 BCE–70 AD; Second-Temple period; Persian province of *Yehud*; Judah; Jerusalem; Solomon’s Temple; Land-Promise; Cult; Aaron; Law; Moses; social justice; holiness; Sinai Tradition; and Mosaic Saga.

~

*List of Transliterations*

Hebrew Alphabet	English Transliteration	Pronunciation
א	'	<u>h</u> our
ב and בּ	b and v	<u>b</u> ird and <u>v</u> ast
ג	g	<u>g</u> ate
ד	d	<u>d</u> oor
ה	h	<u>h</u> ole
ו	w	<u>v</u> ote
ז	z	<u>z</u> ebra
ח	h	l <u>o</u> ch
ט	t	<u>t</u> ape
י	y	<u>y</u> ellow
כּ and כ	k and <u>k</u>	<u>k</u> ee <u>p</u> and l <u>o</u> ch
ל	l	<u>l</u> oop
מ	m	<u>m</u> ustard
נ	n	<u>n</u> ight
ס	s	<u>s</u> and
ע	'	<u>h</u> our
פּ and פ	p and f	<u>p</u> ath and <u>f</u> ence
צ	s	<u>c</u> ats
ק	q	<u>k</u> ee <u>p</u>
ר	r	<u>r</u> ust
שׁ	s	<u>s</u> and
שׂ	š	<u>sh</u> elter
ת	t	<u>t</u> ooth



*Abbreviations*

This author prefers the use of the full names of biblical books.

ANE	Ancient Near East
ESV	English Standard Version
Hebrew OT+	Hebrew OT with Strong's numbers
MKJV	Modern King James Version
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
SA	South African

*Foreword*

In my MA I investigated the Israelite *Cult* with specific reference to the functionality of the Carmel episode of 1 Kings 18, and how the prophet Elijah had to complete his divine mission in order to secure his *nation's identity* (Beer van Rooyen 2017:viii). The connection between Israel's *Cult* and *Israelite identity* is continued in this thesis, with the help of Professor Willie J. Wessels, who led me to investigate the connections between: the *Cult*, priestly factions, and the *Law*. In addition, I found the traditional and historical implications of these connections with respect to the *formation* of the Pentateuch, enlightening.

Much like the rivalry that ensued between Elijah (Yahwism) and the Baal prophets (Baalism) during an eighth-century drought in Canaan, when – as part of their *identity-formation* – Elijah led the *people* of Israel in a choice between Yahweh or Baal; in this thesis, the contention that preludes *identity-formation* is once more investigated. However, in this thesis the rivalry between the religious *leaders* of Israel is explored – specifically between various *priestly* and *prophetic* groups of the Israelite exilic/postexilic period.

The synchronic outcome of this ‘eventually settled’ rivalry between the religious leaders of Israel produced a masterful result: – this being, the *final form* of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Conversely stated, the diachronic history of Leviticus 19:1-19a adds depth to the synchronic level of the text by revealing: the ‘rivalry’ between authorial groups; and the eventual agreement between their ideologies and traditions. Thus, Leviticus 19:1-19a indirectly references both the rivalry and subsequent settlement between: *Moses* (the prophet) and *Aaron* (the priest); the *Law* and the *Cult*; and, the Ezekiel tradition, and the Jeremiah tradition.

Leviticus 19:1-19a represents part of an answer (i.e., the Holiness Code) – indeed a *solution* – to a turbulent portion of Israel's history, following: the Babylonian exile; the loss of Solomon's Temple; the loss of land; and the ramifications for Israelite identity thereafter. The revision of Moses' decalogue and Aaron's cult in light of *social justice* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire, is well achieved in Leviticus 19:1-19a; and notwithstanding the struggle (or: the dedication and perseverance required) to achieve this ‘ideological solution’, now fixed as a ‘literary truce’ in Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

## Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

*Biblical* Israel's story, history, and meaning, are created – at a *textual* level – by the tension, or harmony, between biblical Israel's *visible* worlds (*within* space and time, as 'mundane' settings) and between biblical Israel's *invisible* worlds (*outside* of space and time, as 'transcendent' settings) (Deist 1986:88).

Building upon Deist's ideas, I<sup>1</sup> identify significant *synchronic* and *diachronic* categories related hereto that establish the opening argumentation of the thesis. The visible world (the mundane setting) of Israel's biblical text incorporates two aspects: the *visible* world of the *narrative*; and, the *visible* world of the narrative's *author*. The *visible* world of the *narrative* includes the *synchronic* story of the biblical text *within* space and time; while the *visible* world of the narrative's *author* incorporates the *diachronic* history of the author *within* space and time.

Equally, the *invisible* world (transcendent setting) of the biblical text incorporates the *invisible* world of the *narrative*, which presents itself as: the *synchronic theology* of the text. Also, the *invisible* world (transcendent setting) of the biblical text integrates the *invisible* world of the *author*, which presents itself as: the *diachronic ideology* of the text.

Together, the *synchronic* theology and the *diachronic* ideology of the biblical text form the *rhetoric* of the text. Thus, a conversant reading of *any* biblical text reveals the multi-faceted composition of an ancient, biblical text – which forms (according to my view) a *complex system*.

Consequently, in order to determine the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation with respect to Leviticus 19:1-19a, this author highlights that Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a complex and ancient, biblical text; and requires a skilled reading in order to access the multi-faceted composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a so as to retract information from the text, such as authorship.

The complex *system* of an ancient, biblical text is visually summarised below.

---

<sup>1</sup> In this thesis, interchangeably I refer to myself as 'this author'.



Figure 1 The Complex System of an Ancient, Biblical Text

Throughout Israel's (*diachronic*) history, this author's assessment is that Israelite כהנים and נביאים sought to maintain their transcendent identity as *the people of Yahweh* (i.e., an aspect of their *invisible* world) in light of their mundane, socio-political identity (i.e., an aspect of their *visible* world), in ever-changing historical settings (i.e., Egypt, Canaan, and Babylon-turned-Persia). I propose further that the ever-changing historical settings of the exilic and *postexilic* periods resulted in the impetus for the pursuit of harmony between Israel's *invisible* (theological-ideological) and *visible* (historical) worlds.

As 'keepers' of Israelite identity, one way in which Israelite כהנים and נביאים accomplished the pursuit of harmony between Israel's *invisible* (theological-ideological) and *visible* (historical) worlds, was to advocate *and* maintain both a religious and cultural *separation* from amongst other cultures in the ancient Near East (hereafter ANE).

Consequently, Israel's endeavour to maintain their religious and cultural independence in the ANE (– Israelite *identity-formation* –) during the exilic and *postexilic* periods (– Babylonian exile and Achaemenid Persian Empire –) led to a concept called 'new revelation'. As a concept, 'new revelation' re-established Israelite identity in light of *pre-existent* traditions, through the *reinterpretation* of 'old revelation' (Deist 1986:105-106).

Deist (1986:105-106) explains that ‘old revelation’ comprised (Israelite): history, traditions, ideologies, beliefs, attitudes, customs, social behaviour, and general norms – recorded in *literary sources*. Inevitably, exilic/*postexilic* authors and redactors (i.e., contemporary priests and prophets) created ‘new revelation’ by working with *literary sources* in two ways: first, by initiating their hearers *with* – and legitimising the continued practice *of* – ‘old revelation’ in *new* historical settings (such as during the exilic and *postexilic* periods). In this manner, new authors and redactors applied the ‘old revelation’ to their context in order to validate the status quo, and in order to maintain old traditions in new historical settings (Deist 1986:105-106).

Second, contemporary priests and prophets also worked with the ‘old revelation’ – recorded in *literary sources* – by communicating the *critique* of ‘old revelation’, and thereby creating contemporary – i.e., *new* – revelation, during, and for, their times (Deist 1986:105-106).

~ In sum, this author proposes that *Israelite identity-formation* – formed via a process of *new revelation* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), and set-in motion by the Babylonian exile (586 BCE) – resulted in the *reinterpretation* of extant authoritative texts (*literary sources*) by literate priests and prophets of the exilic/*postexilic* period. Within this context, my interest lies in the *role of the priests* in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period.

Specifically, Leviticus 19:1-19a – as a complex, ancient and biblical text – forms the focus of the thesis, in which I present Leviticus 19:1-19a as *new revelation*. Thus, I submit that the *reinterpretation* of extant authoritative texts led to the composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a, which functions as *a* decalogue within the Holiness Code.

Below, I introduce this proposal further with three, main themes: the Land Promise of Canaanite Land; Priestly (Zadokite) and Prophetic (Shaphanite) factions; and Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’. Each theme is discussed below, also incorporating a preliminary literature review of related topics; notwithstanding the review of secondary scholarship that is integrated throughout the body of the thesis. ~

### 1.1. THE LAND PROMISE OF CANAANITE LAND

First, this author recommends that the *divine*, Land Promise<sup>2</sup> of Canaanite Land – as a major theme within the Pentateuch – occurs as an aspect of biblical Israel’s transcendent and *invisible* world: further forming part of the theological and ideological rhetoric of the Pentateuch. Likewise, the narrative setting of Canaanite Land (in and of itself), occurs as a *corresponding* aspect of biblical Israel’s mundane and visible world.

Hence, the combination of the ‘*divine*, Land Promise of (Canaanite) Land’ that is found within the Pentateuch – and the subsequent *loss* of this Land Promise (and *land*) that is tailed in the Prophets as a result of the Babylonian exile – is identified by myself as one of the greatest ‘polarisation of settings’ (i.e., the tension and harmony created by aspects of *invisible* and *visible* worlds) that led to the adjustment of Israel’s self-understanding in the ANE. In turn, the adjustment of Israel’s self-understanding in the ANE led to Israel’s renewed identity-formation during the exilic and *postexilic* periods.

A second ‘polarisation of settings’ that I identify, follows. The theme of the *theological-ideological* ‘home for Yahweh’ (formally known as Zion theology)<sup>3</sup> that is also found within the Pentateuch, forms a second aspect of biblical Israel’s transcendent and *invisible* world. Here too, a corresponding aspect of biblical Israel’s visible world is identified as: the Temple of Yahweh<sup>4</sup> – which was built *as* Solomon’s Temple *within* the *land* of Jerusalem. The

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<sup>2</sup> ‘Then the LORD appeared to Abram and said, “To your offspring I will give this **land**.” So he built there an altar to the LORD, who had appeared to him’ (Genesis 12:7, *English Standard Version*). [This author emphasised the bolded words.]

וירא יהוה אל-אברם ויאמר לזרעך אתן את-הארץ הזאת ויבן שם מזבח ליהוה הנראה אליו:  
(Genesis 12:7, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

<sup>3</sup> Zion theology understood the home of Yahweh to be *within* the Temple, which was in both instances built, and rebuilt, in Jerusalem – and therefore, also known as: The Temple of Jerusalem. Thus, Zion theology had strong connections to Jerusalem as Yahweh’s home; Zion theology also understood Yahweh’s presence as being ‘unconditionally’ associated with the house of David (i.e., the Davidic dynasty), and David’s kingship (Heiser 2015:44-47).

<sup>4</sup> “Come, let us go up to the **mountain of the LORD**, to the **house of the God of Jacob**, that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.” For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem’ (Micah 4:2, *English Standard Version*). [This author emphasised the bolded words.]

והלכו גוים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל-הרי-יהוה ואל-בית אלהי יעקב ויורנו מדרכיו ונלכה בארחתיו כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר-יהוה מירושלם:  
(Micah 4:2, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

Temple of Yahweh forms a second mundane setting and aspect of the visible world of the Prophetic canon (i.e., the Prophets).

Thus, a variant ‘polarisation of settings’ is formed from the *combination* of the ‘home of Yahweh’ and the subsequent *loss* of Solomon’s Temple (*and* Land) following the Babylonian exile – the narrative of which is detailed in the Deuteronomic History.

This author concludes that these ‘polarised settings’ are further significant: because, having correlated Israelite identity to the possession of Land and Temple, how did these Israelite כהנים and נביאים redefine themselves (*and* the home of Yahweh) in the wake of the loss of, what was to them, *sacred*?

Accordingly, part of the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, was to redefine Israelite identity and *themselves* in the wake of the *loss* of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land.

~ In sum, the tension *and* harmony created by biblical Israel’s *invisible* and *visible* worlds appears as ‘polarised, narrative settings’ within the biblical text. Accordingly, as themes, the *loss* of Land and Temple function as ‘polarised, narrative settings’, which led to the adjustment of Israel’s self-understanding (identity-formation) in the ANE at the hands of the priests and prophets of the exilic/*postexilic* period.

Incidentally, the internal relationships between the priests and the prophets were not as simple as the synchronic reading of the biblical text implies. Therefore, in the next section, priestly and prophetic factions are introduced as being another key context (or second theme) and influencing factor regarding the work of the priests (and by implication, the prophets) in the exilic/*postexilic* period. ~

## 1.2. PRIESTLY (ZADOKITE) AND PROPHETIC (SHAPHANITE) FACTIONS

Leuchter (2008:8-9) proposes that these historical events (i.e., the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Solomon’s Temple) – which set in motion the renewal of Israelite-identity and the renewal of old revelation – resulted in factions within the כהנים (the priestly school), namely: the Levites, the Aaronites, and the Zadokites. Otto (2007:172) too suggests that factions existed within the Priestly school *alone*.

If these factions already existed, I concur that they were possibly intensified through the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Solomon's Temple. Religious (priestly) factions redefined themselves, and their purpose in history, differently from one another (– identity-formation –); they also reconciled Yahweh's purpose in history, and Yahweh's home *without* the Jerusalem Temple, differently – based upon their *own* geography.

For example, during the exilic period, Leuchter (2008:5-8) recommends that the Levites formed the *priestly elite* who remained living in Judah, and who reconciled Yahweh's home *without* Solomon's Temple, but still *within Jerusalem*. Similarly, Tiemeyer (2006:6) identifies those who remained living in Judah during the exile (and the Samaritans), with the prophetic *antagonists*: being those who *disagreed* with the prophetic critique of the 'other group'. I clarify that '...those who *disagreed* with the prophetic critique of the other group', were the priests/priesthood of Jerusalem/ Judah.

By contrast, Leuchter (2008:5-8) submits that the Zadokites formed the *priestly elite* who were exiled to live in Babylon, and who reconciled Yahweh's home *without* Solomon's Temple, yet *outside* Jerusalem – i.e., *within* Babylon.

During the diaspora, Tiemeyer (2006:6) identifies the returning exiles (from Babylon to Jerusalem) with the prophetic *protagonists*, i.e., those who *championed* the prophetic critique of the 'other group'. I clarify once more that, consequently, *a* non-prophetic group (i.e., the priests/priesthood) seemed to support the prophetic critique of their day, thereby contrasting the priests/priesthood of Jerusalem who *did not* support the prophetic critique of their day. Hence, priestly factions become evident.

Of further interest, Schramm (1995:109-110) proposes that the returning exiles had already compiled the Pentateuch (Tiemeyer 2006:11). Possibly therefore, the priests/priesthood of Babylon – who embraced the prophetic critique of their day, and whom Leuchter (2008:5-8) identifies as the Zadokites – may have played a significant role in the formation of the Pentateuch. Given what has been said, I note therefore, that by *implication*, the Zadokites may have played a significant role in the formation of the Holiness Code, and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Furthermore, Leuchter (2008:5-8) identifies Jerusalem-based texts as texts with a 'pro-*land*' perspective, possibly authored by the 'religious literate' living in the Persian province of *Jehud* – the Achaemenid name for the former Jerusalem – (i.e., the *Jehud* literati) during the *postexilic* period of the Achaemenid Empire. By contrast, Leuchter (2008:5-8) identifies



Babylon-based texts as texts with a ‘pro-*golah*’ view, possibly authored by the ‘religious literate’ living in *Persia*. Further support for texts with a ‘pro-*golah*’ view include Tiemeyer (2006:11) and Schramm (1995:108), who also refer to literature *of* the Babylonian ‘*golah*’, *for* the Babylonian ‘*golah*’, and *by* the Babylonian ‘*golah*’.

To clarify, this author asks *who* Tiemeyer’s (2006:6) ‘other group’ were that was identified as the *prophetic* voice of their day? Tiemeyer (2006:1) writes: ‘The prophets claimed that *their* way of worshipping God was the only way and they condemned their opponents practices’. Tiemeyer suggests that the ‘opponents’ of the prophets were the *priests* (Tiemeyer 2006:1). Consequently, a rift becomes evident between: a prophetic group; priests who supported the *prophetic view of worship*; and priests who *did not* support the prophetic view of Yahweh’s purpose in Israelite history.

Equally, Leuchter (2008:8-9) explains that a Deuteronomistic faction of prophetic authors – known as the *Shaphanites* and associated with the prophet *Jeremiah* – defined themselves, their purpose in history, and Yahweh’s purpose in history – differently from the כהנים, further contributing to Israel’s *varied* identity-formation of the *exilic/postexilic* period (Leuchter 2008:8-9). The Shaphanites were considered to be the Deuteronomistic faction, or ‘...the likely authors of the Deuteronomistic literature’ (Leuchter 2008:9) of the Pentateuch – thus forming a second authorial group in light of Leuchter’s (2008:5-8) identification of the *Zadokites*’ significant role in the formation of the Pentateuch.

To expand, the Shaphanites understood Yahweh’s history with Israel in terms of concepts associated with the prophetic traditions of Jeremiah and the Mosaic tradition – such as: covenant, law (*mishpat*), and stipulations (*torah*). By contrast, the priestly factions understood Yahweh’s history with Israel in terms of concepts associated with holiness, and the Cult – such as: the Sabbath; feasts; sacrifices; and the Temple. Leuchter (2017:1-2) recommends that the *Zadokites* formed the priestly or temple *elite* who were responsible for preserving these priestly aspects (contrasted by the Aaronites and the Levites).

In addition, within the Pentateuch, Otto (2007:172) identifies two focal literary developments, these being: the Priestly, literary layer; and the non-Priestly, literary layer. Otto further identifies the non-Priestly, literary layer to be a Deuteronomistic redaction, and concludes that both these Priestly and Deuteronomistic redactions ‘...were combined by means of a literary compromise between priests and laymen’ (Otto 2007:172).

Otto describes the compromise reached between these groups as a solution to the problem raised by the difference in theological views between ‘priests and laymen’ regarding the *monotheism* of Israel (Otto 2007:172-173). Otto specifically suggests that during the exilic period (Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE), these Priestly [P] and Deuteronomistic [D] redactions of Israel’s *origins*, rivalled each other – and that through this rivalry – a critical rhetoric of each other’s work was formed (evident in the rhetoric of the biblical text).

Likewise, during the *postexilic* period (Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE), these ‘...two competing conceptions of Israel’s origins and identity’ (Otto 2007:172) were unified as a ‘literary compromise’, thus forming the Pentateuch. These competing conceptions of Israel’s origins and identity were unified under the label of Aaron (Otto 2007:172), as not only the result of an ‘institutional’ concession, but of a ‘theological necessity’ (Otto 2007:172).

Otto advocates further that both *preexilic* and exilic *source materials* were used by the priests and by the Deuteronomists (prophets) for the formation of the Pentateuch (Otto 2007:172-173). To this end, the exilic Priestly Code [P]<sup>5</sup> possibly functioned as a *literary source* for the Priestly redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, at the hand of *priestly* authors; while the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr]<sup>6</sup> possibly functioned as a *literary source* for the Deuteronomistic redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, at the hand of Otto’s *laymen*.

Finally, Otto concludes that the Priestly, literary layer of the Pentateuch forms the Priestly redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, by *priestly* authors; contrasted by the non-Priestly, literary layer of the Pentateuch that forms the Deuteronomistic redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, by *laymen*.

In order to add clarity to these proposals, this author asks *who* Otto’s ‘priests’ were, and how Leuchter’s ‘priestly factions’ may provide clarity in this regard? Similarly, who were Otto’s ‘laymen’, and how may they be associated with Leuchter’s Shaphanites? Furthermore, what were the geographical locations and movements of these groups during the exilic and

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<sup>5</sup> Otto (2007:172) suggests that the exilic Priestly Code included Genesis 1 to Leviticus 9, and ended with the Sinai pericope/ tradition), and can be abbreviated as [P]. The original (or *preexilic*) Priestly Code included only Genesis 1 to Exodus 29. The Aaronites possibly recorded the exilic Priestly Code (Otto 2007:172).

<sup>6</sup> Otto (2007:172) suggests that the exilic Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy began with the Horeb motif, and can be abbreviated as [D/Dtr]. The ‘laymen’ (Otto 2007:172) – and Leuchter’s (2008:8-9) Shaphanites associated with the prophet Jeremiah – possibly recorded the exilic Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy (Otto 2007:172).

*postexilic* periods – referring to Leuchter’s (2008:5-6) *pro-land* and *pro-golah* ideological paradigms within the Pentateuch – and how did they understand Israel’s history and Israel’s identity?

~ In sum, part of the *role of the priests* in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, was to redefine themselves not only in the wake of the *loss* of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land – but simultaneously – that the priests needed to reach a compromise between:

- the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity by the priesthood in Jerusalem (*pro-land*), i.e., possibly the Aaronites and Levites;
- the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity of the priesthood in Babylon (*pro-golah*), i.e., possibly the Zadokites; *and*
- the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity of the *non-Priestly* (prophetic), Deuteronomistic view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, i.e., possibly the Shaphanites.

The exilic Priestly Code [P] and the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr] likely were used as *key* literary sources for both the Priestly and Deuteronomistic redactions of Israel’s origins and identity that are present within the Pentateuch.

Thus, and finally, in the next section Leviticus 19:1-19a is introduced as a ‘compromise text’ in light of the said key themes and literary sources (i.e., the exilic Priestly Code [P] and the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr]), with the result being that: Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the exilic/*postexilic* redaction of *The Decalogues* of the exilic Priestly Code [P] *and* the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr] by exilic/*postexilic* priests (and prophets). In this manner, Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’ forms this author’s third theme regarding the work of the priests in the exilic/*postexilic* period with respect to identity-formation. ~

### 1.3. LEVITICUS 19:1-19a AS A *COMPROMISE* TEXT

Considering the aforementioned, recent Pentateuchal criticism suggests the Pentateuch to be a macro (this author) ‘compromise document’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3) between *priestly groups* and *lay, Judean leaders* – based upon the different legal codes in the

Pentateuch, and the process required to combine them: for example, the Priestly Code, the Deuteronomistic Code, and the Holiness Code.

The process of combining the different legal codes of the Pentateuch into one final document, involved long and drawn-out societal negotiations and concessions between various groups (Smith 1972:191-215). These ‘societal negotiations and concessions between various groups’ *contrasts* the premise that these processes were only priestly proceedings that involved a ‘...long series of internal developments at the Jerusalem Temple’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3).

These *priestly groups* and *lay, Judean leaders* have been defined broadly as: the ‘religious literate’, and the ‘learned elite’ of the *postexilic* period (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3; Meyer 2012:6).

Based upon the broad literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a within the Pentateuch, and the immanent literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a within the most recent of these Pentateuchal law codes – this being: the Holiness Code (Van Seters 1998:47) – I offer that Leviticus 19:1-19a may be examined for evidence of these ‘societal negotiations and concessions between various groups’ (i.e., the ‘religious literate’ and ‘learned elite’) of the *exilic/postexilic* period.

Moreover, I offer that *one* outcome of these proceedings may have been Leviticus 19:1-19a – establishing *new revelation* in the form of the *postexilic reinterpretation* of extant authoritative texts such as: the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21.

Also, Leviticus 19:1-19a possibly forms the result of these ‘societal negotiations and concessions between’ authorial factions such as: the Shaphanites, and the Zadokites. Thus, this author presents Leviticus 19:1-19a as a *postexilic reinterpretation* of the decalogues of Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21, at the hands of the Shaphanites and the Zadokites. Furthermore, possibly Leviticus 19:1-19a endorses either: a *pro-land* ideology – thereby functioning as a ‘priestly’ and Jerusalem-based text; or a *pro-golah* ideology – thereby functioning as a ‘prophetic’ and Babylon-based text.

In this manner, conceivably Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a ‘compromise document’ that was produced by *simultaneous*, but *disparate* groups in the *same* historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80). More specifically, plausibly Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a ‘compromise document’ that was produced by the Zadokites and Shaphanites in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

In summary, what are the *implications* for the Holiness Code as:

- first, a *postexilic reinterpretation* of the Priestly Code by the Shaphanites and the Zadokites;
- second, as a ‘priestly’ and Jerusalem-based text (i.e., pro-land), or a ‘prophetic’ and Babylon-based text (i.e., pro-*golah*); and
- third, as a ‘compromise document’ that was produced by *simultaneous*, but *disparate* groups in the *same* historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80), i.e., by the Zadokites and Shaphanites in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE)?

In order to address the stated question, this author intends to examine the *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a in light of the specified, main themes, a reminder of which are:

- the Land Promise of Canaanite Land;
- priestly (Zadokite) and prophetic (Shaphanite) factions; and
- Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’.

Also, this author intends to determine *how* the combination of priestly views (i.e., Levitical, Aaronite, and Zadokite) and prophetic views (i.e., Shaphanite) of *Israel’s identity-formation* during the Achaemenid/ Persian empire – as a process of *new revelation* – resulted in the formation of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code.

~ Thus, part of the *role of the priests* in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, was to redefine themselves not only in the wake of the *loss* of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land – amidst internal priestly factions – but also between *both* the priestly and prophetic factions of those of the Shaphanites and the Zadokites.

Leviticus 19:1-19a – as a complex and ancient, biblical text – forms *new revelation* in the form of the *postexilic reinterpretation* of extant authoritative texts, these being: the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21. Leviticus 19:1-19a functions further as a ‘priestly’ and Jerusalem-based text (a pro-*land* ideology); or as a ‘prophetic’ and Babylon-based text (a pro-*golah* ideology).

Expanding upon the said themes, below this author presents the preliminary *research questions* and the associated research areas (as subjects) regarding the priestly authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a that has been introduced thus far. In this manner, the flow of argument is

further established for the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period. ~

#### 1.4. PRELIMINARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SUBJECTS OF THE THESIS

In this section, the subjects of the thesis are identified with respect to the *role of the priests* in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period. Consequently, the flow of argument that is created through the following discussed subjects, supplements the conversation with respect to the priestly authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

In light of the themes that were introduced, the subjects of the thesis are ascertained through preliminary research questions. Thus, the function of the preliminary research questions is to pinpoint these subjects. Both the subjects of the thesis and the associated preliminary research questions create the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Furthermore, the preliminary and *inconclusive* questions regarding the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period and the priestly authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, indirectly clarify – and shape – the *problem statement*, the main *research question*, and the *hypothesis* that follow. Within each subject, preliminary and *inconclusive* questions invite conversation regarding the associated literature review of each subject, which is briefly introduced below; however, a more in-depth review of secondary scholarship is engaged throughout the body of the thesis.

The subjects of the thesis are presented in light of the discussed *themes* – a reminder of which are: the Land Promise of Canaanite Land; Priestly (Zadokite) and Prophetic (Shaphanite) factions; and Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’ between the Zadokites and the Shaphanites.

The *subjects* of the thesis are: the Babylonian exile; Israelite Identity in Jerusalem and Babylon (expanded upon in chapter two); the traditional authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a (expanded upon in chapter three); and Pentateuchal Criticism (expanded upon in chapter four).

The first subject of the thesis is introduced below, this being: The Babylonian exile.

**1.4.1. Babylonian Exile.** What were the ‘time and space’ settings that necessitated the work of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period – and *specifically* – the priestly formation of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a in the exilic/*postexilic* period? The Holiness Code (and Leviticus 19:1-19a therein) forms part of the Pentateuch; and the *final-form* of the Pentateuch forms a *unified* corpus of law. Consequently, what were the ‘time and space’ settings that necessitated the final-form of the Pentateuch as a *unified* canon of ancient Near Eastern law?

Narratively, the Pentateuchal canon of biblical books (i.e., the Pentateuch) attests to Israel's identity as the people of Yahweh *before* the acquisition of Canaanite land (the Promised Land); while the Prophetic canon of biblical books (i.e., the Prophets) testify to Israel's identity as the people of Yahweh both *within* and *apart from* the Land.

Furthermore, the Hexateuch – narrating the acquisition of land – represents as a main theme: the Land; while the Pentateuch – as the merger of law codes – represents as a main theme: the Law (Otto 2007:173-176). Therefore, in the Pentateuch, the Law becomes a primary theological focus, contrasted by the Land therein as a secondary focus; while in the Hexateuch, the Land forms the primary theological focus.

Accordingly, I suggest that through the endeavour to re-define Israel as the *people of Yahweh* in the exilic/*postexilic* period, the compromise between the priests (Zadokites) and between the prophets (Shaphanites) that becomes evident in Leviticus 19:1-19a, forms part of a larger compromise that becomes evident in the theological shift from: the primacy of the (Promised) Land in the Hexateuch, towards the primacy of the Law in the Pentateuch.

Again, what were the ‘time and space’ settings that necessitated a theological shift of such scale from the primacy of the *Land* to the primacy of the *Law*? To answer: the Babylonian exile of 586 BCE.

As one of the most significant historical events in Israelite history, the Babylonian exile caused the theological shift *from* Israel's identity as ‘the people of Yahweh *in* the land’, *to* Israel's identity as ‘the people of Yahweh *apart from* the land’. Accordingly, the Babylonian exile accounts for the chasm between the *acquisition* of land (narrated in the Hexateuch), and the *loss* of land (narrated in the Prophets) – thereby creating three major historical periods in Israel's history: the *preexilic* period; the *exilic* period; and the *postexilic* period.

To clarify thus, the *preexilic* period is associated with the *possession* of Land; whereas the *exilic* and *postexilic* periods demarcate the *loss* of Land. With respect to the work and role of the priests, having lost the Land (and Solomon's Temple) of the *preexilic* period, how could the Cult be maintained without a temple in the *exilic* period; and how did this loss change and affect the work of the priests (and prophets)? Ultimately therefore, how did the exile impact upon the work of the priests (and prophets) during the *exilic* and *postexilic* periods, and why was it necessary to address this impact?

Israelite priests (and prophets) comprised – in various groups – the Israelite *learned* and *literate* of the *exilic* and *postexilic* period. Geller (2004:2022) explains that one of the effects of the Babylonian exile upon Israel during the *exilic* and *postexilic* periods, was the development of Judaism as a *text-based* religion, at the hands of the Israelite *learned* and *literate* (Geller 2004:2022).

Thus, the *final-form* of the Pentateuch (as the work of the Israelite *learned* and *literate*) played a significant role in the development of Judaism as a text-based religion (Carr 2007:40). Consequently, the work of the priests (and the prophets) during the *postexilic* period comprised the creation of the final-form of the Pentateuch, and of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a, therein. I highlight, therefore, that the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a contributed to the development of Judaism as a text-based religion during the *exilic* and *postexilic* periods.

Pointedly, *how* – and *why* – were Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code created? To field the question, during the *exilic* (Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE), and *postexilic* periods (Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE), Geller (2004:2022) explains that a school of Israelite, *scribal priests* increasingly promoted their scribal interpretations of 'old revelation'<sup>7</sup> – *thus* forming 'new revelation'<sup>8</sup> – above that of the 'new revelation' of contemporary prophets. Therefore, my opinion is that the Babylonian exile and its impact upon the Land and Solomon's Temple, resulted in 'new revelation' in the form of Leviticus

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<sup>7</sup> 'Old revelation' comprised the following: Israelite history, traditions, ideologies, beliefs, attitudes, customs, social behaviour, and general norms; as well as literary *sources* (Deist 1986:105-106).

<sup>8</sup> New authors created 'new revelation' by working with the old revelation in two ways: first, by initiating their hearers with – and legitimising the continued practice of – the old revelation, during the *exilic* and *post-exilic* periods. In this manner new authors used the old revelation to validate the status quo and to maintain old traditions in new historical settings. Second, new authors also worked with the old revelation by communicating the *critique* of old revelation, thereby creating contemporary – i.e., *new* – revelation, during and for, their times (Deist 1986:105-106).



19:1-19a and the Holiness Code – which were motivated further by the *postexilic*, ‘religious *literati*’s search for the identity of Israel.

Specifically, Brueggemann (2003:9-13) addresses the question of *why* ‘new revelation’ (i.e., Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code) arose and was necessary. The assembling of the Pentateuch (*Torah*) at the time of the Babylonian exile was crucial for Israel because the exile threatened not only Israelite identity, but Israelite tradition *and* faith. The urgent need for the transmission of Israel’s singularity as the *people of Yahweh* to their younger generations – without the ‘lived memory’ (Brueggemann 2003:9-13) of Solomon’s Temple and the Land – became a priority (Carr 2007:40; Geller 2004:2022).

Brueggemann (2003:9-13) clarifies that the *Torah*, therefore, provided the necessary instruction for the social re-construction of their reality, and for the socialisation of the Israelite youth into an alternative world: in which Yahweh *still* lives and governs without Land and Temple, during the present Babylonian – and following Persian – periods (Brueggemann 2003:9-13).

Accordingly, Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code form part of the social re-construction of Israelite reality. Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code also form part of the socialisation of the Israelite youth in Babylon without Land and Temple. For these reasons, the case for Leviticus 19:1-19a as a pro-*golah* text, strengthens.

Part of the *role of the priests*, then, in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, was to *redefine* themselves – not only without the Land Promise of Canaanite Land, and *in dialogue* with *other* factions, but – in terms of their contribution towards the social and religious reconstruction of Israelite reality through the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Further, the priests contributed towards the transmission of Israel’s singularity as the *people of Yahweh* to their younger generations, by which the priests *resisted* the threat on Israelite identity, tradition *and* faith. The priests engaged in ‘new revelation’ in order to maintain the Cult without the Land and the Temple, and played a significant role in promoting a text-based religion without the Land and the Temple.

The second subject of the thesis is presented below, this being: Israelite identity.

**1.4.2. Israelite Identity in Jerusalem and Babylon.** In considering that varied theological and ideological strands are present in the Pentateuch (and the Prophets), *how* did the priests – as *postexilic* authors and redactors – shape Israelite identity in the Pentateuch? Conversely stated, of the various views by *postexilic* authors (and redactors), *how* did Israelite identity develop as a result of the work of the priests?

Leuchter (2008:5) highlights that the Babylonian exile most likely created *riffs* between major Jewish communities in the sixth century BCE. Accordingly, I propose that these rifts may be identified by the differing or conflicting theological and ideological differences present in – for example – *Leviticus 19:1-19a*; and, that these differing theological views function as further evidence for the ‘compromised authorship’ between the Zadokites and the Shaphanites in *Leviticus 19:1-19a*.

Moreover, how did the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Solomon’s Temple impact upon and/or result in the rifts within the priestly school, and what were these rifts? Initially, this author projected that the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Solomon’s Temple formed the diachronic impetus for the factions within the priestly school during the exilic and postexilic periods – based upon Leuchter’s (2008:5) said proposal. As already stated, it is this author’s view that these historical events motivated Israel’s search for identity during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

However, the thesis will reveal that – according to various synchronic, biblical references – priestly factions possibly existed as early as the monarchic period, i.e., *before* the Babylonian exile and the destruction of the First Temple.

Leuchter (2008:1-2,5) and Meyer (2012:6) recommend that priestly factions broadly consisted of:

- the Levites;
- the Zadokites; and
- the Aaronites.

Otto (2007:172) proposes that these factions were united under the label of Aaron, in the postexilic period, as: the Aaronites – functioning as source P, and responsible for the Priestly code from Genesis 1–Exodus 29 (including *Leviticus 9*).

Further, how did the priestly elite left behind in Judah (the Levites) understand Yahweh's home *without* Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem; and how did those taken away in exile to Babylon (the Zadokites) adjust their theology of Yahweh's home, while being in Babylon?

Leuchter writes: '...the literature of subsequent eras testifies to the distinctiveness of those with an exilic heritage [i.e., those who were deported to Babylon, thus with a *pro-golah* position] over against those who did not endure deportation to Mesopotamia [i.e., those who remained in Jerusalem, thus with a *pro-land* position]' (Leuchter 2008:5-6; this author adds clarity to the statement with the additions in []).

Possibly therefore, the Levites (the priestly elite left behind in Judah) understood Yahweh's home *without* Solomon's Temple, in Jerusalem – and therefore with a *pro-land* view; and the Zadokites (those taken away in exile to Babylon) understood Yahweh's home *without* Solomon's Temple, in Babylon – and therefore with a *pro-golah* view.

In respect to the said priestly factions, why is the distinction between *priest* and *prophet* significant? I propose that the distinction between priest and prophet became significant because the distinction indicates the influence of two separate traditions. For example, do the Zadokites represent the *Ezekiel tradition*, and if so, how did the Ezekiel tradition shape and influence Israelite identity in Leviticus 19:1-19a – also considering both *pro-golah* and *pro-land* perspectives? Similarly, do the Shaphanites represent the *Jeremiah tradition*, and if so, how did the Jeremiah tradition shape and influence Israelite identity in Leviticus 19:1-19a?

Part of the *role of the priests*, then, in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, involved the *redefinition* of Israelite identity and Zion theology from two focal perspectives based upon geographical locations: i.e., from Jerusalem, and from Babylon. Part of the role of the priests, therefore, was to merge these perspectives, also merging (their) Ezekiel tradition with and the Jeremiah tradition in terms of Israelite identity.

The third subject of the thesis is introduced below, this being: Leviticus 19:1-19a *of* the Holiness Code.

**1.4.3. The traditional authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** As stated, this author selects the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a as the literary evidence of the *work of the priests* during the exilic/*postexilic* period, doing so in order to examine their work and to assess why

their work was necessary. I am therefore interested in how Leviticus 19:1-19a facilitates some theological shifts, and what the religious factions and ideologies might be that gave rise to these shifts? Furthermore, how does Leviticus 19:1-19a facilitate the distinction and compromise between *priest* and *prophet*?

To respond, the book of Leviticus and the Holiness Code have been attributed *traditionally* to the work of the priests *alone*, based upon the Documentary Hypothesis. Broadly speaking, the work of the priests forms one of four strands of authorship that comprise the Pentateuch – known as the traditional *source-criticism* of the Pentateuch – the strands of authorship being: the Yahwist [J], the Elohist [E], the Deuteronomist [D], and the Priest [P] (Huddleston 2013:201).

The work of the priests (source P) is identified through its meticulous style throughout Genesis–Numbers, which is characterised by: dates, times, calendars, and genealogies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58). Source P is suggested by scholars to date to the *postexilic* period (500 BCE), and concerns the origin and regulation of institutions that were initiated by the priestly reforms of the Second Temple in the fifth-century BCE (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

The assumption suggests that the Priestly source builds upon the historical narrative – created by J, E, and D – by expanding the historical narrative of Israel with legal texts and other cultic material. Thus, the focus is upon: genealogies; cultic law; covenants; holy days, such as the Sabbath; blueprints of cultic buildings; and the procedures for sacrifices and ceremonies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

Further, P focuses upon: Aaron (in contrast to Source D, which focuses upon Moses); rituals (such as circumcision in Genesis 17); the Cult (Leviticus 1-17; Numbers 1-10, 25-36); and the High Priest (Exodus 4:28; Numbers 1). Through these foci, the emphasis falls upon God's holiness, sovereignty, and transcendence; and it is the priests who establish and facilitate, Israel's necessary and true worship. P uses *Elohim* for God's name, and is further suggested to use southern traditions (Judah) concerning: the cult, genealogies and place names (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

According to the traditional authorship of the Holiness Code, source P forms the *only* source for the composition of the Holiness Code. However, in attempting to understand themselves as the *people of Yahweh* in the ancient Near East, does the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-

19a form the result of a *compromise* reached between the Deuteronomistic school (source D), and the Priestly school (source P), as has thus far been proposed?

Thus, in light of the activity of authorial factions in producing the final form of the Pentateuch, does the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the result of such a compromise – possibly reached between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites – thereby challenging the traditional authorship of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a?

In contrast to P, the Deuteronomic source [D] of the Pentateuch is also called the *Deuteronomist*, whose core material comprises the book of Deuteronomy. Thus, the book of Deuteronomy is considered a separate work, in addition to the expanse of this source that includes a larger framework, known as: the Deuteronomic History [DH], from Deuteronomy 1–2 Kings. Dated to the early seventh-century (650 BCE) and also writing during the period of the divided monarchy, the narrative of Israel's Southern Kingdom tradition is presented in the book of Deuteronomy, which also uses the name, *Yahweh*, to identify Israel's deity; and focuses upon the person of Moses (Van Seters 1998:9).

Here the *Deuteronomist* uses both northern and southern *reform theology* in order to advocate Mosaic obedience through 'covenant language', during the time of Josiah's religious reform of 625 BCE (Van Seters 1998:9). This covenant language includes introductions, the Ten Commandments (Decalogue), general instructions, the Mosaic Law (Deuteronomy 12-26, similar to Exodus 20-24), and long, reformist speeches (Van Seters 1998:9).

The writing style in the book of Deuteronomy addresses every day matters in a verbose and preachy style, through counsel and advice (Van Seters 1998:9). Thus, the authorial intent is understood as 'propaganda of the Law' with a focus upon the purity of the cult, actioned at a central shrine, through which the people are exhorted to serve Yahweh with devoted love (Van Seters 1998:9).

Sources Y and E are described in *Addendum A*.

Accordingly, does the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a form the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by *both* the *postexilic* Priestly and Deuteronomic authors and redactors (i.e., the Jehud religious *literati*)? And, what underscores the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a's view of Israelite identity, as seen by *both* the *postexilic* priestly and Deuteronomic authors and redactors? Further, what might be the connections between the Priestly source

and the *Ezekiel tradition*; and between the Deuteronomic source and the *Jeremiah tradition* – and what might be the implications therefore, for a merger of the Ezekiel and Jeremiah traditions within Leviticus 19:1-19a?

Pointedly, can the Holiness Code (and Leviticus 19:1-19a) be seen as the *postexilic* reinterpretation of the Priestly Code in the context of the Sinai Tradition, by Otto's (2007:172) Jehud literati? And, do the Shaphanites and the Zadokites form part of the Jehud *literati* (i.e., *postexilic* priestly authors and redactors), whom Otto (2007:172) suggests created the Holiness Code, as: a 'literary achievement' by using *preexilic* and *exilic* sources?

Thus, according to the traditional authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, I will examine Leviticus 19:1-19a for the following priestly evidence: a meticulous style characterised by dates, times, calendars, and genealogies; a *postexilic* date (500 BCE); priestly concerns regarding the origin and regulation of institutions; and priestly reforms of the Second Temple in the fifth-century BCE (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

An examination for evidence of source P includes an expansion of 'old revelation' by incorporating legal texts and other cultic material, such as: cultic law; covenants; holy days (i.e., the Sabbath); the High Priest; Aaron (in contrast to Source D, which focuses upon Moses); procedures for sacrifices and ceremonies; the use of *Elohim* for God's name; and southern traditions (Judah) concerning the cult, genealogies and place names. Further, I will assess Leviticus 19:1-19a for evidence of Yahweh's holiness, sovereignty, and transcendence (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

However, this author will *also* examine Leviticus 19:1-19a for the following evidence of the Deuteronomic source [D] of the Pentateuch: a verbose and 'preachy' style that is presented through counsel and advice; the use of *Yahweh* for God's name; the person of Moses; and both northern and southern *reform theology* in terms of Mosaic obedience and 'covenant language', such as: introductions, the Ten Commandments (Decalogue), general instructions, the Mosaic Law (Deuteronomy 12-26, similar to Exodus 20-24), and long, reformist speeches (Van Seters 1998:9).

The assessment will also attend to the 'authorial intent' in terms of a 'propaganda of the Law' that focuses upon the purity of the cult – actioned at a central shrine – through which the people are exhorted to serve Yahweh with devoted love (Van Seters 1998:9).

In order to determine further the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, the decalogue of the Holiness Code (Leviticus 19:1-19a) is therefore examined as the result of the *postexilic* compromise between the source P (the Zadokites), and source D (the Shaphanites) in light of the Babylonian exile and the *loss* of Land (with either *pro-land* or *pro-golah* perspectives)<sup>9</sup>; the *loss* of the Temple and the performance of the cult therein; and the effect of these losses on the work and function of the priests (and the prophets). Leviticus 19:1-19a is also examined for the redefinition of Israelite identity and Zion theology from two focal traditions, these being: the Ezekiel tradition and the Jeremiah tradition.

The fourth subject of the thesis, this being: Pentateuchal criticism and its multi-authorship, is introduced below.

**1.4.4. Pentateuchal Criticism.** How does Leviticus 19:1-19a – as a ‘compromise document’ between *both* sources P *and* D – support the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch and Pentateuchal criticism? For example, did *Moses write the Torah on Mount Sinai* (as Jewish and Christian tradition advocates), or was the Pentateuch (*Torah*) ‘written’ in the Second-Temple Period by *postexilic* authors? Diachronically speaking, *who* were these exilic/*postexilic* authors and source-critical authors?

Broadly speaking, the source-critical authors of the Pentateuch, in this author’s opinion, function as evidence of the priestly *and* prophetic, *varied* adaption of Israel’s transcendent self-understanding as *the people of Yahweh* in mundane settings. Consequently, the formation of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a – as evidence for Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship – further support Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship and activity in the *final-form* of the *Pentateuch*.

Furthermore, thematically the Pentateuch – as the merger of law codes – represents the Law, while the Hexateuch – narrating the acquisition of land – represents the Land (Otto 2007:173-176). By contrasting the Pentateuch with the Hexateuch, this author notes that in the exilic and *postexilic* periods, the Land take a secondary position alongside the Law as primary, this being in the form of the *Pentateuch*.

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<sup>9</sup> Leuchter (2008) and others (R. Albertz 2003; C.J. Sharp 2003; F. Pohlmann 1978; and C.R. Seitz 1989a) discuss the resulting scholarly debate concerning the tension evident within the Pentateuch and the Prophets, between a *pro-land* (Jerusalem based) position/propaganda; and a *pro-golah* (Babylon based) position/propaganda (Leuchter 2008:5-8).

In order to determine further the *role of the priests* in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period, the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a is therefore examined as a ‘compromise document’ between source P *and* source D, which further supports the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch. In this manner, the formation of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a – as evidence for Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship – further support Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship and activity in the final form of the Pentateuch.

~ The role of the priests in Israelite *identity-formation* in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a was introduced in light of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land; Priestly (Zadokite) and Prophetic (Shaphanite) factions; and Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’ between the Zadokites and the Shaphanites; after which the role of the priests was further defined in terms of the Babylonian exile; Israelite Identity in Jerusalem and Babylon (expanded upon in chapter two); the traditional authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a (expanded upon in chapter three); and Pentateuchal Criticism (expanded upon in chapter four).

The main *problem statement* is identified in the next section by considering the general direction of the argumentation of the preliminary research questions above, in order to address the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a. The style of the problem statement engages the subjects of the thesis (that were highlighted by the preliminary research questions above) in an unrestricted, prosaic, and general form. The problem statement indicates the course of study that this thesis will take in order to address the stated problem, while at the same time considering: the theoretical context of the stated problem; the necessary background of the stated problem; and the academic framework of the stated problem. ~

## 1.5. PROBLEM STATEMENT

By examining Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code both *synchronically* (in terms of Biblical *tradition*) and *diachronically* (in terms of Biblical *history*), as being *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes respectively, the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a (and by implication the Holiness Code) may either be confirmed or denied as evidence for the authorial compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers, regarding Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East



during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period). Of equal importance, the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a may, or may not, contribute towards *Biblical history*, and the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

~ In the next section, the *significance of the* role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a, is presented. ~

#### 1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE THESIS

Pentateuchal source-criticism advocates Leviticus 19:1-19a to be the work of the Priestly source (Van Seters 1998:47). The significance of this thesis is to re-examine this view by testing Leviticus 19:1-19a as a micro, ‘compromise document’ between the Shaphanites and Zadokites, which can either confirm the multi-authorship of the Holiness Code, or present contradictory evidence for the multi-authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, and by implication therefore, the Holiness Code.

The Documentary Hypothesis states that source P authored Leviticus 19:1-19a. This author suggests that source P could consist of the Shaphanites: – scribes connected to the *Jeremiah tradition*; and the Zadokites: – priestly decedents from the third patriarch of Israel and connected to the *Ezekiel tradition*.

In addition, and broadly speaking, this research will contribute towards the discussion on the formation of the Pentateuch, and also contribute towards a further detailed understanding of its multi-authorship.

~ Thus far, I have systematically intended to develop the foundational argumentation for the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a. In light of the preliminary research questions, the problem statement, and the significance of the thesis, the *main research question* below poses the direction of the thesis in an open-ended and general style. ~

### 1.7. MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

In what way does Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code function – in a context of biblical *tradition*, as: the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes, and – in a context of biblical *history*, as: the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets and the Zadokite priestly writers regarding Israelite *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period)? Therefore, what are the resultant implications for biblical *history* in terms of the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch?

~ While the problem statement and the main research question have designated and qualified the research problem in an open-ended form, the *hypothesis* states a definite outcome or set of outcomes that are predicted by this author in response to the research problem. Thus, a definite set of outcomes is presented regarding the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

### 1.8. HYPOTHESIS

According to biblical *tradition*, Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period), led to the formation of the Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code, as: the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes, which according to biblical *history*, form textual evidence of the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers. Of equal importance, the *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a contributes towards biblical *history* and the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

~ The manner in which the hypothesis is engaged, is presented in terms of the following *aims and objectives* of the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

### 1.9. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

The findings of the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a, will be used to confirm *if*:

- Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as *new revelation* of the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21; and similarly, if the Holiness Code functions as *new revelation* of the Priestly Code; and *if*
- Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as evidence of Israel's *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and during the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period); and *if*
- Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as a compromise reached between *authorial factions*, these being: the Shaphanite traditionists, and the priestly writers, regarding the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, *postexilic* period); and lastly *if*
- The authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a offers insight into the debate concerning the formation of the *Pentateuch*.

The objectives of this thesis are therefore four-fold: first, to determine the contribution of Leviticus 19:1-19a as *new revelation*, to the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17, and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21; and similarly, to determine the contribution of the Holiness Code as *new revelation*, to the Priestly Code.

Second, the purpose of this thesis is to determine the contribution made by Leviticus 19:1-19a to the *identity-formation* of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and during the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period).

The third purpose of this thesis is to determine the contribution made by Leviticus 19:1-19a to the relationship between the various *authorial factions* of the priests and the prophets, by examining how the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a supports the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionists and the Zadokite priests.

Fourth, the purpose of this thesis is to determine the contribution made by the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a to the debate concerning the authorship and formation of the *Pentateuch*.

The objectives of the thesis will be accomplished by using available secondary scholarship and qualitative research, and utilising the following methods:

- An immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a will be carried out by using a method of synchronic textual analysis and Hebrew patterning, in order to determine the writing goals and ideologies of the authors of Leviticus 19:1-19a.
- The authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a will be proposed by engaging the diachronic layers of the text through a method of historical-criticism.

~ As terms, biblical *tradition* and biblical *history* appear in the former discussions regarding the themes and subjects of the thesis, as well as in the problem statement, the main research question, and in the hypothesis. Biblical *tradition* and biblical *history* function as key and necessary concepts that create the foundational, theoretical worldview and academic context for the *role of the priests* in Israelite *identity-formation* in the exilic/*postexilic* period with special reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a. An expansive *clarification of terms* related to biblical *tradition* and biblical *history*, is presented below in order to ground the thesis further, and in order to select an effective methodology through which to achieve the aims and objectives of the thesis. ~

#### 1.10. CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

I recommend that an extensive ‘clarification of terms’ is necessary because it impacts upon the selection of an *effective* methodology. It is not only a clarification of *terms* but a clarification of thought-forms, ideologies, and worldviews – which underpin *terms*. Therefore, my philosophical worldview regarding the theoretical context for the argumentation of the thesis and the selection of an effective methodology, is herewith presented.

The first dual concept related hereto, is biblical *history* and biblical *tradition*, discussed in detail below.

**1.10.1. Biblical *History* and Biblical *Tradition*.** Two broad distinctions are used by this author as *diachronic* and *synchronic* categories of thought in order to present this author’s philosophical worldview as it pertains to the context for the development of this thesis’ line

of reasoning. These broad distinctions are, respectively: biblical *history*; and biblical *tradition*.

The reason for the clarification between biblical *history*; and biblical *tradition*, is that while both categories are *biblically* based – and may at first be assumed to *be* the same – these categories form the result of different exegetical methods, which result in different outcomes. These different exegetical methods are: a ‘historical-critical’ method that produces a reading of the text with a focus upon the *historical writer/ redactor*; contrasted by a ‘narrative’ method that produces a reading of the text with a focus upon the *reader’s response*.

For example, and broadly speaking, in our South African context the biblical text is generally engaged with from the perspective of biblical *tradition*, i.e., a synchronic interpretation of the biblical text *as* Scripture/ revelation; rather than from the perspective of biblical *history*, i.e., a diachronic interpretation of the text *within* (and *compared with*) history (Le Roux 2012:2).

An approach that allows for the interpretation of the biblical text *as* Scripture/ revelation, is identified by Lee (2007:xiv) as the ‘Word-Revelation Approach’, which produces a ‘divine narrative testimony of history’. The ‘Word-Revelation Approach’ is contrasted by the ‘Empirical-Positivist Approach’, which makes use of the historical-critical method, and focuses upon human reason (Lee 2007:xiv).

Lee supports the Word-Revelation Approach by suggesting further that the *reader* is searching – not for historical meaning when reading OT texts, but conversely – for divine, narrative meaning. This view is based upon the doctrinal aspects of God’s revelatory acts in human history (Lee 2007:xiv). Equally, I offer that if the reader *is* reading the biblical text for historical meaning (such as for the authorship of the text), then the historical-critical method *is* appropriate.

The never-ending tension between reading the biblical texts *as* Scripture and *as* ANE literature is well defined by what Le Roux calls ‘a strange dichotomy’ (Le Roux 2012:4). The endeavour to maintain faith amid the critical study of the text is, according to Le Roux, a ‘South African concern’ (Le Roux 2012:4) that has in the past restricted, and even prevented, the critical study of biblical texts (specifically Pentateuchal texts).

I have presented the differences between biblical *history* and biblical *tradition* in the following diagram.

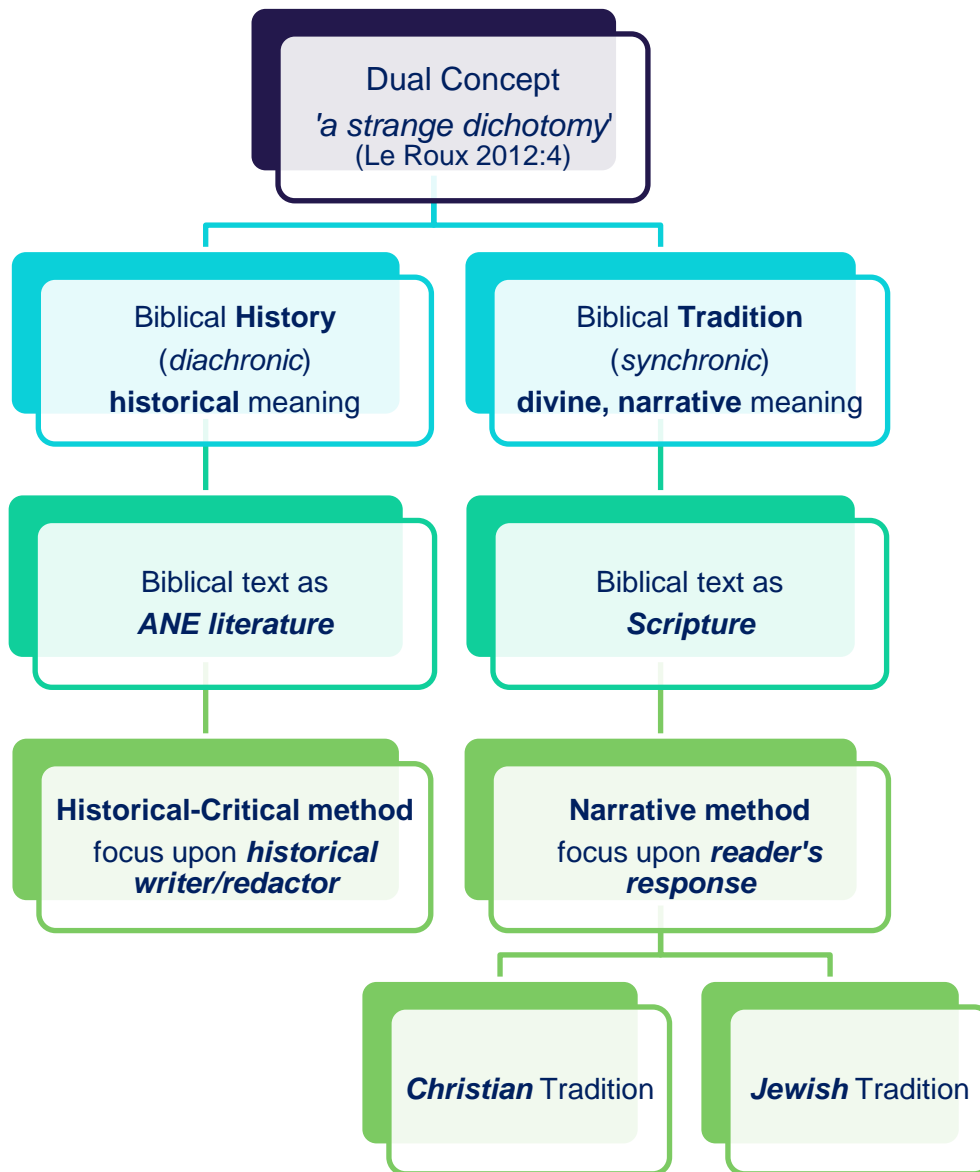


Figure 2 Dualism: Biblical History and Biblical Tradition

From the diagram above one observes that *Biblical* tradition can be divided further into: *Christian*, and *Jewish* tradition.

This author's assessment of biblical tradition is that biblical tradition specifically, and first, forms the result of a '*reader-response* (narrative)' reading of the biblical text. In order to demonstrate my point, I will use Leuchter's (2017:1) example which states that according to biblical tradition (i.e., *Christian*, and *Jewish* tradition) – created by the *narrative* literature

of the Hebrew Bible – a comparatively simple picture of the Levites is painted according to *Christian* and *Jewish* tradition.

By contrast, the historical reality for this narrative material is more complex than the ‘superficial’ picture an elementary reading of the biblical texts concerning the Levites, creates: instead, the biblical picture was authored by the priests of Jerusalem (possibly the Levites and Aaronites) during the Achaemenid (Persian) period (538–332 BCE) as ‘...a “national” narrative that wrote the hierarchies of their own day into the distant past’ (Leuchter 2017:1).

The short-comings of biblical tradition – and by implication, of *Christian* and *Jewish* tradition – are further supported by Heiser (2015:16), who draws a comparison between the context of the *historical writer* (this author’s summary), and the many contexts of Christian, and Jewish history. His critique of biblical methods in the past is that the following contexts should not dominate the context of the *historical writer*: Christian tradition, creeds, and confessions; nor, church fathers, denominations and denominational preferences; nor, rabbinic movements of late antiquity and the Middle Ages; nor, modern periods and movements such as the Reformation, the Puritans, Evangelicalism, Protestantism, revivals, and Charismaticism (Heiser 2015:16). This author’s assessment of Heiser’s methodological view, therefore, is that Heiser advocates a focus upon the (historical) *writer*.

By contrast, while biblical *tradition* presents an elementary narrative of the origin, expansion, and function of the priests; Leuchter (2008:1) notes that biblical *history* presents a further complex ‘Zadokite Historiography’ (Boccaccini 2002:79,96,204) of the priests of Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) – which will be expounded upon in chapter 2 of the thesis.

The second dual concept related this author’s philosophical worldview regarding the theoretical context for the developing argumentation of the thesis, is *historical* Israel and *ancient* Israel, explored below.

**1.10.2. *Historical Israel and Ancient Israel.*** Le Roux (1998:478-479) refers to the work of Davies (1995:21-45) in his discussion of a *minimalist* approach to the Hebrew Bible. Similarly, Davies addresses the distinction between the concept of what he calls ‘historical’ Israel and the concept of ‘ancient’ Israel; as well as between the concepts: ‘historian’, and the ‘biblical scholar’ (Davies 1995:21-45).

In my view, Davies' concept of *historical* Israel aligns with the said concept of biblical *history* in 1.10.1., while Davies' *ancient* Israel aligns with the said concept of biblical *tradition* in 1.10.1.; similarly, 'historian' aligns with biblical *history*, and 'biblical scholar' aligns with biblical *tradition*.

To clarify, the discussed terms thus far are presented in table-form by this author:

<u><b>Historical Israel</b></u>	<u><b>Ancient Israel</b></u>
Historian (Davies 1995:21-45)	Biblical scholar (Davies 1995:21-45)
Biblical <i>history</i> , i.e., Zadokite historiography (Leuchter 2017:1)	Biblical <i>tradition</i> , i.e., the narrative history of the priests (Leuchter 2017:1)
A historical-critical/ historical writer reading of the text, resulting in the context of the <i>historical writer</i> (Heiser 2015:16).	A narrative/ reader-response reading of the text, resulting in the context of <i>Christian tradition</i> : creeds, and confessions; church fathers, denominations and denominational preferences; modern periods and movements such as the Reformation, the Puritans, Evangelicalism, Protestantism, revivals, and Charismaticism (Heiser 2015:16).
A historical-critical/ historical writer reading of the text, resulting in the context of the <i>historical writer</i> (Heiser 2015:16).	A narrative/ reader-response reading of the text, resulting in the context of <i>Jewish tradition</i> : rabbinic movements of late antiquity and the Middle Ages (Heiser 2015:16).

*Table 1 Historical Israel and Ancient Israel*

Davies (1995:21-45) suggests 'ancient Israel' to be a scholarly construct that was created by biblical scholars when referring to Israel of the Old Testament (Davies 1995:21-45). Davies' critique is that the biblical narrative (as *literary, biblical data* – this author) was used by



biblical scholars to construct Israelite history, and that this reconstructed history then became the object of historical investigation (Davies 1995:21-45). Thus, the historical study of Israelite history from the perspective of the biblical narrative is, according to Davies, flawed from the outset.

On the other hand, ‘historical Israel’ is a concept based upon *extra-biblical, material data* (this author) for evidence of Israel’s history within the historical parameters of *time* and *space*, the result being: Israel forms an ANE culture in the northern and central Palestinian highlands, between the ninth and the late eighth centuries BCE.

Finally, Davies’ critique of ‘ancient Israel’ is that the narrative history of Israel is unsupported by the ‘historical’ Israel (Davies 1995:17).

**1.10.3. ‘Historian’ and ‘Biblical scholar’.** Further, according to Davies’ (1995:21-45) *minimalist* approach to the Hebrew Bible, Davies classifies the ‘historian’ as the ‘biblical scholar’s opposite: thus, while the ‘historian’ is the researcher who is objective, the ‘biblical scholar’ is the researcher who is *unobjective*. Additionally, the ‘biblical scholar’ *preoccupies* themselves with ‘historical explanations’ – and not with historical *fact*, thereby producing ‘...nothing more than a pseudo-scholarship’ (Davies 1995:28,45).

On the other hand, Davies’ ‘historian’ is a researcher who achieves unbiased, historical investigation. For example: if a researcher took the historical facts seriously regarding the formation of Old Testament literature, the result ‘would be’ that the Persian and Hellenistic periods (between the sixth and the third centuries BCE) form the ‘biblical period’ in which biblical literature emerged as a political-cultural product (Davies 1995:23,56) – in sharp contrast to Lee’s (2007:xiv) ‘Word-Revelation Approach’ (by which the biblical text is interpreted *as* Scripture/ revelation and the ‘divine narrative testimony of history’).

Davies’ positivistic view of the ‘historian’ believes that the historian has the capacity to capture *specific* and historical *certainties*; to unveil ‘real’ history; and to presuppose that ‘something firm’ or that the ‘singularity of the event’, *still* exists (Le Roux 1998:480-481). This author assimilates Davies’ view of the ‘historian’ with Lee’s (2017:xiv) Empirical-Positivistic Approach.

**1.10.4. Binaries.** Regarding Davies' said viewpoints, Le Roux responds with a form of logic called *binary oppositions*, which have by implication, a hierarchical structure (Le Roux 1998:478-479). If this form of logic is applied to the distinctions in discussion, the distinctions may appear as a 'first-second' and an 'either-or' system that, according to Le Roux, has (in the past had) a 'deteriorating' effect upon:

- reality;
- understanding; and
- interpretation (Le Roux 1998:478-479).

Le Roux explains the problem with 'hierarchical thinking' to be that '...reality is set into fixed structures, understanding is limited to either-or, everything is painted in black and white, interpretation is restricted and predetermined' (Le Roux 1998:478).

Although Le Roux highlights that 'hierarchical thinking' is mostly associated with 'binary thinking' and functions as a western form of reasoning (Le Roux 1998:478), this author would like to add that it *is* possible for binary thinking – or *dualism* – to become *objective* by rejecting any form of hierarchy between concepts. This is based upon the notion that dualisms or binaries (i.e., light/dark; good/bad; up/down) are mostly defined in relation to their opposites (Ryzewski 2009:1).

Since, for example, it is not possible to define *historical* Israel without *ancient* Israel – and by implication, the concept of '*historical* Israel' cannot 'exist' without the concept of '*ancient* Israel' – both *historical* Israel and *ancient* Israel are therefore *equal* to each other, and equally necessary for the 'existence' of the other. Accordingly, the discussed and following concepts form 'objective' and *equal* (or non-hierarchical) binary pairs in which each concept is defined in terms of its counter-part, thus: כהנים and נביאים; Jerusalem (pro-land) and Babylon (pro-golah); *priestly* identity-formation (between the Levites, the Aaronites, and the Zadokites) and *prophetic* identity-formation (by the Shaphanites); and, the Cult and the Law.

Moreover, Ryzewski (2009:1) addresses *identity-formation* in reference to dualisms, by explaining that identities are *created* by dualisms. In order for something to be defined, its description is clearer when defined in terms of what it *is not*. Its *opposite* therefore functions as a 'point of reference' from which to determine what it *is*.

For example, two primary – and *differing* – theological perspectives within the Pentateuch that demonstrate the creation of *identity* via dualisms, may be: Priestly religion<sup>10</sup> and Deuteronomic-covenantal religion<sup>11</sup> (Geller 2004:2021), which Otto (2007:172) identifies as two focal literary developments, these being: The Priestly, literary layer; and the non-Priestly, literary layer.

In the following table, I summarise and tabulate biblical *history*, and biblical *tradition* (1.10.1.) in light of Le Roux’s binary oppositions and Davies’ distinctions (Le Roux 1998:478). The table is constructed according to Davies’ hierarchical view of: first, critical scholarship; and second, biblical scholarship:

<u>‘First-’/ ‘Either-’</u>	<u>‘-Second’/ ‘-Or’</u>
<i>Historical</i> Israel	<i>Ancient</i> Israel
Historian	Biblical Scholar
Biblical <i>History</i>	Biblical <i>Tradition</i>
<b><u>Israelite/ Biblical History</u></b>	<b><u>Biblical Tradition</u></b>
• true	• false
• historically true	• historically untrue (false)
• real Israel	• ideal Israel
• historical Israel	• Israel of the literature
• historical Israel	• biblical construct of Israel
• historian	• biblical scholar
• sound, critical scholarship	• biblical scholarship

<sup>10</sup> Priestly religion centres on the sacrificial cult – it emphasises purity and faithful observance of rituals (Geller 2004:2021).

<sup>11</sup> Deuteronomic-covenantal religion is based upon the legal form of the treaty between Israel and Yahweh – it emphasises loyalty and the performance of divine commands that are understood as the stipulations of the treaty (Geller 2004:2021).

• facts	• fiction
• late dating	• early dating

*Table 2 Binaries*

Accordingly, Davies' view of the *insufficiency* of 'ancient' Israel and the '*biblical scholar*' when compared to their opposites, i.e., 'historical' Israel and the 'historian', is clear. Le Roux remarks, 'Thus: somehow somewhere there is an Israel which is more real, more historically true, more factually based. An Israel which can be reconstructed by sound critical (not Biblical!) scholarship' (Le Roux 1998:478).

**1.10.5. History is Lost.** While Davies prefers 'historical Israel' and 'historian' over and above 'ancient Israel' and 'biblical scholar' (note Davies' hierarchical thinking in terms of 'first-second' and this deteriorating effect upon reality), Le Roux considers a paradigm in which both binaries (i.e., 'historical Israel'/ 'ancient Israel' and 'historian'/ 'biblical scholar') are equal by concluding that neither the 'first' of either binary has the capacity to produce a *complete* picture of Israel's past: 'We have lost the 'quid' [the what] of history and there is no way of retrieving what has been lost' (Le Roux 1998:477) such that '...there is not even a minimum left of Israel's past' (Le Roux 1998:477). [This author's addition for clarity.]

This author comments, therefore, that the minimalist-maximalist methods for biblical interpretation – by nature being *binary appositions*, or a *dualism* – lack the capacity on their own to produce a *complete* picture of Israel's past. While Davies supports a minimalistic approach to the Hebrew Bible, Le Roux advocates that 'even a minimum' is lost.

Thiselton (1992:103-113) suggests that it is not the *insufficiency* of sources and facts that obscure the past (event), but that the past (event) *no longer exists*, and is therefore unreachable and inaccessible – to the point that that neither method nor reason are able to retrieve the past (event). The most that can be hoped for is that the past (event) can only be known partly and indirectly; i.e., from a distance; and via *traces*, which are, as sources, in and of themselves, elusive (Goosen 1998:56). Le Roux summarises *traces* as '...present but also absent, illuminating but also obscuring' (Le Roux 1998:483). For this reason, it is only

possible to understand the past within a new and meaningful setting in which the researcher is ‘looking back’ (Goosen 1998:58).

**1.10.6. Traces, Trackers, and Story.** Accordingly, Le Roux concludes that we can never know Israel’s past and concludes the following on the matter: ‘...the formation of the Old Testament only makes sense when I have imported it into my horizon of understanding. And what is then described is how this makes event makes sense to me. Nothing more!’ (Le Roux 1998:482). In this light, the maximalism-minimalism debate is diminished, because (not even) minimalism has the capacity to capture history: ‘There are only trackers (historians) following the traces (sources) which were left by past events. Out of these traces he [/ she] can make his [/ her] own story about the past’ (Le Roux 1998:483; this author incorporates gender awareness with []).

Thus, Le Roux places any form of history within the ‘historian’ and ‘biblical scholar’s hands, or views any form of history as the ‘historian’ and ‘biblical scholar’s *responsibility* regarding how *they* revive the past by using their own, present experience. In this manner, history becomes the ‘historian’/ ‘biblical scholar’s ‘creation’ within their own frame of reference, by using available *traces* (sources) (Le Roux 1998:481,483).

Moreover, the *tracker* (‘historian’, ‘biblical scholar’) in fact becomes a poet, as they take various puzzle pieces – *traces* (sources) – and build a picture by systematically and creatively arranging and *rearranging* pieces of information into a congruent whole (Le Roux 1998:483-484) – the process of which Von Humboldt describes as producing a ‘work of *art*’ (Von Humboldt 1960:586,588).

This author adds thus that the authors and redactors of the biblical text can be respected as poets of literary ‘works of art’ of their own day, who systematically and creatively arranged and *rearranged traces* into congruent and *new* texts for their own day. The authors and redactors of Leviticus 19:1-19a are esteemed thus.

The concept of *story* further allows the tracker (‘historian’, ‘biblical scholar’) to *re-think*, *re-imagine*, *re-live*, and *re-enact* the past as they create their ‘picture’ from *traces* (Le Roux 1998:484-485). In this manner the past is accessed, and becomes present (or alive) – but always and only within the historian’s mind (Collingwood 1994:215,441).

Brueggemann believes that ‘...the text both embodies and insists on the ongoing work of imaginative interpretation’ (Brueggemann 2003:xii), which he calls the ‘generative work of

the text’ (Brueggemann 2003:xiii). The ‘generative work of the text’ is assimilated by this author with Deist’s (1986:105-107) equivalent term: the *functionality of texts*, which is produced by the remembrance and *re*interpretation of ‘old revelation’<sup>12</sup> – *thus* forming ‘new revelation’<sup>13</sup> (Deist 1986:105-107). Huddleston adds, ‘...Israel endlessly revised and reimagined its traditions, integrating and adapting, preserving and innovating’ (Huddleston 2013:201).

Like Le Roux and Collingwood, Brueggemann believes that the text is accessible through *story* (Brueggemann 2003:xiii), and *imaginative remembering* (Brueggemann 2003:1) – a term Brueggemann uses to describe the work of *tradition*, through the processes of: biblical formation, biblical transmission, and biblical interpretation. Biblical formation, transmission, and interpretation take place within the inter-generational community of Israel, through which: ‘Parents tell and retell their children and their grandchildren what is most prized in community lore’<sup>14</sup> (Brueggemann 2003:7).

I conclude this section by reiterating that the minimalist-maximalist methods for biblical interpretation – by nature being a *dualism* – lack their *individual* capacity to produce a *complete* picture of Israel’s past if separated from its *binary apposition*. For example, if one applies only maximalism to an ancient, biblical text, one will *not* produce an accurate view of Israel’s past; and the converse is also true. Therefore, the methodology of this thesis should steer away from being either pro-minimalist and anti-maximalist; or *vice versa*.

Consequently, a method with the capacity that allows the researcher/historian to engage in a process of *story*-telling when interacting with the past in their present, functions as a reliable method.

~ The discussions in the *clarification of terms* have revealed that the minimalist-maximalist methods for biblical interpretation lack their *individual* capacity to produce a *complete*

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<sup>12</sup> ‘Old revelation’ comprised the following: Israelite history, traditions, ideologies, beliefs, attitudes, customs, social behaviour, and general norms; as well as literary *sources* (Deist 1986:105-106).

<sup>13</sup> New authors created ‘new revelation’ by working with the old revelation in two ways: first, by initiating their hearers with – and legitimising the continued practice of – the old revelation, during the exilic and post-exilic periods. In this manner new authors used the old revelation to validate the status quo and to maintain old traditions in new historical settings. Second, new authors also worked with the old revelation by communicating the *critique* of old revelation, thereby creating contemporary – i.e., *new* – revelation, during and for, their times (Deist 1986:105-106).

<sup>14</sup> Exodus 10:1-2; 12:26; 13:8,14; and Deuteronomy 6:20; and Joshua 4:21; and Psalms 78:5-8.

picture of Israel's past. Therefore, the methodology of this thesis should steer away from an either/or, minimalist or maximalist worldview. While minimalist worldviews include: biblical *history*, *historical* Israel, and *historian*; maximalist worldviews include: biblical *tradition*, *ancient* Israel, and *biblical scholar*.

*Binary oppositions* are created through the dual function of a minimalist concept and the relationship to its maximalist counterpart, such as: biblical *history*/ biblical *tradition*; *historical* Israel/ *ancient* Israel; and *historian*/ *biblical scholar*. I suggested that binary oppositions may be viewed as equal – and not as either/or – based upon the notion that dualisms are defined *in terms of* their opposites, and thus, that one cannot exist without the other.

The methodology of the thesis should allow the researcher/historian to engage in a process of *story*-telling when interacting with the past in their current reality, in a manner that brings the past to life.

The focus (or *limitation*) of the thesis is further refined in the following section. ~

#### 1.11. LIMITATION OF THIS THESIS

The limitation of this thesis forms an exegetical enterprise of Leviticus 19:1-19a. This unit has been selected because of the connections as a decalogue, to the decalogues in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

~ In order to read Leviticus 19:1-19a with the intention to achieve the stated aims and objectives of the thesis, the following analysis of biblical method ensues. The objective of the following section is to select, and state how, a *methodology* will be applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

#### 1.12. METHODOLOGY

Through the endeavour to determine the relevant method with which to accomplish the objectives of this thesis, a discussion of method proceeds. Based upon *both* the diachronic and synchronic aspects of Leviticus 19:1-19a – and in order to find a method that addresses *both* aspects of an ancient, biblical text – in this author's opinion, the identification of the

following related contexts of any method/s (in reference to the discussed clarification of terms), are helpful:

- the *researcher*;
- the *data*;
- the *method*; and
- the *test*.

It should be noted that the complex nature of an ancient, biblical text – such as Leviticus 19:1-19a – with respect to both is diachronic and synchronic elements, requires a ‘methodological system’ (i.e., a *critical methodology*) with the capacity to address *both* diachronic and synchronic data, as well as the capacity to address the worldview/s of the researcher collecting the data. Furthermore, the ‘methodological system’ must make provision for the *results* – of the method being applied to the data – to be *tested*.

Conversely stated, it is my opinion that based upon the shortfall of hermeneutical methods of the past (introduced in the *clarification of terms*), a singular method that does *not* address both the diachronic and synchronic layers of the biblical text, nor the worldview/s of the researcher collecting the data, nor allow for a test of the results, *insufficiently* addresses an ancient, biblical text such as Leviticus 19:1-19a. Therefore, a rigorous evaluation and assessment of method/s *and* its related contexts (i.e., the researcher, the data, and the test of the resulting data) are presented in this section.

To begin, a general discussion of biblical method creates the theoretical context, necessary background, and academic framework for the selection of the best-suited methodological system (i.e., a *critical methodology*) through which to achieve the objectives of the thesis. Specifically, in order to address the *multi-authored composition* of Leviticus 19:1-19a – *as* the literary compromise between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites – methods suited to addressing the composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a, will be assessed. Furthermore, based upon the hypothesis, how can Leviticus 19:1-19a be examined for evidence of:

- Shaphanite authorial activity, and
- Zadokite authorial activity

*in terms of* Israelite identity?

This author proposes two steps, these being: first, to establish the *characteristics* of Israelite identity for each group, which would be a diachronic process (established in chapter two) –



thus, the need for a diachronic method; and second, to determine how these diachronic characteristics are expressed synchronically in the text (established in chapter three) – thus, the need for a synchronic method. By examining the text synchronically through an *immanent reading* in chapter three, this author endeavours to search for the literary (synchronic) characteristics of each group as it relates to Israelite identity.

The general discussion of biblical method begins below, with this author's presentation of a *science* of interpretation. Thereafter, the 'science of interpretation' is examined in light of past methods and how they were critiqued in the past, which is then addressed by myself through the proposal of a *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby select – a 'methodological system' (i.e., two methods that function together in order to address both diachronic and synchronic data). As already stated, this author's critical methodology comprises four main concepts, which are individually discussed and motivated with some depth, these being: the *researcher*, the *data*, the *method*, and the *test*.

Through the application of this author's *critical methodology* to Leviticus 19:1-19a, possible methods most suited for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a may be identified in order to achieve the aims of the thesis. The methods that will be identified are the *historical-critical method* and *literary-criticism* – which are supported further through an in-depth analysis of my motivation for their selection in consideration of the critique of 19<sup>th</sup>-century biblical scholarship and historiographic theory.

**1.12.1. The Science of Interpretation: A Scientific Reading.** In this author's master's dissertation, biblical method was introduced primarily as the *science* of interpretation and understanding, with three possible avenues of focus regarding the biblical text:

1. from the *writer's* perspective;
2. from the *reader's* perspective; and
3. from the perspective of the *text* (Bosman 1986:8-11,15).

While a non-scientific reading of a biblical text waives the awareness of the perspectives of the writers, readers, and text – the science of interpretation involves a premeditated and technical reading of a biblical text, i.e., a *scientific reading*. Thus, this author selects a scientific reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

My view is that in order to answer questions about the diachronic levels of Leviticus 19:1-19a (for example, its *authorship*), the reader must first access Leviticus 19:1-19a through its synchronic level (for example, the *text*), based upon the strata of a text: the diachronic levels of Leviticus 19:1-19a should be balanced by the synchronic layer of Leviticus 19:1-19a. However, as ‘hermeneutical evolution’ and the scientific exegesis of the Hebrew Bible in the past has shown (Bosman 1986:11-15), the immediately accessible synchronic level of biblical texts have often been engaged without the diachronic levels of the text.

This author has visually presented the synchronic and diachronic ‘system’ of an ancient, biblical text. The culmination of the circles at the base of the diagram, visually represents the collaboration of all sources (diachronic), to present the text in its final form (synchronic).

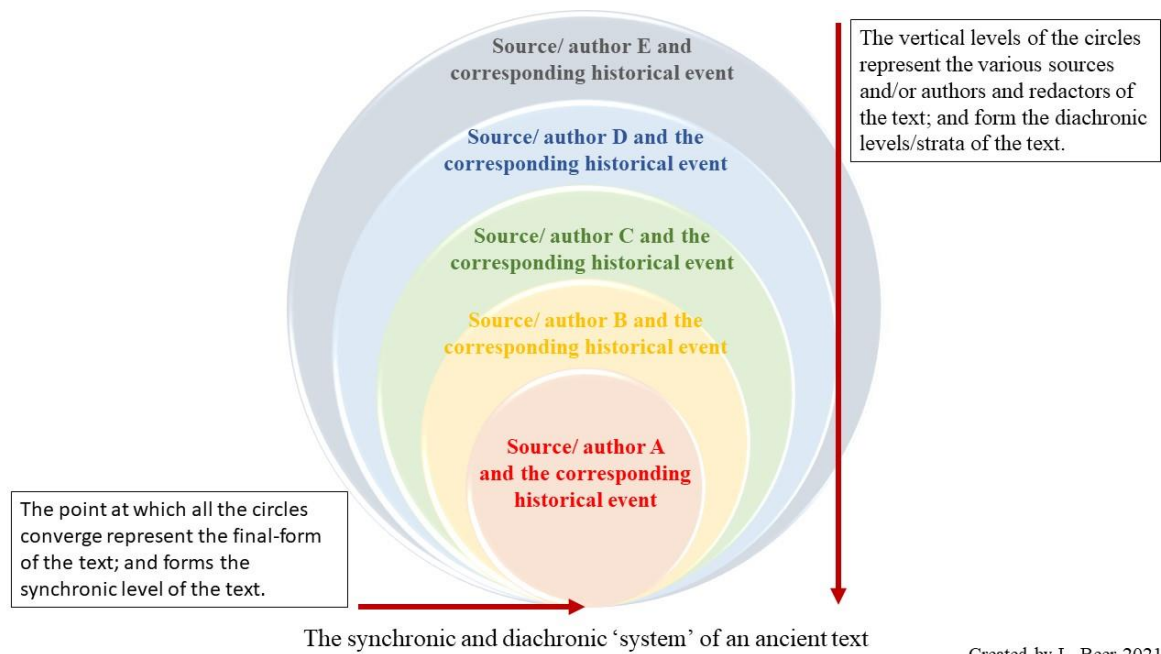


Fig. 4 The synchronic and diachronic ‘system’ of an ancient text

For these reasons – and *for a premeditated and scientific reading* of Leviticus 19:1-19a – this author streamlines the distinctions within the above foci, even further, by applying diachronic and synchronic categories for the concepts of the *writer*, the *reader*, and the *text*. The result is that each focus can be further divided into two further specific – diachronic and synchronic – categories.

Accordingly – and based upon narrative criticism<sup>15</sup> – it is this author’s view that from the outset of any discussion of biblical method (which will by nature always be a premeditated and therefore scientific endeavour),<sup>16</sup> it should be clarified if:

a) the *writer* is: (authorship)

- the diachronic, historical – possibly oral – author (scribe/ redactor/ pseudonym),<sup>17</sup> analysed as *reception theory* (*author’s* intent is primary, reader’s response is secondary),<sup>18</sup> or the
- the synchronic, *implied* author,<sup>19</sup> or narrator;<sup>20</sup> – which this author identifies as *narrator theory* (Spearing 2015:59-105);

b) the *reader* is: (readership)

- the diachronic, historical reader,<sup>21</sup> analysed as *discourse theory* (*reader’s* intent is primary),<sup>22</sup> or the

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<sup>15</sup> Widely accepted principles of secular literary theory that have been applied to biblical texts, have produced Narrative Criticism (Powell 1990:240-248). Literary theory began by determining that a text’s meaning was determined by the historical author’s intention for writing, and in this manner the text’s meaning remained fixed (Burden 1986:37; Eagleton 1996:197). The historical reader was acknowledged for *adding to* the historical author’s intention, thereby *adding* further meaning to the text – known as Reception Theory and as *intentional* readings in the Christian Church and Jewish Synagogue (Burden 1986:37; Bosman 1986:14-15). The evolution of Literary Theory resulted in a shift towards the reader’s intent for engaging the text, known as Discourse Theory and Rhetorical Criticism (Burden 1986:38-39; Eagleton 1996:194,205-210).

<sup>16</sup> In the general past, a discussion of biblical method before reading one’s Bible in Church, has not been the norm, for example.

<sup>17</sup> The historical writer concerns the aspects of the historiography, the historical reliability, and the theological agenda of the actual (oral) authors, scribes, and redactors (Powell 1990:245), within the field of Narrative Criticism.

<sup>18</sup> Reception theory forms the *historical writer’s intent for writing as primary*, when compared to the historical reader’s response to the text as secondary. Thus, the historical writer’s intention for *writing the text*, forms the text’s fixed meaning (Burden 1986:37).

<sup>19</sup> The values, beliefs and perceptions of the text (therefore “implied” author) that speak independently into situations in the historical reader’s world that the historical author may not have intended (Powell 1990:240,241), within the field of Narrative Criticism.

<sup>20</sup> In Deist’s (1986:73) discussion of narrative texts he identifies the importance of the distinction between the actual, historical author, and the narrator (implied author) of the text, within the field of Narrative Criticism.

<sup>21</sup> Any person reading the text in any historical period, without the knowledge of the literary cues of Narrative Criticism in the text.

<sup>22</sup> Discourse theory forms the *historical reader’s intention for reading the text as primary*, when compared to the historical writer’s intent for writing as secondary. Why does the reader want to read the text, and how does

- the synchronic, *implied* reader;<sup>23</sup> – the informed exegete, analysed as *reader-response criticism*,<sup>24</sup> or Davies’ *historian* (1995:25-45); and
- c) the *text* is being referred to from:
- its diachronic, historical perspective,<sup>25</sup> – analysed as *biblical criticism*, or from
  - its synchronic, *final form*<sup>26</sup> perspective as an ancient Near Eastern historiographic text (Van Seters 1998:7) – analysed as or *rhetorical criticism*,<sup>27</sup>.
  - For a visual presentation of this author’s view hereof, see Fig. 4 The synchronic and diachronic ‘system’ of an ancient text.

Furthermore, this author believes it is necessary to clarify that I am both:

- the *historical* reader (researcher), i.e., a Western-cultured and Christian Caucasian, living as a middle-class South African of the millennial Generation – Y generation (Robinson 1997:1) in a postmodern society in, Cape Town, South Africa; as well as the *implied* reader (researcher) of Leviticus 19:1-19a; and that
- Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the synchronic, *final form* and biblical *text* (biblical, literary data) as the first ‘point of contact’ in a scientific reading.

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the text challenge the reader’s existing systems of power (Eagleton 1996:206)? Thus, the historical reader’s intention for *reading the text*, creates the text’s meaning (Burden 1986:38-39; Eagleton 1996:205-210).

<sup>23</sup> The ‘ideal reader’ with the knowledge of the literary cues and devices in the text, who is thus equipped to assemble the meaning intended by the implied author, and thereby led through a normative process of reading (Powell 1990:241), within the field of Narrative Criticism.

<sup>24</sup> Reader-response Criticism falls within the field of Narrative Criticism, which is the process used to determine the expected effects of ANE literature on *readers* of the text (Powell 1990:239). Aune (2003:30) explains that in Narrative Criticism, the reader’s response is considered as important as the text, and the reader’s response is used to determine the full meaning of the text. Using literary cues, Narrative Criticism guides the personal responses of the reader according to the expected effects and responses seemingly encouraged by the text. In this way, the range of potential meaning by the text’s implied author, may be determined (Powell 1990:241). An ‘ideology-criticism’ between the implied reader and the synchronic level of the text is facilitated by the text’s literary codes and literary rules (Deist 1988:50-52; Burden 1986:38; Eagleton 1996:78).

<sup>25</sup> This involves the field of Biblical Criticism and the compositional history of biblical texts (Choi 2010:1-3).

<sup>26</sup> The *final form* of the text involves the field of Narrative Criticism, asks how the text can be read as *literature*, and sees the text as an “organic whole” (Aune 2003:22).

<sup>27</sup> Rhetorical criticism focuses upon the text using literary-criticism: linguistics (i.e., the language system of the text used to create a *message*) and stylistics (i.e., the elements of the text used to create a *message*) (Burden 1986:40).

Therefore, this author's awareness of herself as the *implied* reader (as well as the *historical* reader) reading Leviticus 19:1-19a in her own historical context, refines and redirects the reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a from a non-scientific reading (i.e., only a historical reader), to a scientific reading (i.e., an *implied* reader).

In this manner, this author is able to engage the diachronic and synchronic dynamics of the text – the process of which characterises a scientific reading of the text; and, consequently, thereby diverging a 'surface-level reading' of the text into the process of (biblical) *method*. Therefore, this author proposes that the '*historical-informed-implied*' reader (i.e., the author of this thesis), and the *final form* of the text (i.e., Leviticus 19:1-19a), form the 'primary players' in the undertaking of any biblical method.

Second, it is this author's view that the *intention* of the historical reader (i.e., the author of this thesis) for reading the text – known as, and explained in footnote 15 as *discourse theory* – determines the next step in selecting an appropriate method for dealing with the text (i.e., Leviticus 19:1-19a). For example, while *reception theory* focuses on the historical *writer's* role in determining the *meaning* of a text (Burden 1986:38) – also explained in footnote 11, this author suggests that the historical reader's intention (i.e., *my* intention or objective for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a) towards the text is possibly first more important, before the historical reader (i.e., this author) embarks on their journey to decipher the text's meaning.

Thus, *discourse theory* allows this author to ask and explain *why* Leviticus 19:1-19a is being read by this author. Accordingly, thus far, this author has endeavoured to make clear her intentions for engaging Leviticus 19:1-19a, this being: in order to determine the authorship and functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

In being further specific, therefore, I (as the historical reader *and* implied reader) should make a decision between three types of readings for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a:

- a *referential* reading, which accesses the diachronic levels of the text through which the text is read as information, and in which meaning is found outside of the text; or
- an *intentional* reading, which also accesses the diachronic levels of the text by reading the text according to the *historical author's* intention, and in which meaning is still found outside of the text; or

- an *immanent* reading, which accesses the synchronic levels of the text through which the text is read as prose (i.e., according to its written style), and in which meaning is found inside the text (Bosman 1986:14-15).

In order for this author to address the multi-authored composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a as the literary compromise between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites, I need to gain diachronic data from the text. Therefore, this author engages in a referential reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a in order to gain some historical meaning (time and place) of the text. I also require an intentional reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a in order to gain some meaning as to the identity-formation of Israel during the Achaemenid Empire; and I require further, an immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a in order to gain some literary information that may help to indicate the multi-authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Using the aforementioned distinctions to clarify the intent for engaging Leviticus 19:1-19a (the ancient text), this author (the historical reader) will hereafter proceed to select their chosen method, also considering the philosophical assumptions and worldview of the selected method (Deist 1986:37), and the selected method's capacity to achieve this author's (the historical reader's) intention towards Leviticus 19:1-19a (the ancient text).

Finally, in order to address the multi-authored composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a the following preliminary observations are made:

- this author is the historical and implied reader;
- the readers of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) also form the historical readers of their day;
- Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the synchronic level of the text;
- Sources for the compositional history of Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the diachronic levels of the text;
- The Shaphanites and Zadokites form the diachronic, historical authors; and
- Moses and Yahweh form the narrators or implied authors.

In terms of method, this author as the historical reader of Leviticus 19:1-19a, engages in *discourse theory*, and as the implied reader, engages in *reader-response criticism*. In order to unpack the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, a focus upon the historical writer is required, therefore engaging in *reception theory*. Finally, in order to access both the diachronic and synchronic layers of Leviticus 19:1-19a, respectively, *biblical-criticism* and *rhetorical-criticism* are necessary.

Following this author's presentation of the *science* of interpretation, the motivation for a 'science of interpretation' is presented through the following discussion of methods of the past, and how they were critiqued. Hereafter a *critical methodology* is presented by this author through which to assess – and thereby select – a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a. The Historical-critical method and Literary-criticism are then investigated – which are thereafter supported through an in-depth analysis of this author's motivation for selecting the Historical-critical method and Literary-criticism in light of a critique of 19<sup>th</sup>-century biblical scholarship and historiographic theory.

**1.12.2. Assessing and Selecting Biblical Methods.** There are various methods within the field of biblical studies being used in the endeavour to find the proper meaning of biblical texts. Determining the correct biblical method forms a crucial factor for producing quality results. For example, the history of biblical method has shown that the philosophical assumptions of a method have the power to produce biased data/ results; – and that through the application of biased data to contemporary contexts, relative academic fields and communities have sometimes been impaired.

For these reasons, the analysis of biblical method has become increasingly important. A key question in this regard is therefore: how does one assess the nature of criticism – thereby creating a method of criticism – in order to analyse biblical methods and the quality of the results they produce? And second, how does this endeavour result in new methods?

*1.12.2.1. The Epistemological Problem.* In response to the said question and the contemporary evolution within the field epistemology, Lee (2007:1) engages in the academic search for new forms of biblical method. He identifies a 'critical epistemological problem' (Lee 2007:1) within the changing nature of biblical studies, which Deist (1979:16-21) defines as the unreliability of former methods to produce 'scientifically moral (honest)' results, based upon the 'discontinuity of pre-existing presumptions' (Lee 2007:1) – which this author summarises as incoherent criteria – within former methods. This also brings to mind Davies' critique of the 'biblical scholar' (1995:28,45) discussed in the clarification of terms.

However, the benefit of incoherent criteria is that this shortfall created the necessity for new interpretive methods and approaches – an effect of binary thinking, discussed in the

clarification of terms – which has resulted in the *evolution* of method, and in movements such as those from historical-criticism to narrative-criticism (Lee 2007:1).

In Lee's work, he uses the contribution of South African (hereafter SA) scholars in the late twentieth century: Ferdinand Deist (1988), Hendrik Bosman (1986), and Le Roux (1992). These scholars initially identified the prerequisite for handling and selecting a method, this being: to ascertain the *philosophical assumptions* and the *worldview* of a particular method.

When selecting a method to interpret the Hebrew Bible, Deist identified the role the epistemological perspective plays, by acknowledging the awareness that is required by the reader/researcher of how *understanding is formed* (Deist 1988:50-52). Deist's work on the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible (Deist 1986:37), and the search for 'proper methods' (Le Roux 1992:10) that yield 'scientifically moral (honest)' (Deist 1979:16-21) results, advanced the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in the late twentieth century. For Lee, it is this *absence* of scholastic awareness in former biblical interpretation, that rendered the results of 'unaware' interpretation, biased or unreliable.

Thus, building upon this said foundation created by these SA scholars, Lee engages in a holistic search for the proper meaning of biblical texts by asking how biblical scholars assess biblical method in their endeavour to refine – and thereby possibly to create – (new) methods. Lee highlights that the synchronic (final textual form) level and the diachronic (textual composition process) levels of the biblical text account for various modes of biblical interpretation. Lee (2007:1) accounts for the various modes of biblical interpretation by highlighting – as concepts – the roles that empirical knowledge and scientific knowledge play in the process of interpretation, as well as the vast manner in which human beings *understand* (Lee 2007:1), echoing the sentiments of Deist (1988:50-52).

Lee reviews, and categorises, the effects of philosophical assumptions upon method through three major methodological-epistemological movements in biblical hermeneutics. These are: the Empirical-Positivist Approach, the Literary-Structural Approach, and the Narrativist Approach (Lee 2007:xiv). Lee traces the movements within biblical hermeneutics – from the Word-Revelation approach to human reason (Empirical-Positivist Approach) – and he proposes that biblical hermeneutics should return to the Word-Revelation approach by suggesting that the historical-critical view should be replaced with a 'divine narrative testimony of history' (Lee 2007:xiv). Lee supports his view by suggesting further that the *reader* is searching not for historical meaning when reading OT texts, but conversely;



moreover, searching for divine, narrative meaning. This view is based upon broad doctrinal aspects such as God's revelatory acts in human history (Lee 2007:xiv).

This author responds to Lee's view by suggesting that method is largely dependent upon the reader's purpose for reading the text. In this author's estimate, divine narrative meaning should always be informed or grounded by historical meaning, which necessitates a method with the capacity to unlock the diachronic layers of a text.

My view is that the philosophical assumptions and worldview of Lee's Word-Revelation approach focus upon the historical reader, the implied writer, and the synchronic layer of the text. It is also my view that a method which focuses primarily upon the historical reader (using *discourse theory*), the implied writer (using *narrator theory*), and the synchronic level of the text (using *rhetorical criticism*) would therefore produce 'maximalist' results, for example: results in favour of the Mosaic authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Accordingly, in the following section this author further investigates the search for a method that will enable the objectives of this thesis.

1.12.2.2. *A Critical Methodology for Assessing (Biblical) Method.* The need for the regulation of method was recognised in the late seventies by Maurice Finocchiaro (1979:363), who suggested the means through which methods may be standardised. In Finocchiaro's work he differentiates between the critique of a particular method – which he calls *methodological criticism*; and, the method of critique used to critique a particular method – which he calls a *critical methodology*, i.e., a standardised procedure of critique. An example of *methodological criticism* is Weinfeld's (2004:80) methodological criticism of the Documentary Hypothesis.

Finocchiaro states that the broad function and aim of the critique of a particular method (methodological criticism) is, '...the improvement of science by means of the analysis of relevant methods...' (Finocchiaro 1979:363). Therefore, in response to Davies – who states that the biblical scholar is the researcher who is *unobjective*, and who preoccupies themselves with 'historical explanations' and not with historical *fact*, producing '...nothing more than a pseudo-scholarship' (Davies 1995:28,45) – biblical scholars such as the OT, SA scholars mentioned thus far in the thesis; as well as Lee (2007), Heiser (2015), Weinfeld (2004), and this author; endeavour to improve upon the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible by means of the analysis of relevant methods.

Finocchiaro's critical methodology is informed by a well-known construct from the field of the philosophy of science, this being: the distinction between what one *does* (practical context), and one's *reflections* on what one does (theoretical content). By applying this construct to methodological criticism, Finocchiaro suggests that the practical context and the theoretical context must always be aligned, which would otherwise render the criticism of a particular method invalid.

In other words, the ontological data (as fixed theory) might be accurate, but the interpretation of that data (as practical application) may be inaccurate if the interpretation is based upon subjective, philosophical assumptions and worldviews, which Lee identifies as the stated 'critical epistemological problem' (Lee 2007:1) within biblical studies. The first step of a critical methodology is, therefore, the *unbiased* interpretation and application of fixed data.

Within biblical studies, this author suggests that the biblical text forms the 'ontological data' (that which cannot be changed, i.e., the data stays fixed), while the reflections/ interpretation of the text, form Finocchiaro's '*reflections on what one does*' (1979:363), which I summarise as the 'practical application'. In the past within biblical studies, Finocchiaro's '*reflections on what one does*' has often *not* been based upon subjective philosophical assumptions and worldviews, rendering the method or interpretation of data – and *not* the text or ontological data – incongruent, irregular, or inaccurate. This methodological problem is what Davies identifies in his assessments of 'biblical scholar' versus 'scholar' that was discussed in the clarification of terms (1995:28,45).

In order to demonstrate the said points, this author offers the following example: the philosophical assumptions of a *maximalist* historical-critical approach when applied to the authorship of the Holiness Code, broadly supports Mosaic authorship – as demonstrated by Lee's Word-Revelation approach (2007:xiv). However, the philosophical assumptions of a *minimalist* historical-critical approach when applied to the authorship of the Holiness Code, supports – in this author's estimation – its multi-authorship (source-criticism). Nevertheless, in both cases, the literary form (as fixed data) of the Holiness Code is exactly the same. Accordingly, it is important to select a method in consideration of its philosophical assumptions.

Second, a critical methodology distinguishes between 'inaccurate criticism' and 'invalid criticism' (Finocchiaro 1979:365). The inaccurate criticism of a method means that the critic is at fault; while the 'invalid criticism' of a method means that the critic's criticism has merit,

and that the method is faulty. For example: Moshe Weinfeld's (2004:80) critique of Julius Wellhausen's Documentary Hypothesis, may either suggest that:

- Weinfeld's criticism of the Documentary Hypothesis is *inaccurate*, and the method stands; or
- Weinfeld's criticism of the Documentary Hypothesis is *accurate*, and renders the method (hypothesis) *invalid*.

Therefore, this author's view is that by applying a critical methodology (i.e., a standardised procedure of critique) to the methodological criticism of a method, one may be able to gain some clarity as to whether the methodological criticism of a method is 'inaccurate' (i.e., the critic is *inaccurate* in their assessment of the method, and the method is *valid*); or 'invalid' (i.e., the critic is *accurate* in their assessment of the method, and the method is *invalid*).

Having discussed the value that a critical methodology offers to methods and methodological criticism, in the following section this author uses a critical methodology with which to examine and select methods that are able to achieve the objectives of this thesis.

*1.12.2.3. A Critical Methodology for Selecting a Biblical Method.* Finocchiaro's methodological criticism is therefore identified in the analysis of biblical method in the 1980's by SA, OT scholars. In light of an analysis of the past scientific exegesis of the OT by Bosman (1986:11-15) – and in order to garner further insight into the critique of method – Bosman and his peers produced (in this author's estimation) a 'critical methodology' (Deist 1986, *Word from Afar*) that may, in this author's view, be correlated with Finocchiaro's *critical methodology* – the procedure by which the validity of the criticism of a method is conducted (Finocchiaro 1979:363-364).

Like Finocchiaro, these SA, OT scholars within the field of biblical criticism, concluded that a procedure of critique is required through which to critique and select any method that endeavours to interpret a biblical text 'scientifically', or as 'data'. Such a 'critical methodology' would facilitate 'proper methods' (Le Roux 1992:10) that yield a 'scientifically moral (honest)' (Deist 1979:16-21) interpretation of the biblical text/data. Accordingly, Deist's (1988:50-52) procedure of critique considers the following factors in light of the way in which empirical knowledge is formed:

- the theory underlying a method;

- the context of the method;
- the context of the data (in this case text);
- the context of the reader; and
- the use of scientific knowledge that can always be tested (hypothetical) and understood in light of *other* knowledge (relational)

Deist's approach has more recently been supported by Stökl (2012:2) and Heiser (2015:16).

Consequently, this author supports and presents a revised critical methodology using the contributions of the aforementioned SA scholars; as well as the contributions of Hess (2007:17) and Lee (2007:1). My view is also that by applying the following critical methodology to both the general *critique* and specific *selection* of any biblical method, the selected method's capacity to produce reliable results is more likely. Considering the said argumentation, my proposal of the generic criteria of the critical methodology are further divided into four categories, namely: the reader; the text; the method; and the tested results:

1. The Researcher:

- Empirical awareness of the researcher (Stökl 2012:2)/ historical reader/ exegete/ critic – who forms the author of this thesis; and
- The context of the researcher (Stökl 2012:2)/ historical reader/ exegete/ critic – who forms the author of this thesis, i.e., middle class, western Caucasian (Stökl 2012:2).

2. The Data:

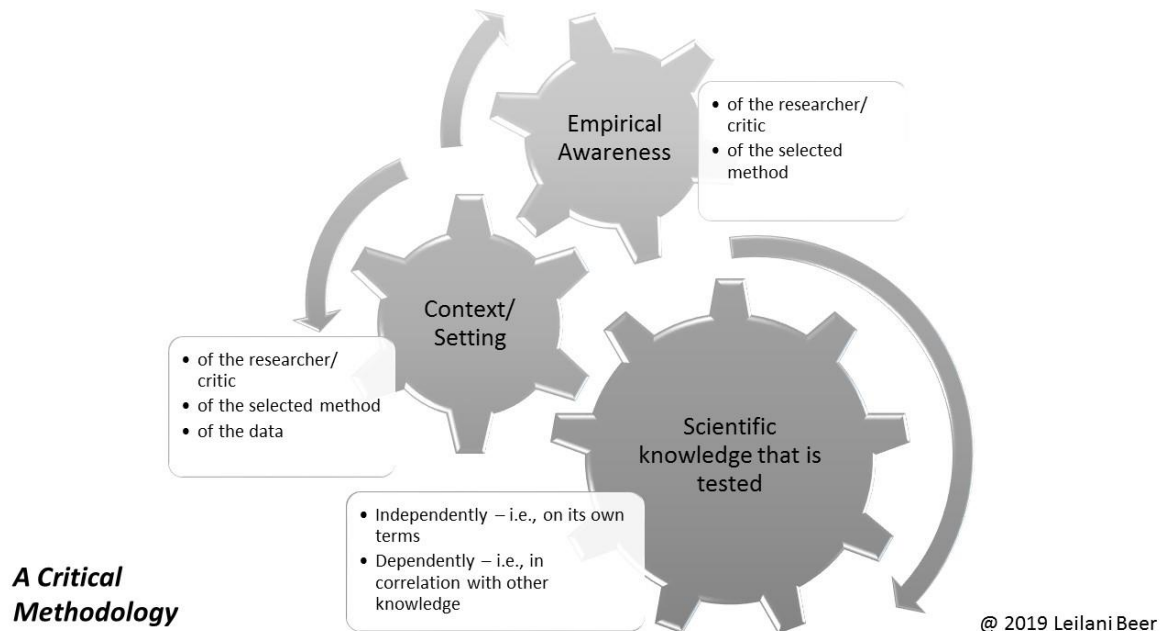
- In order to select an appropriate method with the capacity to deal reliably and accurately with the data, it is this author's opinion that the data should be analysed before selecting the method.
- The context of the data, i.e., its ontological *form* (Bosman 1986:11-15) – which in this thesis forms the synchronic final form of Leviticus 19:1-19a as biblical literary data and an ancient Near Eastern law code.
- The text not only has a synchronic layer, but diachronic layers as well.

3. The Method:

- Based upon the type of data (ANE law code) and dynamics of the data (synchronic and diachronic layers of the text), the empirical awareness of the chosen method must be considered (Bosman 1986:11-15).

- Therefore, according to the type of data, a synchronic method is selected able to deal with the final form of the text; and
  - According to the objectives of this thesis, the historical-critical method is selected for dealing with the diachronic layers of the text.
  - The context of the method must also be considered, i.e., postmodern deconstructionist theory (Le Roux 1992:10).
4. The tested results produced by the method (Test):
- The use of scientific knowledge (as empirical data) and in this thesis Leviticus 19:1-19a (biblical, literary text), which is tested as an ANE literary, law code – and thereafter understood relationally in light of other information, in this thesis being the authorship of the Holiness Code as a compromise document between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites (Hess 2007:17; Stökl 2012:2).

This procedure has been diagrammatically presented by this author in the following image:



*Figure 3 A Critical Methodology*

The four generic categories of a critical methodology are thus applied to this author's objectives of the thesis and Leviticus 19:1-19a:

1. The researcher is the *reader* of the biblical text, who is this author – as the *historical* reader – using *discourse theory*; and the *implied* reader – using *reader-response criticism*.
2. The data is the biblical, literary text of Leviticus 19:1-19a, accessing both its diachronic level – using *biblical criticism* and its *historical* writer – using *reception theory*; and its synchronic level – using *rhetorical criticism*.
3. The method required is therefore one that incorporates the following: discourse theory, reader-response criticism, biblical criticism, reception theory, and rhetorical criticism.
4. The diachronic data of Leviticus 19:1-19a is established in chapter 2 on its own terms, and the synchronic data of Leviticus 19:1-19a is established in chapter 3 on its own terms. Thereafter, in chapter 4, the diachronic and synchronic data are tested in correlation with each other.

To conclude, Lee's (2007:1) 'Epistemological Problem' was presented and discussed as my motivation for a '*science of interpretation*'. Accordingly, I proposed a *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby *select* – a relevant method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a. The criteria of my critical methodology were presented and discussed, a reminder of which are:

1. the reader/researcher;
2. the text;
3. the method;
4. and the tested results.

In the following sections I will apply my discussed critical methodology to possible methods for interpreting Leviticus 19:1-19a. To begin, the empirical awareness, philosophical assumptions, worldview, and context of the historical reader/researcher (this being this author) are analysed below.

**1.12.3. The Researcher of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** The explained critical methodology requires that the implied reader's empirical awareness and that the historical reader's historical context are evaluated. When reading Leviticus 19:1-19a as the *implied* reader, at a synchronic level this author engages in *reader-response criticism* (rhetorical criticism).

Similarly, when reading Leviticus 19:1-19a as the *historical* reader, at a diachronic level this author engages in a process of *discourse theory*. Therefore, as a first step of my critical methodology, my empirical awareness and my historical context and are evaluated.

*1.12.3.1. The Implied Reader and Their Empirical Awareness.* This author agrees with the view that the empirical awareness of the implied reader and researcher (i.e., myself) should be examined in light of the way human understanding and meaning are formed (Deist 1988:50-52; Lee 2007:1). I am therefore aware that my *philosophical assumptions* and *worldview* are formed as result of the way in which I reason and create meaning – which impacts upon the process of *reader-response criticism* (rhetorical criticism).

Thus, I acknowledge this study's potential fallibility in the historical debate, and therefore endeavour to consider some probabilities and possibilities, as opposed to certainties. Moreover, this author is aware of the 'subjective enterprise' in comparing evidence from different cultures, and the roles that *abstraction* (i.e., the closer one looks the more differences become evident) and *perspective* play in a comparative endeavour (Stökl 2012:2-5).

This author's worldview engages the *relativism*<sup>28</sup>-*relativity*<sup>29</sup> debate, and concurs that what is absolutely true for one, is not absolutely true for another – hence the deliberation over absolute reality for all.

*1.12.3.2. The Historical Reader and Their Context.* This author (as the historical reader and researcher) is a western-cultured, Christian Caucasian, and middle-class South African. This author began education in Biblical studies in 2001 at the turn of the twenty-first century from modernism (1900's) to postmodernism (2000's) and therefore carries out research in a postmodern, academic context. This author falls within the Millennial Generation-Y demographic (Robinson 1997).

The SA context for Pentateuchal studies is one that, when compared with the rest of the world, lacks a '...specific intellectual tradition and critical approach to the text of the

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<sup>28</sup> The view that the objective truth or reality is able to be discerned by the researcher.

<sup>29</sup> The view that there is no objective reality as the researcher's impact upon data will always render the data subjective.

Pentateuch...’ with the result being that ‘...the critical investigation of the Pentateuch never came to full fruition in South Africa...’ (Le Roux 2012:2).

However, in the year 2000 through the Pro Pent Project, Pentateuchal scholarship has embraced the critical attitude and research necessary in a postmodern world. For example, the classical source theory of the Pentateuch (i.e., the Documentary Hypothesis) has been challenged by Eckart Otto’s academic views of the Pentateuch, his views of which uses the book of Deuteronomy as the point of departure for Pentateuchal studies (Le Roux 2012:1). It is within this academic context and to this academic context that this author speaks, using the contributions of this thesis as they relate to the critical scholarship of the Pentateuch.

In the following section, the second set of criteria of this author’s proposed *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby select – a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a, is examined in detail. The second set of criteria of this author’s proposed *critical methodology* requires that Leviticus 19:1-19a is examined as *data*. The literary *context* of the data must also be analysed.

**1.12.4. The Data of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** My opinion is that the *data* should be analysed in its *context* and ontological *form* before a method is selected. As stated, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms biblical, literary data – which in its literary context and *genre*, forms part of an ancient Near Eastern law code.

*1.12.4.1. Data/Text: Context of The Data.* My view is that the researcher first needs to investigate the *context* of the data before selecting an appropriate method/s to deal effectively – and as honestly as possible – with that data.

Incidentally, in order to deal as honestly *as possible* with *historical* data, the researcher has to acknowledge that historical data remains to some degree, untouchable. For example, when working with historical data, Troeltch (1913:718-720) identifies a key concept termed ‘methodological doubt’. Le Roux (2012:3) summarises this concept as follows: ‘Historical work can never attain certainty or provide conclusive answers. Historical reconstruction can never be more than an incomplete work of the imagination’ (Troeltch 1913:718-720; Le Roux 2012:3), with which this author agrees.



A second principle for engaging with historical data as honestly as possible, is that the researcher explains – and *reconstructs* – the past, by conjecture and ‘sympathetic understanding’ in light of the researcher’s life experiences and their analogy of known events (Troeltch 1913:720; Le Roux 2012:3).

Bearing this in mind, Leviticus 19:1-19a has as its literary context, the final, synchronic form of the Holiness Code within the Pentateuch. Therefore, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms biblical, literary data.

Leviticus 19:1-19a can be read: traditionally, as *Scripture*; and critically, as *literature* with respect to its written style, i.e., such as *prose*, *law* etc., using *form-criticism*. The never-ending tension between reading biblical texts as Scripture and as literature is well defined by what Le Roux calls ‘a strange dichotomy’ (Le Roux 2012:4). The endeavour to maintain faith in the midst of critical study is, according to Le Roux, a SA concern (Le Roux 2012:4) that has in past restricted – and even prevented – the critical study of biblical texts (specifically Pentateuchal texts).

For example, the tension between reading biblical texts as Scripture and contrasted by reading biblical texts as literature, was addressed in this author’s master’s degree. I proposed that a postmodern *reinterpretation* of the OT allowed the biblical text to be read *as ANE literature*; and further specifically, as Van Seters’ (1998:7) ‘national histories’ *of* an ANE culture (i.e., the Israelites). Further, I proposed that the application of a critical reading of the biblical text in a postmodern context, enriched ‘...faith, life, and – especially in Christian contexts – a connection with the New Testament (NT) and Jesus Christ’ (Hess 2007:12; Beer Van Rooyen 2017:1).

The biblical and literary data of Leviticus 19:1-19a forms part of an ancient Near Eastern *declogue* within the broader ancient Near Eastern *law code* of the Holiness Code. These types (forms/genre) of literature are based upon the ANE ‘historic stream’ (Stökl 2012:6-7), and the resulting literary conventions (Lipinski 1978:227) and linguistic affinity shared between cultures of the ANE. Leviticus 19:1-19a originates in Syria-Palestine, and consists of ANE textual codes, symbols, and cultural conventions that are culture and time specific to the ANE (Deist 1986:38). Therefore, a method with the capacity to identify and interpret these codes effectively, is necessary.

Within the field of Reception Theory, the *ideology criticism* created by the interaction between the reader’s ideology and the text’s ideology (Deist 1988:50-52) is facilitated by

the text's literary rules and literary codes. Deist's *textual communication* highlights the *ideology criticism* as the result of the process of communication when reading a text, and the reader's role therein through their '...creative contribution in deciphering the message-in-code' (Deist 1986:38). The message-in-code is the result of the idea that has been converted into, and then transmitted as, a written-code (Deist 1986:23). In this manner, the researcher/reader engages in reader-response criticism and rhetorical criticism at the synchronic level of the biblical text.

In order for the reader to receive the intended idea via the code (language), the reader is required to be alert to the word order and linguistic organisation (i.e., what the sentence looks like) and how the sentence functions to create meaning through narration, argumentation, description, and enumeration. The reader should be alert to the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and stylistic-rhetorical rules (Deist 1986:23-28). Accordingly, a method is necessary that is able to access these types of data.

Without the reader's knowledge of these literary rules and codes, the meaning created by these literary conventions will be lost on the reader (Eagleton 1996:78; Burden 1986:38); stated in another way, a method that does not access the literary codes of the text will miss important data needed for accurate results.

The second set of criteria of this author's proposed *critical methodology* requires that Leviticus 19:1-19a be examined as *data* – which was done – and that the literary *context* of the data must be analysed – which follows.

Form-critically the Pentateuch is comprised of three *sagas*, which are extensive prose and traditional narratives incorporating stereotyped themes and topics that function within an intermittent structure (Coates 1983:5). This intermittent structure combines pieces of narrative tradition with other pieces of narrative tradition as episodic units that may have existed independently before being incorporated into the larger framework of the saga (Coates 1983:5).

While these independent episodic units together create the larger narrative of the saga, they at the same time maintain their individual genre or *form* within the saga, these being for example: tales, laws, reports, hymns, anecdotes, legends, myths and fables (Coates 1983:5). At the synchronic level of the biblical text, the purpose of the present narrator's – *implied author* – use of episodic units (i.e., literary units of *law*) within an extensive prose and traditional narrative (i.e., the Mosaic Saga), is to support the composition of the implied

author's (present narrator's) world – being created at a synchronic, literary level as *saga* – by narrating the contributing deeds or virtues from the past (Coates 1983:5).

Accordingly, Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as an episodic unit that contributes towards the composition of the present narrator's world within a larger narrative. This author will test to see if Leviticus 19:1-19a maintains its independent form and narrative tradition as a unit of law within the broader form of saga of the Pentateuch.

There are three types of saga that comprise the Pentateuch: first, the primeval saga narrates the beginning of time from the perspective of an original and ideal world, which in the Pentateuch forms the Yahwist's account from Genesis 1-11; second, the family saga narrates past events that account for the family unit, which in the Pentateuch forms the Yahwist's account of the Abraham Saga from Genesis 12-25; and third, the heroic saga narrates the life and events of the people's leader, which in the Pentateuch forms the Yahwist's story of Moses, from Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34 as the Mosaic Saga (Coates 1983:5-6). Accordingly, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms an episodic unit that contributes towards the composition of the present narrator's – *implied author's* – world, in a heroic saga, specifically: - the Mosaic Saga from Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34.

Leviticus 19:1-19a, as ANE literature, predisposes a narrative method as an effective way to deal with literature, since the narrative method pays close attention to literary codes and rules.

Finally, the *textual composition* of Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the diachronic and historical context for the synchronic, final-form Leviticus 19:1-19a. The redaction and rewriting of a biblical text by scribes – for the purpose of translating and interpreting a text as accurately as possible within a new time and setting – is addressed by Wright (2014:9). Wright calls the redaction and rewriting of a biblical text by scribes, a process of 'contemporising' (Wright 2014:4) the biblical text.

Thus, by 'contemporising' the sources that were used in the textual composition of Leviticus 19:1-19a, Leviticus 19:1-19a resulted as the compromise between the Shaphanites and Zadokites. Accordingly, this author will require a method that is able to investigate the text for evidence of 'contemporising' the text by the Shaphanites and Zadokites.

In the following section, the third criteria of this author's proposed *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby select – a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a, is examined in detail. The third set of criteria forms an analysis of proposed methods, which are: the historical-critical method and literary-criticism. The empirical awareness and constructs (i.e., philosophical assumptions and worldview) of the chosen methods need to be analysed; as well as their contexts. Following, the historical-critical method is analysed, and thereafter, literary-criticism.

**1.12.5. An Analysis of Possible Methods for Assessing Leviticus 19:1-19a.** It is this author's opinion that the method that is selected should be selected, based upon the *type* of data that the data is, which was discussed above, i.e., Leviticus 19:1-19a forms an ANE law code and literary *text* within the Mosaic Saga.

As has also been demonstrated, when engaging with the *text*, the reader and the writer of the text also come into play – and, based upon one's purpose for reading the text, further diachronic and synchronic distinctions arise. Accordingly, the following processes have been identified: discourse theory, reader-response criticism, biblical criticism, reception theory, and rhetorical criticism.

In light of the preceding discussions, the following methods form possible electives through which to determine the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a (as it pertains to the Holiness Code and Israelite identity-formation in the Achaemenid Persian Empire). These methods are listed from the broadest field of study, to the most specific field of study:

- *historiographic theory*, and the application of *historical-criticism* to the Bible, resulting in:
- various forms of the *historical-critical method* that access the diachronic levels of the biblical text, producing:
  - biblical criticism,
  - Pentateuchal criticism, and
  - literary criticism.
- Literary criticism further incorporates:
  - reception theory (the historical writer)
  - discourse theory (the historical reader);
  - reader-response criticism (the implied reader); and

- rhetorical criticism (linguistics and stylistics) and philology – which accesses the synchronic level of the text.

1.12.5.1. *The Empirical Awareness of The Chosen Methods, and their Contexts.* The empirical constructs of the selected methods necessitate an awareness of the theory underlying the method, this being its *philosophical assumptions* and *worldview*. Therefore, what does the method do, what is its capacity, and what are its assumptions and worldview? The development of each method aids the demonstration of the evolution of the underlying assumptions and worldviews of method.

The underlying philosophy of method is at its primary level, a *cultural* one: research is always shaped, coloured and informed by the culture of the researcher/ those doing the research (Le Roux 2012:2). A critical attitude – and by implication: a critical *method* – of study requires, according to Albert Schweitzer, an intellectual context. This intellectual context is initially the product of certain cultures, and comprises:

- a high level of philosophical thought;
- critical acumen;
- sharp historical insight; and
- religious feeling (Schweitzer 1936:4; Le Roux 2012:2).

For example, this intellectual context – as an applied intellectual frame for critical study – produced the critical attitude that allowed the Old Testament and the Pentateuch to be read in an *academic* way. In Europe and Germany this critical approach grew, and created a new, *academic language* that shaped the European and German understanding of the Old Testament and the Pentateuch (Kraus 1969:80-113; Le Roux 2012:2).

This new, academic language comprised terminology, concepts, and hypotheses (Kraus 1969:80-113; Le Roux 2012:2). Consequently, a connection was formed between the application of the historical-critical method to the Pentateuch, and German culture: ‘Pentateuchal criticism reflects to a large extent the German mind’ (Houtman 1994:64-72) – further exemplifying the connection between critical thinking and culture.

1.12.5.2. *The Empirical Constructs and Context of Historical Criticism.* Biblical criticism, literary criticism and reception theory fall under historical criticism. The

diachronic levels of the text can be accessed by biblical criticism, historical criticism, and literary criticism. Reception theory also has the capacity to access the historical writer.

*1.12.5.2. (a) The Context of The Historical-Critical Method* in this author's South African context, is introduced by Le Roux's view because he examines the historical-critical method within a South African context. Le Roux goes so far as to say that within South Africa, the historical-critical method '...has not fully arrived yet' (Le Roux 1994:198).

While the historical-critical method has important results in the methodological field and in the accurate interpretation of the Old Testament, eight years later since Le Roux's assessment of the historical-critical method in SA, the application of this method within South African exegesis is still found wanting (Le Roux 2012:2).

In Le Roux's 1994 article, *Historical criticism – the end of the road?* in which he examined the past – and then present – attitudes towards historical criticism, he predicted this situation, based upon the philosophy that the attitude towards historical criticism in the past would determine its future use (Le Roux 1994:198).

Based upon 'methodological doubt'<sup>30</sup> and 'sympathetic understanding'<sup>31</sup> an example of the absence of these principles follows, by which the instinctual bias of readers of biblical texts within the South African context, is demonstrated. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe and Germany, the honest application of the historical-critical method to the Old Testament resulted in the dismantling of the traditional view of Israel's history, and the birth of an entirely new view of Israelite history. However, because of South Africa's academic disregard for the critical attitude of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the ensuing historical-critical method, a naïve view of Israelite history prevailed within the fields of Old Testament and Pentateuchal studies (Le Roux 2012:2-3).

A South African example of the struggle between reading biblical texts as: traditionally, as *Scripture*; and critically, as *literature* – is demonstrated in the following. South African biblical scholar Johannes Du Plessis, who during the 1920's, challenged the church of his

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<sup>30</sup> A principle that states that all historical work will by nature be: uncertain, inconclusive, and imaginative (Troeltch 1913:718-720; Le Roux 2012:3).

<sup>31</sup> A second principle that states that the past is explained and reconstructed by the researcher in light of their life experiences and their analogy of known events (Troeltch 1913:720; Le Roux 2012:3).

day (the Dutch Reformed Church) with the need for the historical-critical approach and the ‘higher criticism’ of the Bible, in order to keep the critically-minded (Deist 1988:100; Le Roux 2012:4). Du Plessis’ criticism of the church (at that time already) was that the church had become ignorant of the developments in the field of biblical studies (Deist 1988:100; Le Roux 2012:4).

Although Du Plessis was a professor at the ‘then’ *Kweekskool* (the theological seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch), and promoted the historical-critical method through his monthly journal, *Het Zoeklicht* (Deist 1988:100; Le Roux 2012:4), his critical study of the Pentateuch sadly resulted in a heresy trial and court case in 1930 (Le Roux 1993:113; Le Roux 2012:2). The essence of Du Plessis’ stance and the South African context then (and in some cases now still) is captured in the following quote taken from his telegram to the ‘Guardian’ of Manchester, England:

The contest between the synod and myself [Johannes Du Plessis] arises from the conflict between the newer views on the nature and range of inspiration and traditional beliefs ... South Africa though an active participant in the political and economic movements of the age is somewhat backward in the domain of thought, especially religious thought ... Our universities are of recent institution and have not yet had time to produce a generation of scientifically trained minds ... The Dutch Reformed Synod constituted as it is with half of its members worthy elders from the backveld cannot be regarded as a tribunal competent to adjudicate on difficult points of doctrine. (Le Roux 1993:113; Le Roux 2012:2)

In order to deal with this tension academically, Le Roux’s ‘strange dichotomy’ identifies the ‘theological or philosophical framework’ that was constructed by scholars, allowing scholars to be critical, and believing, at the same time. Accordingly, South African Pentateuchal scholarship – and scholars such as Johannes Du Plessis and John William Colenso – demonstrate this academic balance between historical-criticism and faith (Le Roux 2012:4).

This was based upon the work of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) who believed that there two types of scientific information, these being: first, empirical information of the world (this author suggests: of the physical, seen realm) that Coleridge equated with *understanding* (also called *worldly understanding*); and second, spiritual information (this author suggests: of the spiritual, unseen realm) that Coleridge equated with *reason* (also called *religious knowledge/knowing*) (Le Roux 2012:4-5).

This author responds to Coleridge's view with Deist's methodological criticism, and asks how Coleridge's two types of scientific information/data can be *tested*? Empirical information/data is gleaned through the *senses* and this understanding is gained as: the 'science of phenomena'; while spiritual information/data is gleaned through *reason*, and this knowing is gained by: the 'organ of the super-sensuous' (Reardon 1966:240) by which: 'Faith is a matter of reason' (Le Roux 2012:4).

However, the question remains: how does one test information/data gleaned from the senses and by reason? Nevertheless, by holding to this philosophy, in South Africa, historical-critical study became/is impossible without a framework for safeguarding faith, with the most important result of Pentateuchal criticism being: its application in service to the church and ministry (Le Roux 2012:5).

In 1994 Le Roux put forward the challenge to embrace a historical understanding of reality and text, as: a *frame of reference* – producing a historical consciousness (Le Roux 1994:201). Science – and *history* – '...must be rooted in man's [and woman's] life-experience...' by which one's scientific understanding and history-writing becomes part of their 'living world' (Le Roux 1994:201). Accordingly, history-writing – and the historical consciousness cultivated through the historical critical method – gives meaning to life (Le Roux 1994:201-202).

*1.12.5.2. (b) The Philosophical Assumptions and Worldview of Biblical Criticism* (within the field of historical criticism) are indicated by the following statement: 'An understanding of the product requires an understanding of the process' (Bosman 1986:7). The importance of biblical method – and two key approaches thereof – are also indicated: first, the developmental process of the OT and its texts are important; and second, the final or finished stage of the text, as found in its present form in the OT, is also important.

Accordingly, the development of ANE historiographic texts can be summarised as follows: the world *behind* the text – i.e., the text's developmental process; and the world *of* the text – i.e., the text's final form. In order to understand the world *of* the text and its canonised or *final form*, it is necessary to understand the world *behind* the text and its developmental process.



In this author's opinion, Biblical Criticism<sup>32</sup> and Canonical Criticism<sup>33</sup> are signposted in Bosman's aforementioned statement, for example: '...an understanding of the process' (Bosman 1986:7) highlights the diachronic developmental process of the world *behind* the text – achieved through Biblical Criticism; while '...the product...' (Bosman 1986:7) highlights the synchronic finished form *of* the text – achieved through Canonical Criticism.

Biblical Criticism, according to which the text is examined as an ancient Near Eastern historiographic text, includes any historical-critical technique that focuses upon the origin, structure and compositional history of texts, such as: source-criticism, form-criticism, rhetorical-criticism, redaction-criticism.

While Bosman's statement highlights the partnership between Biblical Criticism and Canonical Criticism, Brevard Childs' (1923-2007) approach focused entirely on the latter, although he did not agree with the term 'canonical criticism'. Contrasting Bosman's view, Childs saw this approach as an alternative to – even as a replacement of – Biblical Criticism and the historical-critical method (Childs 1979:82-83). He perceived the teachers of (oral) traditions as intending '...to hide their own footprints in order to focus attention on the canonical text itself and not on the process' (Childs 1978:53). In other words, Childs' suggestion that the writers and authors of the biblical text themselves were not concerned with the process of the text, but with the meaning they were creating for their communities through the text, inspired his own stance towards the text.

Childs' main aim in using this approach was to facilitate the reading of ANE historiographic texts as 'Sacred Scripture' (Childs 1978:54), according to the precedents of systematic theology's Doctrine of Scripture. In this manner, Childs sought to bridge the theological gap created by Biblical Criticism, for extant communities using these texts (Barton 1984:79).

Although Childs popularised the independence of the Canonical approach, it was the initial work of James Sanders – also coining the term 'canonical criticism' – in his work, *Torah and Canon* (1972). While Sanders seems to focus on Canonical Criticism as part of the inevitable evolution of Criticism, and therefore views Biblical Criticism as an essential and

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<sup>32</sup> A focused authority on the *development* of the text. Biblical Criticism searches for meaning – for the community which now uses it – *diachronically*: from the origin and development of the text in history, synonymous with the term, "the world behind the text".

<sup>33</sup> A focused authority on the *finished form* of the text. Canonical Criticism searches for meaning – for a present, believing community – *synchronically*: from the text in its canonised and final state, synonymous with the term, "the world of the text".

preliminary part of a critical process that led to Canonical Criticism (Sanders 1984:19), Childs' focus is upon how Canonical Criticism re-aligns the perceived theological deficit left in the wake of Biblical Criticism.

In this sense, the function of Canonical Criticism is to give the Bible back to the believing church, and to be seen '... in metaphor as the beadle (*bedelos*) who now carries the critically studied Bible in procession back to the church lectern from the scholar's study' (Sanders 1984:20).

However, like Bosman, John Sailhamer recognises that one approach is not possible without the other, believing that Canonical Criticism requires historical-critical disciplines such as composition-criticism, redaction-criticism, and text linguistics (Sailhamer 1995:97-103).

Further, in the 1980's a connection was identified between Canonical Criticism and New Criticism by Barton (Barton 1984:144): this is based upon the prominent view of the text in both methods. New Criticism (possibly as the evolution of Canonical Criticism) views the text independently from its compositional process and historical context, as well as from the influence of a reader, 'According to New Criticism, all a text needs is a reader, and it will be pretty much the same ideal text each time it's read' (Shmoop Editorial Team 2008:1).

However, according to the critical methodology currently in discussion in this thesis, the absence of the reader's influence on a text is not possible. For this reason, 'New Historicism reacts against New Criticism by asking who the reader is? Are all readers the same? Where do they come from? What do they know? New Historicists insist that people are different and see different things when looking at the same text; it's their fundamental difference from the New Critics' (Shmoop Editorial Team 2008:1).

The evolution of method from the world *behind* the text towards a focus upon the world *of* the text is thus demonstrated in the progression from Biblical Criticism, to Canonical Criticism, to New Criticism, to New Historicism. In Choi's thesis, *Traditions at Odds* (2010), Choi uses New Historicist attitudes in his comparative study between the Pentateuch and non-Pentateuchal texts. Choi does so in order to facilitate *a resistant reading* of biblical texts. In this manner, New Historicism is used as the lens through which to '...challenge conventional assumptions', and with respect to Choi's work, to challenge the conventional scholarly arguments concerning intertextual influence (Choi 2010:34-35).

The aforementioned overview of biblical method is one of three prominent avenues of biblical scholarship, namely: a focus upon the *writer* of the text; a focus upon the *text*; and a focus upon the *reader* of the text.

First, the Historical Approach of the nineteenth century focuses upon the world *behind* the text, and by implication thereof: the *writer* of the text and its historiography – i.e., who, when, where. This approach produced the *historical-critical method*, which in turn produced various further fields: source-criticism, form-criticism, redaction-criticism, tradition-criticism, and canonical-criticism. The type of readings this method produces are known as: *referential* and *intentional* readings that are motivated with a historical focus, the aim being to glean historical data from the text.

Second, in the twentieth century the historical-critical method further resulted in the Text-Immanent Approach, which emphasises the *text* and the world *of* the text. The historical-critical approach to texts produced *literary-criticism*, which examines the structure of texts and forms the critical analysis of the text's history and development – thus ascertaining the diachronic aspects of the text. Based upon the historical-critical motivation of literary-criticism, the type of readings produced by literary-criticism are also *referential* and *intentional* readings.

Third, the later evolution of the Text-Immanent approach produced Narrative-criticism of the twenty-first century. This method intensifies the focus on the world *of* the text by working with the text as *literature*, and more specifically as *ANE literature*. Narrative-criticism facilitates the relations between the *elements* in the text and how these elements create an *intra-textual reference* using the frames of reference *in* the story (Bosman 1986:14-15). The type of readings produced by this method are known as *immanent* readings, through which the reader – as a literary expert – is motivated by the *type* of text. With the aim for reading the text as literature, the reader discerns the internal elements of the text that allow the text to speak for itself (Aune 2003:18).

This in turn led to the *Reception Approach*, which focuses upon the *reader* and the world *for* the text [this author's adaptation]. Using this focus, the text does not 'say anything'; conversely, the text 'is read'. Hence, this approach highlights the reader's assumptions, questions, and worldview, with which they 'read the text'. This is known more specifically as *Reception Theory*. The types of readings produced by this method are known as *Intentional* readings, through which the reader – in the Christian Church and Jewish

Synagogue – reads the text for theology with a focus on the *reader's* intention. Reception theory brings the current discussion full circle and back to New Historicism.

The contributions of Biblical Criticism and Canonical Criticism have resulted in significant works for today's biblical scholarship, such as *From History to Narrative Hermeneutics* (2007) by Han Young Lee, in which Lee possibly leans more towards a Canonical Critical approach with the aim being faith generation within the reader of the text.

In conclusion, within postmodern biblical method, a pattern in this discussion that this author discerns is that, there does seem to be a shift away from a focus upon the *text*, and towards a focus upon the *reader* of the text. However, the awareness created through the science of interpretation allows one to observe that neutral readings of the text are not possible; this is based upon the predispositions with which texts have been written, and with which these texts are read. For this reason, scholars such as Weinfeld (2004) urges the return of biblical method towards philology.

A visual presentation of the discussion on method is thus presented:

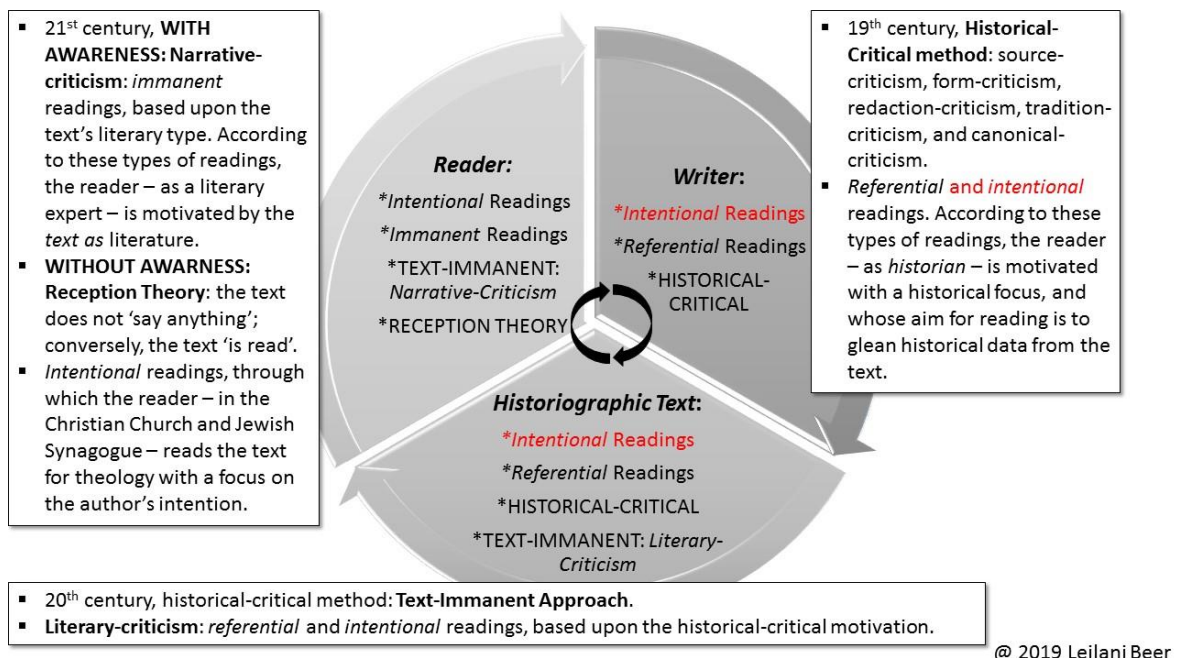


Fig. 3. Types of Method and Readings.

In the following section, the third criteria of this author's proposed *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby select – a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a, is

continued. The third set of criteria form an analysis of the proposed methods, which are: the historical-critical method and literary-criticism. The empirical awareness and constructs (i.e., philosophical assumptions and worldview) of the chosen methods need to be analysed; as well as their contexts. The historical-critical method has been analysed above, and now following, is the analysis of literary-criticism.

**1.12.6. The Philosophical Context and Worldview of Literary-Criticism.** Broadly speaking – the reason for reading literature (discourse theory) from the perspective of the reader (reader-response criticism) – thereby engaging rhetorical-criticism – forms the philosophical assumptions and worldview of literary-criticism. According to Burden (1986:41) the sub-categories and philosophies of rhetorical-criticism form a ‘satisfactory literary strategy’.

Further, this author observes and suggests that literary-criticism forms the praxis of literary theory. Literary theory, as the broad philosophical context and worldview of literary-criticism, and under which rhetorical-criticism falls, is re-capped in the section below, before applying literary theory and literary-criticism to Leviticus 19:1-19a.

This author observes that *literary theory* forms the philosophical context and worldview of literary-criticism (Burden 1986:34-40). The discussion on method has shown that literary theory is comprised of the following philosophies and worldviews:

- philosophies with a focus upon the writer:
  - reception theory (the *writer's intent* forms the text's fixed meaning) (Burden 1986:37);
- philosophies with a focus upon the reader:
  - reader-response criticism (the *reader* determines the text's meaning) (Burden 1986:37) through ideology-criticism (the interaction between the text's ideology and the reader's ideology) (Deist 1988:50-52); and
  - discourse theory, known as rhetorical-criticism (the *reason* for reading literature) (Burden 1986:38-40).

1.12.6.1. *The Rhetorical-Criticism of Texts.* Narrowing the progression of philosophical thought even further, rhetorical-criticism – as the *reason* for reading literature from the *reader's* perspective – can further be divided with philosophies centered around:

- how literature is treated as a *piece of text*, and how the piece of text *as writing* represents the *language system* (known as the discipline of linguistics) (Widdowson 2013:5);
- how the language system of the piece of text as writing creates a *message*, which from a philosophical point of view, incorporates the ‘essential artistic vision’ of the writer (Widdowson 2013:5), i.e., Deist’s ‘message-in-code’ (1986:38); and
- how the message (of the piece of text as writing) functions as *discourse* (i.e., a formal discussion) and *rhetoric* (i.e., formal argumentation) (Eagleton 1996:194) – known as the text’s *stylistics* (Widdowson 2013:6) and *functionality* (Deist 1986:105-107). – by examining the internal elements of the text through a text-centered approach (Bosman 1986:14-15).

1.12.6.2. *Textual Communication of Texts.* This author observes the correlation between the philosophy of rhetorical-criticism, and the philosophy of the model of *textual communication* by Deist (1986:38). Linguistics – as the first discipline of rhetorical-criticism – can be associated with Deist’s identification of the language of the text as the cultural codes for *sending* the writer’s message. In turn, the letters of the text and their organisation in sentences, function as the *encoded form (medium)* of the writer’s message (Deist 1986:38).

Second, the *message* of the text, via the process of communication – both spoken and written, depends upon the exchange of ideas in a *coded form* in the gap between correspondents, thus: the ‘message-in-code’ (Deist 1986:23).

Third, depending upon the meticulousness of the literary codes, any number of ideas may cross the communication gap: for this reason, word order and linguistic organisation are key (Deist 1986:23). Word order and linguistic organisation also in turn determine the formal discussion (*discourse*) and the formal argumentation (*rhetoric*) of the text (Eagleton 1996:194) – also known as the style of the text (*stylistics*) (Widdowson 2013:6) – which in turn also determine the *functionality* of the text (Deist 1986:105-107), as well as the *type* of text that the text is (*genre/form*) (Bosman 1986:14-15).

1.12.6.3. *A Text-Centered Approach.* Accordingly, a *text-centered approach* is required in order to read the text according to the text's literary schemes (familiar themes and references) and literary conventions (codes and rules), thereby decoding these literary codes and rules effectively (Burden 1986:38). The message-in-code has been organised according to phonological (letter and word sounds), morphological (the structure/ form of words), syntactic (the arrangement of words and phrases to form sentences), and stylistic-rhetorical rules (the arrangement of sentences to form discussion and argumentation) (Deist 1986:24-26,38). A text-centered approach therefore accesses the internal elements of the text and the intra-textual frame of reference created by the internal elements of the text (Bosman 1986:14-15).

1.12.6.4. *Literary Context and Literary Type of Text.* Moreover, the literary context of the text – and how it functions in its literary context – also determine the text's function as:

- a 'standardised pattern of literary communication', and
- a stereotyped ancient Near Eastern literary *form* within a larger 'body of lore' (Deist 1986:24-26).

Therefore, Bosman (1986:14) proposes that a method with which to study a text should be selected based upon being well suited for the *type* of text that the text is.

In conclusion, I have proposed a critical methodology comprised of three sets of criteria: 1.12.4. discusses the first set of criteria; 1.12.5. discusses the second set of criteria; and this current section (1.12.6.) discusses the third set of criteria. In this current section, the third set of criteria of my proposed *critical methodology* – through which to assess and thereby select a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a – was examined in detail, these being: the historical-critical method and literary-criticism.

In the following section, the Historical-critical method and Literary-criticism are supported through an in-depth analysis of this author's motivation therefore in light of a critique of 19<sup>th</sup>-century biblical scholarship and historiographic theory.

**1.12.7. The Philosophical Motivations for the Selected Methods.** According to Weinfeld's (2004:73,80) critique of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship (with specific

reference to the Wellhausen school of scholars and the Documentary Hypothesis), the methods resulting therefrom were insufficiently based upon *philological* and *historical* considerations (Weinfeld 2004:73). Thus, Weinfeld proposes a re-evaluation of 19<sup>th</sup> century biblical scholarship, and a re-evaluation of the results produced thereby regarding Israelite history (Weinfeld 2004:73). Weinfeld supports his assessment in light of the wealth of extra-biblical sources and ancient Near Eastern data uncovered through archaeology – such as second millennium Assyrian texts.

To begin, this author's assessment and summary of Weinfeld's proposal is thus a comparative, ancient Near Eastern philological model that has the capacity to measure (and assess) the relationship between language and historical dating. In this manner, Weinfeld suggests an approach that has the capacity to engage the diachronic information of a text via its synchronic state. Weinfeld combines a focus upon the *text* and an immanent reading based upon philology, with a focus upon the (historical) *writer* in order to produce Deist's 'scientifically moral (honest)' results (Deist 1979:16-21). Weinfeld (2004:73) states:

In order to advance biblical scholarship, we should base ourselves on philology, history, literary criticism, and textual analysis, but not on worldviews and ideology that could be defined in various ways. By means of philology, especially with the rich philological data available today, one is able to distinguish in an objective manner (mainly by lexicography and stylistics) what is postexilic and what is not. By studying Ancient Near Eastern literature, we not only learn about social and cultic institutions, their nature and antiquity but, more importantly, about ancient genres of literature.

Accordingly, this author acknowledges the suggested role that *lexicography* and *stylistics* play in determining Israelite history and the implications for the historical development (and dating) of Israelite texts. Further, since *rhetorical criticism* also uses linguistics and stylistics, philology and rhetorical criticism are in this author's assessment a strong methodological pair. In this manner, a study of the *lexicography*, *linguistics* and *stylistics* of Leviticus 19:1-19a – as part of the (synchronic) immanent reading – may offer clarity on its diachronic aspects, such as:

- authorship – whether or not the Holiness Code forms Otto's 'literary compromise' (E. Otto 2007, 172) between the Zadokite priests (P) and the Shaphanite prophets (D); and
- date – during the *same* historical period, i.e., the postexilic, Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).



Further, the philological comparison between: Assyrian law codes; and the preexilic, and exilic sources for the Holiness Code – may offer more clarity on Israelite history, and the implications for the historical dating of the Holiness Code and its decalogue in Leviticus 19:1-19a. For example, as part of the critical methodology and its *test of scientific knowledge*, the elements of the Holiness Code – as biblical, literary, data – should be theoretically tested as scientific knowledge *and* tested with *other* scientific knowledge (relational), such as: other ANE law codes, specifically: Assyrian Law Codes.

Weinfeld's (2004:73) critique of the Wellhausen school's perception of Israelite history is that first, their (subjective) worldview and ideology informed their understanding of Israelite history; and second, that they allowed their perception of historical dating to determine their philological work – whereas, the opposite should be the case: i.e., philology should influence historical dating (Weinfeld 2004:73).

Heiser (2015:16) draws a comparison between the context of the *historical writer*, and the many contexts of Christian, and Jewish history. His critique of biblical methods in the past is that neither: Christian tradition, creeds, and confessions; church fathers, denominations and denominational preferences; rabbinic movements of late antiquity and the Middle Ages; modern periods and movements such as the Reformation, the Puritans, Evangelicalism, Protestantism, revivals, and Charismaticism– should dominate the context of the *historical writer* (Heiser 2015:16).

This author's assessment of Heiser's methodological view is he advocates a focus upon the (historical) *writer* in order to produce Deist's 'scientifically moral (honest)' results (Deist 1979:16-21).

Demonstrated with the views of Weinfeld and Heiser through a focus upon the *text* (immanent reading) and the *historical writer* (intentional reading) respectively, the search for the objectivity of method is continued in the following section using the work of Choi (2010:105-107) and others.

1.12.7.1. *Historiographic Theory: The Historical-Critical Method.* In response to Weinfeld's critique of nineteenth century biblical scholarship, this author surveys other scholars' views thereof.

Lee (2007:2) explains that during the nineteenth century, empirical knowledge and reason lead to the historical-critical method, based upon the work of philosophers such as Descartes (*cogito ergo sum*: 'I think therefore I am') and Immanuel Kant (Erickson 1998:19-20). A brief description of this process in reference to key scholars and philosophers of the time by Erickson (1998), follows.

During the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century, knowledge of the social and psychological phenomena of religion was limited. Further, during this period the work of philosopher, Immanuel Kant, rigorously challenged the philosophy of religion – the results of which impacted upon Protestant thought of that time. This initiated a shift in religious perception during the nineteenth century (Erickson 1998:19-20).

Briefly, Kant's rationalism was developed in three famous critiques: the first of these maintained that all human, theoretical knowledge is gained only through the human senses (*The Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781); the second suggested that religion is the result of human, practical reason and the motivation for morality, without which moral societies cannot function as moral (*The Critique of Practical Reason*, 1788); finally, for Kant, religion became a matter of ethics (*The Critique of Judgment*, 1790).

In reaction against the rationalism of Kant's work, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1958) suggested that religion is a matter of feeling, further developed by Rudolf Otto (1958) through his emphasis upon the human awareness of the holy. Later and conversely, Albrecht Ritschl (1972) applied Kant's ideas to Christian theology, and suggested that religion is a matter of moral judgments (Erickson 1998:19-20).

On the side, Erickson concludes that Christian religion is in fact all of these: belief and dogma; feeling and total dependence; morality and ethics; human behaviour and human experience, both individually and socially – the aim being to produce a sensible interpretation of reality, and of the human being that lives within this reality (Erickson 1998:20).

However, a philosophical issue ensued, this being: that there is no such a thing as judgement free results, i.e., reliable methodological results that are judgment free – as demonstrated by Weinfeld's critique of the influence of worldview and ideology upon methodological results; and Heiser's critique of the influence of traditional contexts upon methodological results.

1.12.7.2. *Maximalism and Minimalism.* Choi (2010:106) explains that German Historian, Leopold Van Ranke – and the father of nineteenth century Classical Historicism – believed it *was* possible to produce an objective account of the material past, and saw this to be the purpose of history-writing (Choi 2010:106). Leopold’s vision of history-writing saw the production of scientifically reliable data free of any value judgements. This was possible as a *scientific discipline*, if undertaken by trained specialists who were committed to the exclusive use of primary sources, and who formed completely objective assessments of these sources (Choi 2010:106).

Leopold proposed to replace the preceding eighteenth-century model for meaning-making – this being the *science of philosophy* – with his nineteenth century *science of history* (Choi 2010:106-107). Through his *science of history*, meaning could be accessed through the bare facts. As the new scientific disciple, the premise of this model surmised that any record of history is the product of an accurate and precise investigation that had rendered objective, corresponding, factual, and material evidence, of the *exact past* (Choi 2010:106-107).

The impact of Leopold’s premise – this being: an objective historical account of the factual past – upon Biblical Studies in the nineteenth century resulted in two extreme views concerning the Bible’s historical character: i.e., the Maximalists and the Minimalists (Choi 2010:107). The *Maximalists* believed ‘...biblical narratives were written with genuine antiquarian interests...’ (Choi 2010:106). This meant that biblical texts were perceived as being: objective and quantifiable; and as material evidence of the past. However, the *Minimalists* believed that ‘...there is no material evidence for [biblical narratives’] historical reliability, and so [minimalism] regards them as ideologically charged texts composed for a specific religious/political agenda’ (Choi 2010:106).

Jurie Le Roux (1998:477) addresses *Minimalism* in light of Israel’s past, and argues that ‘...there is not even a minimum left of Israel’s past’. This is based upon the South African academic context in which Israel’s history is accepted as the Old Testament records it be (Le Roux 1998:477). While the *Maximalist* view accepts the Hebrew Bible as a source of history writing, for the *Minimalist* view thereof, Le Roux refers to Shanks’ assessment: ‘...not very much can come in from the past, as we see it, from this Biblical literature’ (Shanks 1997: 28; Le Roux 1998:477).

Accordingly, this author applies maximalist and minimalist views to authorship of the Holiness Code, and suggests that a maximalist view advocates the Mosaic authorship of the

Holiness Code; while, alternatively, a minimalist view of the authorship of the Holiness Code capacitates support for: Otto's 'literary compromise' between 'laymen' and the Zadokite priestly school (Otto 2007:171); or as a 'literary compromise' between Leuchter's Shaphanite prophetic school, and the Zadokites priestly school (Leuchter 2008:9,156). Consequently, this author selects a *minimalist* approach with which to examine the Holiness Code.

However, Choi (2010:105) suggests maximalist and minimalist theory to be an oversimplification that creates further problems for exegesis. Instead, Choi promotes an approach for the exegesis of ancient texts within the field of *tradition-history*. Choi asks if the differences between historical accounts suggest 'independent origins', or if differing historical accounts form the result of '...some form of manipulation of inherited traditions' (Choi 2010:105). In answering his question, he re-evaluates Leopold's historiography and its nature.

*1.12.7.3. Independent Traditions and Adapted Traditions.* The difference between independent traditions and adapted traditions is dependent upon one's view of the purpose of history-writing: if historians write with the aim to record actual historical events as accurately and objectively as possible – which would in theory be a maximalist approach – differences in these records might be viewed as, '... adaptations of or deviations from a standard account' (Choi 2010:105).

This author observes that such a premise implies two aspects:

- a standard, factual account; and
- some form of authority to which the other accounts submit.

However, how does one verify the standard, factual account from amongst other accounts? Further, this leads the reader of the text to ask why the author adapted or deviated from the 'standard' account, which leads to a search for the functionality of the account in question. This process has been applied to the Holiness Code in this thesis, by investigating to what degree the Holiness Code forms the result of independent traditions (as its sources) and/or adapted traditions (the compromise between Shaphanite prophetic tridents and Zadokite priestly tridents).

This author adds that Huddleston (2013:201) describes source-criticism as an ancient Near Eastern practice of combining and reworking traditional literature. In this sense source-criticism may be viewed as Choi's 'adaptations of standard accounts' (Choi 2010:105) in terms of the combining and reworking of *sources*. The premise of source-criticism is that extant texts are the product, and use, of *former* sources and editions being used as Choi's 'standard accounts' (Choi 2010:105; Huddleston 2013:195)

Accordingly, source-criticism attempts to retrace the compositional process of ancient texts by searching for 'seams' in the final form of text (Carr 1996; Huddleston 2013:195). In Jeffery Tigay's editorial collection of essays, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (1985), the case for the Pentateuch's source composition is supported by the comparison of the Pentateuch's composition to the 'empirically attested composition' of other ANE and Assyrian works, such as: *Gilgamesh*, and Tatian's *Diatesseron*, respectively; as well as to the biblical unit of Chronicles (Huddleston 2013:195).

While some scholars suggest the identification of these 'seams' within the text, to be highly speculative – such as David Clines – others believe: '...reading seams in the extant form of the Pentateuch, [to be] a literary as well as historical necessity' (Huddleston 2013:195).

Therefore, one of the aims in this thesis is to read the seams in the Holiness Code.

Choi continues that if, on the other hand, historians write with the aim to record their 'ideological interpretation' of, not an actual historical event, but of what Choi calls a 'historical motif' (Choi 2010:105) – which would in theory be a minimalist approach – differences between records on the same historical motif may be viewed as, '...subjective accounts shaped by ideological goals' through the '...manipulate[ion of] a given historical motif' (Choi 2010:105).

Again, this author responds by observing that this premise also implies two aspects:

- a historical motif (as opposed to the 'actual event'); and
- the historian's ideological agenda related thereto.

Further, this leads the reader of the text to ask why the historical author had an ideological agenda, and to search for the historical author's agenda.

Finally, Choi concludes that the hallmarks of Classical Historicism – these being: accuracy, objectivity, and factual correspondence – fade when compared to the latest developments in historiographic theory. For example, Literary Theory reveals the unexpected complexity in discerning the differences between historical works and works of fiction: historical accounts are far less objective than one would expect, and are in many ways ideological and subjective – rendering these previously determining criteria, less definitive (Choi 2010:107).

In this light Choi proposes a new model of history-writing in which scholars let go of the search for an objective ancient reality, and embrace the perception of the ‘creation’ of a historical account through the ideological and literary choices of the ancient author (Choi 2010:107).

Thus, Choi also selects a methodological approach that focuses upon the *historical writer*, specifically: – upon the historical writer’s ideological and literary choices. This author observes that through the scholar’s endeavour to find the historical writer’s literary choices, the scholar is in turn lead towards a focus on the text. Thus, what were the writing goals of the Shaphanites and of the Zadokites; and what were their ideological and literary choices?

In conclusion, this author observes that in all three cases – namely: Weinfeld, Heiser, and Choi – a focus upon the *historical writer*, as well as upon the *text*, is primary. Thus, this author concludes that biblical method requires the use the historical-critical approach as a broad springboard from which to determine the authorship of ancient texts; and thereafter, the use of literary-criticism – specifically: *Literary theory* – to focus upon the authors’ writing goals and literary choices.

Literary theory recognises the value offered to the reader in understanding the text according to the historical author’s intention for writing; likewise, literary theory facilitates information concerning the historical writer and their intention. This in turn leads to the *type* of text being created by the historical writer, and equally reveals *textual elements* such as genre and form, which in turn illuminate *textual variations*.

Finally, in order to determine the *writing* goals, and the ideological and *literary* choices of the Shaphanites and of the Zadokites – as the historical writers of the Holiness Code – an examination of the *text* is necessary. Therefore, in order to determine the writing goals and intention of the Shaphanites and Zadokites, the literary elements of the Holiness Code are examined as a first objective.

The fourth and final set of criteria of this author's proposed *critical methodology* through which to assess – and thereby select – a method for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a is examined below, by considering *how* the results of the methods that will be applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a, will be tested.

**1.12.8. The Test of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** The diachronic data of Leviticus 19:1-19a is established in chapter 2 on its own terms, this being: its possible authorship based upon the activity of the Shaphanites and the Zadokites during the Achaemenid Empire and the Holiness Code as a 'compromise document' reached between both groups.

Thereafter in chapter 3, the synchronic data of Leviticus 19:1-19a is established on its own terms, this being: Leviticus 19:1-19a as an ANE decalogue with literary evidence of both Shaphanite and Zadokite linguistics and stylistics (i.e., rhetorical criticism).

After this, in chapter 4, the self-standing diachronic and synchronic results as 'scientific knowledge' and empirical data, are tested in correlation with each other.

In the following two sections, methodological criticism is applied to Biblical Criticism and to the Documentary Hypothesis, in order to provide a critical view of the proposed methods that impact this thesis, and the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch, the Holiness Code, and Leviticus 19:1-19a. The first critique is of biblical criticism, presented below.

**1.12.9. The Methodological Criticism of Biblical Criticism.** In order to test the Holiness Code as a literary compromise, the suggestion is made to apply an analysis of its *reception history*. Inner-biblical discrepancies between Pentateuchal texts and non-Pentateuchal texts (Nevi'im and Ketuvi'im), have led to the renewed study of the reception history of the Pentateuch *as* Torah within post-exilic Judaism and Samaritanism (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:4). Conventional concepts of Pentateuchal authority over and above non-Pentateuchal texts, and linear textual development models, are re-examined.

*1.12.9.1. Biblical Discrepancies and Reception History.* *Reception history* is addressed by J.H. Choi in his work, *Traditions at Odds* (2010). While *biblical criticism* deals systematically with the functionality of texts, Choi argues that biblical criticism has been

limited in terms of the *reception history* of biblical texts (2010:23). This is because – as he argues – the elementary premise of biblical criticism presupposes a linear model of textual composition, and a linear model of textual composition may not necessarily provide accurate results as to the historical development of textual interpretation.

Thus, Choi re-examines the historical and cultic discrepancies found between the Pentateuch and non-Pentateuchal texts<sup>34</sup>. He picks up on the philosophical and ideological predispositions between *tradition* and modern *academia* in his introductory attention to traditional rabbinic hermeneutical principles that seek to explain inner-biblical differences with reference to, for example, the *Sifra* of Rabbi Ishmael (ca. 90-130 CE), which says, ‘Two verse of Scripture contradict each other until the third verse comes between them’ (Bockmuehl 1996:21).

However, by applying a *critical methodology* (Finocchiaro 1979:363)<sup>35</sup> to traditional approaches in dealing with inner-biblical discrepancies such as the aforementioned *Sifra*, the results have been one such as Choi’s analysis: he proposes an approach which includes a deliberate and focused emphasis upon the *history* of textual interpretation without assuming a linear model of textual composition, i.e., a linear flow of influence and development from earlier texts to later texts (2010:4). He explains that, ‘the study of inner-biblical contradictions has moved beyond apologetics and polemics and function primarily to provide data for the identification of discrete literary sources for the purposes of establishing the compositional history of biblical texts’ (2010:2). Thus, Choi’s challenge is a *modern* biblical criticism which expands to include the ‘reception history’ (the history of textual interpretation) of texts as a key for unlocking biblical discrepancies without assuming a linear model of textual composition.

In order to determine the reception history of texts (history of textual interpretation), the relationship between *content*-connected biblical texts (such as the same person, event or cultural institution) should be examined, and how they were received and redacted by later authors and readers. The emphasis of this approach seeks therefore to determine the reality

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<sup>34</sup> Psalms 78 and 105 record seven plagues and not ten; Jeremiah 7:22 suggests that the sacrifices in the wilderness were not commanded by Yahweh; Ezekiel 20:8 claims that the Israelites living in Egyptian captivity, worshipped Egyptian gods; also while still in Egyptian captivity 1 Samuel 2:27 suggests that the ancestors of Eli were here ordained with the role and service as priests; and 1 Chronicles 24:19 suggests that the priestly duties were established by Aaron according to Yahweh’s command to him – however the Pentateuch does not directly record that Aaron received personal instruction from Yahweh.

<sup>35</sup> The method of critique used to critique a particular method (Finocchiaro 1979:363).



a text creates *post-composition*. Such an approach can be contrasted with the approach that is concerned with the pre-compositional phase of the text in order to determine the reality that created the text. (2010:2-3)

Thus, Choi's focus is to identify the nature of the literary relationship between conflicting biblical texts. This means that an analysis of conflicting texts with the Holiness Code is required. Therefore, this current study will examine the reception history of the Holiness Code and inner-biblical discrepancies with the Holiness Code.

In the final section, methodological criticism is applied to the Documentary Hypothesis and presented below, in order to provide a critical view of the proposed methods that impact this thesis, and the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch, the Holiness Code, and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**1.12.10. The Methodological Criticism of The Documentary Hypothesis.** The documentary hypothesis suggests that the Holiness Code – and by implication therefore, that Leviticus 19:1-19a – was written by P. This current study endeavours to investigate whether or not the Holiness Code was written by P, or if the Holiness Code – and by implication therefore, if Leviticus 19:1-19a – was written through a *collaboration* between P and D (for an explanation of Source P and P of the Pentateuch, please see Addendum A: The Sources of the Pentateuch).

Through Choi's application of a critical methodology to the documentary hypothesis, his findings are that the Wellhausen hypothesis presupposes a linear model of composition: 'a linear flow of influence from earlier texts to later texts' (2010:4). By contrast, he proposes a view which understands inner-biblical discrepancies as evidence for the *independence* of non-Pentateuchal authors from Pentateuchal authors (Choi 2010:10-11).

Using the Pentateuch and non-Pentateuchal texts through which to do so, Choi examines the Documentary Hypothesis that is associated with Pentateuchal scholarship. Choi cites Whybray (1987:83) and Tigay (1996:429) as sources in his analysis of the Documentary Hypothesis. The literary evidence this hypothesis offers in support of the Pentateuch's authoritative status and literary authority, is: *repetitions* and *doublets* in the final form of the text – with the premise being that the presence of this 'literary phenomenon' in the final form of the text indicates the authoritative status of the sources used by redactors for the

composition of later texts. In other words, repetitions, doublets and contradictions were not removed from the text for the sake of coherency and flow (Choi 2010:4-5).

In Choi's (2010:5) analysis of this model of literary influence used, he makes the following statement,

The Pentateuch is thus regarded as the literary foundation to which other biblical texts necessarily conform when discussing certain themes such as the history of Israel, the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, or divinely sanctioned laws. In this light, any similarity between the Pentateuch and non-Pentateuchal texts, on either the lexical or thematic level, is taken as evidence of dependence, while discrepancies are understood as adaptations or manipulations of Pentateuchal material, rather than independence traditions.

This author suggests that Choi's view aligns with Weinfeld's (2010) *sociological background* of *one* historical period, which means: independent traditions and ideologies co-existed in the same historical period.

The fields of *biblical intertextuality* and *tradition-critical studies* endeavour to identify the 'pre-existent material lying behind biblical texts' (Choi 2010:6). Where *tradition-critical studies* search for the oral connections and foundations of biblical texts (external), *biblical intertextuality* searches for the connections between texts (internal). Within the field of biblical intertextuality, Fishbane's (1985) compositional model, called 'inner-biblical exegesis' examines how a text's composition is based upon another text. The role of scribal activity forms a critical element in understanding the origins of these intertextual connections. The Hebrew Bible can thus be viewed as strata of older and newer texts, of which the older texts have shaped and given rise to the newer texts – this is the essence of Fishbane's view. Subsequently, this view sees the development of the text that is based upon a *linear* flow of composition (Choi 2010:6-7).

Furthermore, this view suggests that the older texts (*traditum*) – which were used for the innovations of new texts (*tradio*) – have an initial and inferred authority above that of the newer texts. This balance of authority can shift from the older text to the newer text, as the new text revolutionises old revelation. Thus, a recognition of the initial authority of the *traditum* is essential for this model of exegesis (Choi 2010:7).

However, through the work of Sommer (1998:8-16,33,144) the presupposed initial authority of the *traditum* is challenged by: concepts such ‘echo’ – an intentional reference to another text *without* specific rhetorical and strategic goals (the interpretive intention is unclear); and ‘allusion’ – an intentional reference to another text *with* specific rhetorical and strategic goals. Sommer’s work suggests that authors of later texts did not necessarily maintain an authoritative view of their sources, and would in some cases reverse prophecies<sup>36</sup> and criticise former theological views<sup>37</sup> (Choi 2010:8).

Therefore, the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a will demonstrate strata of older texts, newer texts, echo, and allusion.

~ Following the analysis of biblical method and the selection of an appropriate method with which to read Leviticus 19:1-19a (in order that the stated aims and objectives of the thesis might be achieved), in the following section, *literary-criticism* (of historical-criticism) is applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

### 1.13. LITERARY-CRITICISM OF LEVITICUS 19:1-19a

Literary-criticism is applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a. The philosophical context and worldview of literary-criticism (first as *literary theory*, and second as *rhetorical-criticism*) includes the *reason* for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a (as discourse theory), this being: to determine the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as it pertains to the Holiness Code and the identity formation of Israel during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (described in the aims and objectives of the thesis). Thus, Leviticus 19:1-19a is read from the perspective of this author as the *reader* (reader-response criticism) – thereby engaging rhetorical-criticism – because the sub-categories and philosophies of rhetorical-criticism form a ‘satisfactory literary strategy’ (Burden 1986: 41) through which to achieve this author’s reason for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Rhetorical-criticism is investigated below.

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<sup>36</sup> Isaiah 56:9 – 57:6 restricts the devastation prophesied by Jeremiah 12:7-13; and Isaiah 62:6-7 reverses the grief of Lamentations 2:13-19.

<sup>37</sup> Isaiah 40:1,25,28; 44:24; 45:18-20 challenges the anthropomorphic view of creation given in Genesis.

**1.13.1. Rhetorical-Criticism of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** The philosophical context and worldview for the rhetorical-criticism of Leviticus 19:1-19a – as the *reason* for reading literature from the *reader's* perspective – engages Leviticus 19:1-19a in the following manner:

- Leviticus 19:1-19a, as ancient Near Eastern literature, is treated as a *unit of text*, and is examined for how this unit of text functions *as a piece of writing* in ancient Hebrew (Widdowson 2013:5);
- how Leviticus 19:1-19a – *as a piece of writing* in ancient Hebrew – creates a *message* through the writer's artistic vision (Widdowson 2013:5); conversely stated: – how the writer's message has been artistically coded into Leviticus 19:1-19a (Deist 1986:38); and
- how the writer's message of Leviticus 19:1-19a determines the *stylistics* (Widdowson 2013:6) – i.e., the *discourse* and *rhetoric* (Eagleton 1996:194) – and *functionality* (Deist 1986:105-107) of Leviticus 19:1-19a, by examining the internal elements of Leviticus 19:1-19a through a text-centered approach (Bosman 1986:14-15).

Textual communication is investigated below.

**1.13.2. Textual Communication of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** The philosophical context and worldview for Leviticus 19:1-19a as a process of textual communication (Deist 1986:38) engages Leviticus 19:1-19a in the following manner:

- the ancient Hebrew of Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as the cultural codes for *sending* the writer's message. Further, the ancient Hebrew letters of Leviticus 19:1-19a and their organisation in sentences, function as the *encoded form (medium)* of the writer's message (Deist 1986:38); and
- the 'message-in-code' (Deist 1986:23) of Leviticus 19:1-19a may be decoded via the word order and linguistic organisation of Leviticus 19:1-19a (Deist 1986:23), as well as through the style of Leviticus 19:1-19a (stylistics) (Widdowson 2013:6) – i.e., the formal discussion (discourse) and the formal argumentation (rhetoric) of Leviticus 19:1-19a (Eagleton 1996:194) – which are also determined by the word order and linguistic organisation of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

- Therefore, by engaging the stylistics of Leviticus 19:1-19a (Widdowson 2013:6) – i.e., the discourse and rhetoric (Eagleton 1996:194) of Leviticus 19:1-19a – (as well as the word order and linguistic organisation of Leviticus 19:1-19a) the *type* of text that Leviticus 19:1-19a is, may be determined (Bosman 1986:14-15).

A text-centered approach for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a, is presented below.

**1.13.3. A Text-Centred Approach for Leviticus 19:1-19a.** Thus, in order to access the literary schemes (familiar themes and references) and literary conventions (codes and rules) of Leviticus 19:1-19a – which will enable this author to decode these literary codes and rules effectively (Burden 1986:38) – a *text-centered approach* for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a is required.

Furthermore, in order for this author to decode the ‘message-in-code’ of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the:

- phonological (letter and word sounds),
- the morphological (the structure/ form of words),
- the syntactic (the arrangement of words and phrases to form sentences), and
- the stylistic-rhetorical (the arrangement of sentences to form discussion and argumentation)

elements of Leviticus 19:1-19a need to be engaged (Deist 1986:24-26,38). A text-centered approach accesses the internal elements of the text and the intra-textual frame of reference created by the internal elements of the text (Bosman 1986:14-15).

The literary context and literary type of Leviticus 19:10-19a is presented below.

**1.13.4. Literary Context and Literary Type of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** Moreover, the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a – and how Leviticus 19:1-19a functions within this literary context – also determine the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a, as:

- a ‘standardised pattern of literary communication’, and
- a stereotyped ancient Near Eastern literary *form* within a larger ‘body of lore’ (Deist 1986:24-26).

Therefore, Bosman (1986:14) proposes that a method with which to study Leviticus 19:1-19a should be selected based upon being well suited for the *type* of text that Leviticus 19:1-19a is.

Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a unit of text that is written in ancient Hebrew, which as a written language, forms an ancient Near Eastern language system comprised of literary codes and literary written conventions. Through a structural and form-critical study of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the functionality of the Leviticus 19:1-19a as it pertains to the Holiness Code and the identity formation of Israel during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), is addressed.

In order to address the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the historical-critical method is selected, motivated below.

**1.13.5. The Authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a of The Holiness Code.** Because the historical-critical approach to texts – known as literary-criticism – produces a critical analysis of the text’s historical development (Bosman 1986:14-15), literary-criticism is selected by this author to access the diachronic levels of Leviticus 19:1-19a, such as its authorship.

In searching for the relevant method required to achieve the objectives of this chapter – this being: the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code – this author’s view is that the selected method should have the capacity to engage the following aspects:

- the *writer* of the text (in contrast to a focus upon the text, or the reader) (Bosman 1986:8-11);
- the *historical author* (in contrast to the implied author) (Powell 1990:240-241); and
- an *intentional* reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a (in contrast to referential or immanent reading) (Bosman 1986:13).

This will result in:

- the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch in terms of source-criticism,
- the multi-authorship of the Holiness Code in terms of the theological and historical agreement between various literate and elite groups, as well as
- and the multi-authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a in terms of the same.

Therefore, in searching for the method required to achieve the objectives of this chapter (and the thesis), this author's view is that a historical-critical reading – i.e., Bosman's *referential* and *intentional* reading (Bosman 1986:14-15) – of Leviticus 19:1-19a is necessary. Such a reading allows for a focus upon the diachronic aspects of the text such as its historical context, its historical author and its historical readers/audience; in contrast to a narrative reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a that focuses upon the implied author and the implied reader/audience, with the result being the support of Mosaic authorship.

Finally, Choi concludes that the hallmarks of Classical Historicism – these being: accuracy, objectivity, and factual correspondence – fade when compared to the latest developments in historiographic theory. For example, Literary Theory reveals the unexpected complexity in discerning the differences between historical works and works of fiction: historical accounts are far less objective than one would expect, and are in many ways ideological and subjective – rendering these previously determining criteria, less definitive (Choi 2010:107).

In this light Choi proposes a new model of history-writing in which scholars let go of the search for an objective ancient reality, and embrace the perception of the 'creation' of a historical account through the ideological and literary choices of the ancient author (Choi 2010:107).

Thus, Choi also selects a methodological approach that focuses upon the *historical writer*, specifically: – upon the historical writer's ideological and literary choices. This author observes that through the scholar's endeavour to find the historical writer's literary choices, the scholar is in turn lead towards a focus on the text. Thus, what were the writing goals of the Shaphanites and of the Zadokites; and what were their ideological and literary choices?

### *In Sum*

In conclusion, this author observes that in all three cases – namely: Weinfeld, Heiser, and Choi – a focus upon the *historical writer*, as well as upon the *text*, is primary. Thus, I conclude that biblical method requires the use the historical-critical approach as a broad springboard from which to determine the authorship of ancient texts; and thereafter, the use of literary-criticism – specifically: *Literary theory* – to focus upon the authors' writing goals and literary choices. Literary theory recognises the value offered to the reader in

understanding the text according to the historical author's intention for writing; likewise, literary theory facilitates information concerning the historical writer and their intention. This in turn leads to the *type* of text being created by the historical writer, and equally reveals *textual elements* such as genre and form, which in turn illuminate *textual variations*.

Finally, in order to determine the *writing* goals, and the ideological and *literary* choices of the Shaphanites and of the Zadokites – as the historical writers of the Holiness Code – an examination of the *text* is necessary. Therefore, in order to determine the writing goals and intention of the Shaphanites and Zadokites, the literary elements of the Holiness Code are examined as a first objective.

~ Finally, an outline of chapters describing how the rest of the thesis will progress, is presented below. ~

#### 1.14. OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

In this first chapter, the *significance of the study* has been highlighted by contemporary *research questions* in the field, as well as by the *research question* – which presents the focus of this project as a general question to be answered by this author's research. These questions have led to this author's view of a current *problem (statement)* in this field. The associated *aims and objectives* have been presented to address the *research assumption (or hypothesis)*. The *limitation* of the study has been substantiated, and the *methodology* that this study will use to test the research assumption has been discussed.

The rest of the thesis will progress in the following way: Chapter 2 will present an in-depth literature review and research context to address a more complete description of the problem and how this author will plan to solve these areas with the chosen approach and methodology. Chapter 2 presents this author's theory of the *identity of the people of Israel* in terms of the *functionality* and *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code – both synchronically (based upon the text), and diachronically (based upon Israelite history in the exilic/postexilic period). Accordingly, the proposal of the Shaphanite and Priestly compromise is motivated, as well as their connections to Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This author's view of how this compromise relates to Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code and its formation, is also presented.



In chapter 3 a literary treatment of Leviticus 19:1-19a will be presented, and some conclusions will be drawn by this author as a result of this exegesis regarding the identity of the people of Israel, and the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a. This chapter includes an analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a's form and structure, as well as how Leviticus 19:1-19a functions within the Holiness Code.

Chapter 4 will investigate the implications of the functionality and authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a for the formation and multi-authorship of the Pentateuch. Accordingly, this chapter will unpack this author's research on Israel's identity-formation, and how the process of Israel's identity-formation contributes towards the discussion on the formation and authorship of the Pentateuch.

In the fifth and final chapter, a summary will be presented in light of the significance of this author's research concerning the aims and objectives of this endeavour presented in chapter 1; and, a discussion of the implications of this work for further study will be incorporated.

#### *In Sum*

In the first chapter, the *significance of the study* has been highlighted by contemporary *research questions* in the field, as well as by the *research question* – which presents the focus of this thesis as a general question to be answered by this author's research. These questions have led to my view of a current *problem (statement)* in this field. The associated *aims and objectives* have been presented to address the *research assumption (or hypothesis)*. The *limitation* of the thesis has been substantiated, and the *methodology* that this study will use to test the research assumption has been discussed. An *overview of chapters* closes chapter 1.

Key themes and influencing factors (and contexts) that emerge in chapter 1 with respect to the role of the priests (and by implication, the prophets) in Israelite identity-formation during the exilic/postexilic period, comprise the following:

- 'New revelation', through which *Israelite identity-formation* – formed via a process of *new revelation* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), and set-in motion by the Babylonian exile (586 BCE) – resulted in the *reinterpretation* of extant authoritative texts (*literary sources*) by literate priests and prophets of the exilic/postexilic period. Specifically, Leviticus 19:1-19a – as a complex, ancient,

biblical text – forms the focus of the thesis, in which I present Leviticus 19:1-19a as *new revelation*. Thus, I propose that the *re*interpretation of extant authoritative texts led to the formation of the Holiness Code and its decalogue in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

- ‘Polarised, narrative settings’, these being: the Land Promise of Canaanite Land and subsequent *loss* of Land and Temple, which led to the adjustment of Israel’s self-understanding (identity-formation) in the ANE, by the priests and prophets of the exilic/*post*exilic period. Accordingly, part of the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*post*exilic period, was to redefine Israelite identity and *themselves* in the wake of the *loss* of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land.
- Priestly (Zadokite) and Prophetic (Shaphanite) factions, the implications being that the priests not only needed to redefine themselves in the wake of the *loss* of the Land Promise of Canaanite Land – but simultaneously – that the priests needed to reach a compromise between: the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity by the priesthood in Jerusalem (*pro-land*), i.e., the Aaronites and the Levites; the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity of the priesthood in Babylon (*pro-golah*), i.e., the Zadokites; *and* the view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity of the *non*-Priestly (prophetic), Deuteronomistic view/redaction of Israel’s origins and identity, i.e., the Shaphanites.
- Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise text’, using as key literary sources the exilic Priestly Code [P] and the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr], by which Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the exilic/*post*exilic redaction of *The Decalogues* of the exilic Priestly Code [P] *and* the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr] by exilic/*post*exilic priests. Thus, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the result of ‘societal negotiations and concessions between the Zadokites and the Shaphanites – establishing *new revelation* in the form of the *post*exilic *re*interpretation of extant authoritative texts, these being: the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21.

In light of the said themes, the subjects of the thesis regarding the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*post*exilic period and the priestly authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, are:

- The Babylonian exile of 586 BCE, which functioned as the ‘time and space’ settings that necessitated theological shifts with respect to the work of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the exilic/*post*exilic period. The Babylonian exile caused the

theological shift regarding Israel's identity as 'the people of Yahweh *in* the land', from Israel's identity as 'the people of Yahweh *apart from* the land'. Accordingly, the Babylonian exile accounts for the chasm between the *acquisition* of land (narrated in the Hexateuch), and the *loss* of land (narrated in the Prophets) – thus forming the impetus for a solution to the maintenance of the Cult without a Temple.

- Further, the priests resisted the threat of the Babylonian exile upon Israelite identity, tradition *and* faith, by contributing towards the social and religious reconstruction of Israelite reality; and by contributing towards the transmission of Israel's singularity as the *people of Yahweh* to their younger generations. The priests engaged in 'new revelation' in order to maintain the Cult without the Land and the Temple, and played a significant role in promoting a text-based religion without the Land and the Temple.
- Israelite identity in Jerusalem and Babylon, through which part of the role of the priests in Israelite identity-formation in the *exilic/postexilic* period, involved the *redefinition* of Israelite identity and Zion theology from two focal perspectives based upon geographical locations: i.e., from Jerusalem, and from Babylon. Part of the role of the priests, therefore, was to merge these perspectives, also merging and shaping crucial traditions regarding Israelite identity, these being: the Ezekiel tradition and the Jeremiah tradition.
- The traditional authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, by which the book of Leviticus and the Holiness Code have been attributed *traditionally* to the work of the priests *alone*. However, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by *both* the *postexilic* sources P *and* D, reflecting *both* the Ezekiel and Jeremiah traditions.
- Pentateuchal criticism, by which the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as a 'compromise document' between source P and source D, supports the *multi-authorship* of the Pentateuch. In this manner, the formation of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a – as evidence for Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship – further support Shaphanite and Zadokite authorship (and activity/redaction) in the *final-form* of the Pentateuch.

Accordingly, the *hypothesis* states: Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, *exilic* period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period), led to the formation of the Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code as the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes, in the form of the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers. Of equal importance, equally, the

authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a contributes towards the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

The *problem statement* states: By examining Leviticus 19:1-19a as the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionists and the priestly writers regarding the identity of the people of Israel in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), in this regard Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code also contribute toward the discussion on the formation of the Pentateuch and its multi-authorship. While Pentateuchal source-criticism advocates the Holiness Code to be the work of the Priestly source, the significance of this thesis is to re-examine this view by testing Leviticus 19:1-19a as a micro, ‘compromise document’ between the Shaphanites: – scribes connected to Jeremiah; and the Zadokites: – priests connected to Ezekiel, thus also contributing toward the multi-authorship of the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

An extensive ‘clarification of terms’ was presented *in order to* select the methodology of the thesis. My view is that an extensive ‘clarification of terms’ is necessary because it impacts upon the selection of an *effective* methodology. Thus, the clarification of terms forms not only a brief explanation of *terms*, but the detailed explanation of thought-forms, ideologies, and worldviews – which underpin *terms*.

Furthermore, both the *synchronic* and *diachronic* nature of an ancient, biblical text requires a methodology that has the capacity to address *all* aspects of the biblical text, in order to produce ‘proper methods’ (Le Roux 1992:10) that yield ‘scientifically moral (honest)’ (Deist 1979:16-21) results. Accordingly, a *narrative* method was selected in order to address the *synchronic* elements of Leviticus 19:1-19a, i.e., its literary elements; coupled with a *historical-critical* method in order to address the *diachronic* elements of Leviticus 19:1-19a, i.e., its authorship.

~ The following chapter is motivated by the discussed *critical methodology*, which is applied to this thesis as its methodological framework for achieving the objectives of the thesis. Its second step – a reminder of which is: an analysis of the *context of the data* – forms the purpose of chapter two and chapter three. Consequently, the context of Leviticus 19:1-19a has both a synchronic and diachronic context.

In chapter two, the diachronic context of Leviticus 19:1-19a will be established using qualitative and secondary scholarship, while in chapter three, the synchronic context of Leviticus 19:1-19 will be established using qualitative and secondary scholarship.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 will present an in-depth literature review and research context to address a more complete description of the problem and how this author will plan to solve these areas with the chosen approach and methodology. Chapter 2 therefore, presents this author's theory of the *identity of the people of Israel* in terms of the *functionality* and *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code – both synchronically (based upon the text), and diachronically (based upon Israelite history in the exilic/postexilic period). Accordingly, the proposal of the Shaphanite and Priestly compromise is motivated, as well as their connections to Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This author's view of how this compromise relates to Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code and its formation, is also presented. ~

## Chapter 2

## ISRAELITE IDENTITY

To introduce the topic of this chapter, qualitative research and secondary scholarship are reviewed with the intent to clarify the theoretical context for this author's theory of the *identity of the people of Israel* by various authorial groups during the exilic and postexilic periods; and specifically: the identity formation of Israel during the Achaemenid Empire.

This author's view of the major subjects that create the theoretical framework for this author's view of Israelite identity by various authorial groups, are:

- Ezekiel and the Priests: Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites
- Jeremiah and the Shaphanites
- The Decalogues and the Holiness Code, with specific reference to Leviticus 19:1-19a (discussed in-depth in chapter 3)
- Pentateuchal Criticism and source P (discussed in-depth in chapter 4)

The related subjects, their key concepts, and recent research within each field are integrated and discussed with the intent to examine Israelite identity *diachronically* – based upon Israelite history during the exilic and postexilic periods. This chapter therefore facilitates diachronic clarity on Israel's identity in terms of the authorial factions responsible for Israelite identity.

Consequently, recent and secondary research is considered and assimilated with – also intending to motivate – this author's proposal of:

- first: a *compromise* between various Israelite groups, namely: the Shaphanites and the Priests;
- second: the connections of these groups to the persons/schools of Jeremiah and Ezekiel;
- and third: how this compromise relates to the formation of the Holiness Code and the decalogue of Leviticus 19:1-19a therein.

Finally, recent and secondary scholarship is considered and assimilated motivating how this author proposes to solve these areas with the chosen approach and methodology.

~ In the following section, the identity-formation of Israel is examined in light of the corresponding objectives of this thesis. Specific attention is given to the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence of Israel's identity-formation during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and during the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, postexilic period).

Moreover, specific attention is given to the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as a compromise reached between authorial factions, these being: the Shaphanite traditionists, and the priestly writers, regarding the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, postexilic period) ~

## 2.1. IDENTITY FORMATION

Throughout ancient Israel's history, their כהנים (priests) and נביאים (prophets) have sought to understand themselves as *the people of Yahweh* in an ancient Near Eastern and polytheistic context. Witnessed to by the Hebrew Bible, these Israelite כהנים and נביאים sought to correlate their *identity* – both religiously and culturally – with their changing time, and space continuums. Israelite כהנים and נביאים did so by using both Israel's 'mundane' and 'transcendent' settings (Deist 1986:88). Thus, Israel's polarised visible, *and* invisible worlds, contextualised – and *shaped* – their identity in the ANE, as: *the people of Yahweh*.

Thus, Israelite identity formation during the exilic and postexilic periods resulted from Israel's endeavour to maintain their religious and cultural independence in the ancient Near East. The priestly and prophetic views of Israel's 'religious and cultural separation' from Persian culture and religion led to *new revelation*, which re-established Israelite identity in light of pre-existent traditions. Was Israel's identity formation during this time a matter of 'separation'; or more a matter of 'maintaining traditions in a new time and space'; or both?

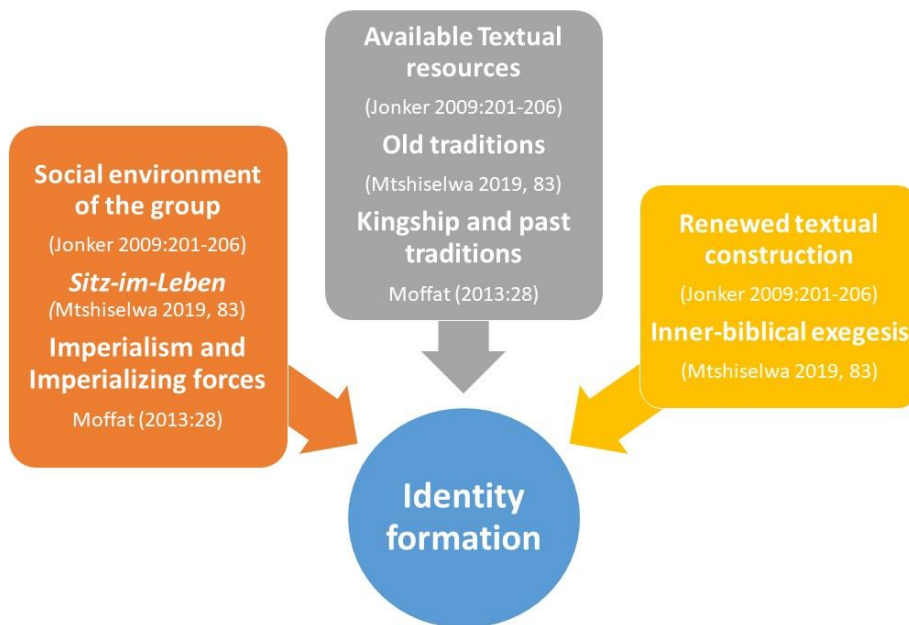
With the identity formation of the Jews in postexilic Yehud in mind, Mtshiselwa (2019:83-112) agrees with the influence of the mundane 'time and space' settings on Israel's identity formation, calling the 'impact of the social realities' on the formation of Israelite identity, a 'critical issue' (Mtshiselwa 2019:83). Mtshiselwa refers to Moffat (2013:23), who adds that identity formation as *discourse* advocates the participatory role of (ancient) texts in identity

formation. Mtshiselwa also refers to Jonker (2009:201-206), who adds the impact of the ‘social environment’ on identity formation (Mtshiselwa 2019:83-112).

Accordingly, Jonker presents identity formation as a system that functions with three required aspects:

- the social environment,
- available textual resources, and
- renewed textual construction (Jonker 2009:201-206).

This author presents the system of identity formation described by the above scholars in the following image:



*Figure 4 Identity Formation*

In Cezula’s (2013:3) response to the necessity for an African theology of reconstruction, Cezula identifies two products of identity formation that are conversely related, these being: community solidarity – allowing the reconstruction of communal identity; and social conflict – obstructing the reconstruction of communal identity. It follows that these factors determine the success or failure of an identity reconstruction process. Cezula notes that if an identity formation process is exclusive, it results in social conflict; likewise, if identity formation is inclusive, it results in community solidarity. Any newly liberated nation (or community) will



naturally pass through a process of identity formation, thus the same for the Judean community of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

Hence, this author notes that the priestly factions and varied conceptions of Israelite history and identity, at first created some social conflict – at least between the כהנים (priests) – before community solidarity was achieved – evidenced through the Holiness Code and the final form of the Pentateuch.

The first aspect of the ‘system of *identity-formation*’, this being: the social environment, is applied to this author’s hypothesis, below.

**2.1.1. The Social Environment.** This author proposes that one of the greatest polarization of settings, initiating Israel’s acclimating self-understanding in the ANE, was the combination of: the *mundane* acquisition of Canaanite Land, authorised through a *transcendent*, Patriarchal promise. The mundane acquisition of land – detailed in the Conquest Narratives under the leadership of Joshua – was initially motivated by Israel’s *transcendent* authorization through a divine and patriarchal promise – detailed in the Patriarchal Saga.<sup>38</sup>

Another significant polarization of settings, is suggested by this author to be the following combination of: the *mundane* building of Solomon’s Temple *within* the Land – i.e., Jerusalem – however, as a *transcendent* home for Yahweh (formally known as Zion theology).<sup>39</sup> The subsequent *mundane loss* of both Temple *and* Land following the Babylonian exile – detailed in the Deuteronomic History – is further significant: because, having correlated Israelite identity to the possession of Land and Temple, how did these Israelite כהנים and נביאים redefine themselves (*and* the home of Yahweh) in the wake of the loss of what was to them, *sacred*?

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<sup>38</sup> The Patriarchal Saga is formed from the literary unit in the Pentateuch from Gen 12 – 49 (Coates 1983:5-6, 12).

<sup>39</sup> Zion theology understood the abode of Yahweh to be within the Temple, which was in both instances built, and rebuilt in Jerusalem – and therefore, also known as: the Temple of Jerusalem. Zion theology thus had strong connections to Jerusalem as the dwelling place of Yahweh; and also understood Yahweh’s presence as being ‘unconditionally’ associated with the house of David and David’s kingship (Heiser 2015:44-47).

This author proposes that these events (the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Solomon's Temple) resulted in the factions within the priestly school – or if they already existed, at least highlighted them. For example, how did the priestly elite left behind in Judah (the Levites) understand Yahweh's home *without* the Temple in Jerusalem; and how did those taken away in exile to Babylon (the Zadokites) shift their understanding of Yahweh's home from Jerusalem to Babylon?

2.1.1.1. *From Jerusalem to Babylon, and Back Again: Community Rifts.* Varied concepts of Israelite identity may have resulted because of *geography*. The concept of Judah as 'vacant land' that is associated with the exile – has been identified by Carroll as a confusing 'polemical construct' that has created an incorrect impression of the history of the diaspora (Carroll 1998:62-79; Leuchter 2008:5). Leuchter (2008:5) and others (R. Albertz 2003; C.J. Sharp 2003; F Pohlmann 1978; and C.R. Seitz 1989a) discuss the resulting scholarly debate concerning the tension evident within Israelite ANE historiographic texts, between a *pro-land* (Jerusalem based) position/propaganda; and a *pro-golah* (Babylon based) position/propaganda (Leuchter 2008:5-8). In other words, it is therefore more likely that contradictions within the biblical text, point towards evidence of 'redaction and polemical argumentation' between Jewish communities, rather than between Israel and other ANE nations (Leuchter 2008:5).

In addition, the Babylonian exile forms the foundation for many of the hypotheses shaped by nineteenth century scholarship and modern Pentateuchal Criticism, which – in summary form – suggest the Babylonian exile to be the historical setting for the formation of the Pentateuch. Leuchter (2008:5) highlights the rift this historical event mostly likely created between major Jewish communities in the sixth century BCE. The result being that – broadly speaking – both geographical as well as *ideological* distinctions were sustained by those who remained in Jerusalem, *as well as* by those who were exiled to Babylon. Leuchter (2008:5) evidences this distinction with the testimony of Old Testament literature that supports *both* a *pro-land* position (i.e., those who remained in Jerusalem), and a *pro-golah* position (i.e., those who were deported to Babylon) (Leuchter 2008:5-6).

2.1.1.2. *Religious Politics.* Further, Geller (2004:2021) identifies two main and differing theological perspectives within the Pentateuch, namely: Deuteronomic-covenantal

religion<sup>40</sup> and Priestly religion<sup>41</sup>. Differing theological paradigms within the Pentateuch are also supported by Eckart Otto (2007:172), who further suggests that the Pentateuch can simply be understood in terms of two main literary developments, these being: The Priestly literary layer; and the non-Priestly literary layer. Otto further identifies these layers to be: A Priestly redaction; and a Deuteronomistic redaction. Otto concludes that these redactions ‘...were combined by means of a literary compromise between priests and laymen’ (Otto 2007:172).

Otto more specifically suggests that during the exilic period (sixth century BCE), redactions of Israel’s origins – namely: The Priestly, and the Deuteronomistic – rivalled each other, and through this rivalry, formed a critical rhetoric of each other’s work. In the postexilic period, these ‘...two competing conceptions of Israel’s origins and identity’ (Otto 2007:172) were unified as a ‘literary compromise’, thus forming the Pentateuch.

Accordingly, this author suggests that Otto’s said identification of the exilic Priestly redaction and the Deuteronomistic redaction, may be identified with Leuchter’s (2008:5-6) pro-land and pro-*golah* ideological paradigms within the Pentateuch. Leuchter identifies these ideological paradigms to be the work of two major literate groups, namely:

1. the Shaphanites, and
2. the Zadokites.

Who were these groups, and how did they understand Israel’s history and Israel’s identity?

Leuchter (2008:8-9) suggests that the Deuteronomistic school understood Israelite identity in terms of the traditions and concepts that were associated with the Mosaic tradition; and prophetic authors such as the prophet Jeremiah. The connection between the book of Deuteronomy and the book of Jeremiah is made because of the stylistic and rhetorical commonalities in the literature of both books (Leuchter 2008:9).

Moreover, Jeremiah is suggested by Leuchter (2008:9) to have trained as a Deuteronomistic scribe, and was therefore in this manner connected with the Shaphanide scribal circle. Leuchter (2008:8-9) also suggests that the Shaphanites preserved the prophetic traditions of

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<sup>40</sup> Deuteronomistic-covenantal religion is based upon the legal form of the treaty between Israel and Yahweh – it emphasises loyalty and the performance of divine commands that are understood as the stipulations of the treaty (Geller 2004:2021).

<sup>41</sup> Priestly religion centres on the sacrificial cult – it emphasises purity and faithful observance of rituals (Geller 2004:2021).

Jeremiah, which were ‘covenant’ and ‘law’. The Shaphanites were considered to be the Deuteronomistic faction, or ‘...the likely authors of the Deuteronomistic literature’ (Leuchter 2008:9).

By contrast, the Priestly school understood Israelite identity in terms of priestly aspects and the traditions and concepts that were associated with the priests, these being: holiness, feasts, and the Sabbath. Leuchter (2017:1-2) suggests that the priestly elite or temple elite were the Zadokites who preserved these priestly features. However, the Zadokites were within themselves split even further between the Aaronites and Levites (Leuchter 2017:1-2). Otto (2007:172) too suggests that within the Priestly school alone, factions existed.

The second aspect of the ‘system of *identity-formation*’, this being: available textual resources, is applied to this author’s hypothesis, below.

**2.1.2. Available Textual Resources.** Otto (2007:172) presents both preexilic and exilic source material for the development of the Pentateuch during the postexilic period.

As *preexilic* source material, Otto (2007:172) presents:

- The Covenant Code – which Otto suggests formed the preexilic source of Deuteronomy, as well as a source of the Sinai pericope (Otto 2007:173);
- The Decalogues in: Deuteronomy 5:1-21 and Exodus 20:1-17; and
- The *preexilic* Priestly Code (Genesis 1–Exodus 29).

These sources became the source material for the exilic Priestly Code [P] and the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr]. Thus,

as exilic source material, Otto (2007:172) presents:

- The exilic Priestly Code (Genesis–Leviticus 9, ending with the Sinai pericope/tradition) [P]. The priestly faction known as the Aaronides recorded the exilic Priestly Code, which was originally the Priestly Code from Genesis 1 to Exodus 29 (Otto 2007:172);
- The other faction – which Otto calls ‘laymen’ (Otto 2007:172) and Leuchter suggests to be the Shaphanites associated with the prophet Jeremiah (Leuchter 2008:8-9) – recorded what is called the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy, which begins with the

Horeb motif, now also known as the exilic Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr] (Otto 2007:172).

During the postexilic period, the exilic Priestly Code [P] and the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr] – viewed by Otto as ‘...two competing conceptions of Israel’s origins and identity’ (Otto 2007:172) – were unified under the label of Aaron (Otto 2007:172). Otto explains that the merger of P and D was not only the result of an ‘institutional’ concession, but of a ‘theological necessity’ (Otto 2007:172).

The third aspect of the ‘system of *identity-formation*’, this being: renewed textual construction, is applied to this author’s hypothesis, below.

**2.1.3. Renewed Textual Construction.** In light of the aforementioned, it becomes feasible that the Holiness Code could form the result of a compromise between factions such as the Shaphanites and the Zadokites. Accordingly, this author asks if the Holiness Code may be viewed as a postexilic *reinterpretation* of the Priestly Code by the Shaphanites and the Zadokites? Furthermore, how does the Holiness Code support either a *pro-land* or *pro-golah* ideology when viewed as a ‘compromise document’ produced by simultaneous, but disparate groups in the same historical period, such as: the Zadokites and Shaphanites in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

In addition, can Leviticus 19:1-19a – as the decalogue of the Holiness Code – be viewed as a postexilic *reinterpretation* of the decalogues of Deuteronomy and Exodus?

**2.1.3.1. From The Land to The Law.** Renewed textual construction can also be identified through ideological shifts such as – *from*: The Land and the Cult, *to*: The Law. The narrative ending of the Pentateuch – this being: The Law – can be juxtaposed with the narrative ending of the Hexateuch – this being: The Land. The narrative conclusion of the acquisition of land that is found in the book of Joshua, suggests a strong literary case for the unity of Joshua with the Pentateuch. The view is therefore, that the Pentateuch first existed as the Hexateuch (Otto 2007:174). Thus, in separating the book of Joshua from the Pentateuch, the Pentateuch’s focus and function shifts (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:4).

Through the endeavour to define Israel as the *people of Yahweh*, some factions (possibly the priestly elite who remained in Jerusalem following the exile) understood the acquisition and

fulfilment of the Promised Land through Joshua, to be Yahweh's redemptive purpose within Israelite history, thus forming the Hexateuch (Otto 2007:174-175).

However, other factions – possibly the priestly elite who were exiled to Babylon resulting in the postexilic priestly school during the time of Ezra – understood Yahweh's redemptive purpose within Israelite history differently. The priestly school understood the Torah – Yahweh's law – and *not* the possession of the land, to be Yahweh's history of salvation with Israel (Otto 2007:175). In this manner, their expansion of the Sinai pericope with the Holiness Code, achieved this focus; and the removal of the book of Joshua (the possession of the land) from its literary unit, further achieved this end (Otto 2007:175).

Therefore, the debated issue within the latest scholarship on the Pentateuch's authoritative acceptance in early Judaism and Samaritanism – which is whether or not the Pentateuch was formed as a result of the rise, or demise, of other prominent writings in the community (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:4) – is suggested by this author to be based upon this shift from the cult to the law, and the removal of the book of Joshua from the initial literary unit of the Hexateuch, thus creating the Pentateuch. In this manner, priestly religion facilitated renewed textual construction by shifting the focus from the cult to the law.

Furthermore, this author observes that these postexilic priestly authors created the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) as 'renewed textual construction', by using as sources:

- the exilic Priestly Code (Genesis – Leviticus 9) [P],
- Deuteronomy 12 – 26, and
- the preexilic Covenant Code as a "hermeneutical key" (Otto 2007:174-175).

Thus, the finished Pentateuch represents 'Yahweh's history of salvation' to Israel, in terms of the primacy of the Law (Otto 2007:174). The finished Pentateuch also functions as – following Moses' death – the presenter and mediator of Yahweh's revelation to Israel, still through Law (Otto 2007:175). In this sense the Land (i.e., the Hexateuch) takes a secondary position alongside the Law (i.e., the Pentateuch) as primary.

~ In the following section, specific attention is given to priestly factions and their connection to the Ezekiel tradition in light of the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, postexilic period). ~

## 2.2. EZEKIEL AND THE PRIESTS: LEVITES, AARONITES, AND ZADOKITES

As discussed in the preceding section, postexilic *priestly* authors created the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) by using as sources:

- the exilic Priestly Code (Genesis 1–Leviticus 9) [P];
- the Deuteronomy Code (12–26); and
- the *preexilic* Covenant Code as a ‘hermeneutical key’ (Otto 2007:174-175).

Who exactly were these *postexilic* priestly authors? For example, Leuchter identifies the Zadokites as the temple elites (Leuchter 2008:5); while Otto suggests that the Aaronides created the Priestly Code [P] (Otto 2007:172).

This author suggests that the *narrative tradition* (biblical *tradition*) of these priestly groups can be compared with the *historicity* (biblical *history*) of these priestly groups. This comparison reveals that the biblical *tradition*<sup>42</sup> – upon which Christian and Jewish tradition are based – portrays a comparatively simple description of priestly groups (Leuchter 2008:1); hereby contrasting the historical-critical data of priestly groups. For example, the relatively ‘simple’ biblical *tradition* of the Zadokites is shown to be more complex when compared with ‘Zadokite Historiography’ (Boccaccini 2002:79,96,204).

Thus, in the following sections, the narrative (biblical) traditions of: the Levites; Aaronites; and Zadokites, are examined; and compared with the historical-critical data of: the Levites; Aaronites; and Zadokites.

**2.2.1. The Historical-Critical *History* of the Priests.** As was noted in the clarification of terms in chapter 1, while biblical *tradition* presents an elementary narrative of the origin, expansion, and function of the priests (Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites); on the other hand, biblical *history* presents a further complex picture of *the* ‘Zadokite Historiography’ (Boccaccini 2002:79,96,204; Leuchter 2008:1) of the priests of Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (538–332 BCE). The methodological premise of these distinctions, was suggested to be:

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<sup>42</sup> See a ‘Clarification of Terms’ in chapter 1.

- for biblical *tradition* – a synchronic and reader-response interpretation of the narrative material in the Hebrew Bible as Scripture/ revelation; and
- for biblical *history* – a diachronic and historical-writer interpretation of the same material in the Hebrew Bible as literature.

Accordingly, a comparison between the perspectives of the priests (Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites) is presented according to biblical *tradition* and biblical *history*, by this author in the following table, using the work of Leuchter (2008:1).

<b><u>Biblical tradition of the Levites</u></b>	<b><u>Biblical history of the Levites</u></b>
The Levites were a tribe descended from one of Jacob the patriarch’s sons, i.e., Levi (from Canaan and settling in Egypt).	
The brothers Moses and Aaron (from Egypt) were descendants of Levi, the tribe of which became the ‘keepers of the Israelite Cult’ (this author’s summary) during the Wilderness period between Egypt and the Settlement in Canaan.	
During the Settlement in Canaan, the Levites maintained their priestly duty as the keepers of the Cult, yet now under the leadership of ‘...major priestly figures descended from Aaron’ (Leuchter 2017:1).	
During the Monarchic period (960–587 BCE), the Levites supported the building of Solomon’s Temple.	During the Monarchic era (960–587 BCE) the priests held authority in Israel’s leadership systems, specifically the Aaronide priestly clan of the Zadokites; and the Jerusalem priests of the later Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (559–331 BCE) based their status



<p>During the Divided Monarchy (922–722 BCE) the Levites continued their service in Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem (then Judah and Southern Kingdom).</p>	<p>during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) on their former positions of power (Leuchter 2017:1).</p>
<p>During the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE and following the Babylonian exile (586 BCE), the Levites were exiled from Jerusalem to Babylon.</p>	
<p>During the Achaemenid (Persian) period, the Levites returned to Jerusalem (then called ‘Jehud’ as a now Persian province) to help rebuild the Second Temple, under both the leadership of the Aaronide priesthood, and Persian imperialisation.</p>	<p>The Jerusalem priests of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) shaped the biblical <i>tradition</i> of the priests, who were during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), mostly empowered by the support of the Persian empire (yet still subservient to it) (Leuchter 2017:1). They empowered themselves by recognizing that priests had power during the Monarchic era (960–587 BCE), specifically the Aaronide priestly clan: the Zadokites – suggesting that the person of Zadok was a member of the Aaronide line (Cross 1973:205-215; Leuchter 2017:1-2).</p> <p>The Persian support of local elites, which Leuchter summarises as ‘imperial provision’ (Leuchter 2017:2) possibly resulted in Smith’s ‘long and drawn-out societal negotiations and concessions’ between priestly groups and lay Judean leaders (Smith 1972:191-215; Knoppers &amp;</p>

	Levinson 2007:3) – resulting in the restoration of the priestly authority of the Monarchic period, ‘...to the ranks of the larger Aaronide line’ (Leuchter 2017:1).
Once the Second Temple was built, they resumed their duties therein as the keepers of the cult, yet still under the leadership of the Aaronide priesthood.	Leuchter suggests that the now ‘restored’ Aaronide line – made possible through ‘imperial provision’ – promoted their superiority over other priestly groups via ‘an idealised narrative’ (Leuchter 2017:2) that this author assimilates with the biblical <i>tradition</i> of the Levites described in the left column.
During this Second Temple period, the Levites assisted Ezra and Nehemiah in ‘...reading ritual texts, transmitting sacred teachings, and administering society according to divine Law’ (Leuchter 2017:1).	

*Table 3 Biblical tradition and biblical history of the Levites*

The narrative traditions of the Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites is examined in further detail below, after which the historical-critical data of the Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites are further engaged.

**2.2.2. The Narrative Tradition of The Priests.** Leuchter calls the narrative tradition of the priests, the ‘idealised narrative’ (Leuchter 2017:2).

2.2.2.1. *Hebrew References to The Levites.* The English biblical references to *Levy*, *Levite*, and *Levites*, are from Strong’s number: – H3878, as indicated by the first English,

biblical mention of each term, listed below in Hebrew and English. However, the Hebrew text uses Strong's number H3878 לְוִי for all three English terms – Levy, Levite, and Levites.

The English name *Levy*, the son of Jacob, is mentioned for the first time within the Patriarchal Saga in the book of Genesis:

- ותהר עוד ותלד בן ותאמר עתה הפעם ילוה אישי אלי כייילדתי לו שלשה בנים על־כן קרא־שמו לוי:<sup>43</sup>

(Genesis 29:34, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- And she conceived again, and bore a son; and said: “Now this time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have borne him three sons.” Therefore was his name called **Levi** (Genesis 29:34, *Jewish Publication Society*).

The first English, biblical mention of the singular term *Levite* is found within the Mosaic Saga in the book of Exodus:

- ויחר־אף יהוה במשה ויאמר הלא אהרן אחיך הלוי<sup>44</sup> ידעתי כידבר ידבר הוא וגם הנה־ הוא יצא לקראתך וראך ושמח בלבבו:

(Exodus 4:14, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses, and He said: “Is there not Aaron thy brother the **Levite**? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee; and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart” (Exodus 4:14, *Jewish Publication Society*).

The first English biblical mention of the *Levites* as a tribe, is found within the Mosaic Saga in the book of Exodus:

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<sup>43</sup> H3878 לְוִי (lêvîy) *lay-vee'* From H3867; *attached; Levi*, a son of Jacob: - Levi. See also H3879, H3881. Total KJV occurrences: 66 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

<sup>44</sup> H3881 לְוִיִּי (lêvîyîy) (lêvîy) *lay-vee-ee'*, *lay-vee'* Patronymic from H3878; a Levite or descendant of Levi: - Levite. Total KJV occurrences: 283 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

- ובני מררי מחלי ומושי אלה משפחת הלוי<sup>45</sup> לתלדתם:  
(Exodus 6:19, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- And the sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the **Levites** according to their generations (Exodus 6:19, *Jewish Publication Society*).

2.2.2.2. *The Biblical Story of The Levites.* Narratively speaking, the Levites were a tribe of descendants from the third patriarch of Israel, *Jacob*. The biblical tradition states that from Jacob's son, Levi – one of twelve sons who eventually settled in Egypt – the brothers Moses and Aaron were descended. Thus, Aaron and Moses were Levites.

As stated within the Patriarchal Saga, Jacob's sons and their families grew in number while in Egypt, and according to the Mosaic Saga, eventually existed as twelve tribes during the wilderness period. The Levites as a tribe – under the leadership of Moses and Aaron – oversaw all matters related to the cult and the priesthood: accordingly, the Levites were symbolically represented by the *pitcher* and *breastplate* (Waters 2019:1).

The pitcher was used in the cleansing rituals of the cult, and represented the purpose and function of the Levites, who were responsible for the purification rites upon entry into the Tabernacle and Temple. The Levites were also responsible for performing sacrifices (Waters 2019:1). The breastplate and its gem stones signified the cultic responsibility of the priesthood and of the Levites, to the tribes of Israel (Waters 2019:1).

According to the Israelite settlement history and the *Conquest Narrative*, the Levites were dispersed among the Israelite tribes in 48 cities (Numbers 35), and within these cities, the Levites were governed by '...major priestly figures who descended from Aaron' (Leuchter 2008:1). They were the only tribe that did not receive a stake of Canaanite land.

As claimed by the Deuteronomic History – and historically known as the Monarchic period – the Levites supported the building of the First Temple in Jerusalem. As stated by Leuchter, the Levites were exiled to Babylon during the Babylonian exile (Leuchter 2017:1). This author asks if all the Levites were exiled from Jerusalem, or if some Levites remained in Jerusalem?

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<sup>45</sup> H3878 לֵוִי (lêvîy) *lay-vee'* From H3867; *attached; Levi*, a son of Jacob: - Levi. See also H3879, H3881. Total KJV occurrences: 66 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

However, during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), the Levites returned to Jerusalem to again support the building of the Second Temple, and there to attend to temple and cult affairs under the leadership of the Aaronide priesthood (Leuchter 2017:1) (biblical references). During the Second Temple period, Ezra and Nehemiah were supported and assisted by the Levites in the following ways: the reading of ritual texts; transmitting sacred teachings; and administering society according to divine law (Leuchter 2017:1).

This author notes that during the Second Temple period, the gap between the Levites and the Aaronites seems to have widened, or at least that the Aaronites have increased in number. Ironically, the Aaronites descended from the Levites, yet now in the Second Temple Period, the Levites seem to have become subservient to the Aaronites (Leuchter 2017:1)

The discussed Levitical narrative according to biblical tradition – and reflected within Christian and Jewish tradition – is proposed by Leuchter (2017:1) and Boccaccini (2002:79,96,204) to be the work of Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) priests in Jerusalem (538–332 BCE). The functionality of this Levitical narrative is further suggested by these authors to be a ‘national narrative’ (Leuchter 2017:1) through which the ranks of their current day were legitimised by ‘writing them into the distant past’; and by connecting their current ranks to the brothers Moses and Aaron.

2.2.2.3. *Form-Critical Connections of The Levites.* Form-critically, the Levites form a connection between the Patriarchal Saga and the Mosaic Saga within the Pentateuch (Coates 1983:12).

The divisions of the Levites according to the biblical record (i.e., tradition), are discussed below.

**2.2.3. Levitical Divisions according to Biblical Tradition.** According to Levi's biblical genealogy, Levi's sons (numbering three)<sup>46</sup> and one of his great-grandsons,<sup>47</sup> were the patriarchal founders of the Levites.

Levi's son Gershon became the patriarchal founder of the Gershonites;

- Levi's son Kohath became the patriarchal founder of the Kohathites;
- Levi's son Merari became the patriarchal founder of the Merarites; and
- Levi's great-grandson Aaron became the patriarchal founder of the Aaronids.

Peake's Commentary on the Bible (Black, Rowley & Peake 1962), as well as the Jewish Encyclopedia (Singer 1906), both document that some scholars suggest Levi's biblical genealogy to be a *postdictional metaphor*. According to the work of Simon Dennis and Walter Kintsch, *postdiction* is a critical-thinking theory that involves explanation after the fact (Simon & Kintsch 2007:151), and why something is the way it is.

Within the fields of biblical studies and theology, postdiction is referred to by: an *aetiology* (an origin myth); as well as by the Latin term, *vaticinium ex eventu* (foretelling after the event), respectively. This postdictional metaphor (based within the field of Scepticism)<sup>48</sup> assumes that the Gershonite origin was not initially recorded: – more likely, the Gershonite origin was a myth in the form of Levi's genealogy, which arose over time and was eventually *written* as an *aetiology* for the Gershonites – who were at the time of writing their origin, living in the postexilic era). In this manner they connected themselves to the patriarchs. Accordingly, the same is said about the Kohathites, Merarites, and the Aaronids.

Furthermore, Levi's biblical genealogy was written as an aetiological myth also accounting for the four different Levitical groups (Black, Rowley & Peake 1962). This author asks if these Levitical groups existed during the exilic and postexilic periods, giving cause to explain their existence and origin?

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<sup>46</sup> And the sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Genesis 46:11, *Jewish Publication Society*);  
(Genesis 46:11, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*): ובני לוי גרשון קהת ומררי:

<sup>47</sup> And Amram took Jochebed, his father's sister, for his wife. And she bore him Aaron and Moses. And the years of the life of Amram were a hundred and thirty-seven years (Exodus 6:20, *Modern King James Version*);  
ויקה עמרם את־יוכבד דדתו לו לאשה ותלד לו את־אהרן ואת־משה ושני חיי עמרם שבע ושלישים ומאת שנה:  
(Exodus 6:20, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

<sup>48</sup> Scepticism is the formal study of epistemology within the field of Philosophy, through which tradition, belief, and dogma are critically questioned and tested (Stroud 1984:1-13).

Richard Elliot Friedman (1997) has suggested that *The Book of Generations* was used as a source for Levi's biblical genealogy: this source is conjectured to be the work of a religious-political assembly at the time of the activity of P (Friedman 1997). Initially Frank Moore Cross (1973) hypothesised that this now extant Hebrew text represented the Israelite version of the Sumerian Kings List, recording an unbroken lineage from Adam to Abraham – possibly extending as far as Jacob. This author conjectures further that P may have used *The Book of Generations* on which to build the Levitical genealogy.

This author summarises thus: four Levitical groups existed during the exilic and postexilic period, namely: the Gershonites, Kohathites, Merarites, and the Aaronites. These groups were added into the patriarchal family tree via Jacob's son, Levi. Some scholars suggest that because the Elohist account states that Moses' and Aaron's parents were *both* Levites, Moses and Aaron are magnified through *both* matrilineal and patrilineal descent in terms of their religious qualification as leaders of Israel (Black, Rowley & Peake 1962): And a man went from the house of Levi and took a daughter of Levi as his wife. And the woman conceived and bore a son. And when she saw him, that he was beautiful, she hid him three months (Exodus 2:1-2, *Modern King James Version*).

In order to account for both a man and daughter from the house of Levi, 'Amram took Jochebed, his father's sister, for his wife. And she bore him Aaron and Moses' (Exodus 6:20, *Modern King James Version*). In this manner, the Aaronites – i.e., Aaron the great-grandson of Levi with both parents as Levites – is separated from the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites – i.e., Gershon, Kohathites, and the Merarites, the grandsons of Levi with only their father as a Levite (Black, Rowley & Peake 1962).

This author's presentation of Levi's genealogy is presented below:

The Levites: Kohathites, Aaronids, Merarites, and Gershonites.

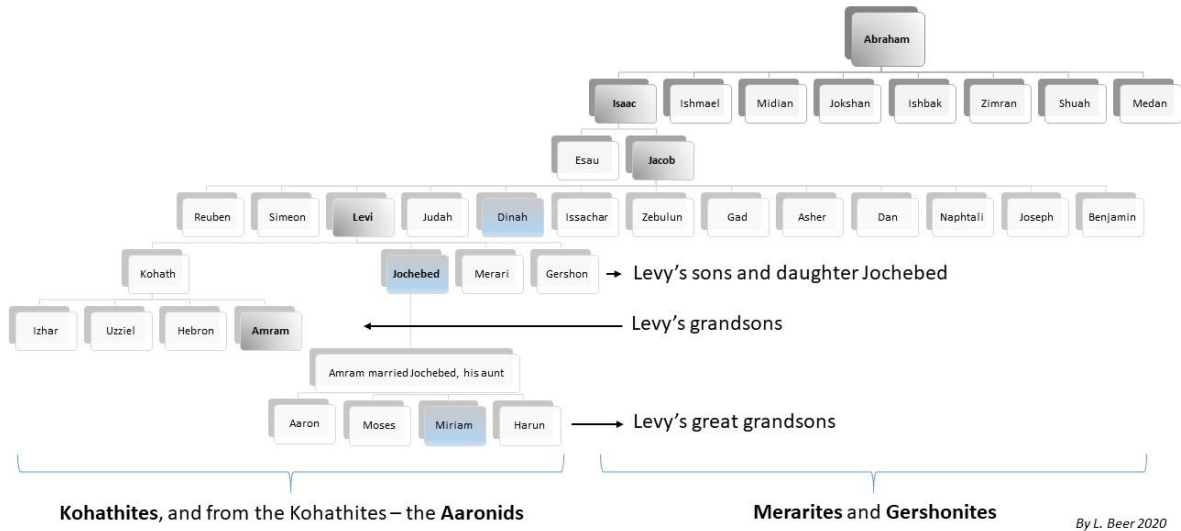


Figure 5 Biblical Tradition of the Levites

2.2.3.1. *The Gershonites.* They were responsible for the tabernacle, which included the tent and its covering and the veil for the door of the tabernacle; as well as for the hangings of the court, the veil for the door of the court, and its cords:

- And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tabernacle of the congregation shall be the tabernacle, and the tent, and its covering, and the veil for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, (26) and the hangings of the court, and the veil for the door of the court which is by the tabernacle and by the altar all around, and the cords of it, for all the service of it (Numbers 3:25-26, MKJV).

2.2.3.2. *The Kohathites.* They were responsible for the furniture of the tabernacle, these being: the ark, the table, the lampstand, the altars, the vessels used in the sanctuary with which to perform sacrifices and rituals, and the veil:

- And their charge shall be the ark, and the table, and the lampstand, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary with which they minister, and the veil, and all the service of it (Numbers 3:31, MKJV).



The Kohathites were the descendants and families of Kohath and his sons, and these families camped (lived) on the south side of the tabernacle. The leader of the Kohathite families was Elizaphan, the son of Uzziel:

- The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle southward. (30) And the ruler of the house of the father of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel (Numbers 3:29-30, MKJV).

2.2.3.3. *The Merarites.* They were responsible for the ‘frame’ or hardware of the tabernacle, these being: the boards; the bars; the pillars and their sockets, pins, and chords; as well as the vessels of the tabernacle:

- And the office and charge of the sons of Merari were the boards of the tabernacle, and its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets, and its vessels, and all its service, (37) and the pillars of the court all around, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords (Numbers 3:36-37, MKJV).

The Aaronites form a key group, and therefore discussed beginning with a third-order heading so as to accommodate the research accordingly.

**2.2.4. The Aaronites.** The Aaronites were the ‘managers’ of those responsible for the sanctuary, thus: managers over the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites. The Aaronites were also the leaders of the Levites, with Eleazar (the son of Aaron) as their chieftain. The Aaronites camped (lived) with Moses and his family, on the east side of the tabernacle:

- And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the leaders of the Levites, having the oversight of the ones who keep the charge of the sanctuary (Numbers 3:32, MKJV).
- And those who camp before the tabernacle toward the east, before the tabernacle of the congregation eastward, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the sanctuary for the charge of the sons of Israel. And the stranger that comes near shall die (Numbers 3:38, MKJV).

The Zadokites form a key group, and therefore discussed beginning with a third-order heading so as to accommodate the research accordingly.

**2.2.5. The Zadokites.** The relationship between the Zadokites and Aaronites remains a debated issue (Leuchter 2008:1). Many years ago, Frank Moore Cross suggested that Zadok was a Judahite member of the Aaronide line (Cross 1973:205-215). Cross saw the early priesthood as divided into two dominant priestly houses, namely: the Zadokites and the Aaronides. Leuchter amends this model in his work (Leuchter 2008:2).

2.2.5.1. *Hebrew References to The Zadokites.* Biblical references to *Zadok*, *Zadokite*, and *Zadokites*, are from Strong's number: – H6659, as indicated by the first, English biblical mention of each term, listed below in Hebrew and English. However, the Hebrew text uses Strong's number H6659 צָדוֹק for all three English terms – *Zadok*, *Zadokite*, and *Zadokites*:

The English name *Zadok*, the son of Ahitub, is mentioned for the first time within the Deuteronomic History in the second book of Samuel:

- וצדוק<sup>49</sup> בן־אחיטוב ואח־מלך בן־אבי־תר כהנים ושריה סופר:

(2 Samuel 8:17, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests; and Seraiah was scribe (2 Samuel 8:17, *Jewish Publication Society*).

The English, singular term *Zadokite*, is not found within the Biblical record; neither is the English, group term *Zadokites*, found within the biblical record.

According to Levi's genealogy, the Zadokites were later descendants of the Aaronites: Zadok the priest (צָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן) is recorded in the second book of Samuel<sup>50</sup> as a priest – and within the Chronicler's record<sup>51</sup> as a patrilineal descendant of Eleazar and Aaron. The monarchic history records Zadok as the first (high) priest to officiate in Solomon's Temple

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<sup>49</sup> H6659 צָדוֹק (tsâdôq) *tsaw-doke'* From H6663; *just; Tsadok*, the name of eight or nine Israelites: - Zadok. Total KJV occurrences: 53 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

<sup>50</sup> And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests. And Seraiah was the scribe (2 Samuel 8:17, *Modern King James Version*).

<sup>51</sup> And Ahitub fathered Zadok. And Zadok fathered Ahimaaz (1 Chronicles 6:8, *Modern King James Version*). And David distributed them according to their offices in their service, both Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar (1 Chronicles 24:3, *Modern King James Version*).

(First Temple).<sup>52</sup> In the book of Ezra, Zadok's direct patrilineal descent from Phineas (Eleazar's son) is recorded;<sup>53</sup> Ezra's genealogy also records Ezra to be a descendant of Zadok, and implies Ezra to be a Zadokite.

Zadok's ministry took place during the First Temple period, under the kingship of David and Solomon, during which time the Chronicler<sup>54</sup> records Zadok to be the chief officer presiding over the Aaronites. Ezra's ministry took place during the Second Temple period, at the time of the activity of P.

The Wellhausen Hypothesis suggests that connections exist between the book of Ezekiel and the *postexilic* formation of the Pentateuch – specifically: with source P of the Pentateuch (Weinfeld 2004:80). This is examined in further detail below.

**2.2.6. Ezekiel and the Priests.** The Priestly source [P] of the Pentateuch is also called the *Priest/s*. The work of the priests is identified through its meticulous style throughout Genesis–Numbers, which is characterised by: dates, times, calendars, and genealogies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58). Source P is suggested by scholars to date to the *postexilic* period (500 BCE), and concerns the origin and regulation of institutions that were initiated by the priestly reforms of the Second Temple in the fifth-century BCE (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58). The assumption suggests that the Priestly source builds upon the historical narrative – created by J, E, and D – by expanding the historical narrative of Israel with legal texts and other cultic material. Thus, the focus is upon: genealogies; cultic law; covenants; holy days, such as the Sabbath; blueprints of cultic buildings; and the procedures for sacrifices and ceremonies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

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<sup>52</sup> And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada over the army in his place. And the king put Zadok the priest in the place of Abiathar (1 Kings 2:35, *Modern King James Version*).

<sup>53</sup> And after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, Ezra the son of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiyah, the son of Shallum, the son of Zadok, the son of Ahitub, the son of Amariah, the son of Azariah, the son of Meraioth, the son of Zerahiah, the son of Uzzi, the son of Bukki, the son of Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest, this Ezra went up from Babylon. And he was a ready scribe in the Law of Moses, which Jehovah, the God of Israel had given. And the king granted him all he asked, according to the hand of Jehovah his God on him (Ezra 7:1-6, *Modern King James Version*).

<sup>54</sup> The ruler of the Levites was Hashabiah the son of Kemuel; over the Aaronites was Zadok (1 Chronicles 27:17, *Modern King James Version*).

Further, P focuses upon: Aaron (in contrast to Source D, which focuses upon Moses); rituals (such as circumcision in Genesis 17); the Cult (Leviticus 1-17; Numbers 1-10, 25-36); and the High Priest (Exodus 4:28; Numbers 1). Through these foci, the emphasis falls upon God's holiness, sovereignty, and transcendence; and it is the priests who establish and facilitate, Israel's necessary and true worship. P uses *Elohim* for God's name, and is further suggested to use southern traditions (Judah) concerning: the cult, genealogies and place names (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

For an explanation of all the sources of the Pentateuch, see Addendum A.

Also known as the Documentary Hypothesis, the Wellhausen Hypothesis associates the Priestly source of the Pentateuch, with Ezekiel – the implications being therefore that connections exist between Ezekiel, and:

- the *cult* of the Pentateuch;
- the Pentateuch;
- Otto's (2007:172-174) exilic Priestly Code of Genesis 1–Exodus 29;
- the Priestly Code of Leviticus 1–16;
- the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17–26; and
- Leviticus 19:1-19a.

In Weinfeld's critique of Wellhausen's Documentary Hypothesis, *The Place of Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (2004), Weinfeld identifies independent ideologies as *theological currents* (Weinfeld 2004:80). He suggests that these theological currents may be ascertained through either: their sociological background, i.e.: – as independent ideologies that form the product of simultaneous but disparate groups in the same historical period, and therefore share only one historical period. Or, theological currents may be ascertained through the same historical-chronological setting, i.e.: – as independent ideologies that form the product of the same groups but in different historical periods, and therefore share more than one historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80).

An application of Weinfeld's work to this study's focus is presented. First, this author agrees that the Ezekiel tradition and the Priestly source each have their own distinct characteristics and independent ideologies, or: – *theological currents*. The Documentary Hypothesis – and various forms of biblical scholarship – have in the past suggested that a form of chronology exists between them. Second, the endeavour is undertaken to test if their independent

ideologies (*theological currents*) form the product of *simultaneous*, but *disparate* groups in the second millennium BCE, and the *same* sociological background: i.e., *preexilic*.

Alternatively, do the *theological currents* (independent ideologies) of the Ezekiel tradition and the Priestly source form the product of ‘religious evolution’ by the same priestly groups throughout the *preexilic*, *exilic*, and *postexilic* periods, i.e., do the Ezekiel tradition and the Priestly source share a historical-chronological setting over *more than one* historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80)?

Although Weinfeld challenges Wellhausen’s suggestion that Ezekiel formed the impetus for the Priestly source and its material, this author’s view is that the Zadokites are connected to Ezekiel tradition. Leuchter expounds on the connection between source P of the Pentateuch and the book of Ezekiel, by investigating the connection between the rise of the Ezekiel tradition and the Zadokite priesthood (Leuchter 2008:156).

This author has presented a discussion of the dates of source P, in Addendum C; and summarised and assimilated the biblical *tradition* of the prophets, with biblical *history*, in table 7, presented in Addendum D – in which the prophet Ezekiel, is highlighted in yellow in the table.

~ In the following section, specific attention is given to Shaphanites and their connection to the Jeremiah tradition in light of the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, postexilic period). ~

### 2.3. JEREMIAH AND THE SHAPHANITES

The Wellhausen Hypothesis suggests connections between the book of Jeremiah and the *postexilic* formation of the Pentateuch (Weinfeld 2004:80) – specifically: The Documentary Hypothesis associates the Deuteronomistic source of the Pentateuch, with Jeremiah.

The Deuteronomistic source [D] of the Pentateuch is also called the *Deuteronomist*, whose core material comprises the book of Deuteronomy. Thus, the book of Deuteronomy is considered a separate work, in addition to the expanse of this source that includes a larger framework, known as: the Deuteronomistic History [DH], from Deuteronomy 1–2 Kings. Dated to the early seventh-century (650 BCE) and also writing during the period of the

divided monarchy, the narrative of Israel's Southern Kingdom tradition is presented in the book of Deuteronomy, which also uses the name, *Yahweh*, to identify Israel's deity; and focuses upon the person of Moses (Van Seters 1998:9; Boadt 2004:57).

Here the *Deuteronomist* uses both northern and southern *reform theology* in order to advocate Mosaic obedience through 'covenant language', during the time of Josiah's religious reform of 625 BCE (Van Seters 1998:9; Boadt 2004:57). This covenant language includes introductions, the Ten Commandments (Decalogue), general instructions, the Mosaic Law (Deuteronomy 12-26, similar to Exodus 20-24), and long, reformist speeches (Van Seters 1998:9; Boadt 2004:57).

The writing style in the book of Deuteronomy addresses every day matters in a verbose and preachy style, through counsel and advice (Van Seters 1998:9; Boadt 2004:57). Thus, the authorial intent is understood as 'propaganda of the Law' with a focus upon the purity of the cult, actioned at a central shrine, through which the people are exhorted to serve Yahweh with devoted love (Van Seters 1998:9; Boadt 2004:57).

For an explanation of all the sources of the Pentateuch, see Addendum A.

The Documentary Hypothesis associates the Deuteronomic source of the Pentateuch with Jeremiah – with the implications being therefore that connections exist between Jeremiah, and:

- the *law* of the Pentateuch;
- the Pentateuch;
- the Deuteronomistic book of Deuteronomy [D/Dtr], which is an exilic redaction and authored by the Shaphanites, from Deuteronomy 1 (beginning with the Horeb motif) to Deuteronomy 34 (Otto 2007:172);
- the Deuteronomy Code (5–26);
- the Deuteronomy decalogue of Deuteronomy 5:1-21;
- Otto's (2007:172-174) Horeb Redaction of Deuteronomy 5–28 (*preexilic*); and
- Otto's (2007:172-174) Moab Redaction of Deuteronomy 1–Joshua 23 (*exilic*).

Moshe Weinfeld (2004:80) challenges the linear model of composition underlying the Wellhausen Hypothesis, which he critiques in the following way: the Wellhausen Hypothesis understands Deuteronomy and Jeremiah (likewise, Leviticus and Ezekiel) as independent ideologies emerging out of two *distinct* and chronological (linear) historical

periods – which he calls a *historical-chronological setting* of more than one historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80). However, Weinfeld suggests the connection between the Pentateuchal source and the corresponding prophet – initially understood as independent ideologies – instead to be: the product of simultaneous, but disparate groups in the *same* historical period – which he calls the *sociological background* of one historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80).

This author agrees that the Jeremiah tradition and the Deuteronomistic source each have their own distinct characteristics and independent ideologies, or: – *theological currents*. The Documentary Hypothesis – and various forms of biblical scholarship – have in the past suggested that a form of chronology exists between them. Second, the endeavour is undertaken to test if their independent ideologies (*theological currents*) form the product of *simultaneous*, but *disparate* groups in the second millennium BCE, and the *same* sociological background: i.e., *preexilic*.

Alternatively, do the *theological currents* (independent ideologies) of the Jeremiah tradition and the Deuteronomistic source form the product of ‘religious evolution’ by the same prophetic groups throughout the *preexilic*, *exilic*, and *postexilic* periods, i.e., do the Jeremiah tradition and the Deuteronomistic source share a historical-chronological setting over *more than one* historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80)?

Although Weinfeld challenges Wellhausen’s suggestion that Jeremiah formed the impetus for Deuteronomy’s composition, or is in some way connected thereto; are the Shaphanites connected to Jeremiah? Eckart Otto (2007:171) discusses the formation of the Pentateuch and the Prophets within the postexilic period and suggests that ‘...the formation of the prophetic books, especially the book of Jeremiah (which was the result of the work of the Jeremianic school), influenced the formation of the Pentateuch and vice versa’ (2007:171). Linear models of composition are implied by Otto’s statement, which is discussed in the methodology of the thesis.

Otto suggests that *postexilic*, scribal authors – who were connected to postexilic prophetic schools – understood themselves as patrilineally descended from (or connected to) *preexilic* prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah (Otto 2007:171). These postexilic prophets possibly sought to maintain Jeremiah’s understanding of Israelite origins and identity within a postexilic context (Otto 2007:171) – i.e., within the Achaemenid empire.

Logically, postexilic, prophetic authors had a postexilic understanding of Yahweh’s revelation *to* Israel in history, and of Israel’s identity *within* this history. Otto further

suggests that Yahweh's revelation in history formed the topic for debate between postexilic, prophetic authors; and scribal (priestly) authors (Otto 2007:171).

Leuchter (2008:8-9) suggests that the Deuteronomistic school understood Israelite identity in terms of the traditions and concepts that were associated with the Mosaic tradition; and prophetic authors such as the prophet Jeremiah. The connection between the book of Deuteronomy and the book of Jeremiah is made because of the stylistic and rhetorical commonalities in the literature of both books (Leuchter 2008:9).

Moreover, Jeremiah is suggested by Leuchter (2008:9) to have trained as a Deuteronomistic scribe, and was in this manner connected with the Shaphanide scribal circle. Leuchter (2008:8-9) also suggests that the Shaphanites preserved the prophetic traditions of Jeremiah, which were 'covenant' and 'law'. The Shaphanites were considered to be the Deuteronomistic faction, or '...the likely authors of the Deuteronomistic literature' (Leuchter 2008:9).

The Deuteronomistic school – or the Shaphanites – recorded the exilic Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr], from Deuteronomy 1 (beginning with the Horeb motif) to Deuteronomy 34 (Otto 2007:172). The Deuteronomistic school did so by using *preexilic*, source material, this being: the *preexilic* Covenant Code as a hermeneutical key, and the Decalogues of Deuteronomy 5:1-21 and Exodus 20:1-17 (Otto 2007:172-173).

The literary connection between Jeremiah, the Shaphanites, and Deuteronomy was noted in the methodology of chapter one, in which Jeremiah's connection with Deuteronomy is based – not only upon genre and source-criticism but – upon: the function of textual units; compositional and redactional growth; authorial intention; tradition history; and historical background (Leuchter 2008:1). Thus, Jeremiah's connection with the Deuteronomistic Tradition – comprising the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (DH) – is based upon scholarship with regards to the similarities in: style, tone, parenetic prose, and prose narratives; as well as formalistic elements and the repetition of stereotyped phrases (which indicate redaction) (Leuchter 2008:1-2).

In order to support further the connections between Jeremiah and the Shaphanites, the biblical history of the Shaphanites is subsequently examined.



**2.3.1. The Biblical *History* of the Shaphanites.** The Shaphanites were political allies to the prophet Jeremiah (Melgar 2006:1) and played an influential role in the political life of Judah (Mariottini 2007:1) – the southern kingdom during the Divided Monarchy. It was during King Josiah’s reign that the Shaphanites supported Jeremiah: they supported Jeremiah in his beliefs and helped him to accomplish his vision for the people of Judah (Melgar 2006:1; Mariottini 2007:1).

As scribes in King Josiah’s court, the Shaphanites protected Jeremiah against court officials who opposed him, and in this way offered Jeremiah political and ideological support (Mariottini 2007:1).

The legacy of the Shaphanites began with the person of Shaphan, who was a royal scribe in King Josiah’s court and who had converted to Yahwism. He also raised his sons as Yahwists. By contrast, Shaphan’s father – Azaliah – was not a faithful Yahwist (2 Kings 22:3; Jeremiah 36:10) (Melgar 2006:1; Mariottini 2007:1).

This author has presented a discussion of the dates of source D, in Addendum C; and summarised and assimilated the biblical *tradition* of the prophets, with biblical *history*, in table 7, presented in Addendum D – in which the prophet Jeremiah, is highlighted in yellow in the table.

Hence, this author proposes that – based upon the Shaphanites’ support of Jeremiah – Shaphanite ideology should reflect Jeremiah’s ideology. Furthermore, based upon the premise of this thesis of the Holiness Code (and the decalogue of Leviticus 19:1-19a therein) being a compromise between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites, it follows that the Holiness Code and its decalogue should – in some ways – reflect Jeremiah’s ideology. Thus, how can this author examine the text for evidence of Jeremiah’s ideology?

This author therefore suggests that Leviticus 19:1-19a can be examined for similarities with Jeremiah’s syntax in: style, tone, parenetic prose, and prose narratives; as well as formalistic elements and the repetition of stereotyped phrases (which indicate redaction) (Leuchter 2008:1-2).

~ In the following section, the identity-formation of Israel is examined in light of the corresponding objectives of this thesis. Specific attention is given to the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as *new revelation* of the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy

5:1-21; and similarly, to the functionality of the Holiness Code as *new revelation* of the Priestly Code. ~

#### 2.4. THE DECALOGUES AND THE HOLINESS CODE

The Decalogues of the Pentateuch, their key concepts, and related research is integrated and examined considering this author's proposal of Israelite Identity.

**2.4.1. The Decalogues.** The Decalogues – otherwise known as the Ten Commandments – always form part of the law codes within the Pentateuch. There are four law codes in the Pentateuch, namely: The Covenant Code; the Priestly Code; the Holiness Code; and the Deuteronomy Code. Based upon the *preexilic*, *exilic*, and *postexilic* setting of these law codes, the decalogues therein are thus demarcated as the same, i.e., as *preexilic*, *exilic*, and *postexilic* decalogues (Otto 2007:172-175). Thus:

- the preexilic Exodus 20:1-17 decalogue – situated within the preexilic Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22–23:33);
- the (exilic?) Exodus 34:11-26 decalogue – situated within the exilic Priestly Code (Genesis 1–Leviticus 9);
- the preexilic Deuteronomy 5:1-21 decalogue – situated within the exilic Deuteronomy Code (Deuteronomy 5-26); and
- the postexilic Leviticus 19:1-19a decalogue – situated in the postexilic Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26).

Within the decalogues of Exodus 20:1-17, Exodus 34:11-26, and Deuteronomy 5:1-21, Moses receives the “Ten Commandments” (Greek: *Decalogue*) (Hebrew: *ten words* עשרת הדברים), for example:

- ויהי־שם עם־יהוה ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה לחם לא אכל ומים לא שתה ויכתב על־  
הלחת את דברי הברית עשרת הדברים:  
(Exodus 34:28, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- So he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights. He neither ate bread nor drank water. And he wrote on the tablets the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments (Exodus 34:28, *English Standard Version*).

The giving of the עשרת הדברים to Moses is also recorded in the following decalogues:

- Exodus 20:1-17;
- Exodus 34:11-26; and
- Deuteronomy 5:1-21;

however, not within the Holiness Code decalogue of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

When reading the Pentateuch linearly from Genesis through Deuteronomy, the order of the decalogues are as follows:

- a) Exodus 20:1-17, as part of the Covenant Code;
- b) Exodus 34:10-28, as part of the Priestly Code;
- c) Leviticus 19:10-19 (full text 19: 1-19a), as part of the Holiness Code; and
- d) Deuteronomy 5:1-21, as part of the Deuteronomy Code.

Van Seters (1998:47-49) promotes the suggestion that Exodus 19-24 forms J's *exilic version* (540 BCE) of the *preexilic D-Code*<sup>55</sup> (625 BCE). Exodus 19-24 – of which the Covenant Code (20:22-23:33) forms its kernel – is suggested to regulate Jewish community life within the Babylonian exile. This unit of text from Exodus 19-24 uses as its core, the Covenant Code, which forms a casuistic 'civil' law code that is designed to deal with daily life; this law code also addresses Israelite enslavement by foreigners in exile (Van Seters 1998:47-49).

The decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17 is suggested by Van Seters (1998:47-49) to be a *postexilic insertion* (400 BCE) by P. According to Van Seters, this decalogue not only implicates the religious reform of Deuteronomy, but also adds the concerns of 'neighbourly justice' (Brueggemann 1999:1-17;48-58) and 'holiness' (Van Seters 1998:47).

Van Seters' proposal further suggests that Exodus 34:10-28 forms J's *exilic interpretation* of 'the' Decalogue (possibly the D decalogue), of which a major concern is: the danger of

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<sup>55</sup> Deuteronomy 12–26

covenants with pagans; while Leviticus 19:10-19 (full text 19: 1-19a) forms P's postexilic interpretation of 'the' Decalogue, of which a major characteristic is, holiness (Van Seters 1998:47-48). Here holiness forms the foundation for the commands and observances; as well as an all-inclusive 'social vision' for both rich and poor (Van Seters 1998:47-48).

The decalogue in Deuteronomy is suggested by Van Seters and others, to be based upon an ANE ancient Vassal treaty: authority and power are granted to monarchies through an ANE Vassal treaty (Van Seters 1998:47-48). According to Van Seters, while the D Decalogue may be based upon an ANE Vassal treaty, the D decalogue adapts this treaty by granting authority to Yahweh, landowners, and Levitical leadership (Van Seters 1998:47-48).

Therefore, in summary:

- a) Exodus 20:1-17: postexilic insertion by P of P's interpretation of 'the' Decalogue – in 400 BCE;
- b) Exodus 34:10-28: J's exilic interpretation of 'the' Decalogue, possibly D – in 540 BCE;
- c) Leviticus 19:10-19 (full text 19: 1-19a): P's postexilic interpretation of 'the' Decalogue within the Holiness Code; and
- d) Deuteronomy 5:1-21: preexilic Decalogue – in 625 BCE.

And, in date order according to Van Seters (1998:47-48):

- d) *Preexilic* Deuteronomy 5:1-21, 625 BCE
- b) *Exilic* Exodus 34:10-28, 540 BCE
- a) *Postexilic* Exodus 20:1-17, 400 BCE
- c) *Postexilic* Leviticus 19:10-19 (full text 19: 1-19a).

Further, views differ as to which decalogue first existed, for example: Otto suggests that the D Code is the original (Otto 2007); while Pleins favours the C Code (Pleins 2001:41-91).

The decalogues are compared using the first verse of each, below. The remainder of the comparison takes place between the corresponding verses of the decalogues with Leviticus 19:1-19a, in the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a in chapter 3.

**2.4.2. A Comparison of The Decalogues.** The order of the decalogues is presented according to their final form presentation in the Pentateuch, as the scholarly views of their

order differ. Therefore, the decalogue of the Covenant Code is first; second, the decalogue of the Priestly Code; third, the decalogue of the Holiness Code; and fourth, the decalogue of Deuteronomy.

This author draws attention to of the names of God in verse one of each decalogue in the table below:

<u>Exodus 20:1-17,</u> as part of the <u>Covenant Code</u>	<u>Exodus 34:1-28,</u> as part of the <u>Priestly Code</u>	<u>Leviticus 19:1-19a,</u> as part of the <u>Holiness Code</u>	<u>Deuteronomy 5:1-21,</u> as part of the <u>Deuteronomy Code</u>
Sinai theophany	Sinai theophany	<i>No</i> Sinai theophany	Sinai theophany
Verse 1: <i>God (Elohim)</i> instructed the people	Verse 1: <i>The Lord (Yahweh)</i> instructed Moses	Verse 1: <i>The Lord (Yahweh)</i> instructed Moses to tell the people	Verse 1-2: <i>Moses</i> instructed the people with the words of <i>the Lord (Yahweh)</i> our <i>God (Elohenu)</i> from <i>Elohim</i> )
וידבר אלהים את כל־הדברים האלה לאמר:  (Meyers 2020, <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> )	ויאמר יהוה אל־משה	וידבר יהוה אל־משה לאמר:	ויקרא משה אל־כל־ישראל ויאמר...  יהוה אלהינו כרת עמנו ברית בחרב:
		A Speak  B Yahweh  C to	

		B' Moses	
		A' Speak	
<b>Characterisation</b>			
Elohim is the narrator and a 'flat' – stereotyped character (Deist 1986:98).	Yahweh	Yahweh	Moses
The people are a 'round' – real character (Deist 1986:98).	Moses	Moses	People
		People	Yahweh Elohenu

*Table 4 Comparison of the Decalogues*

~ In the following section, the identity-formation of Israel is examined in light of the corresponding objectives of this thesis. Specific attention is given to the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as a compromise reached between *authorial factions*, these being: the Shaphanite traditionists, and the priestly writers, regarding the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, *postexilic* period). ~

## 2.5. LEVITICUS 19:1-19a OF THE HOLINESS CODE AS A COMPROMISE

Qualitative research and secondary scholarship pertaining to the formation, structure, and form of the Holiness Code are reviewed, with the intent to clarify the theoretical context for this author's literary treatment of Leviticus 19:1-19a in chapter three. The Holiness Code, its key concepts, and related research is integrated and examined considering this author's proposal of Israelite Identity, further forming the theoretical context for the exegesis of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Pentateuchal source-criticism advocates the Holiness Code to be the most recent Pentateuchal law code; and to be the work of the Priestly source (Van Seters 1998:47). One of the foci of this thesis is to re-examine this view by testing the Holiness Code as a micro (this author) ‘compromise document’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3) between the priests, *and* various other authorial groups; which will also contribute towards a further detailed understanding of the formation of the Pentateuch.

The Holiness Code (and by and large: the Pentateuch) as a heterogeneous composition, answers – *in part* – this question posed by the scholarly debate as to *why* the amalgamation of various law codes into one corpus of law – i.e., the Pentateuch – took place. A broad answer being: for the *re*interpretation of law codes and traditions in *new* historical settings (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:2).<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, the Holiness Code forms the *re*interpretation of existing law codes in new historical settings, which were: The Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE, and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

The ‘space and time settings’ and specific historical events that necessitated the Holiness Code and ‘a Pentateuch’ are (in this author’s broad view): the loss of Solomon’s Temple; the loss of the (Promised) Land; the Babylonian exile; the necessity for new revelation; and the search for identity through competing conceptions of Israelite culture by various learned and literate elite (priestly groups and Judean leaders). Conversely stated, according to Otto’s view, the Pentateuch – as a heterogeneous composition of various law codes – accounts for the competing conceptions of Israel’s beginnings, history, and identity produced by these historical events (Otto 2007:172).

To this end, the Holiness Code is examined as the compromise reached by various authorial groups and their competing conceptions of Israel’s beginnings, history, and what it meant to be the *people of Yahweh* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE). Otto adds that the differing conceptions between priestly (P) theology and Deuteronomistic (D) theology of Israel’s ‘...history of God with Israel’ (Otto 2007:172-173) is also what motivated the unification of different views in order to preserve Israel’s monotheism, i.e., ‘only one God of Israel’.

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<sup>56</sup> See Brueggemann’s *traditioning process* (Brueggemann 2003:9-13) and Deist’s *functionality of texts* (Deist 1986:105-107).

Consequently, this author projects that the Holiness Code – and with emphasis, its decalogue in chapter 19 – functions as the basis for the identity of Israel (– identity formation –) as seen by the postexilic *literati* (the learned, literate, and elite).

The thesis will investigate two proposed geographical locations of the postexilic *literati*, these being: those living in the Persian province of Jehud, i.e., the *Jehud* *literati* – the texts of whom Leuchter (2008:5-8) identifies with a ‘pro-land’ (Jerusalem based) position/propaganda; and those living in Persia – the texts of whom Leuchter (2008:5-8) identifies with a ‘pro-*golah*’ (Babylon based) position/propaganda. Accordingly, the Holiness Code (and its decalogue) will be examined for these ‘pro-land’ and ‘pro-*golah*’ perspectives.

Additionally, this author endeavours to demonstrate a broad function of the Holiness Code (and its decalogue) to be evidence for the Pentateuch as a heterogeneous composition of ‘merged sources and law codes’ (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:2). In order to test, examine, and identify what underscores Israel’s postexilic and ‘compromised’ identity – through this ‘merger’ of law codes – this author selects the decalogue in the Holiness Code to do so. In this manner, Leviticus 19:1-19a possibly functions as evidence of a multi-authored decalogue; and as evidence for Israel’s identity formation during the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The formation of the Holiness Code and its authorship are inextricably linked. Thus, the compositional history of the Holiness Code is examined below in order to inspect its authorship.

**2.5.1. The Compositional History of The Holiness Code.** The compositional history and formation of the Holiness Code is examined through the structural and form-critical study of the Holiness Code.

Therefore, in this section the Holiness Code is examined for evidence of not only priestly authorship but, for evidence of the compromise reached between: priestly groups such as the Zadokites (Leuchter 2008: 156) *and* either: ‘Judean leaders’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:2-3), or ‘laymen’ (Otto 2007:172), or Shaphanites (Leuchter 2008:9).

Accordingly, based upon the premise of this thesis, this author predicts that the Holiness Code should reflect evidence of two ideologies:



1. the cult as the means for identity formation in the Achaemenid Empire; and
2. the law as the means for identity formation in the Achaemenid Empire.

This author has presented the sources for the composition of the Holiness Code in the following images, using the work of Otto (2007:172-174).

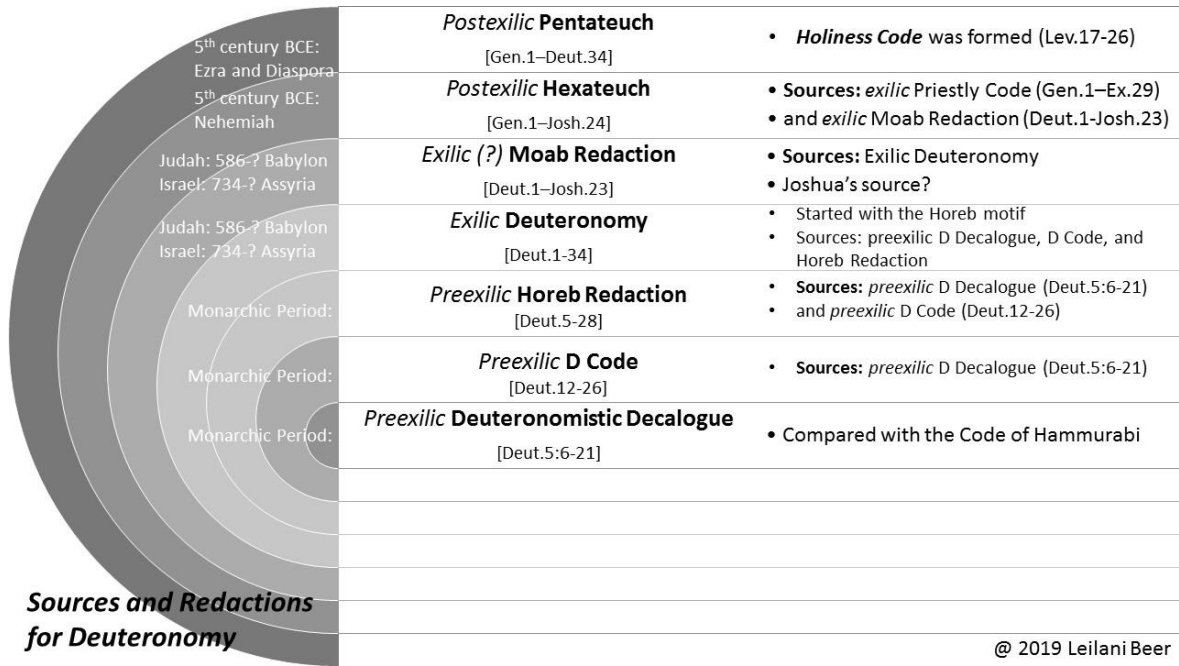


Figure 6 Sources and Redactions for the Book of Deuteronomy

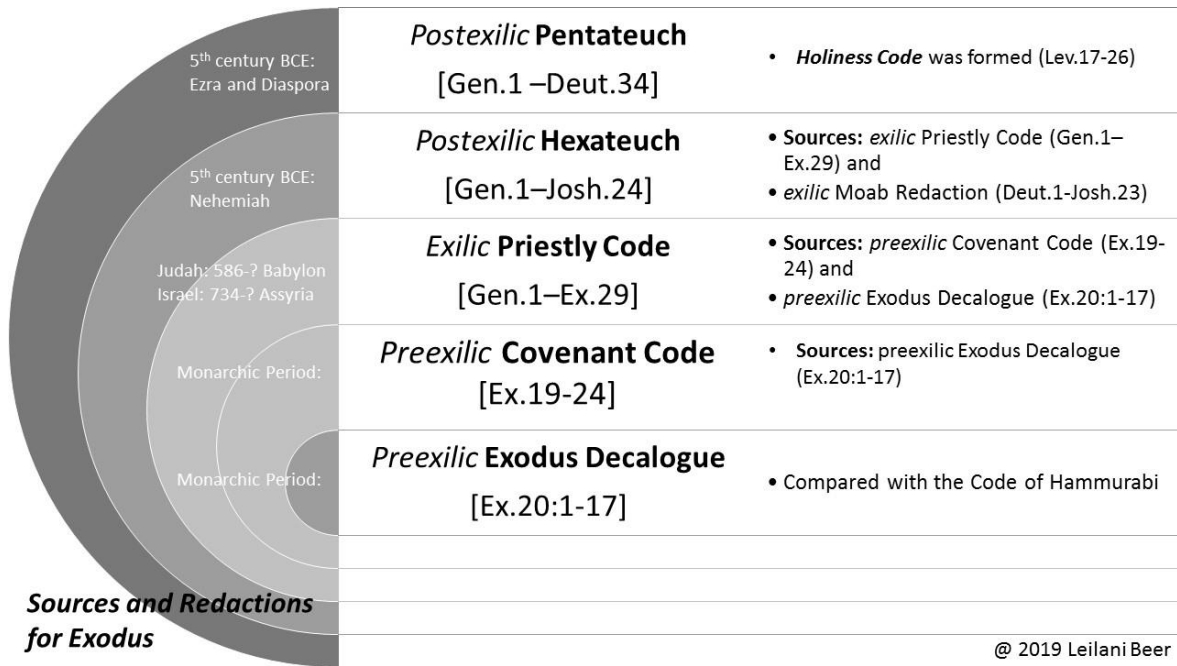


Figure 7 Sources and Redactions for the Book of Exodus

This author surmises that one way in which the cult can be made compulsory it by linking it to the law – through, for example, the Blessings and Curses of chapter 26 of the Holiness Code. Meyer (2012:1-6), and others that he refers to, will also demonstrate that the cult was elevated by linking it to creation. This author would also like to examine the postexilic elevation of the cult through connections to land.

Therefore, this author will look for connections between the cult, the law, and the land in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

### *In Sum*

The priests' role in Israel's identity-formation was examined in terms of the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a. In turn, the identity-formation of Israel was examined in light of the corresponding objectives of this thesis. Accordingly, specific attention was given to the *functionality* of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence of Israel's *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and during the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, postexilic period).

Moreover, specific attention was given to the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as a *compromise* reached between authorial factions, these being: the Shaphanite traditionists,

and the priestly writers. The connections between the Shaphanites and their connection to the Jeremiah tradition, and the priestly factions and their connection to the Ezekiel tradition, were also examined in light of the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, postexilic period).

The identity-formation of Israel was examined further in light of the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as *new revelation* of the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21; and similarly, to the functionality of the Holiness Code as *new revelation* of the Priestly Code.

~ In the next chapter, a literary treatment of Leviticus 19:1-19a will be presented, and some conclusions will be drawn by this author as a result of this exegesis regarding the identity of the people of Israel, and the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a. This chapter includes an analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a's form and structure, as well as how Leviticus 19:1-19a functions within the Holiness Code. ~

## Chapter 3

## LEVITICUS 19:1-19a

In this chapter, the (diachronic) *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a (and a key objective of this thesis) is addressed. Qualitative research and secondary scholarship pertaining to the formation (diachronic), and structure and form (using the synchronic final-form) of Leviticus 19:1-19a, are reviewed – with the intent to clarify the theoretical context for this author’s literary treatment (using textual analysis via an immanent reading) of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Leviticus 19:1-19a and its key concepts – and related research – are integrated and examined, further forming the *academic* context for the exegesis of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Following the exegesis of Leviticus 19:1-19a in this chapter, some conclusions are drawn as a result of this exposition, regarding:

- the *identity formation* of the people of Israel during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) through the process of *new revelation*;
- the work of the priests (and the prophets) in terms of the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the authorship of its larger literary unit, the Holiness Code; and
- and the implications for Knoppers & Levinson’s ‘promulgation and acceptance’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:1) of the Pentateuch.

Leviticus 19:1-19a is examined via an immanent reading (textual analysis) so as to examine its authorial aspects, these being: the *writing* goals (Choi 2010:105-107), and the ideological and *literary* choices (Choi 2010:107) present in the text. If these authorial aspects align with the ideologies of the Shaphanites and the Zadokites, these groups may be considered as possible redactors of Leviticus 19:1-19a (with implications for its larger literary unit, the Holiness Code). Thus, as a first objective in this chapter, the literary elements (structure and form) of Leviticus 19:1-19a are examined in order to prepare for the immanent reading thereof.

~ Accordingly, the chapter opens with a structural and form-critical analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a. In this opening study, the compositional history and formation of Leviticus 19:1-

19a, are addressed. Together, these aspects set the literary context for an immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

### 3.1. THE STRUCTURE AND FORM OF LEVITICUS 19:1-19a

The *formation* of Leviticus 19:1-19a and its *authorship* are integrally connected: thus, in order to examine the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the compositional history (formation) of Leviticus 19:1-19a, should be engaged (comprising diachronic aspects). Consequently, in this section of the thesis the compositional history of Leviticus 19:1-19a is assessed. As discussed in the methodology of the thesis, the diachronic aspects (*deeper layers*) of the text are accessed through its synchronic layer (i.e., the *final form*). Therefore, a structural- and form-critical analysis of the synchronic layer of the text – followed by the textual analysis of the text via an *immanent reading* – allows access to the diachronic aspects of the text that this author is looking for, i.e., the text's compositional history and authorship.

Thus, through the structural- and form-critical analysis, and textual analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a, this author examines the results for evidence of not only priestly authorship, *but* for evidence of the compromise reached between:

- priestly groups, such as the Zadokites (Leuchter 2008:156), *and*
- either:
  - 'Judean leaders' (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:2-3), or
  - 'laymen' (Otto 2007:172), or
  - the Shaphanites (Leuchter 2008:9).

Accordingly, based upon the premise of this thesis, this author predicts that Leviticus 19:1-19a should reflect evidence of two ideologies:

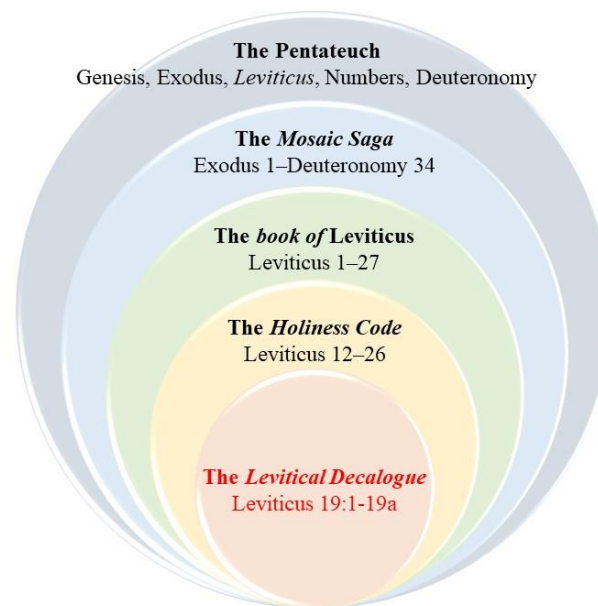
1. the *cult*, as the means for identity formation by the *Zadokites* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE); and
2. the *law*, as the means for identity formation by the *Shaphanites* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

The historical-critical approach to texts – i.e., *literary-criticism* – produces a critical analysis of the text's historical and diachronic development (Bosman 1986:14-15). The discussion of

literary-criticism as an applicable method with which to study Leviticus 19:1-19a for evidence of its authorship, has been presented in chapter 1.

The results produced by the structural- and form-critical study of Leviticus 19:1-19a – as methods of literary-criticism – (i.e., markers, repetitions, and formulas) also function as an ‘intra-textual’ frame of reference (Bosman 1986:14-15) for the *literary elements* of the text (i.e., syntax, semantics, etc.,) that will be determined through textual analysis. Thus, in this chapter, the literary elements of Leviticus 19:1-19a are engaged through: structural- and form-criticism; and textual analysis, using an immanent reading. Once identified, the literary results will be examined for evidence of the writing goals of the Zadokites and the Shaphanites.

The structural study of Leviticus 19:1-19a is presented by this author in the following image: from its immanent, literary structure; to its larger, literary structure. Hence, Leviticus 19:1-19a immediately forms part of the Holiness Code in Leviticus 12–26; of which the Holiness Code forms part of the book of Leviticus; of which the book of Leviticus forms part of the Mosaic Saga (Coates 1983:12); and of which the Mosaic Saga forms part of the Pentateuch.



The Structural Context for Leviticus 19:1-19a

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*Figure 8 The Structural Context for Leviticus 19:1-19a*

Broadly stated once more, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a self-contained, literary unit – around which four major literary units – *increasing* in length – are identified by this author:

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Leviticus 19:1-19a      | <i>Levitical Decalogue</i> (this author) |
| 2. Leviticus 12–26         | Holiness Code                            |
| 3. Leviticus 1–27          | Book of Leviticus                        |
| 4. Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34 | Mosaic Saga (Coates 1983:12)             |
| 5. Genesis–Deuteronomy     | Pentateuch                               |

In the following sections, *structural*-criticism and *form*-criticism are applied to each literary unit identified above, beginning with the largest literary unit, i.e., the Pentateuch. With each application, the study narrows in focus, ending with the smallest literary unit, i.e., Leviticus 19:1-19a. The purpose of this approach is the creation of the literary context and the structural framework for the immanent reading (textual analysis) of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**3.1.1. Structural- and Form-Criticism of the Pentateuch: Narrative and Law.** The first five books of the Hebrew Bible, from Genesis to Deuteronomy – of which the book of *Leviticus* is one – forms the broadest structural framework for Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Form-criticism and tradition-history of the Pentateuch present the Pentateuch in three major *sagas*, which are (in written form): long, prose, and traditional narratives that have an *episodic* structure, which has been developed around stereotyped themes or objects (Coates 1983:12). A *saga* may include narratives that represent distinct literary genres in and of themselves. The episodes of the narrative, narrate the deeds or virtues from the past insofar as that they contribute to the composition of the present narrator’s world (Coates 1983:12).

In the Pentateuch, these three *sagas* are: The Primeval Saga, the Patriarchal Saga, and the Mosaic Saga (Coates 1983:12). Sagas are created through the transmission and assimilation of ancient oral traditions, thus called *saga-cycle traditions* (Van Seters 1998:10). According to Gunkel’s original work on the form-criticism of the Pentateuch, these sagas are *large*, *arranged*, and *traditional* narratives – that within the Pentateuch – also include *law codes* and *decalogues* (Van Seters 1998:10). Notably, it is within the *Mosaic Saga* (Coates 1983:12) that the law codes and decalogues of the Pentateuch are found.

The broad *form* of the Pentateuch is therefore known as *typology* – which forms a unique and generic literary genre of ancient Near Eastern historiography (Van Seters 1998:3). *Typology* constitutes a combination of *narrative* and *law* literary genres (Van Seters 1998:3), and within the Pentateuch, various law sections have been woven into large narratives. For

example, the broad narrative of the Pentateuch describes the origins of the human race, as well as the origins of Israel (Cezula 2017:1). The narrative portion of the origin of the human race, is demarcated by Van Seters (1998:3-4) as: The Primeval History, from Genesis 1–11 (matching Coates' Primeval *Saga*). The narrative portion of the origin of Israel, is demarcated by Van Seters (1998:3-4) in two parts, as: first, the Patriarchal History, from Genesis 12–50 (also matching Coates' Patriarchal *Saga*); and second, as the Tribal History, from Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34 (which Coates' identifies as the Mosaic *Saga*).

This author notes that the theme of *land* forms one of – if not *the* – primary theme of the Pentateuch: and, narratively speaking, that the *possession* of land forms the primary *plot* of the Pentateuch. Furthermore, this author notes – again narratively speaking – that the Tribal History/ Mosaic Saga incorporates *subplots* of the main plot, these being: enslavement in the *land* of Egypt; deliverance from the *land* of Egypt; and wandering through desert *land* (this author). However, the fulfilment of the acquisition of land is never actualised in the Pentateuch, creating the narrative tension of the Pentateuch.

Within the narrative tension of the Tribal History/ Mosaic Saga of the Pentateuch, various law codes and decalogues are set. These are in biblical order, and in their *final-form*:

Law codes: –

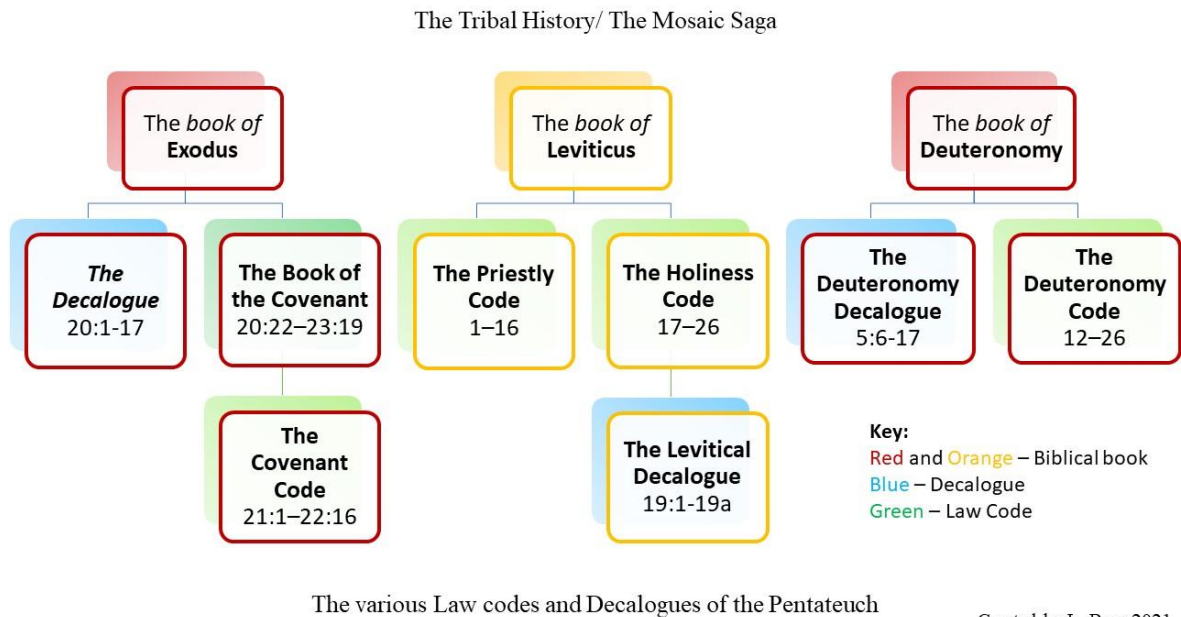
- the Book of the Covenant, in Exodus 20:22–23:19;
- the Covenant Code, in Exodus 21:1–22:16;
- the Priestly Code, in Leviticus 1–16;
- the Holiness Code, in Leviticus 17–26; and
- the Deuteronomy Code, in Deuteronomy 12–26.

Decalogues: –

- the Ethical Decalogue (or The Ten Commandments, formally known as *The Decalogue*), in Exodus 20:1-17;
- the Ritual Decalogue, in Exodus 34:11-26; and
- a variation of the Ethical Decalogue, in Deuteronomy 5:1-21.

The Law codes and the Decalogues of the Pentateuch that are situated within the Tribal History/ Mosaic Saga, are presented in the following image:





*Figure 9 The Law Codes and Decalogues of the Pentateuch*

Accordingly, Van Seters (2008:3) notes that the three ‘histories of Israel’, i.e., the Primeval, the Patriarchal, and the Tribal histories, provide the narrative framework for the law codes and the decalogues – specifically, the narrative of the Tribal history forms the framework for the various law codes and decalogues.

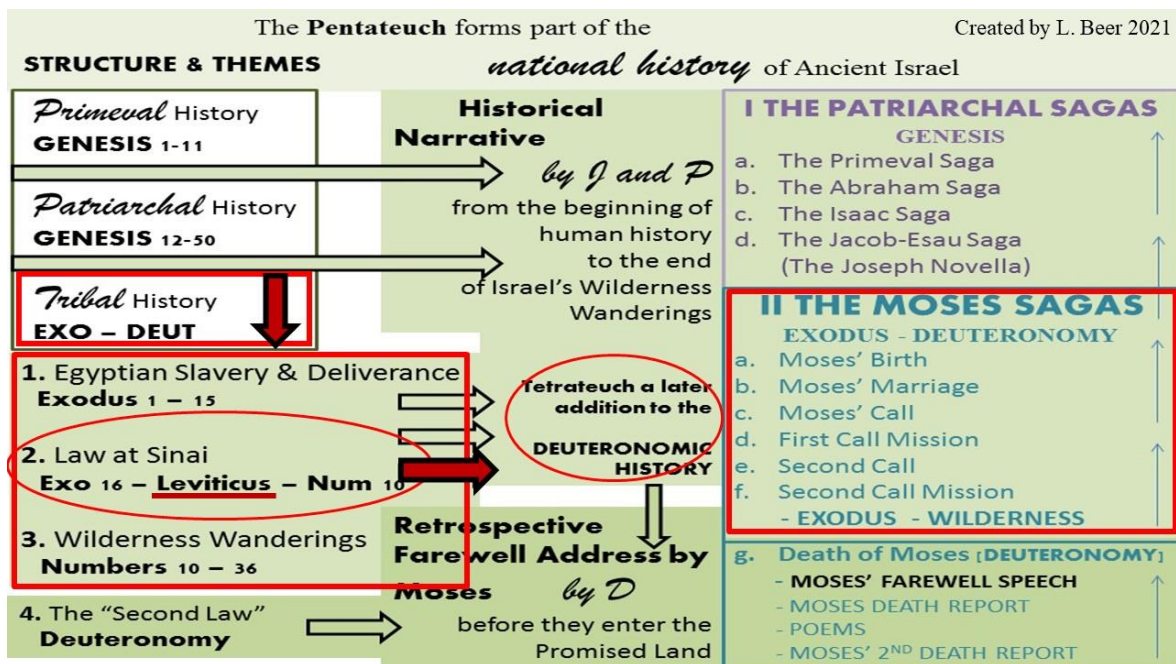
Further, according to Van Seters’ *thematic outline* of the Pentateuch (2008:3-4), the Tribal history incorporates a thematic unit from Exodus 15 to Numbers 10, which Van Seters titles as: ‘The revelation of the Law at Sinai’ (2008:4), presented below:

*The Pentateuch*

- Genesis 1–11 *Primeval History* (summary by this author)
- Genesis 12–50 *Patriarchal History* (summary by this author)
- Exodus 1–15 *Egyptian History* (summary by this author)
- **Exodus 15–Numbers 10** **‘The revelation of the Law at Sinai’** (Van Seters 2008:4)
  - Exodus 15–40
    - Exodus 15–18 The journey through the wilderness to Sinai
    - Exodus 19 The theophany at Sinai
    - Exodus 20–24 The Ten Commandments, a code of laws, and the Covenant-making ceremony

- Exodus 32–34                      The golden calf episode and Covenant renewal
- Exodus 25–31 and 35–40        The construction of the Tabernacle
- **Leviticus 1–27**
- Leviticus 1–7                      Sacrificial Laws
- Leviticus 8–16                    Priestly regulations and Purity rites
- **Leviticus 17–26**                **The Holiness Code**
- Leviticus 27–Numbers 10        Various Laws and Regulations
- Numbers 10-36                    Wilderness Journey
- Deuteronomy                        The Second Law

Accordingly, the broadest structural framework of Leviticus 19:1-19a – i.e., the Pentateuch – is summarised by this author thus far in the following image, using the work of Coates (1983:12) and Van Seters (1998:4):



*Figure 10 The Tribal History and Mosaic Saga of the Pentateuch*

In the following thematic outline, this author applies Coates' form-criticism of the Pentateuch, to Van Seters' thematic outline of the Pentateuch, presented thus:

Thematic outline of the *Pentateuch* (Van Seters 2008:3-4):

- *Patriarchal Sagas* (Coates 1983:12)
  - Genesis 1-11 Primeval History
  - Genesis 12-50 Patriarchal History
- *Mosaic Saga* (Coates 1983:12)
  - Exodus 1-15 Egyptian History
  - **Exodus 15–Numbers 10** ‘**The revelation of the Law at Sinai**’
    - The book of Leviticus*
      - Leviticus 1-7 Sacrificial Laws
      - Leviticus 8-16 Priestly regulations and Purity rites
      - **Leviticus 17-26** **The Holiness Code**
      - Leviticus 27-Numbers 10 Various Laws and Regulations
  - Numbers 10-36 Wilderness Journey
  - Deuteronomy The Second Law

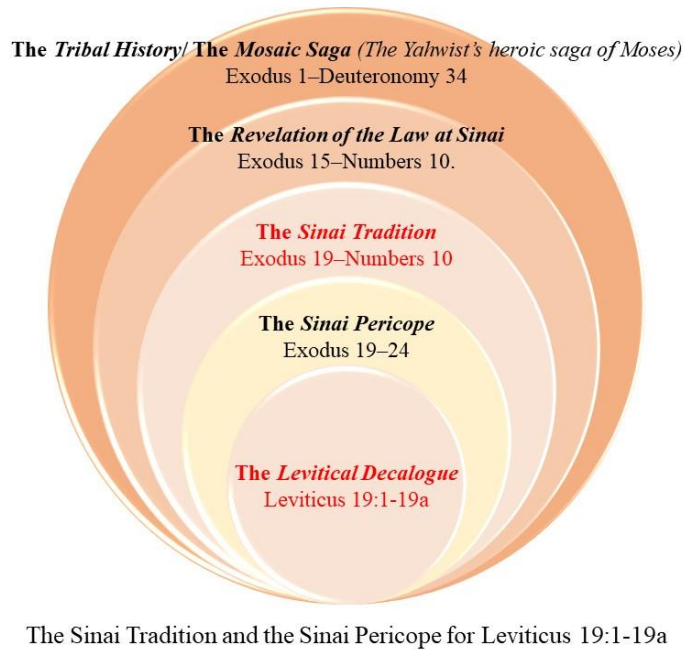
In reference to the thematic outlines of the Pentateuch above, the broad structural- and form-critical analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a, narrows in focus onto the Tribal History/ Mosaic Saga of the Pentateuch, the purpose being to add specific detail to the literary context and structural framework of the upcoming imminent reading (textual analysis) of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Conversely stated, Leviticus 19:1-19a is situated within the Mosaic Saga of the Pentateuch, and for this reason, the Mosaic Saga is examined in further detail below.

**3.1.2. Structural- and Form-Criticism of the Mosaic Saga and Sinai Tradition.** Coates (1983:6) equates the Mosaic saga with a *heroic* saga, and refers to Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34 as the Yahwist’s example of a heroic saga. The structure of a heroic saga is comprised of episodic, literary units that together, comprise an extended and traditional account of the past events of a *significant person*. In this manner, the life of the significant person functions as an example through which the norms, customs and beliefs for a present community, are established (Coates 1983:6). Consequently, this author suggests that Leviticus 19:1-19a forms *part of* one of the episodic, literary units that comprise the heroic saga of *Moses*, this being: ‘Moses’ second call mission’ (Coates 1983:6), or ‘The revelation of the Law at Sinai’ (Van Seters 2008:4). As a large, narrative unit, both Coates and Van Seter’s titles thereof incorporate the Sinai Tradition, which is set at Mount Sinai. Thus, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms part of the Sinai Tradition. Moreover, using the life of Moses, Leviticus 19:1-19a thereby

functions to establish the norms, customs, and beliefs that were advocated by its authors for a community.

The Sinai Tradition, demarcated by this author from Exodus 19–Numbers 10, and which Van Seters titles as, ‘The revelation of the Law at Sinai’ (2008:3-4), is situated within the said Yahwist’s heroic saga of Moses. Narratively speaking and with reference to the plot, between oppressive Egypt and the Promised Land, the Sinai Tradition comprises eleven months at the foot of Mount Sinai – of which Leviticus 19:1-19a forms a part. Following the Sinai Tradition, the Wilderness Wanderings – or what Van Seters’ titles, ‘The Journey through the Wilderness’ (2008:4, 44) – take place, from Numbers 10–36. Thus, Mount Sinai forms the mundane setting (Deist 1986:88) for the Sinai Tradition, and for Leviticus 19:1-19a. The Sinai Tradition, in turn, forms the *law* section of the Pentateuch: – constituting a literary third of the Pentateuch, from Exodus 19–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4).

A smaller literary unit has been demarcated as the Sinai *Pericope*, and generally refers to Exodus 19–24 (incorporating The Decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17 and the Covenant Code in Exodus 21:1–22:16); although some scholars refer to the larger literary unit of Exodus 19–Numbers 10 when discussing the Sinai Pericope (Wildenboer 2019:1). For clarity, this author refers in this thesis, to the smaller literary unit of Exodus 19–24, *as* the Sinai Pericope (the same as Wildenboer); and to the larger literary unit of Exodus 19–Numbers 10, *as* the Sinai Tradition, of which the Sinai Tradition is situated within ‘The Revelation of the Law at Sinai’ (Van Seters 2008:4). Consequently, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms part of the larger Sinai Tradition, and not part of the smaller Sinai Pericope, presented in the following image:



*Figure 11 Leviticus 19:1-19a as part of the Sinai Tradition*

Interestingly however, the study of the smaller literary unit of the Sinai Pericope has produced two scholarly positions thereof, which Wildenboer (2019:1) summaries as:

- a position from a *diachronic* standpoint, which views the Sinai Pericope as being *incorporated* into the surrounding narrative; and alternatively,
- a position from a *synchronic* standpoint, which views the Sinai Pericope as a coherent whole, regardless of its narrative ‘interruptions’.

The implications hereof are that the *diachronic* study of the Sinai Pericope has led to the further study of The Decalogue (in Exodus 20:1-17), and the study of the Covenant Code (in Exodus 21:1–22:16)/ Book of the Covenant (in Exodus 20:22–23:19), with the result being: The Decalogue and the Covenant Code – initially forming one previously accepted law code – are now being accepted and studied as two, *separate* law texts (Wildenboer 2019:1). An overview of the Sinai Tradition and the Sinai Pericope in light of the above, is presented below:

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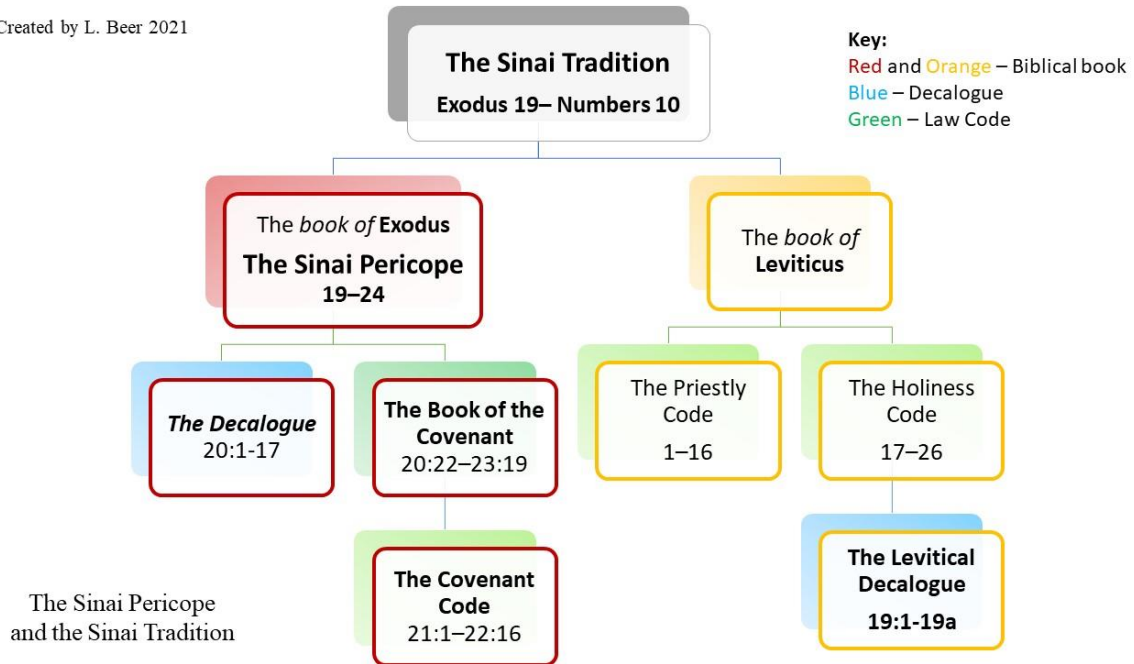


Figure 12 The Sinai Tradition

Returning to the Sinai Tradition and Leviticus 19:1-19a therein, the ideology of this extensive literary unit (Exodus 19–Numbers 10) may be compared with the ideology of the *Credo* Tradition (Coates 1983:22-23), based upon *how* the Land is acquired by the Israelites (this author).

For example: while the Sinai Tradition suggests that the Land is procured through Israel's obedience to the Law (most of the legal material concerning the cult), the Patriarchal Saga and the *Credo* Tradition narrate – and advocate – that the Land is procured through divine grace, via a *patriarchal promise* of Land (Van Seters 2008:45; Coates 1983:22-23). Accordingly, the ideology of Leviticus 19:1-19a reflects the acquisition of land via *law*, and in this manner, contrasts the Patriarchal Saga and the *Credo* Tradition.

The *Credo* tradition is examined in further detail below.

3.1.2.1. *The Credo Tradition and the Land Promise.* The *Credo* Tradition is comprised of two *credos* (Coates 1983:22-23) – found in the Covenant ceremony at Sinai in Deuteronomy 26:5-11, and in the Covenant renewal ceremony at Shechem in Joshua 24:1-

13.<sup>57</sup> These credos are suggested to be the earliest confessions (i.e., oral traditions) of Israelite faith in a ‘...context of cultic recital’ (Coates 1983:23), i.e., within the Covenant ceremony, and within the Covenant renewal ceremony.

Interestingly, the credo in Deuteronomy 26:5-11 takes place within the context of the *priesthood* and the *cult*, for example: in verses 3 and 4, the *priest* officiates the ceremony; the (festival) of *first-fruits* is indicated in verses 2 and 10; and the *Levites* are mentioned in verse 11b. However, by contrast, the priesthood and the cult (barring the tabernacle) are absent in the credo in Joshua 24:1-13, and the ceremony in Joshua 24:14-28, for example: in verses 25 and 26 *Joshua* (and not the priesthood) performs the ceremony, with a stone and an oak tree (objects not part of the cult), in verses 25 and 26.

Van Seters (2008:45) suggests that, form-critically, the Sinai Tradition comprised J’s story of the theophany at Sinai, into which P wove the decalogue from Deuteronomy 20:1-17 (thus using Deuteronomic source material, the view of which is supported by Otto) – thereby creating The Decalogue of Exodus 20:1-17. Further ways in which P ‘redacts’ J, are:

- through the addition of the Ten Commandments (as stone tablets of laws) by P, which were originally the certified copy of the Book of the Covenant;
- P ‘...turns the mountain into sacred ground (like the temple precinct)’ (Van Seters 2008:45), with the result being that the people may not ‘trespass’ on Mount Sinai – which contradicts J’s story in which Moses sanctifies the people in order that they *may* ascend Mount Sinai;
- while Moses is on Mount Sinai for forty days, he is given the instructions for the tabernacle and other cultic principles, which Moses has built and carries out, respectively, once he comes down from the mountain (Van Seters 2008:45).

Thus, the P source material of the Pentateuch is largely comprised of legal material concerning the cult, which was given – in part – to Moses *on* Mount Sinai during the forty days while he was there; and thereafter, given to Moses at the base of Mount Sinai while camping there – a narrative setting of which Leviticus 19:1-19a (although a later addition to the P law material) forms a part, and thus *forming* the narrative setting for Leviticus 19:1-19a (Van Seters 2008:45).

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<sup>57</sup> The Covenant ceremony first appears in Exodus 32–34 following the golden calf episode at Sinai (Van Seters 2008:45).

Based upon tradition-history, and the work of Von Rad, these credos support the narrative plot of the Hexateuch, in that they speak to the acquisition of land (procured as the fulfilment of Yahweh's promise to the patriarchs); in contrast to the Pentateuch, in which the acquisition of land is *not yet* fulfilled, and the fulfilment of which is promoted through obedience to the Law (most of the Law concerning the cult) (Coates 1983:23; Van Seters 2008:45).

Accordingly, the Sinai Tradition (and Leviticus 19:1-19a) most likely postdates the Credo Tradition, which is further examined below in light of the Wilderness Wanderings.

3.1.2.2. *The Wilderness Wanderings and the Land Promise.* Another episodic unit of the Mosaic saga, following the Sinai Tradition, is the Wilderness Wanderings from Numbers 10–36. In the Wilderness Wanderings, the promise of Land is delayed, and thereby intensified, establishing narrative plot and tension (Van Seters 2008:29,37). Thus, narratively speaking, both the Sinai Tradition and the Wilderness Tradition (comprising the Pentateuch) *delay* the acquisition of land; and Leviticus 19:1-19a (of the Sinai Tradition) forms part of this delay.

The Wilderness Tradition is only briefly indicated in verse 17c in the detailed credo found in Joshua 24; and not at all indicated in the credo found in Deuteronomy. While both the credos and the Wilderness Tradition reference the *Land promise*, in the Wilderness Tradition the Land promise has two, contrasting theological threads as reasons for delay in acquiring the land. These contrasting theological threads are explained using source-criticism (Van Seters 2008:29,37).

Hence, Van Seters (2008:29,37) suggests that the Yahwist possibly associated the wilderness period as a *type-time* of Yahweh's provision, and of Israel's developing faith in Yahweh: the ideologies of the prophets Hosea and Jeremiah, describe the Wilderness period as a *positive* time in Israel's history – of ideal dependence upon Yahweh. By contrast, the Priestly school associated the wilderness period with a *type-time* of Yahweh's 'testing the people', and with their failure to believe in Yahweh's provision. The prophet Ezekiel's ideology describes the Wilderness as a *negative* time in Israel's history: – the Wilderness is seen as a time of testing during which the people's stubbornness and rebellion caused an unnecessarily prolonged time in the Wilderness, before entering the Promised Land (detailed in the book of Joshua) (Van Seters 2008:37).



The image below presents this author's assimilation of the work of Van Seters (2008) and of Coates (1983) with regards to the Land promise:

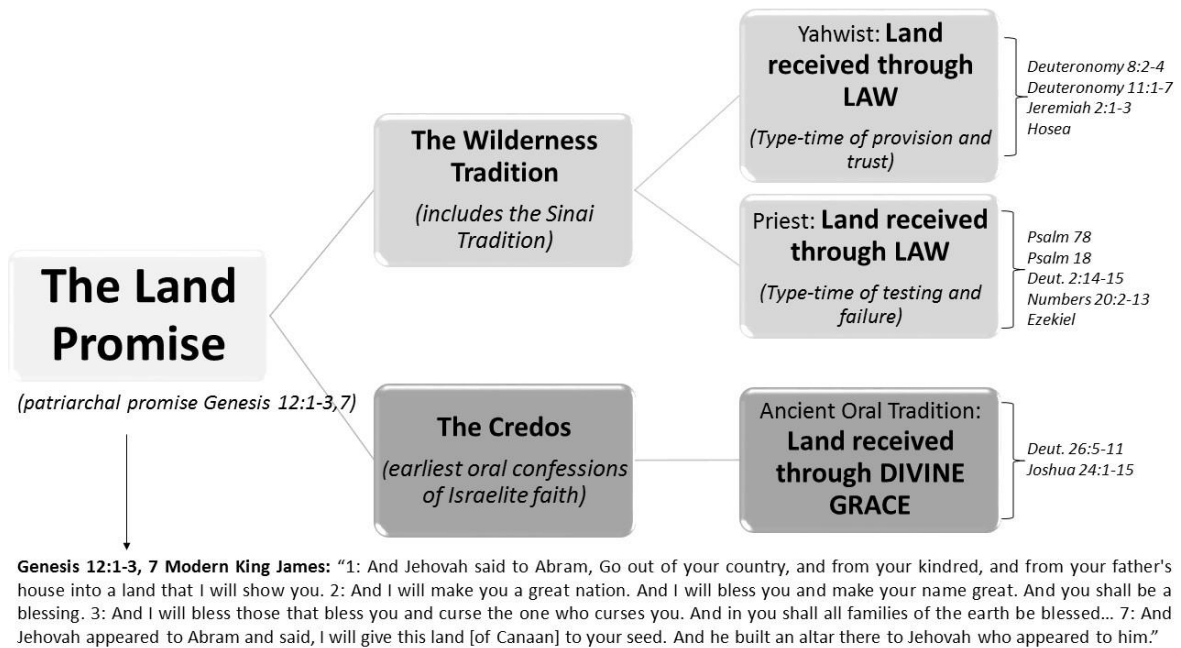


Figure 13 The Land Promise

Furthermore, Coates (1983:23) asks if the Sinai Tradition (and by implication, the Law with reference to the cult) was in the ancient past, *more* distinct from the Credo Tradition than the reader realises, this being based upon the *absence* of the Sinai Tradition in the credos – from which the Primeval history is also absent. The said proposal is examined below.

3.1.2.3. *The Sinai Tradition and the Covenant Code.* Hence, a scholarly consensus has emerged from scholars (such as Von Rad and Coates) that suggests that the *Sinai Tradition* (and by implication: Leviticus 19:1-19a) forms a 'more recent' stratum of the Pentateuch (when compared with the age of the credos). This scholarly consensus is also noted by Wildenboer (2019:1), who explains further that some scholars – such as Hyatt (1971:197) and Noth (1962:154) – claimed that *The Decalogue* of Exodus 20:1-17 originally followed the Yahwist's 'Vow to Obey' in Exodus 20:18-21 (Van Seters 2008:45). Thus, the said Decalogue possibly directly preceded the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22–23:33).

The 'insertion' of law, i.e., *The Decalogue* and the Covenant Code, into its surrounding narrative is further evinced by the observation of some scholars that the placement of *The Decalogue* and the Covenant Code in its current literary context, interrupts the surrounding

narrative (Wildenboer 2019:1). For this reason, Eissfeld (1965:213-219) and Boecker (1980:130) proposed that the Covenant Code (Ex 20:22-23:33) was inserted by redactors, into the Yahwist's narrative of Yahweh's theophany on Mount Sinai from Exodus 19–24, which was possibly and initially an independent tradition (Van Seters 2008:36,45). This view was first proposed by Wellhausen (1957), who suggested that the original narrative *only* narrated Yahweh's presence on a mountain; however, others such as Levin (1985) and Oswald (2010) suggest that the narrative does *not* make sense without law-giving (Wildenboer 2019:1).

Wildenboer examines Otto's approach to the Sinai Pericope (i.e., the Decalogue and the Covenant Code): briefly, Otto (2013:211-250) views *The Decalogue* of Exodus 20:1-17, and the Covenant Code, as *separate* legal texts, and as being incorporated into the Sinai narrative (Wildenboer 2019:1). Furthermore, Otto views the *Covenant Code* as the nucleus of the Sinai Pericope, and as an originally independent collection of laws.

Moreover, Otto suggests that the creation of the book of Deuteronomy in its earliest form (which he calls the *preexilic* Deuteronomy), as well as the creation of the Pentateuch, hinge upon the Covenant Code as the nucleus for both. Thus, the relationship between the Covenant Code and the book of Deuteronomy is, according to Otto's hypothesis, significant; with the result being that the Covenant Code and the *preexilic* book of Deuteronomy may be read chronologically (Wildenboer 2019:1).

In response, while it has generally been accepted that the Priestly school redacted the Decalogue of Exodus 20:1-17 into the final form in which it now appears, Otto's hypothesis suggests that the Deuteronomists (or the Deuteronomic scribes) were the redactors thereof, which Wildenboer (2019:1) explains and summarises in the following:

According to Otto's reconstruction, the Decalogue was transferred from Deuteronomy 5 to Exodus 20 (Otto 1994:230-233). The Decalogue in Exodus 20 exhibits an older version of the Decalogue than Exodus 20, but Deuteronomists already used and revised this older Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5. Therefore, the Decalogue in Exodus 20 contains parts which are older than Deuteronomy 5 as well as parts which are post-Deuteronomistic (Otto 1994:208-219, 2000:245-246). Once again, the same pattern emerges; the scribes who revised and edited the book Deuteronomy included their sources in the process, in this case, Exodus 20. The Decalogue in Deuteronomy becomes an interpretation of the Decalogue in Exodus 20.

Therefore, what are the implications for the authorship of the rest of the law codes, and for the previously accepted priestly authorship of law codes such as the Priestly Code and Holiness Code, and Leviticus 19:1-19a therein?

What is certain is that the compositional process of the present law codes and decalogues in their final form is complex, and speaks to the process of *new revelation* and *identity formation* at various stages of Israelite history.

To summarise, the literary context for Leviticus 19:1-19a has been examined with reference to the Yahwist's heroic saga of Moses, i.e., the Mosaic Saga. The Sinai Tradition was shown to form an episodic unit of the Mosaic Saga – set at Mount Sinai – which in turn forms the narrative setting for Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Furthermore, the Covenant Code and the Deuteronomy Code – as well as the decalogues associated with each code (i.e., in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21) – were shown to be redactions of one another using Otto's hypothesis (Wildenboer 2019:1).

In the following section, the discussion narrows in focus from the Mosaic Saga and the Sinai Tradition, onto the book of Leviticus, in which the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a are situated. Again, the purpose of this approach is the creation of the literary context and the structural framework for the textual analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**3.1.3. Structural- and Form-Criticism of the book of Leviticus and the HC.** The assumption that the book of Leviticus exists as a *book for the priests* is suggested by the traditional Greek and Hebrew meanings of 'Leviticus', which are, respectively: 'relating to the priests' (*Leyitikon*); and, 'the law of priests' (Kiuchi 2010:522). In Judaism – and initially for the *early* Jews (or Hellenistic Jews) – the book of Leviticus is revered as 'the book', thereby highlighting its importance to these groups (Kiuchi 2010:522).

The authorship of the book of Leviticus cannot be separated from the authorship of the Pentateuch, which is discussed in chapter 4 of the thesis. According to the Wellhausian hypothesis of the nineteenth century, the book of Leviticus initially belonged to the Priestly stratum or Priestly source (P) – which was finalised during the postexilic period as the last of the four literary Pentateuchal sources: J, E, D, and P (Kiuchi 2010:523). Van Seters (2008:14) situates the activity of P during the *postexilic* period, in and around 400 BCE; and changes the conventional source order to: D during the *preexilic* period (625 BCE), J during

the exilic period (540 BCE), and P during the *postexilic* period (400 BCE). ‘This dating does not prejudge the age of all the material within the sources. But it indicates the historical perspective in which each author is to be understood’ (Van Seters 2008:14).

Scholars who differ in their view of the date of P, are for example: Wenham, who suggests P predates J (according to the conventional source order: J, E, D and P); and Millard, who suggests that the rituals in the book of Leviticus are most accurately reflected by the rituals of the Late Bronze Age (1200–500 BCE) (Kiuchi 2010:523).

The book of Leviticus is viewed, according to narrative-criticism, as a unit with the book of Exodus, based upon their *thematic* and *narrative* unity: specifically, the suggestion is made that the material from Exodus 25 to Leviticus 7 regarding the tabernacle and the cult, form a thematic and narrative unit. For example, the book of Exodus ends with the construction of the tabernacle, and the book of Leviticus begins (from chapter 1 to 7) with the procedures for the sacrifices and offerings that are to be performed inside the ‘now built’ tabernacle (Kiuchi 2010:522).

Moreover, while the priests’ dedication is prescribed in Exodus 29, the fulfilment thereof is recorded in Leviticus 8–9 (Kiuchi 2010:522). Accordingly, Rendtorff (1997:22-35) suggests that Leviticus 1–7 was ‘inserted’ into an extant narrative comprising: Exodus 25-31 (concerning the plans for the tabernacle and the dedication of the priests); Exodus 35-40 (concerning the construction of the tabernacle); and Leviticus 8–9 (concerning the swearing-in of the priests). Thus, Leviticus 1–7 adds further detail to the narrative, from Exodus 35-40 to Leviticus 8–9 (this author).

The traditional, *structural* view of the book of Leviticus is supported by scholarship as early as the 1920’s, which suggested that the book of Leviticus could be divided into two major thematic sections, these being (Larkin 1920:161):

*The book of Leviticus*

1. Leviticus 1–16: Sacrifice

- 1–7                    The Laws of Sacrifice
- 8–10                  The Priesthood
- 11–16                Ritual Uncleaness and Purification Rites

2. Leviticus 17–27: Sanctification and Separation

- 17–27                The Holiness Code

Recent scholarship maintains these divisions to some degree (Meyer 2012:3): for example, Larkin's division of chapters from Leviticus 11–16 (1920:161) is mostly supported by Meyer's division of chapters from Leviticus 11–15 – Meyer's theme thereof being, 'clean and unclean' (2013:3); and Larkin's 'Sanctification and Separation' from chapters 17–27, is mostly supported by Meyer's theme of 'holiness', from Leviticus 17–26.

Accordingly, specific scholarship suggests the broad literary structure of the book of Leviticus to be:

- Chapters 1–16, as the Priestly Code; and
- Chapters 17–27, as the (*postexilic*) *final-form* of the Holiness Code (Otto 2007:174).

According to Otto (2007:174), chapters 1–16 form the (*postexilic*) *final-form* of the Priestly Code, the sources of which are viewed by Otto (2007:174) to be:

- the *exilic*, Priestly Code, from Genesis–Leviticus 9; and
- Deuteronomy 12. The *preexilic* Covenant Code was used as a source for Deuteronomy 12 (Otto 2007:174).

Thus, Leviticus 1–16 (as the *final-form* Priestly Code – this author) was created using Genesis–Leviticus 9, and Deuteronomy 12. Accordingly, Leviticus 9:24 has been argued for by Frevel and Zenger (Frevel 2000:148-180) as the original ending of the Priestly Code (Meyer 2012:2), which aligns with Otto's *exilic* Priestly Code (2007:174).

Alternatively, Nihan (2007:20-31,340) at first accepted an ending of the (*exilic*) Priestly Code to be in the Sinai pericope (Exodus 19–24), thus forming an *exilic* Priestly Code from Genesis–Exodus 24; however, now Nihan agrees with the general scholarly consensus of the ending of the *final-form* (this author) of the Priestly Code, to be in Leviticus 16 (Meyer 2012:2).

Moreover, Meyer (2012:3) highlights that the *narrative structure* of the book of Leviticus has been traditionally viewed as consisting of only *two* narratives, these being:

- the inauguration of the priests in Leviticus 8–10, the narrative of which has been noted by Kiuchi (2010:522) to be part of the broad narrative between Exodus and Leviticus, from Exodus 25–Leviticus 9; and

- the tale of blasphemy that led to the law: ‘An eye for an eye’ in Leviticus 24:10-23 (Meyer 2012:2).

The first narrative unit from chapter 8–10 narrates *Moses*’ performance of the sacrifices for the ordination of Aaron and his sons. Once ordained, *Aaron* and his sons perform the sacrifices, following the instruction of Moses to do so. Thus, in this narrative, the *priesthood* performs for the *first* time, the offerings that are detailed (and which Moses performs) in literary unit of Leviticus 1–7:

- the sin offering,
- the whole burnt offering,
- the peace offering, and
- the grain/ meal offering (Meyer 2012:2).

The following images visually summarise the sin offering, the whole burnt offering, the peace offering, and the grain/ meal offering; which have been created by this author using the work of Larkin for each (Larkin 1920:162-163).

The sin offering:

## 4. Sin Offering 'hattat' Lev. 4:1-35

For sins committed against God



- **Made from time to time during the year for 4 classes of persons:**
- - Priest brings young bull, priest lay hands and slaughter it
- - the whole of the tribes brings young bull, elders lay hands, and slaughter it
- - a ruler brings male goat, ruler laid hands, and slaughter it
- - an individual brings female goat, laid hands, and slaughter it

**Only CLEAN animals, and within the category of clean animals, it was only DOMESTIC animals that were permitted for sacrifice, without blemish.**

*Figure 14 The Sin Offering*

The whole burnt offering:



## 1. Burnt Offering 'olah'

*Lev. 1:1-17*

### **TYPIFIES THE SPOTLESS SON OF GOD**

- **3 grades** according to the **ability** of the offerer – if **well off**, an offering from the herd
  - if **moderate**, offering from the flock
  - if **poor**, a **fowl** or **dove** or **pigeon**

**Only CLEAN** animals or fowls could be used for sacrifice: those that were any kind of **scavengers** that fed on carrion, were **unfit**, based upon the thinking that Israel was not allowed to offer “food of God” that they were themselves forbidden to eat.

And within the category of clean animals, it was **only DOMESTIC** animals that were permitted for sacrifice, as they **cost** something to the offerer. They were also **tame** and therefore **easily led**.

Thirdly, the **CLEAN DOMESTIC** animal had to be a **MALE without blemish**. The Israelite was taught to **give the best** of his herd or flock.

*Figure 15 The Whole Burnt Offering*

The burnt offering is first recorded in Exodus 29, and its rules for implementation are recorded within the first literary unit of Leviticus, this being Leviticus 1–7 (Kiuchi 2010:523).

The peace offering:

### 3. Peace Offering 'zebah selamim' *Lev. 3:1-17*



#### **TYPIFIES THE SPOTLESS SON OF GOD AS A PEACE OFFERING**

- 2 kinds:
- - an offering from the **herd**
- - an offering from the **flock**

#### **Only CLEAN animals**

And within the category of clean animals, it was **only DOMESTIC** animals that were permitted for sacrifice

The clean, domestic animal in this case could be **MALE OR FEMALE, AND still without blemish.**

*Figure 16 The Peace Offering*

The peace offering is first recorded in Exodus 29, and its rules for implementation are recorded within the first literary unit of Leviticus, this being Leviticus 1–7 (Kiuchi 2010:523).

The grain/ meal offering:





## TYPIFIES THE SPOTLESS SON OF GOD as the BREAD OF LIFE

- **3 kinds of meal/grain offering** – **UNBAKED** fine ground and sifted **FLOUR** (most valued food grain and has to be farmed)
  - **BAKED** loaves or cakes, baked in an ‘oven’ if owned one
  - **GREEN EARS OF WHEAT** parched or roasted (the corn of our time is unknown in the ancient near east)

The Meal/Grain Offering was commanded to be **mixed with OIL (most likely Olive)**, seasoned with **salt (antiseptic)**, and sprinkled with **frankincense (sweet smelling when burnt)**.

It was **not allowed** to contain any **Leaven or Yeast (fermenting)**, and **Honey (heat makes sour)**.

*Figure 17 The Meal/ Grain Offering*

In chapter 9 of the narrative unit from Leviticus 8–10, the narration of Yahweh’s theophany (and approval) following the priests’ first occasion and performance of their newly instituted sacrificial duties, takes place – and is further commemorated by the joyful celebration of the people and their worship of Yahweh. The ending of chapter 9 thus functions as an ancient Near Eastern cultural convention<sup>58</sup> that is usually applied to sacred dedications in the cultures of the ancient Near East (Hundley 2011:55).

Equally, Smith (1996:25) and Bibb (2009:132-133) argue that the text of Leviticus 16 also functions as a narrative – which pertains to the day of atonement – and who thus regard this chapter as a ‘ritualised’ narrative (Meyer 2012:2). Thus, the narrative portions of the book of Leviticus have been suggested to be:

- Leviticus 8–10;
- Leviticus 16; and

<sup>58</sup> ANE textual codes, symbols, and cultural conventions that are culture and time specific to the ANE (Deist 1986:38) based upon the ANE ‘historic stream’ (Stökl 2012:6-7), resulting in literary conventions (Lipinski 1978:227) and linguistic affinity shared between cultures of the ANE.

- Leviticus 24:10-23 (Meyer 2012:2).

In summary thus far, presented below is an assimilation of Van Seters' thematic outline and Coates' form-criticism of the Mosaic Saga, with the structure of the book of Leviticus using the work of Larkin (1920:161) and Meyer (2012:3):

*The Pentateuch*

- *Mosaic Saga* (Coates 1983:12)
  - Exodus 1-15 Egyptian History (Van Seters 2008:4)
  - **Exodus 15–Numbers 10** **The revelation of the Law at Sinai** (Van Seters 2008:4)

*The book of Leviticus*

*1-16: Sacrifice (Priestly tradition by P)*

- Leviticus 1-7 Sacrificial Laws (Van Seters 2008:4; Larkin 1920:161)
- Leviticus 8-16 Priestly regulations and Purity rites (Van Seters 2008:4)
  - Leviticus 8-10 The Priesthood (Larkin 1920:161); *Narrative* of the ordination of the priests (Meyer 2012:2)
    - \* chapter 9:24 Theophany of Yahweh as the *original ending* of the Priestly Code (Frevel 2000:148-180)
    - \* chapter 10 Priestly observance of the law (Nihan 2007:579) 10:10 (Meyer 2012:2)
  - Leviticus 11-16 Ritual Uncleaness and Purification Rites (Larkin 1920:161)
    - \* chapters 11-15 Clean and unclean (Meyer 2012:3; Liss 2008:348; Nihan 2007:293)
    - \* chapter 16 *Ritualised narrative* (Smith 1996:25; Bibb 2009:132-133); the *ending* of the

Priestly Code (Nihan 2007:20-31, 340; Meyer 2012:2).

*17-27: Sanctification and Separation (Priestly tradition by P and H)*

- **Leviticus 17-26**                      **The Holiness Code** (Van Seters 2008:4; Larkin 1920:161; Meyer 2012:3)
  - Chapters 17-22 and 26    by H
  - Chapters 23-25            by P
  - \* Chapter 24:10-23    *Narrative* of blasphemy (Meyer 2012:2).
- Leviticus 27                          Vows and Tithes (by P)
- Leviticus 27-Numbers 10        Various Laws and Regulations (Van Seters 2008:4)
- Numbers 10-36                      Wilderness Journey
- Deuteronomy                         The Second Law

Adding to the discussion on the structure of the book of Leviticus, Douglas (1995:93-102) suggests a ‘ring structure’ for the book of Leviticus, by which Leviticus is arranged chiasmically and according to its themes. Accordingly, chapter 19 forms the centre of the chiasmatic structure, as follows (Kiuchi 2010:524):

- Chapter 1–7    Things and persons consecrated to the Lord
  - Chapter 10    The Holy Place defiled
    - **Chapter 19    Equity between the people**
  - Chapter 24    The name defiled
- Chapter 25    Things and persons consecrated to the Lord
  - Chapter 26    Equity between the people

However, Kiuchi (2010:524) does not support Douglas’ demarcation of these proposed literary units.

Alternatively, Kiuchi (2010:524) prefers a structure for the book of Leviticus that highlights the book’s *holistic* structure – i.e., a structure that foregoes source-criticism and the concept of a separate ‘Holiness Code’ within the book of Leviticus. As noted previously, Kiuchi (2010:524) understands the book of Leviticus to be thematically linked to the book of

Exodus, and therefore presents a literary unit from Exodus 25–Leviticus 26. Kiuchi further divides this literary unit into:

- Exodus 25–Leviticus 16; and
- Leviticus 18–26, which deals with the distinction between ‘sacred’ and ‘common’ (Kiuchi 2010:524).

Kiuchi makes insightful observations based upon the above literary units: Exodus 25–Leviticus 16 thematically expresses Israelite worship from an outer and material dimension, towards an inner and ‘human heart’ dimension that is expressed outwardly; while Leviticus 18–26 expresses the inner and ‘human heart’ dimension of Israelite worship in light of obedience to laws and decrees (2010:524). Based upon the position of Leviticus 27 – which addresses ‘...the legitimate possibility and limitation of redeeming holy things’ (Kiuchi 2010:524) – Leviticus 18–26 has up until this point advocated the conversion of the holy to the common as an ‘illegitimate act of desecration’ (Kiuchi 2010:524).

Furthermore, Kiuchi identifies another literary unit from Leviticus 10–26, in which the distinctions between clean and unclean are addressed in Leviticus 11–16, and thereafter, the distinctions between sacred and common are addressed in Leviticus 18–26 (2010:524).

Kiuchi also identifies the literary unit of Leviticus 1–7 as the theme of ‘sacrifices and offerings’; while chapter 8 addresses the ordination of the priests – reflecting Kiuchi’s thematic flow from material worship, to human worship (2010:524). Chapter 9 forms the outward expression of human worship by the newly ordained priests, who perform the first set of sacrifices in the newly built tabernacle (Kiuchi 2010:524). As already noted, Meyer highlights chapters 8–10 as the first narrative unit narrating the ordination of Aaron and his sons; and the first set of sacrifices performed by the *priesthood*, followed by Yahweh’s theophany (and approval).

Chapter 10 addresses Aaron’s sons (Kiuchi 2010:524). Kiuchi suggests that verses 9-10<sup>59</sup> of chapter 10 ‘...chiastically anticipates the regulations in Leviticus 11–16 and 18–26.’

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<sup>59</sup> ‘(9) Drink no wine or strong drink, you or your sons with you, when you go into the tent of meeting, lest you die. It shall be a statute forever throughout your generations. (10) You are to distinguish between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean, (11) and you are to teach the people of Israel all the statutes that the LORD has spoken to them by Moses.’ (Leviticus 10:10-12, *English Standard Version*).

To summarise, the thematic pattern of Leviticus 11–26 by Kiuchi (2010:524) – in which Leviticus 19:1-19a is situated – is presented below, to which this author applies at the same time, the Hebrew patterning of Walsh (2001:11,20,36): Thus,

- I Introduction: cleanness and uncleanness reflected in the animal world (Lev 11)
  - A Uncleanness from sexual organs (Lev 12)
    - B Uncleanness of persons (Lev 13-14)
  - A' Uncleanness from sexual organs (Lev 15)
    - B' Atonement ceremony purifying the sanctuary from uncleanness (*of persons*) caused by sins (Lev 16)
  
- II Introduction: handling of blood securing the way to life (Lev 17)
  - A Sexual offenses and other customs in neighbouring nations (Lev 18)
    - **B Becoming holy (Lev 19)**
  - A' Sexual offenses and other customs in neighbouring nations (more emphasis on punishment) (Lev 20)
    - B' Conditions for holy priests and sacrifices (Lev 21-22)
  
- III (No introduction)
  - A Festivals (Lev 23)
    - B Rules on lamps, and bread; and a case of blasphemy (Lev 24)
  - A' Sabbath year and the Jubilee year (Lev 25)
    - B' Blessings and Curses (Lev 26)

This author applies Walsh' Hebrew patterning to the first literary unit above, Leviticus 11–16, with the result being: ABA'B' (Walsh 2001:37). This Hebrew pattern results in forward and parallel symmetry, which causes the intensification of themes (in this case being uncleanness), through their repetition (i.e., A and A'; and B and B') – thereby emphasising the possible urgency of the author's message. The atonement ceremony in chapter 16 (i.e., B') speaks to the concept of consequence also associated with forward and parallel symmetry, in which the atonement ceremony 'deals with' uncleanness; as well as to the concept of cause (i.e., uncleanness, ABA'B') and effect (i.e., atonement ceremony, B') created by forward, parallel symmetry (Walsh 2001:37).

By applying Walsh' Hebrew patterning to the second literary unit above, Leviticus 17–22, this author observes the following pattern: ABA'B', and forward and parallel symmetry

(Walsh 2001:37). In this unit the customs of other ancient Near Eastern cultures (i.e., A and A') are intensified through the contrast created by holiness and a holy cult (i.e., B and B'); stated differently: – neighbourly offenses (being the cause) are addressed through holiness and a holy cult (being the consequence) (Walsh 2001:37). Since Leviticus 19:1-19a forms part of this literary unit, the analysis of this unit forms a key literary context for the focused study of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Finally, through this author's application of Walsh' Hebrew patterning to the third literary unit above, Leviticus 23–26, the resultant pattern is: ABA'B', and once more, forward and parallel symmetry (Walsh 2001:37). In this unit the proper observance of festivals (i.e., A and A') are intensified through the contrast created by blasphemy (death) and curses (i.e., B and B'); stated differently: – obedience is contrasted with death (Walsh 2001:37).

Kiuchi concludes that if chapters 17–26 are viewed as a literary unit, i.e., the Holiness Code, they should be studied within the larger literary framework of chapters 10–26 (2010:525). In response, this author notes that Kiuchi's chapter 17 forms the introduction for the literary unit from chapters 18–26, which has been demarcated as an independent chapter, thus creating a pattern with chapter 11 as the introduction for the literary unit from chapters 12–16. While both chapter 11 and 17 function as 'introductions' to their subsequent literary units, they are also, in and of themselves, thematically linked. However, if these introductory chapters are viewed as *part of* the literary units they introduce, the literary units would appear thus:

- Chapters 11–16, and
- Chapters 17–26.

This is possible because there is no 'third introduction' in Kiuchi's schema; therefore, this author suggests that chapters 23–26 fall under the introduction of chapter 17. Accordingly, Kiuchi's schema possibly and indirectly supports a literary unit from chapters 17–26; therefore (in this author's view), Kiuchi's schema indirectly supports a literary unit also demarcated as the Holiness Code. For example:

- II Introduction: handling of blood securing the way to life (Lev 17)
  - A Sexual offenses and other customs in neighbouring nations (Lev 18)
    - **B Becoming holy (Lev 19)**
  - A' Sexual offenses and other customs in neighbouring nations (more emphasis on punishment) (Lev 20)

- B' Conditions for holy priests and sacrifices (Lev 21-22)
- B' Festivals (Lev 23)
- A' Rules on lamps and bread; and a case of blasphemy (Lev 24)
  - B Sabbath year and the Jubilee year (Lev 25)
- A Blessings and Curses (Lev 26)

By applying Walsh' Hebrew patterning to Leviticus 17–26 (the same demarcation as that for the Holiness Code), this author observes the following pattern: ABA'B' B'A'BA. This Hebrew pattern results in *reverse*, parallel symmetry, with a chiastic centre (i.e., B' and B' – which are: the conditions for *holy* priests, sacrifices, and festivals) (Walsh 2001:37). This Hebrew pattern also emphasises the theme of the chiastic centre as a pivotal point around which other aspects exist, which are in this case: negative aspects that threaten holiness, such as: the sexual offenses of the neighbouring nations (i.e., A and A'), blasphemy (A'), and curses (A).

If holiness (the chiastic centre that is B' and B') is not adhered to, the pattern moves in reversed movement (and thus, intensified) back to the chaos of, for example, the sexual offenses of the neighbouring nations (A): – yet, in this instance, the pattern moves in reversed movement to a worsened (or intensified) form of chaos, i.e., to the form of curses – further reflecting the reversed movement of this pattern.

Lastly, in this unit, neighbourly offenses (i.e., A and A' – which are viewed as negative by the redactor) are contrasted with holiness and a holy cult (i.e., B and B' – which are viewed as positive by the redactor); and the proper observance of festivals (i.e., B' and B – which are viewed as positive by the redactor) are contrasted with actions leading to death and curses (i.e., A' and A – which are viewed as negative by the redactor) (Walsh 2001:37). Thus,

- II Introduction: handling of blood securing the way to life (Lev 17)
  - A Negative: offenses and foreign customs (Lev 18)
    - **B Positive: Holiness (Lev 19)**
  - A' Negative: offenses and foreign customs (Lev 20)
    - B' Positive: Holiness priests and the cult (Lev 21-22)
    - B' Positive: Observance of festivals (Lev 23)

- A' Negative: actions leading to death (Lev 24)
  - B Positive: Sabbath year and the Jubilee year (Lev 25)
- A Negative: (Blessings) and Curses (Lev 26)

Since Leviticus 19:1-19a forms part of this literary unit (i.e., Leviticus 17–26), the analysis of this unit forms a key literary context for the focused study of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Chapter 19 therefore forms part of the positive stratum of this unit (B, B', B' and B), the general theme of which seems to be the priesthood and the cult.

In summary thus far, *structural-* and *form-*criticism have been applied to the literary units surrounding Leviticus 19:1-19a, from the largest literary unit, and narrowing in focus with each application, to the smallest surrounding literary unit. The purpose of this approach has been shown to be the creation of the literary context and structural framework for textual analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Accordingly, in the next section, the Holiness Code – as the next literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19 – is examined.

**3.1.4. Structural- and Form-Criticism of the Holiness Code.** In the early stages of the higher criticism of the OT of the nineteenth century, Leviticus 17–26 was considered part of the Priestly stratum or Priestly source (P) (Kiuchi 2010:523). Klostermann then suggested that Leviticus 17–26 constituted a distinct document from the rest of the Priestly stratum, which he called *Heiligkeitsgesetz*: The Holiness Code (H) (Kiuchi 2010:523; Bosman 2018:572).

For many years, scholars accepted that the Holiness Code was edited by the authors of P, and by implication therefore, that the Holiness Code *predated* the Priestly stratum (Hartley 1992:251-260). More recently, Jewish scholars: Knohl and Milgrom, have argued that the Priestly stratum predates the *Holiness Code*; conversely stated, the authors of the Holiness Code edited the Priestly stratum (Kiuchi 2010:523). Kiuchi adds that the Holiness Code is further supported as the most recent of priestly sources by linguistic and ideological comparisons between H and P (2010:523).

While Milgrom (1991:27) dates H to the end of the eighth century BCE – or even later – the Holiness Code is regarded by many scholars as ‘post-Priestly literature’, such as: Otto



(1999), Elliger (1966), Cholewinski (1976), Nihan (2007), and Achenbach (2003; 2008) (Meyer 2012:4). Bosman (2018:571) also adds that the historical context of the Holiness Code is regarded in some circles on the recent scholarship of the Pentateuch, to be the *postexilic* period – and therefore, interpret the Holiness Code (and Leviticus 19) within a *postexilic* context.

By contrast, Kiuchi concludes that the book of Leviticus was written during the time of Moses – based upon internal evidence from the book of Leviticus; and if the book of Leviticus was not written *by* Moses, then it was possibly written by one of Moses' contemporaries (2010:523). Moreover, although Kiuchi (2010:523) accepts that the 'author of Leviticus' used various sources in the composition of Leviticus, he does not support a *distinct* H document, and a *distinct* P document.

However, according to Bosman (2018:572), Milgrom '...made an important observation...' in terms of the concept of holiness in the book of Leviticus – an observation that has as its premise the concepts of a *distinct* H document, and a *distinct* P document (Milgrom 2000:212-245).

Milgrom observed a shift in the concept of holiness from the first half of Leviticus, in Leviticus 1-16 – supporting a possible H document; to the second half of Leviticus, in Leviticus 17-27 – supporting a possible P document. The concept of holiness thus shifts from *cultic* purity, to *ethical* purity: and within this context, chapter 19 forms the centre of this shift (Milgrom 2000:212-245). Moreover, Milgrom views chapter 19 as the centre of the book of Leviticus 19, and of the Pentateuch as a whole – thus highlighting its importance within the Pentateuch (Bosman 2018:572).

Trevaskis (2011:1) also supports a distinct H document and a distinct P document, based upon the shift in the concept of holiness from *cultic* purity in the first half of the book (forming the H document), to *ethical* purity in the second half of the book (forming the P document). Trevaskis (2011:1) suggests that Leviticus 17-26 (H) forms the (later?) *prophetic critique* of Leviticus 1-16 (P), which implies that the formation of the Holiness Code – and by implication, Leviticus 19:1-19a – results from the process of *new revelation* and *identity formation* for a different time and setting from that of the time and setting for Leviticus 1-16.

Therefore, the shift from a *cultic* focus in Leviticus 1–16, to an *ethical* focus in Leviticus 17–26, is supported by: Milgrom (2000:1400-1404); Knohl (1995:175-180); and Bibb

(2009:152) – who specifies that ‘the shift’ moves from a ‘narrow cultic focus’, to a ‘larger communal setting’. Others who support the shift from a *cultic* focus in Leviticus 1–16, to an *ethical* focus in Leviticus 17–26, are: Hieke (2014:612) – who identifies a difference in content between P and H; and Meyer (2016:202) – who adds that the authors of the Holiness Code used ethical content from existing legal codes in order to reinterpret Leviticus 1–16.

Otto’s emphasis on the difference between the Holiness Code from the rest of Leviticus, is that the Holiness Code forms the postexilic, *reinterpretation* of the Priestly Code *in light of* the Sinai Tradition (2007:174). The Holiness Code thus forms a ‘literary achievement’ by the literate of Jehud (i.e., the Jehud literati) during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), by using as sources for the Holiness Code: the *preexilic* Covenant Code, and the *exilic* Priestly Code (from Genesis–Leviticus 9, and Deuteronomy 12–26) (Otto 2007:174).

In support of Otto, in Jeffrey Stackert’s review of Calum Carmichael’s book, *Illuminating Leviticus* (2006), Stackert highlights a scholarly perspective that is *absent* from Carmichael’s book, this being: that the literary reconsideration of biblical law codes resulted in new law codes, i.e., ‘...biblical law in many instances originates in the literary revision of earlier biblical legislation’ (Stackert 2008:97). To the contrary, Carmichael’s view in his book is one that dismisses this view by stating that Israelite authors did not have access to earlier Israelite legal compositions (Stackert 2008:97).

According to Stackert and Jeremy Schipper, what they discuss as the ‘Holiness Legislation’ – *yet* also abbreviating with H – forms a supplement, a revision, and an expansion of the Priestly source (or Priestly Code?). They also suggest that this ‘Holiness Legislation’ is not limited to the original literary unit of Leviticus 17-26, i.e., the Holiness Code (Schipper 2013:458). Their view is that the (authors of the) Holiness Legislation drew from existing law codes and the narrative histories thereof – i.e., the (work of the) Priestly source or the Priestly Code? – to create a new version thereof (Schipper 2013:458).

Otto, Knohl, and Nihan, suggest (the authors of) the Holiness Legislation to be *the* (or one *of*) the Pentateuchal redactor/s (Schipper 2013:459).

Bosman (2018:571) argues that holiness is ‘...redefined in Leviticus 19 by combining the instructions related to cultic rituals (aimed at the priests) in Leviticus 1-16 with the theological-ethical issues (aimed at all Israelites) in Leviticus 17-26; thereby moving from ‘ascribed holiness’ (granted by divine decree to cultic officials) to ‘achieved holiness’ (available to all Israel through obedience) in the post-exilic period. Thus, Bosman

understands Leviticus 1-16 as ‘ascribed holiness’ for the priests, and the Holiness Code as ‘achieved holiness’ for all Israelites. Bosman adds that the Holiness Code expands the Judeo-Christian concept of ‘loving your neighbour’ (Leviticus 19:18) to ‘loving the foreigner’ (Leviticus 19:33-34).

Meyer (2016:198) also accepts the ‘emerging consensus’ that perceives the Holiness Code as the most recent addition to ‘most of’ (Meyer 2016:198) Leviticus 1–16, through a method of *inner-biblical exegesis* (Fishbane’s model from 1985; Choi 2010:6-7) by its authors. Otto (2007:200-201) suggests a date of composition for the Holiness Code during the early fourth century BCE, and understands the Holiness Code to function as an *addition* to the Priestly document of Leviticus 1–16; while Grunwaldt (1999:379-381) argues for a date in the middle of the fifth century BCE, and proposes the Holiness Code originally functioned as an independent legal code. Nihan (2007:574) suggests a date of composition for the Holiness Code during the late fifth century; and Hieke (2014:70) argues for a date in the middle of the fifth century BCE (Meyer 2016:199).

Thus, broadly speaking, there are two seams for the composition of the Holiness Code: a ‘Late Bronze Age’ date – during the eighth century BCE, such as Milgrom (1991:27), and Knohl (1995), who proposes 734-701 BCE; and a more recent date – an ‘Iron Age’ date during the middle of the fifth/beginning of the fourth centuries BCE, by scholars mentioned above. The seam of scholars that accepts the more recent date also supports the general view that the authors of the Holiness Code were priests from a generation after the priests who composed Leviticus 1–16; and that the priests of the Holiness Code created the Holiness Code during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Meyer 2016:201).

*New revelation* is expressed in the shift from the concept of ‘holiness’ that is exclusively associated with priests, in Leviticus 1–16; to a concept of ‘holiness’ that includes all of the people of Israel (Meyer 2016:201).

Furthermore – as already noted with reference to Carmichael’s dismissal of the view that Israelite authors had access to earlier Israelite legal compositions (Stackert 2008:97) – by contrast, Otto (1999:138-182) and Nihan (2007:395-545) both propose that the Holiness Code resulted from the *inner-biblical exegesis* (Fishbane’s model from 1985; Choi 2010:6-7) of existing legal codes, these being: the Decalogue(s), the Covenant Code, the Deuteronomic Code, and the Priestly text (Meyer 2016:200).

In addition, both scholars (Otto 1999:138-182 and Nihan 2007:395-545) place the formation of the Holiness Code, and the separation of the Pentateuch from the Hexateuch ‘... in the same creative event,’ (Meyer 2016:200). However, Meyer (2016:200) highlights that the Holiness Code focuses upon the concepts of the land and the cult, which contradict the idea that the Pentateuch ‘...was created to help diaspora Judaism to create an identity not related to living in the land’ (Meyer 2016:200). This author observes that while the Holiness Code references the land, in Leviticus 19:1-19a, the land is referred to only when addressing the marginalised – which speaks to social justice as the priority, and further suggests the land to be ‘any land in which one finds oneself’, and not necessarily the ‘promised land’.

Accordingly, Meyer (2016:200) asks: ‘...where does the creation of the Holiness Code fit into the creation of the Pentateuch?’ This is addressed in chapter four of the thesis.

Secondary scholarship pertaining to the structure of the Holiness Code is examined hence forth.

3.1.4.1. *The Fear of the Sanctuary and the Sabbath: The Structure of the Holiness Code.* Thematically speaking, Ruwe (1999:90-97,103) suggests the first part of the Holiness Code (chapters 17–22) to focus on the ‘fear of the sanctuary’, and the second part of the Holiness Code (chapters 23–25) to focus on the ‘Sabbath’. Ruwe bases this view on the interpretation of Leviticus 26:1-2<sup>60</sup> as a summary of the command of Yahweh to the Israelites, to preserve: first, the Sabbath and its festivals; and second, the sanctuary and its cult (Ruwe 1999:98-105; Meyer 2012:4). Thus:

1. Chapter 17-22: Ruwe’s ‘Fear of the Sanctuary’ is comprised of:
  - Chapter 17: Prohibitions against eating blood;
  - Chapter 18: Forbidden sexual practices;
  - **Chapter 19: Holiness in Personal Conduct as the priestly version of the Decalogue;**
  - Chapter 20: Punishments for Disobedience; and
  - Chapter 21 and 22: Instructions for the Priests, and Worthy and Unworthy Offerings (Baker et al 1996:70-73).

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<sup>60</sup> ‘You shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD’ (Leviticus 26:1-2, *English Standard Version*).

(Leviticus 26:1-2, *Biblia Stuttgartensia Hebraica*) : את־שבֹּתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקִּדְשֵׁי תִירָאוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

2. Chapter 23-24: Ruwe's 'Sabbath' is comprised of:

- Chapter 23: The Sabbath, and the Appointed Festivals,
  - Verses 1-4: The Sabbath (every seventh day),
  - Verses 5-8: Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread (during March/April),
  - Verses 9-14: The Festival of Firstfruits (during March/ April),
  - Verses 15-22: The Festival of Harvest (during March/April),
  - Verses 23-25: The Festival of Trumpets (during September/ October),
  - Verses 26-32: The Day of Atonement (during September/ October),
  - Verses 33-43: The Festival of Shelters (during September/ October);  
and
- Chapter 24: Pure Oil and Holy Bread, and an example of Just Punishment (Baker et al 1996:74-76).

Chapter 25 details the Sabbath Year; the Year of Jubilee; and the Redemption of Property, the Poor, and the Enslaved (Baker et al 1996:76). Chapter 26, as the last chapter of the Holiness Code, forms a 'Blessings and Curses' text (Baker et al 1996:77).

Otto (1999:172-176) suggests that Leviticus 20:24-26 forms part of the parenetic frame of the Holiness Code, the frame of which is frequently characterised by 'holiness language' (Meyer 2012:5). This holiness language is characterised by thought-forms of *separation* (i.e., the Israelites separated from 'other peoples'); *division* and *distinction* (i.e., between clean and unclean); and *consecration* (i.e., Israel belongs to Yahweh). In this author's view – *ultimately* – the parenetic frame creates the connection between: holiness; and the *possession of land*, supported by Meyer who identifies this connection as an 'explicit link' between: obedience to (ritual) law; and the *possession of land* (Meyer 2012:5).

The parenetic frame is taken from the following verses (Otto 1999:172; Meyer 2012:5), which this author has summarised as follows:

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 18: 1-5   | Obedience to Yahweh's statutes and rules.   |
| 18: 24-30 | Obedience to Yahweh's statutes and rules as being clean and keeping the land clean. |

- 19: 1-4 Be holy because Yahweh is holy, and holiness is expressed by revering: parents; the Sabbath; and Yahweh only.
- 20:7-8 Be holy because Yahweh is your God, and holiness is expressed by obedience to Yahweh's statutes – thereby Yahweh makes you holy.
- 20:22-27 Yahweh gives you a land to possess, flowing with milk and honey (verse 24), through obedience to Yahweh's statutes (verse 23); by being clean (verse 25) and separated (verse 26); and by maintaining the divisions between the living and the dead (verse 27).
- 22:8 Be clean by maintaining the divisions between finding a dead animal, and killing an animal.
- 22:31-33 Obedience to Yahweh's commandments because Yahweh is your God who redeemed you from Egypt (verse 33); Yahweh cleans Israel, and Israel must keep Yahweh's name clean (verse 32).
- 25:18-19 Obedience to Yahweh's statutes and rules will result in keeping the land and the land being fruitful.
- 25:38 Yahweh rescued Israel from foreign land and gives them land because he is their God.
- 25:42 Israel is Yahweh's servant, and not a slave to other nations.
- 25:55 Because Yahweh rescued Israel from slavery in Egypt, Israel is now Yahweh's servant.
- 26:1-2 Because Yahweh is your God, you are not allowed to partake in idols, images, pillars, or figured stones. The way in which to show reverence is through the tabernacle (and its sacrifices), and by keeping the Sabbaths (festivals).

Presented below is the structure of the Holiness Code, assimilating Van Seters' thematic outline and Coates' form-criticism of the Mosaic Saga, with: Larkin (1920:161), Meyer (2012:3), and Ruwe (1999:90-97,103):

*The Pentateuch*

- *Mosaic Saga* Exodus 1–Deuteronomy 34 (Coates 1983:12)
  - Sinai Tradition Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:4)

*The book of Leviticus*

1-16: *Sacrifice (Priestly tradition by P)*

17-27: *Sanctification and Separation (Priestly tradition by P and H)*

- **Leviticus 17-26** **The Holiness Code** (Van Seters 2008:4; Larkin 1920:161; Meyer 2012:3)
  - Chapters 17-22 by H; Ruwe's 'Fear of the Sanctuary' (Ruwe 1999:90-97,103)
    - \* chapter 19
  - Chapters 23-25 by P; Ruwe's 'Sabbath' (Ruwe 1999:90-97,103)
    - \* chapter 24:10-23 *Narrative* of blasphemy (Meyer 2012:2)
  - Chapter 26 by H; Blessings and Curses (Baker et al 1996:77).
- Leviticus 27 Vows and Tithes (by P)
- Leviticus 27-Numbers 10 Various Laws and Regulations (Van Seters 2008:4)
- Numbers 10-36 Wilderness Journey
- Deuteronomy The Second Law

In summary, this present section has examined secondary scholarship pertaining to: the case for, and study of, the Holiness Code. Hence, the *structural-* and *form-critical* analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a has narrowed significantly: from the Pentateuch, to the Holiness Code. In the following section, the creation of the literary context and structural framework of Leviticus 19:1-19a for textual analysis thereof, narrows once more onto chapter 19 of the book of Leviticus.

Accordingly, in the next section, Leviticus 19 is examined using secondary scholarship and related research.

**3.1.5. Structural- and Form-Criticism of Leviticus 19.** Chapter 19 forms part of a literary unit from chapters 18–20, which has been identified by Sklar (2014:241) as a chiasmic unit – of which chapter 19 forms the centre (Milgrom 2000:212-245). The chiasmic unit is presented thus (italics and summary are by this author):

- Chapter 18: the *unholy* practices that Israel should *avoid*;
- Chapter 19: the ‘*holy* practices’ that Israel *should* be practicing; and
- Chapter 20: the *unholy* practices that Israel should *avoid*.

According to Sklar, chapter 19 forms the ‘holy practices that Israel should be practicing’. Sklar’s ‘holy practices’ are likened by Rooker (2000:250) to ‘ethics’, who assesses Leviticus 19 as the ‘...highest development of ethics in the Old Testament’. Rooker defines this concept of ‘ethics’ in terms of Israel’s *identity* amongst other nations, this being: a ‘*holy*’ nation – prescribed in Exodus 19:6<sup>61</sup> (Bosman 2018:575). Hence, this author highlights that for Israel to be a *holy* nation, they are to be an *ethical* nation *amongst other* nations – the nations of which are, by implication therefore, nations that are *not* ethical, i.e., *unethical*: and chapter 19 describes *how*.

Jagersma (1972:9-11,133-144) addresses the significance of chapter 19 by proposing that the most important concepts of the *prophetic* tradition – as well as the most important concepts of the *priestly/cultic* tradition – are incorporated in Leviticus 19. The formation of chapter 19 as the result of the compromise reached between prophets and priests (part of the premise of this thesis) thus, is supported by Jagersma. Jagersma dates Leviticus 19 broadly: during the exilic *and* postexilic periods. Accordingly, Bosman (2018:575) summarises that the purpose for the amalgamation of both the prophetic and the priestly traditions in the form Leviticus 19, was: ‘...to enhance and maintain identity after the demise of the Judean monarchy’. The search for *identity* as part of Israel’s history (another part of the premise of this thesis) thus, is noted by Bosman.

Specifically, Ruwe (1999:187-220) dates Leviticus 19 to the *exilic* period, during which the need arose to redefine the concept of holiness in consideration of the Jewish exiles living

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<sup>61</sup> ‘... “and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.” These are the words that you shall speak to the people of Israel’ (Exodus 19:6, *English Standard Version*).



*outside* of Jerusalem and throughout the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE, i.e., in the Diaspora – thus shifting the focus of land from the *promised* land, to *any* land: and *any* land *without* the Temple (Bosman 2018:575). By contrast, Bosman (2018:572) situates Chapter 19 within the *postexilic* period, and more accurately: during the time *preceding* the construction of the Second Temple.

However, a *preexilic* date for Leviticus 19 is proposed by the Kaufman School, and the following scholars: Milgrom (*Leviticus*, 2000), and Knohl (*The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*, 1995). These scholars prefer to refer to the Holiness Code as the ‘Holiness *redaction*’ – whose view is that the Priestly source material and the ‘Holiness *redaction*’ are *both* situated *before* the Babylonian exile, i.e., during the eighth century BCE (Bosman 2018:575). While these scholars accept an independent P (Priestly) text, and a younger H (Holiness) text, they do not accept that the younger H text used Deuteronomic material as a source (Bosman 2018:575) – in contrast to a stream of scholarship that views Deuteronomic source material as primary source material for much of the Pentateuch (for example, Otto 1994:208-233 and Van Seters 2008:14).

Milgrom (2004:217) views the functionality of Leviticus 19 as a solution to eighth-century *prophetic* criticism – especially the criticism of Isaiah, who spoke out, and against: social injustice; economic corruption; and cultic corruption. Thus, Leviticus 19 sought to solve the issues that the *prophets* addressed – issues related to Israel’s ‘golden age’ and the Israelite monarchy – such as: ‘...urbanisation, latifundia (the rich swallowing up of the land of the poor), and other social injustices...’ (Milgrom 2004:217). Accordingly, the commands in Leviticus 19 function as the ‘New’ Decalogue (by comparison: *The Decalogue* of Exodus 20:1-17), through which the Israelites are instructed on ‘how to live’ in harmony with: Yahweh, themselves, the other, and nature (Milgrom 2004:217).

Considering that the Pentateuch is comprised – in *form* – of: law and narrative, Leviticus 19 is considered by Pentateuchal scholarship, to be: *law* – thus forming part of the instructional section of the Pentateuch, i.e., the Sinai Tradition (Bosman 2018:572). The ‘legal dimension’ of chapter 19 was identified in 1877 by August Klostermann (1877:416), as: ‘...a codex or collection of legal instructions’ (Bosman 2018:572).

Therefore, Leviticus 19 – as a *collection* of ‘legal instructions’ – forms a legal *codex* that is comprised from *various* religious and ethical commands (Driver 1991:43-48). Moreover,

when Leviticus 19 was compared with the codex of Exodus 20-23, Driver (1991:43-48) identified that Leviticus 19 possibly forms a younger codex than the one of Exodus 20-23.

Martin Noth also concluded that Leviticus 19 forms a *collection* of ‘...diverging instructions applicable to daily life’ (Noth 1966:109-110), while Ruwe (1999:187-220) broadly identified the law-forms of Leviticus 19 to be *casuistic* laws (from chapters 5-10, and 20-25) – which can be distinguished from *apodictic* laws (from chapters 11-18, and 26-27).

Although a scholarly consensus has not been reached on the literary cohesion of chapter 19 (Nihan 2007:460), some have identified Leviticus 19 to function – in part – as a ‘form’ of The Decalogue. Some scholars have done so by attempting to identify a comprehensive structure in the chapter. For example, Levine (1989:124-125) argues for a strong connection between Leviticus 19 and the Ten Commandments of Exodus 20:1-17 (also referred to as *The Decalogue*, although there are a few decalogues in the Sinai Tradition). Rogerson (2014:43) also accepts that Leviticus 19 ‘...contains an expanded version’ of The Decalogue, through which the concept of holiness is redefined in terms of *social justice* (verses 9-10, 13-15, and 18), using ‘...at least two originally separate collections of commandments’ (2014:43) (Bosman 2018:575).

Meyer (2016:198) suggests that verses 3–4 and verses 11–12 of Leviticus 19 form a reinterpretation of parts of The Decalogue, achieved through a method of *inner-biblical exegesis* (Fishbane’s model from 1985; Choi 2010:6-7) by the authors thereof. While these authors engaged in the process of *new revelation* (this author), Meyer proposes that the reinterpretation by these authors resulted in ‘some tension’ between Leviticus 19 and The Decalogue, as well as with some texts of the Priestly document (Leviticus 1-16) (2016:198).

In order to resolve the tension between these said texts, Nihan (2007:576-607) suggests that Leviticus 10 may have been added to Leviticus 1-16, *after* the composition and addition of the Holiness Code to the Priestly Code (Meyer 2016:198). Nihan (2007:564-569) also identifies texts produced by a ‘Holiness School’ (HS), whom he suggests also produced the Holiness Code. These texts are: Leviticus 11:43-45 and Leviticus 16:29-34a, and they are supported as ‘Holiness School’ texts by scholars: Knohl (1995:104-106), Milgrom (2000:1332-1344), and Meyer (2016:200).

Alternatively, the literary cohesion of chapter 19 is identified by Hieke (2014:702-703) through the ‘...consistent interconnectedness of cult and ethics’ (Bosman 2018:576), and through the repeated instruction to ‘be holy’. According to Meyer (2016:214), the

simultaneous concepts of both *cult* and *ethics* form evidence for the functionality of the Holiness Code in *two* settings, these being: for the Jewish faith communities living *in* Jerusalem/ Jehud (*in the land*), i.e., with access to the cult (and Temple); and for the Jewish faith communities living in the Diaspora (*outside the land*), *without* the cult (and Temple) (Meyer 2016:214).

Levine (1989:124-125) suggests that the theme of *holiness* forms the differentiating characteristic of Leviticus 19 (also noted by the said scholars), however Levine also suggests that the theme of holiness forms the cohesion within the chapter. Further, Levine (1989:124-125) links the concept of holiness within chapter 19, to the ideology: *a kingdom of priests*,<sup>62</sup> situated within the ‘Revelation of the Law at Sinai’ from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 1998:4).

This author suggests that chapter 19 results from the process of *new revelation* and *identity formation* for a different time and setting from that of the time and setting for Leviticus 1–16. In this manner, chapter 19 forms part of the conceptual shift of holiness from *cultic* purity in Leviticus 1–16, to *ethical* purity in Leviticus 17–26 (Trevaskis 2011:1). As part of the evolution of *ethical* purity, chapter 19 forms the *centre* of this shift (Milgrom 2000:212-245; Trevaskis 2011:1). Moreover, Milgrom views chapter 19 as the centre of the *book* of Leviticus, and of the Pentateuch as a whole – thus highlighting importance of Leviticus 19 within the Pentateuch (Bosman 2018:572).

The structure of chapter 19 is introduced with the parenetic frame of the Holiness Code (Meyer 2012:5; Otto 1999:172-176) that was mentioned in the previous section. The verses of the parenetic frame that pertain to chapter 19 (Otto 1999:172; Meyer 2012:5) are: verses 1-4. This author’s summary of the first four verses, of chapter 19, is: the expression of *holiness as respect*: respect for one’s parents; the Sabbath; and Yahweh as the only God – the obedience of which is motivated by holiness as a characteristic of Yahweh:

And the LORD spoke to Moses, saying, (2) “Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them, You shall be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy. (3) Every one of you shall revere his mother and his father, and you shall keep my Sabbaths: I am the LORD your God. (4) Do not turn to idols or make for

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<sup>62</sup> ‘...and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation’ (Exodus 19:6, *English Standard Version*).

yourselves any gods of cast metal: I am the LORD your God. (Meyers 2020, *English Standard Version*)

Therefore, the first four verses of chapter 19 form a structuring device for chapter 19 (and for Leviticus 19:1-19a) by being part of the larger parenetic frame in the book of Leviticus. The parenetic function of these four verses will be examined in the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

A second structuring device in chapter 19 (and for Leviticus 19:1-19a), is the fixed expression: ‘I am the Lord your God’ (אני יהוה אלהיכם), and a shortened version thereof: ‘I am the Lord’ (אני יהוה). This expression forms the most frequent fixed expression throughout chapter 19, and functions as a possible structuring device for the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ in chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573), i.e., the ethics of chapter 19 are motivated by Yahweh’s ethics. Consequently, this expression has been interpreted by Nihan (2007:460-461) as a ‘motive clause’, which appears sixteen times and forms sixteen sections if taken as a marker that ends a section. Therefore:

1. First section – 2b: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
2. Second section – 3: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
3. Third section – 4: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
4. Fourth section – 5-10: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
5. Fifth section – 11-12: ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
6. Sixth section – 13-14: ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
7. Seventh section – 15-16: ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
8. Eighth section – 17-18: ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
9. Ninth section – 19-25: verse 25 ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
10. Tenth section – 26-28: verse 28 ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
11. Eleventh section – 29-30: verse 30 ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה
12. Twelfth section – 31: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ אני יהוה אלהיכם
13. Thirteenth section – 32: ‘I am the Lord’ אני יהוה

14. Fourteenth section – 33-34: verse 34 ‘I am the Lord your God’ **אני יהוה אלהיכם**
15. Fifteenth section – 35-36: verse 36 ‘I am the Lord your God’ **אני יהוה אלהיכם**
16. Sixteenth section – 37: ‘I am the Lord’ **אני יהוה**

The first eight occurrences of this repeated phrase – and by implication, the first eight sections this phrase creates – are applied to the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

In addition, Wenham (1979:264) grouped the variants of the motive clause (‘I am the Lord your God’ and ‘I am the Lord’) into three subunits:

1. Subunit 1, from Leviticus 19:2b-10, the sections of which end with the motive clause, ‘I am the Lord *your God*’:

- **אני יהוה אלהיכם**

- Verse 2b: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’
- Verse 3: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’
- Verse 4: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’
- Verse 10: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’

2. Subunit 2, from Leviticus 19:11-18, the sections of which end with the motive clause, ‘I am the Lord’:

- **אני יהוה**

- Verse 12: ‘I am the Lord’
- Verse 14: ‘I am the Lord’
- Verse 16: ‘I am the Lord’
- Verse 18: ‘I am the Lord’ (reaching the climax)

3. And Subunit 3, from Leviticus 19:19-37, the sections of which end with *both* variants of the motive clause, i.e., ‘I am the Lord *your God*’, and ‘I am the Lord’:

- **אני יהוה אלהיכם**

- **אני יהוה**

In addition, this third subunit begins in verse 19a with: ‘Keep my *rules*’

- את־חֻקֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ

This third subunit also ends in verse 37 with: ‘Keep *all* my rules and *all* regulations’

- וְשִׁמְרֵם אֶת־כָּל־חֻקֵי וְאֶת־כָּל־מִשְׁפָּטַי וְעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה:

Wenham’s (1979:264) first two subunits, and verse 19a of Wenham’s third subunit, will be applied to the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, however, in an adjusted way.

Bailey (2005:227) identified that the whole of chapter 19 forms an *inclusio*, beginning with the command in verse 2 to be holy (קְדוּשִׁים), because Yahweh is holy (קְדוּשׁ); and ending with the command in verse 37 to follow Yahweh’s statutes (חֻקֵי), and rules (מִשְׁפָּטַי). Thus:

- *Inclusio* A: Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them, You shall be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy (Leviticus 19:2, *English Standard Version*).

דַּבֵּר אֶל־כָּל־עֵדֶת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם קְדוּשִׁים תִּהְיוּ כִּי קְדוּשׁ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

(Leviticus 19:2, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

- *Inclusio* B: And you shall observe all my *statutes* (חֻקֵי) and all my *rules* (מִשְׁפָּטַי), and do them: I am the LORD (Leviticus 19:37, *English Standard Version*).

וְשִׁמְרֵם אֶת־כָּל־חֻקֵי וְאֶת־כָּל־מִשְׁפָּטַי וְעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה:

(Leviticus 19:37, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*)

*Inclusio* A (Bailey 2005:227) is applied to the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. This author also applies Bailey’s premise for the *inclusio*, to verse 19a – this being: the issuing of the command to obey Yahweh.

Gerstenberger (1996:262-264) suggests that the singular and plural forms of the commands in chapter 19 indicate the ‘life context’ or the *sitz im leben* of the commands. The commands in verses 9-18 are mostly *singular*, and address ‘...an individual male within the framework of his clan or immediate community’ (Gerstenberger 1996:262). In this manner, the singular

commands function as individual instructions aimed towards the (extended) family (Bosman 2018:574).

By contrast, Gerstenberger identifies *plural*, priestly commands in: verses 11-12, verses 26-28, and verses 30-31 of chapter 19. The life context of these verses is possibly ‘assembled listeners’, which Gerstenberger further identifies as being ‘...the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE)’ (1996:262). Thus:

9-10: harvest commands	singular	father of household
11-12: behaviour towards the neighbour and God	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
13-14: social behaviour commands	singular	father of household
15-16: legal proceedings	singular	father of household
17-18: behaviour within the community	singular	father of household
19: taboo against mixing	singular	father of household
26-28: religious behaviour	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
29: prohibits prostitution	singular	father of household
31: religious behaviour	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
32: demands respect	singular	father of household
33-34: commands regarding ‘resident aliens’		
first prohibition	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
second commandment	singular	father of household
35-36: honesty in commerce	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>

In sum, the singular commands that possibly address the father of a household or close community, are: the harvest; social behaviour; legal proceedings, behaviour within the community; taboos against mixing and prostitution; respect; and resident aliens (Gerstenberger 1996:262). Whereas, the ‘plural priestly’ commands that possibly address the assembled listeners of the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian

Empire (550–330 BCE), are: behaviour towards neighbours and God; religious behaviour; resident aliens; and honesty in commerce (Gerstenberger 1996:262).

In the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the ‘life setting’ of the commands in verses 9-19 are examined as mostly singular, familial commands (Gerstenberger 1996:262; Bosman 2018:574); contrasted by the ‘life setting’ of the commands in verses 11-12, as: plural, communal commands for the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Gerstenberger 1996:262).

Further, Rogerson (2014:48-53) suggests that singular instructions are related to issues of social justice during the exilic and postexilic periods, with a focus upon individual responsibility in context to casuistic commands – in which the specific context and circumstances of the commands are described. By contrast, the plural instructions resemble seven of the Ten Commandments, with a focus upon corporate responsibility within a context of apodictic commands – in which no exceptions or conditions are added. Plural instructions are therefore possibly older than the singular commands (2014:48-53).

Rogerson’s (2014:48-53) work that is applicable to this author’s immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, is: verses 9-10, and 13-19, which form *singular* (individual responsibility) and casuistic (the context and circumstances of the commands are described) instructions that address *social justice* during the exilic and postexilic periods; while verses 11-12 form *plural* (corporate responsibility) and apodictic (no exceptions or conditions are added) instructions that resemble seven of the Ten Commandments, possibly also being older than the singular commands.

Of particular interest to this author, is Jagersma’s (1972:9-11,133-144) work, which identified the most important concepts of the *prophetic* tradition to be in: verses 13-18; and the most important concepts of the *priestly* and *cultic* traditions to be in: verse 9, verse 19, verses 23-31, verses 33-36, and verse 37. Thus:

- *Prophetic* tradition commands incorporate:

13-14: social behaviour commands	singular	father of household
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15-16: legal proceedings	singular	father of household
17-18: behaviour within the community	singular	father of household
• <i>Priestly</i> and <i>cultic</i> tradition commands incorporate:		
9-10: harvest commands	singular	father of household
19: taboo against mixing	singular	father of household
26-28: religious behaviour	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
29: prohibits prostitution	singular	father of household
31: religious behaviour	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
33-34: commands regarding ‘resident aliens’		
first prohibition	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>
second commandment	singular	father of household
35-36: honesty in commerce	<i>plural</i>	<i>religious community</i>

The application of Jagersma’s (1972:9-11,133-144) work to this author’s immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, is the identification of the *prophetic* tradition in 19:13-18; and the identification of the *priestly* and *cultic* traditions in 19:9 and 19:19.

In summary, Leviticus chapter 19 has been examined as the closest, surrounding literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a, thereby:

- narrowing the broader *structural-* and *form-*critical analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a from the Holiness Code, onto chapter 19; and
- further creating the literary context and structural framework of Leviticus 19:1-19a for the textual analysis and immanent reading thereof.

~ In the next section, the immanent reading is prefaced with the *structural-* and *form-*critical analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a, also using secondary scholarship and related research. In this

manner, the creation of the literary context and structural framework of Leviticus 19:1-19a is completed, in preparation for this author's textual analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a.~

### 3.2. IMMANENT READING OF LEVITICUS 19:1-19a

In the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, all the English, biblical references are taken from *English Standard Version* translation; while the Hebrew, biblical references are taken from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.

The case for Leviticus 19:1-18 as a literary unit is supported by the following secondary scholarship. Following the examination of this scholarship, by contrast this author suggests reasons for a literary unit from Leviticus 19:1-19a, and carries out an immanent reading thereof. An immanent reading of the text allows for detailed textual analysis, which '...reveals the complexity of the text tradition' (Wessels 2020:1). The complexity of the text tradition further evinces the 'organic' (Wessels 2020:1) nature of the text in terms of '...ongoing interpretation within the text itself' (Wessels 2020:1). Also referred to as *inner-biblical exegesis* (Fishbane's model from 1985; Choi 2010:6-7) by Meyer (2016:198), the text's multi-layered composition speaks to the work of the text's authors and redactors.

Thus, based upon the critical analysis of the text, it becomes evident that the text has undergone '...phases of growth through interpretation and application' (Wessels 2020:1). For this reason, Leviticus 19:1-19a can be examined for evidence of (*re*)interpretation (i.e., ideology/ theology) within the text itself, by redactors thereof; as well as for evidence of application (i.e., praxis) within the text. As noted, Wessels refers to the text as *organic* in nature, which this author further assimilates with the diachronic nature of the text and its compositional history.

**3.2.1. The Case for a Literary Unit from Leviticus 19:1-19a.** Pleins (2001:49) identifies the heart of the Holiness Code to be Leviticus 19:1-18, summarising this literary unit as follows: 'Grounded neither in sheer obedience (D), nor in acts of divine conquest (J), the P writers predicate holiness as the ground of the commandments and their obedience.' Accordingly, Pleins differentiates Leviticus 19:1-18 source-critically: the ideologies of sources D and J, are different from the ideologies of source P. For example, the traditional ideologies of *obedience* and *gain/ success* (in this case being: the acquisition of *land*) should, according to P's ideology, be driven by *holiness*.

(As stated by this author and from a narrative perspective, the acquisition of land forms the primary objective with regards to the plot of the Pentateuch. This author therefore interprets the acquisition of land as one of the motivating ideologies – and writing goals – of the Pentateuchal authors.)

Accordingly, the concept of *holiness* is what separates Leviticus 19:1-18 from the other decalogues of the Sinai Tradition (Pleins 2001:49). The concept of holiness in Leviticus 19:1-18, advocates greater attention to matters of *social justice*, when compared with the decalogues found in Deuteronomy and Exodus (Pleins 2001:41-91). For example, Leviticus 19:1-18 ‘...draws together the least to the greatest’ (Pleins 2001:41-91), by addressing: theft; false oaths; fraud; labourers’ income; murder; vengeance; the right of the poor to the same standards of justice afforded to the rich; harvest provisions for the poor and the stranger; and economic systems that consider the labourer, the physically disadvantaged, the disabled, the hungry, and the poor. Furthermore, in this manner, Leviticus 19:1-18 succeeds the comparatively limited consideration in Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code, with regards to: the poor; and the debt slaves (Pleins 2001:41-91).

Pleins also views holiness in Leviticus 19:1-18 as ‘separation’. This author notes therefore, that the ideology of a *separated* holiness – by nature, the *theory* (theology) thereof – can physically be expressed as profound, social justice – i.e., the *praxis* thence. In this manner, Leviticus 19:1-18 (of the Mosaic Saga and the Sinai Tradition), shifts the narrative focus of the Patriarchal Saga and Credo Tradition of: *land* for *Israel*, to: *social justice* for *all*. Accordingly, one of the *writing* goals (Choi 2010:105-107), and ideological choices (Choi 2010:107) present in Leviticus 19:1-18 – according to secondary scholarship thus far – is: *separated* holiness, expressed as *social justice* for *all*. The concept of a ‘separated holiness’ reflects one of the ideologies of the priests, which is further addressed after the immanent reading.

In addition, Leviticus 19 describes *how* Israel is to be an *ethical* nation amongst other nations (Rooker 2000:250; Bosman 2018:575). Hieke (2014:705) divides chapter 19 into a literary unit from verses 3-18, and describes this unit as a *mixture* of laws that address both *social* aspects, and *cultic* concerns of the Israelite community. Hieke therefore names the unit: ‘Commandments and Prohibitions from Cult, Decalogue, and Society’ (English translation) (Meyer 2016:204).

To this end, Meyer asks why the laws in Hieke's literary unit from verses 3-18 (about the cult, inter-human relations, and social justice) are mixed together in the way that they are (2016:204). Meyer answers: '...it is to show that, just as a cult without an interest in ethics is not possible for the authors of the Holiness Code, so ethics without cult is also unimaginable' (2016:204). In this author's view, Meyer's answer forms evidence of the compromise reached between the ideology of the Zadokites (i.e., the cult) and the Shaphanites (i.e., ethics, defined as holiness expressed through social justice).

Using Hieke's literary unit from verses 3-18, Meyer (2016:204) presents the structure of verses 3-18 *thematically*, as follows:

- 19:3-4           The Decalogue
- 19:5-8           The Cult and the Peace offering
- 19:9-10         Harvest laws in aid of the poor and the foreigner (social justice)
- 19:11-12        The Decalogue
- 19:13-14        Business laws in aid of: those not earning a lot of money; the deaf; and the blind
- 19:15-16        Fair justice (social justice)
- 19:17-18        The command to love your neighbour

However, the structure of chapter 19 is demarcated differently for different scholars. For example, as noted in the preceding section, Wenham (1979:264) structures chapter 19 into three *subunits* – based upon variants of the *motive clause*, 'I am the Lord (your God)'. The *motive clause* further creates sections within each subunit. This author has adjusted Wenham's three units to four subunits, by including 19:1-2a as subunit 0. Therefore:

- *Subunit 0*: 19:1-2a    *Introductory formula* to the divine speech;
- *Subunit 1*: 19:2b-10   Four uses of 'I am the Lord *your God*';
- *Subunit 2*: 19:11-18   Four uses of 'I am the Lord'; and
- *Subunit 3*: 19:19-37   The use of both 'I am the Lord *your God*', and 'I am the Lord'; as well as the use of 'Keep my *rules*', which Wenham (1979:264) identifies in verse 19a and verse 37 to demarcate this portion of text as a literary unit.

Concerning the structure of chapter 19, this author responds to the said views by selecting verse 19a to form the ending of the traditionally accepted literary unit from verses 1-18.

Thus, the traditional unit from verses 1-18 (Pleins 2001:49), and the literary unit from verses 3-18 (Hieke 2014:705), are contrasted by this author's selection of verses 1-19a.

This author identifies Wenham's (1979:264) marker, 'Keep my *rules*' in verse 19a (as well as in verse 37) as a *repeated phrase* that divides chapter 19 in half, thus ending each half with a focus upon *obedience* – and thereby supporting this author's selection of the literary unit from Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Further, the *premise* for Bailey's (2005:227) identification of chapter 19 as an *inclusio* from between verses 2 and 37, further supports this author's proposal for a literary unit from verses 1-19a. As noted previously, Bailey's *inclusio* is based upon the first *command* in verse 2 to be holy (קדושים) because Yahweh is holy (קדוש); and upon the final *command* in verse 37 to follow Yahweh's statutes (חקתי) and rules (משפטי).

Therefore, the 'instruction to obey' opens (in verse 2b), divides (in verse 19a), and closes (in verse 37), chapter 19. In this manner, the 'instruction to obey' can be applied to support the selection of verse 19a as *an end* for the literary unit from verses 1 to 19a. To clarify, if Wenham's (1979:264) marker, 'Keep my *rules*' in verse 19a, is applied to Bailey's premise for the *inclusio*, it follows that 'adherence to a command' in both verse 2, and in verse 19a, function as markers for this author's selection of Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Moreover, Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan (2007:461) accept that chapter 19 can be divided into two halves, with a 'mirrored structure'. The phrase: 'Keep my *rules*' in verse 19a (and repeated in verse 37) – also identified by Wenham (1979:264) and discussed as the marker for his view for the indication of a third *subunit* of chapter 19 – can in this author's opinion, function as the 'end marker' for Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan's (2007:461) first mirrored, literary half of chapter 19. The phrase: 'Keep my *rules* and *regulations*' in verse 37 can function as the second 'end marker' for Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan's (2007:461) second literary half of chapter 19. Thus:

- First half: 19:1-19a                      Ending with 'You will **keep** my **rules**':  
את־חֻקְתִּי תִשְׁמְרוּ
- Second half: 19:19b-37                Ending with 'You will **keep** my **rules** and my **regulations**...':

ושמרתם את-כל-הקתי ואת-כל-משפטי ועשיתם אתם

אני יהוה:

In sum, while scholars such as Hieke (2014:705) demarcate verses 3-18 as a literary unit, titled: ‘Commandments and Prohibitions from Cult, Decalogue, and Society’ (Hieke 2014:705), this author selects Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan’s (2007:461) first mirrored division of chapter 19 as a literary unit for this author’s immanent reading thereof, this being: Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Consequently, this author views the repeated phrase ‘Keep my rules’ (in verse 19a), and ‘Keep my rules and regulations’ (in verse 37a) as markers for the end of two major divisions of chapter 19, thus aligning with the first and second mirrored divisions of Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan (2007:461):

Furthermore – and to clarify – while Nihan (2007:460-461) keeps the whole of verse 2 part of a literary subunit from verses 1-2b, Wenham (1979:264) separates verse 2 between verse 2a and verse 2b, in two separate literary subunits. Thus, in Wenham’s schema, a literary subunit is indirectly formed from 19:1-2a, through the demarcation of a subunit from 19:2b-10. Wenham’s subunit from 19:2b-10 is constructed around the repeated phrase: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ – which (as has been shown in previous sections) is repeated four times in this literary unit.

However, through an application of narrative criticism to verse 1 and verse 2 of chapter 19, this author observes a difference between the speaker in the text in verse 1 and in verse 2 – thus supporting Nihan’s division. This author also observes a difference between the first-, second-, and third-person pronouns in verse 1, in verse 2a, and in verse 2b – thus supporting Wenham’s division.

For example, a division between verse 1 and verse 2 is based upon: the *narrator*’s speech in verse 1 – which forms a third-person point of view from an ‘outside’ perspective; and *Yahweh*’s speech in verse 2 and onwards – which forms a first-person point of view from the speaker’s (i.e., *Yahweh*’s) perspective. Thus, between verse 1 and verse 2, a shift takes place, from: the third-person, narrated speech; to the first-person, *Yahweh*’s speech.

However, in verse 2, the speaker’s point of view shifts once more, from: *Yahweh*’s first-person speech, in verse 2a; to *Yahweh*’s second-person speech, in verse 2b – through the use of the second-person pronoun, ‘you’. The change in the pronoun functions for rhetorical

effect, forming a literary tool to attract the audience/ reader's attention, who are: כל־עדת בני־ישראל (all the assembled sons – *people* – of Israel).

The subsequent text remains in Yahweh's second-person speech, thus supporting Wenham's subdivision between verses 2a and 2b. Therefore, in light of the said secondary scholarship, and for the said reasons that this author chooses a literary unit from Leviticus 19:1-**19a** (and not 19:1-**18**), the following outlines and tables present the structural views of chapter 19 in summary form, in order to consolidate the information thus far.

This author selects Wenham's division concerning verse 2, and therefore adds *subunit 0*, from Leviticus 19:1-2a, to Wenham's discussed subunits. The *introduction to the divine speech* between Yahweh and Moses, therefore forms the first subunit – thus creating four subunits of Leviticus 19:1-19a, as follows:

1. Subunit 0, 19:1-2a *Introductory formula*: 'And Yahweh spoke to Moses saying, "Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them,' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573);
2. 1<sup>st</sup> Subunit, 19:2b-10 *Motive clause*: 'I am the Lord *your God*' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264);
3. 2<sup>nd</sup> Subunit, 19:11-18 *Motive clause*: 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264); and
4. 3<sup>rd</sup> Subunit, 19:19-37 *Motive clause*: both 'I am the Lord *your God*', and 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264).

Furthermore, this author adjusts Wenham's schema even further by adding verse 19a from Wenham's third subunit, to Wenham's second subunit; and by renaming each subunit 'A, B, C'. Thus:

1. Subunit A, 19:1-2a *Introductory formula*: 'And Yahweh spoke to Moses saying, "Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them,' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573);
2. Subunit B, 19:2b-10 *Motive clause*: 'I am the Lord *your God*' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264); and
3. Subunit C, 19:11-19a *Motive clause*: 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264); and 'Keep my rules' (Wenham 1979:264; Otto 1994:245-246; Nihan 2007:461).

The first table assimilates the work of Hieke (2014:705), Meyer (2016:204), Bailey (2005:227), Wenham (1979:264), Nihan (2007:460-461), and Otto (1994:245-246). Thus:

<p align="center"><b><u>Suggested: Major Unit</u></b> <b><u>19:3-18</u></b></p>	<p align="center"><b><u>Suggested: Subunit A</u></b> <b><u>19:1-2a</u></b></p>	<p align="center"><b><u>Suggested: Major Unit</u></b> <b><u>19:1-19a</u></b></p>
<p>‘Commandments and Prohibitions from Cult, Decalogue, and Society’ Hieke (2014:705)  Meyer (2016:204)</p>	<p>Introduction to the divine speech (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573)</p> <p align="center"><b><u>Suggested: Subunit B</u></b> <b><u>19:2b-10</u></b></p> <p><i>Sections</i> of subunit B end with ‘I am the Lord <i>your God</i>’:  אני יהוה אלהיכם :</p> <p align="center"><b><u>Suggested: Subunit C</u></b> <b><u>19:11-19a</u></b></p> <p><i>Sections</i> of subunit C end with ‘I am the Lord’:  אלהיך אני יהוה :  and subunit C ends with ‘Keep my rules’:  את־חקתי תשמרו</p> <p>Wenham (1979:264) Nihan (2007:460-461)</p>	<p>First Major literary unit: begins with ‘Be holy’:  קדשים תהיו כי קדוש</p> <p>and ends with ‘Keep my rules’:  את־חקתי תשמרו</p>
<p><i>Verses 1-2</i></p>	<p align="center"><b><u>1-2a: Subunit A</u></b></p> <p>1-2a: <i>Introductory formula</i>: introduction to the divine</p>	<p>1-2: form part of the parenetic frame of <i>holiness</i> (Otto 1999:172; Meyer 2012:5).</p>



	<p>speech (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573):</p> <p>וידבר יהוה אל־משה לאמר:</p> <p>2a: <i>Command</i> to obey: <i>Inclusio A</i> (Bailey 2005:227)</p> <p><b><u>2b-10: the beginning of Subunit B</u></b></p> <p>2b: First section ends with ‘I am the Lord <i>your God</i>’ (Nihan 2007:460-461):</p> <p>אני יהוה אלהיכם :</p>	
<p><b>Verses 3-4</b> The Decalogue (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p>3: Second section ends with ‘I am the Lord <i>your God</i>’ (Nihan 2007:460-461):</p> <p>אני יהוה אלהיכם :</p> <p>4: Third section ends with ‘I am the Lord <i>your God</i>’ (Nihan 2007:460-461):</p> <p>אני יהוה אלהיכם :</p>	<p>3-4: form part of the parenetic frame of <i>holiness</i> (Otto 1999:172; Meyer 2012:5).</p>
<p><b>Verses 5-8</b> The Cult and the Peace offering (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p>5-10: Fourth section ends with ‘I am the Lord <i>your God</i>’ (Nihan 2007:460-461):</p> <p>אני יהוה אלהיכם :</p>	

<p><b>Verses 9-10</b> Harvest laws in aid of the poor and the foreigner (social justice) (Meyer 2016:204)</p>		
<p><b>Verses 11-12</b> The Decalogue (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p><b><u>11-19a: the beginning of Subunit C</u></b>  11-12: Fifth section ends with 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461):  אלהיך אני יהוה :</p>	
<p><b>Verses 13-14</b> Business laws in aid of: those not earning a lot of money; the deaf; and the blind (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p>13-14: Sixth section ends with 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461):  אלהיך אני יהוה :</p>	
<p><b>Verses 15-16</b> Fair justice (social justice) (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p>15-16: Seventh section ends with 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007:460-461):  אלהיך אני יהוה :</p>	
<p><b>Verses 17-18</b> The command to love your neighbour (Meyer 2016:204)</p>	<p>17-18: Eighth section ends with 'I am the Lord' (Nihan 2007: 460-461):  אלהיך אני יהוה :</p>	

<b>Verse 19a</b>	<p><b>The end of Subunit C</b> ends with 'Keep my rules' (Wenham 1979:264):</p> <p style="text-align: center;">אַת־חֻקֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ</p>	
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*Table 5 Secondary scholarship on the structure of Leviticus 19:1-19a*

The second table assimilates the work of Gerstenberger (1996:26-264), Rogerson (2014:48-53), and Jagersma (1972:9-11, 133-144). Therefore:

<p><b>Singular</b> (individual) and casuistic commands for <b>social justice</b> during the exilic/ postexilic periods  (Rogerson 2014:48-53)</p>	<p><b>Plural</b> (communal) and apodictic commands resembling the <b>Ten Commandments</b> (oldest)  (Rogerson 2014:48-53)</p>	<p><b>Prophetic tradition</b> commands, <b>or priestly and cultic tradition</b> commands  (Jagersma 1972:9-11, 133-144)</p>
<p>9-10: <i>harvest commands</i> that form: Singular (Individual) Commands for the father of the Household or Clan, i.e., Familial Commands (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)</p>		<p>Verse 9: Priestly and Cultic Tradition Commands</p>
	<p>11-12: <i>behaviour towards the neighbour and God</i>, which forms: Plural (Communal) Commands for the Religious Community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire</p>	

	(550–330 BCE) (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)	
<i>13-14: social behaviour commands</i> that form: Singular (Individual) Commands for the father of the Household or Clan, i.e., Familial Commands (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)		Prophetic Tradition Commands
<i>15-16: legal proceedings</i> that form: Singular (Individual) Commands for the father of the Household or Clan, i.e., Familial Commands (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)		Prophetic Tradition Commands
<i>17-18: behaviour within the community</i> that forms: Singular (Individual) Commands for the father of the Household or Clan, i.e., Familial Commands (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)		Prophetic Tradition Commands
<i>19: taboo against mixing</i> that forms: Singular (Individual) Commands for the father of the Household or Clan, i.e., Familial Commands (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)		Priestly and Cultic Tradition Commands

*Table 6 Secondary scholarship on the semantics of Leviticus 19:1-19a*

In the subsequent section, this author assimilates and summarises the secondary, structural analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a into a final structural outline for the proposed literary unit from Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**3.2.2. Structural Outline of Leviticus 19:1-19a.** Using the aforementioned textual analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a, this author integrates the above views into a structural outline for Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Having made use of some secondary, diachronic textual analysis (i.e., the deeper layers of the text) in order to define the present structural outline, the structural outline presented below forms the ‘outer’, synchronic layer of the text. This author sees the relationship between the synchronic and diachronic layers of the text in the following way: in two- and, three-dimensional terms.

To explain: the synchronic layer of the text refers to the two-dimensional form of the text, in terms of two planes: the first plane being the *text*, and the second plane being the *reader* of the text; while the diachronic layers of the text refer to the three-dimensional form of the text, in terms of three planes, or an added ‘third’ plane: the third plane being the *historical author* (and by implication: the *compositional history*) of the text.

Accordingly, the structural outline of Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as the two-dimensional form of the text. The smaller units that comprise the structural outline may to some degree indicate (or allow one to glimpse) the three-dimensional nature of the text in terms of its compositional history: at the very least the multi-layered nature of the text becomes clear through the smaller units that comprise Leviticus 19:1-19a.

*Leviticus 19:1-19a*

- *Subunit A*, Leviticus 19:1-2a      *Generic element*: ‘Introductory formula’, as an *Introduction* to the divine speech’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573), or a ‘traditional expression’ (Choi 2013:24): ‘And the LORD spoke to Moses, saying, “Speak to all the

congregation of the people of Israel and say to them,’  
(Leviticus 19:1-2a, *English Standard Version*)

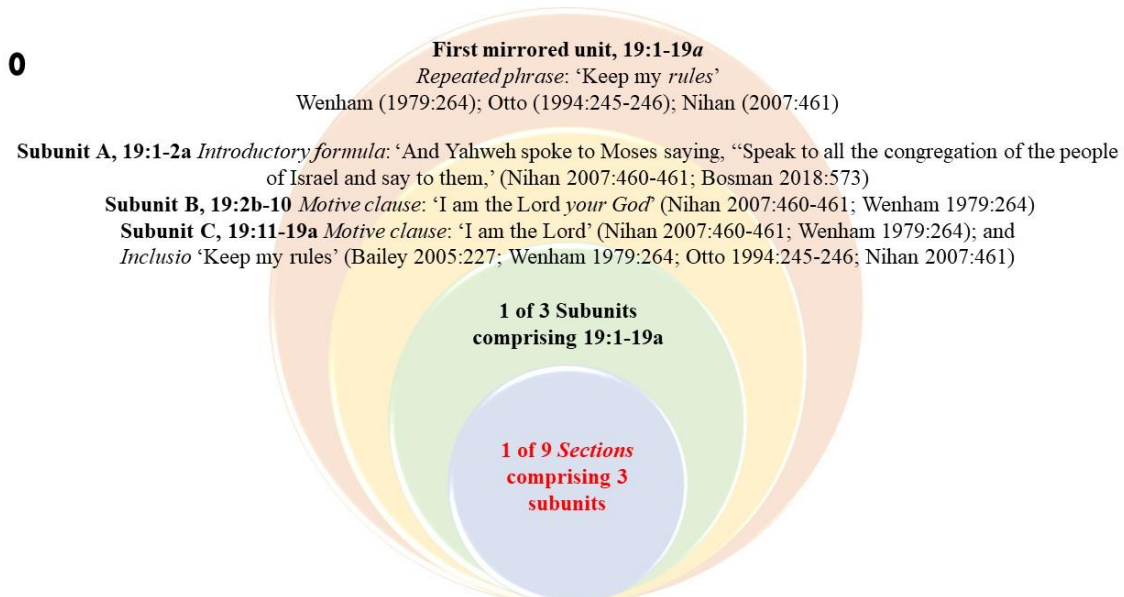
- *Subunit B*, Leviticus 19:2b-10      Each section of this subunit ends with the same *generic element*, this being: the ‘motive clause, ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264):
  - Section 1, Leviticus 19:2b      Call to Holiness (Choi 2013:24)
  - Section 2 and 3, Leviticus 19:3-4      The Decalogue (Meyer 2016:204)
  - Section 3, Leviticus 19:5-8      The Cult and the Peace offering (Meyer 2016:204)
  - Section 3, Leviticus 19:9-10      Harvest laws in aid of the poor and the foreigner (social justice) (Meyer 2016:204)
    - Singular, familial commands for harvesting (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
    - Singular (individual) and casuistic commands addressing social justice during the exilic/ postexilic periods (Rogerson 2014:48-53)
    - Priestly and cultic tradition commands in verse 9 (Jagersma 1972:9-11, 133-144)
  
- *Subunit C*, Leviticus 19:11-18      Each section of this subunit ends with the same *generic element*, this being: the ‘motive clause’, ‘I am the Lord’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264):
  - Section 5, Leviticus 19:11-12      The Decalogue (Meyer 2016:204)
    - *Plural*, communal commands for behaviour towards the neighbour and God (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
    - *Plural* (communal) and apodictic commands resembling the Ten Commandments (oldest) (Rogerson 2014:48-53)

- Section 6, Leviticus 19:13-14    Business laws in aid of: those not earning a lot of money; the deaf; and the blind (Meyer 2016:204)
  - Singular, familial commands for social behaviour (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
  - Singular (individual) and casuistic commands addressing social justice during the exilic/ postexilic periods (Rogerson 2014:48-53)
  - *Prophetic* tradition commands (Jagersma 1972:9-11, 133-144)
  
- Section 7, Leviticus 19:15-16    Fair justice (social justice) (Meyer 2016:204)
  - Singular, familial commands for legal proceedings (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
  - Singular (individual) and casuistic commands addressing social justice during the exilic/ postexilic periods (Rogerson 2014:48-53)
  - *Prophetic* tradition commands (Jagersma 1972:9-11, 133-144)
  
- Section 8, Leviticus 19:17-18    The command to love your neighbour (Meyer 2016:204)
  - Singular, familial commands for communal behaviour (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
  - Singular (individual) and casuistic commands addressing social justice during the exilic/ postexilic periods (Rogerson 2014:48-53)
  - *Prophetic* tradition commands (Jagersma 1972:9-11, 133-144)
  
- Section 9, Leviticus 19a        Although Wenham identifies 19a ('Keep my *rules*') as a marker for a literary unit from verses 19a-37 – in which

both variants of the motive clause, ‘I am the Lord your God’, and ‘I am the Lord’ are used – this author adds verse 19a to the previous section (this being verses 17-18) as a marker in order to indicate the end of the first literary unit of chapter 19 (Otto 1994:245-246; Nihan 2007:461).

- Singular, familial commands against mixing (Gerstenberger 1996:26-264)
- Priestly and cultic tradition commands (Jagersma 1972:11, 133-144)

The remainder of this chapter presents the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, which is discussed according to the subunits and sections that reflect the structural outline above. This author has prepared images for each subunit and section thereof. The main divisions of the immanent reading follow Wenham’s (1979:264) *subunits* in the second and third circles of the image below. Within each subunit, Nihan’s (2007:460-461) sections are discussed in the innermost circle, presented below:



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: *from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied.* Created by L. Beer 2021

*Figure 18 Structural Immanent Reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a*



In the immanent reading, the section of text being discussed is identified as a heading corresponding with Subunit A, and with the sections of subunit B and subunit C (which are indicated in the innermost circle of the images). Following every heading, the relevant verse(s) in English and Hebrew are prepared for the reader's referral; after which the relevant verses are followed by an image corresponding with the image above.

This author draws attention to the significance of the *writing* goals (Choi 2010:105-107) of an author/ redactor that are present in both the *ideological* and *literary* aspects of the text (Choi 2010:107). Therefore, the generic form(s), uncommon syntax, and uncommon semantics of the section of text being discussed, are examined as part of the immanent reading. Narrative analysis is also applied to the synchronic form of the text, which includes Hebrew patterning (Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36).

It is this author's view that narrative analysis and Hebrew patterning form useful methods through which to engage the synchronic (two-dimensional) form of the text, in order to access the diachronic (three-dimensional) aspects of the text.

In light of the structure and form of Leviticus 19:1-19a (as aspects of its literary elements), the immanent reading thereof begins with subunit A below.

**3.2.3. Subunit A, Leviticus 19:1-2a.** The verses of subunit A, are: 'And the LORD spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them,"' (Leviticus 19:1-2a, *English Standard Version*):

וידבר יהוה אל-משה לאמר:

(Leviticus 19:1, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

דבר אל-כל-עדת בני-ישראל ואמרת אליהם

(Leviticus 19:2a, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Subunit A, and its position in the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a, is shown in the following image. In the image, subunit A is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image, and discussed thereafter.

1



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 19 Introductory Formula Leviticus 19:1-2a

3.2.3.1. *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:1-2a.* Verses 1-2a – as the first literary unit of chapter 19 – has been demarcated by means of the 'introduction to the divine speech' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573). More precisely, this introduction forms an *introductory formula* (Nihan 2007:460-461; Bosman 2018:573), which Choi (2013:24) identifies as a 'traditional expression', because this same phrase (or variants thereof) opens almost every chapter in the book of Leviticus (Choi 2013:24).

Although the *introductory formula* forms part of the parenetic frame of the Holiness Code (Meyer 2012:5; Otto 1999:172-176), the reference to holiness only appears in verse 2b, in which the command 'you will be holy' is given by Yahweh to the assembly of Israel (via Moses). Since verse 2b forms part of subunit B, the discussion hereof continues in subunit B.

3.2.3.2. *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:1-2a.* This author assesses the *introductory formula* below. The verbs are the same in both verse 1 and in verse 2a – highlighted in red, which have been visually aligned in the case of a comparison of two rows of text, hence the spacing between the Hebrew words. Where applicable, words appearing more than once have been highlighted in purple, and significant words are highlighted in blue – which are

addressed in the semantical discussion of Leviticus 19:1-2a. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew thereto, follows:

וידבר יהוה אל-משה לאמר:

(Leviticus 19:1, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

דבר אל-כל-עדת בני-ישראל ואמרת

אלהם

(Leviticus 19:2a, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:1-2a:

- (And he spoke) וידבר
- (Yahweh; the LORD) יהוה
- (to) אל
- (Moses) משה
- (to to say) לאמר:
- (Speak) דבר
- (to) אל
- (all) כל
- (congregation them) עדת
- (sons) בני
- (Israel) ישראל
- (and to say them) ואמרת
- (towards them) אלהם

And he **spoke** Yahweh / to Moses / **to say** / **Speak** / to all of congregation (*feminine plural*) / of sons of Israel / and **to say** to them (*feminine plural*) / towards them:

- A – ‘And he **spoke** Yahweh’ (note: narrator’s voice – third-person pronoun, ‘he’; the first character is Yahweh; verb *appears* before the object in B)
  - B – ‘to Moses’ (note: the second character is Moses; Moses is the object)
    - C – ‘**to say**’ (note: form of the verb is Qal Perfect simple active stem, third-person, masculine, singular)
- A’ – ‘**Speak**’ (note: Yahweh’s voice, addressing Moses – first-person; verb *appears* before the object in B’; form of the verb is Qal Perfect simple active stem, third-person, masculine, singular)

- B' – ‘to all of assembled sons of Israel’ (note: the third character is Israel; Israel is the object)
  - C' – ‘and to say to them towards them’ (note: Yahweh’s voice – first-person pronoun, ‘them’; form of the verb is Qal Perfect simple active stem, third-person, masculine, singular)

**ABCA'B'C'**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on: A'B'C' (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as is normally the case.

3.2.3.3. *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:1-2a*. ‘And he spoke’ forms the waw consecutive and the imperfect verb, which can be referred to as the ‘narrative tense’ since it is used to narrate actions in the past. This verb forms a third-person masculine singular verb.

A variation in the *introductory formula* of chapter 19 is identified by this author when compared with the *introductory formula* in chapter 18 and in chapter 20 – in light of Sklar’s (2014:241) *chiastic unit* of chapters 18–20.

This variation further supports chapter 19 as the centre of the chiastic unit – and the centre of *both*: the book of Leviticus, and the Torah (Milgrom 2000:212-245). Thus, while the introductory phrase is repeated in chapters 18 through 20, the introductory phrase differs in chapter 19, through: the addition of כל־עדת (all the congregation), thereto. For example:

- Chapter 18:2a, ‘Speak to the **people of Israel** and say to them,’ (*English Standard Version* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*):

דבר אל-בני ישראל ואמרת אלהם

- Chapter 19:2a, ‘Speak to **all the congregation of the people of Israel** and say to them,’ (*English Standard Version* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*):

דבר אל-כל-עדת בני-ישראל ואמרת

- Chapter 20:2a, ‘Say to the **people of Israel**, Any one of the people of Israel or of the strangers who sojourn in Israel,’ (*English Standard Version* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*):

ואל-בני ישראל תאמר איש איש מבני ישראל ומן-הגר הגר בישראל

3.2.3.4. *Narrative Criticism of Leviticus 19:1-2a.* Through the application of narrative-criticism to subunit A, the *characterisation* of this subunit reveals two speakers, these being:

1. the narrator, via ‘narrated speech’ in verse 1 – who informs the reader (implied and historical) in the third-person that two characters are involved in the subsequent dialogue, and
2. Yahweh, via ‘divine speech’ – who informs the reader (implied and historical) that another character (this being: the assembled people of Israel) is involved in the subsequent dialogue.

The characters of subunit A (and throughout subunits B and C) are therefore:

1. Yahweh, as the main speaker – who begins speaking in verse 2a, and speaks in the first-person, directly and only to Moses. From verse 2b onwards, Yahweh speaks in the second-person to *both* Moses, and the assembly of Israel;
2. Moses, as the deliverer of Yahweh’s message, to the assembly of Israel; and
3. The assembly of Israel – as the historical audience or historical receivers of the message.

The divine speech is directly addressed to Moses, and indirectly addressed to the assembled people of Israel. Thus, in verse 1 the narrator speaks; in verse 2a, Yahweh speaks directly and only to Moses; and in verse 2b, Yahweh speaks directly to Moses and indirectly to the assembly of Israel.

Yahweh and Moses are presented as *flat* characters, which within the field of Narrative Criticism, are: predictable characters, who embody the ideals or philosophy of the narrator (historical author) – thereby communicating the morale of the story and the ‘instruction on life’ offered by this means (Deist 1986:99).<sup>63</sup> The divine speech therefore represents the ideology of the author.

Yahweh’s ‘private thoughts’ – known as *interior monologue* – are revealed in the third-person *directly* to Moses, and in the second-person *indirectly* to the assembly of Israel, via

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<sup>63</sup> Flat characters contrast *round* characters, who on the other hand, are characters that are unpredictable, complicated, and designed for the reader to identify with (Deist 1986:99).

Moses (Deist 1986:99). The tone (Aune 2003:21) of the divine speech is authoritative and commanding.

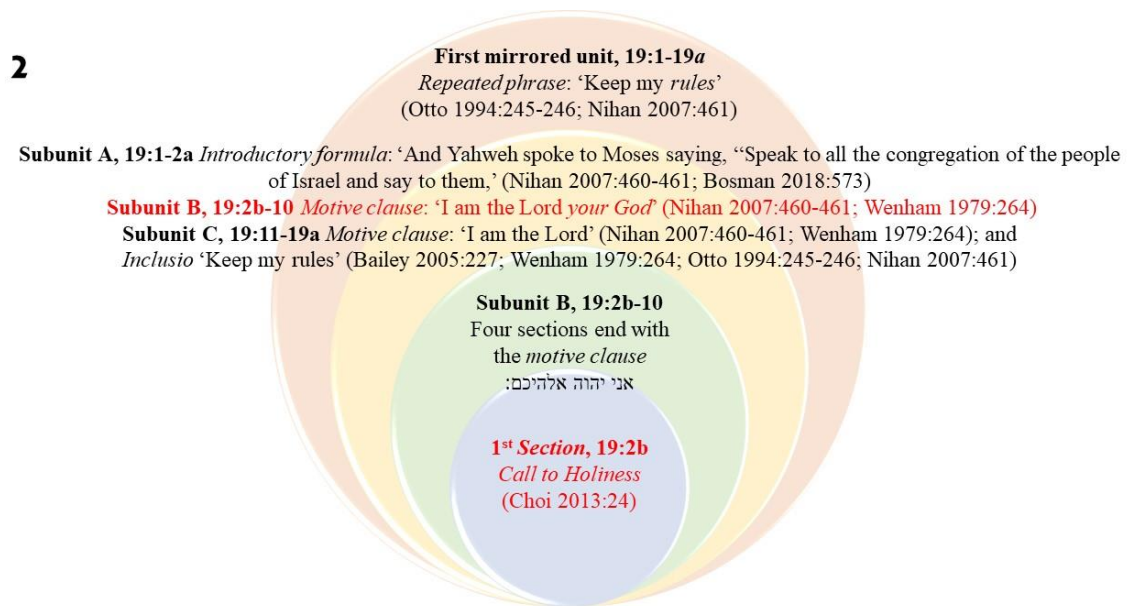
In this unit of text, the characters and the narrative setting do not move or change (Doriani 1996:68; Duvall & Hays 2005:22). Thus, in this literary unit, the *plot* remains static, and the literary unit therefore forms part of a preceding scene, this being: the Theophany at Sinai (Van Seters 2008:3-4), which forms part of ‘The Revelation of the Law at Sinai’ from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4). Therefore, as discussed in the structural study of the Mosaic Saga, the newly-constructed tabernacle at the base of Mount Sinai (in the wilderness of Sinai), forms the *narrative setting* for the divine speech in Leviticus 19:1-19a (Exodus 19:1-2) (Deist).

Subunit B and the corresponding sections thereof are discussed in the following division of this chapter.

**3.2.4. Subunit B, Leviticus 19:2b-10.** In the former discussions of Wenham’s schema, 19:2b-10 forms the first subunit, which this author has redefined as subunit B. The *generic element* in this literary unit is identified in the *repeated phrase*: ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ – which is repeated four times in this literary unit. This repeated phrase forms a ‘motive clause’ – or the cause for the effect – at the end of each instructional section, the sections of which are: verse 2b; verses 3-4; verses 5-8; and verses 9-10. The *motive clause* therefore functions as a *generic element* and a *structuring device* for this unit.

Subunit B and its position in the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a, is shown in the following image:

## 2



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 20 Call to Holiness Leviticus 19:2b

Verse 2b, which forms the first section of subunit B, is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image above and discussed hereafter.

3.2.4.1. *Section 1, Leviticus 19:2b – Call to Holiness.* The verse of section one, is: 'You shall be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy' (Leviticus 19:2b, *English Standard Version*):

קדשים תהיו כי קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם

(Leviticus 19:2b, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

3.2.4.1. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:2b.* Choi (2013:24) identifies verse 2b as a *call to holiness*. Following the *introductory formula* in verses 1-2a (that indicates *in form*, a divine speech in the remainder of the chapter), verse 2b is identified as a *call to holiness* (Choi 2013:24) – based upon the use of קדש (*kodesh*) in this verse.

The *call to holiness* forms part of the parenetic frame of the Holiness Code (Meyer 2012:5; Otto 1999:172-176), which is often characterised by 'holiness language' (Meyer 2012:5). This holiness language is characterised by thought-forms of *separation* (i.e., the Israelites separated from 'other peoples'); *division* and *distinction* (i.e., between clean and unclean); and *consecration* (i.e., Israel belongs to Yahweh). How might these concepts apply in this

verse to this author view (and Meyer's view) of the connection between: holiness; and the *possession of land*? Meyer identifies a connection as an 'explicit link' between: obedience to (ritual) law; and the *possession of land* (Meyer 2012:5).

The *call to holiness* is identified by Bailey (2005:227) as being part of an *inclusio* (with verse 37). The *inclusio* therefore links the *call to holiness*, i.e., the command 'you will be holy' (קדשים) in verse 2b, with the command in to follow Yahweh's statutes (חקת') and rules (משפטי) in verse 37. In this manner, *holiness* is associated with *statutes* and *rules*.

The *call to holiness* is motivated by the *motive clause*: 'I am the Lord your God' (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham's 1979:264), thereby functioning as a structuring device for the 'theological-ethical argumentation' in subunit B (Bosman 2018:573). The 'theological-ethical argumentation' (Bosman 2018:573) of chapter 19 represents the way in which chapter 19 has been constructed in order to challenge the reader's 'existing systems of power' – the analysis of which is known as *rhetorical criticism* (Eagleton 1983:206).

In this manner, the rhetorical function of the *motive clause* addresses the *power-relations* of the historical audience and the implied reader – which are involved in organising the *social life* and the *religious life* of the historical audience and the implied reader (Eagleton 1983:194). Accordingly, of the various functions of rhetoric – such as: pleading, persuading, legitimising, criticising, and exciting (Deist & Vorster 1986:25-27) – the rhetoric of, 'I am the Lord your God' functions to *legitimise* the preceding commands.

3.2.4.1. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:2b*. This author assesses the *call to holiness* and the *motive clause* (highlighted in green in the Hebrew text) below. The only verb – appearing in the *call to holiness* – is highlighted in red. The objects have been highlighted in purple. A word-for-word English translation (by this author) and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

קדשים תהיו כי קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם:

(Leviticus 19:2b, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:2b:

- (holy **masculine plural**) קדשים
- (you will be) תהיו
- (because) כי



- קדוש (holy)
- אני (I)
- יהוה (Yahweh; the LORD)
- אלהיכם (god **your**): אלהיכם

**Holiness** (plural) / you **will be** / because / **holy** / **I am Yahweh your God**:

- A – ‘**holiness**’ (note: holiness is plural and therefore refers to the people’s holiness)
  - B – ‘you **will be**’ (note: the verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- A’ – ‘**holy**’ (note: holy is singular and therefore refers to Yahweh’s holiness)
  - B’ – ‘**I (am) Yahweh your God**’ (note: existence in terms of ‘being’ and ‘I am’)

**ABA’B’**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on: A’B’, i.e., on Yahweh’s holiness (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verb appears *after* the object, which is unusual – and therefore a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise ‘holiness’.

3.2.4.1. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:2b*. The word for holy (קָדוֹשׁ קְדוּשָׁה), and the verb related thereto: ‘be’ (הָיָה) in Leviticus, are noteworthy. The verb ‘you will be’ is a Qal Imperfect verb that is used to describe an action in the future; the Qal Imperfect verb is also used for a *habitual action*, and for actions that are dependent upon other factors in the literary context – such a factor in this verse forms the holiness of Yahweh.

The verb ‘you will be’ also forms the second-person masculine plural of the primitive root ‘be’ (הָיָה), and means to *exist*, but through an implied process of *becoming* so that in due time ‘being holy’ will *come to pass*. The process further implies *commitment* in order to *become accomplished* in *being holy* (Meyers 2020, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

3.2.4.1. (d) *Narrative Criticism of Leviticus 19:2b*. Yahweh’s divine speech, which was begun in verse 2a as direct speech in the first-person to Moses *only*, changes in verse 2b to the second-person pronoun, ‘you’. In this manner, i.e., simultaneously, Yahweh indirectly speaks to the assembly of Israel, and Moses becomes the deliverer of the divine speech to the assembly of Israel.

However, the narrative setting stays the same, i.e., the newly-constructed tabernacle at the base of Mount Sinai (in the wilderness of Sinai). Further, the characters have not changed or moved, and nor has there been a ‘scene change’. The scene, therefore, remains the ‘Theophany at Sinai’ (Van Seters 2008:3-4), which forms part of ‘The Revelation of the Law at Sinai’ from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4).

The result is that (in terms of these factors) the plot remains the same.

The second and third sections that form part of subunit B, are discussed below.

3.2.4.2.        *Section 2 and 3, Leviticus 19:3-4 – The Decalogue (Meyer 2016:204).*  
 Section two is comprised of one verse, and section three is comprised of one verse; both verses of which end with the *motive clause*, ‘I am the Lord your God’ (אני יהוה אלהיכם) (Nihan 2007:460-461).

The verses are: ‘Every one of you shall revere his mother and his father, and you shall keep my Sabbaths: I am the LORD your God’ (Leviticus 19:3, *English Standard Version*):

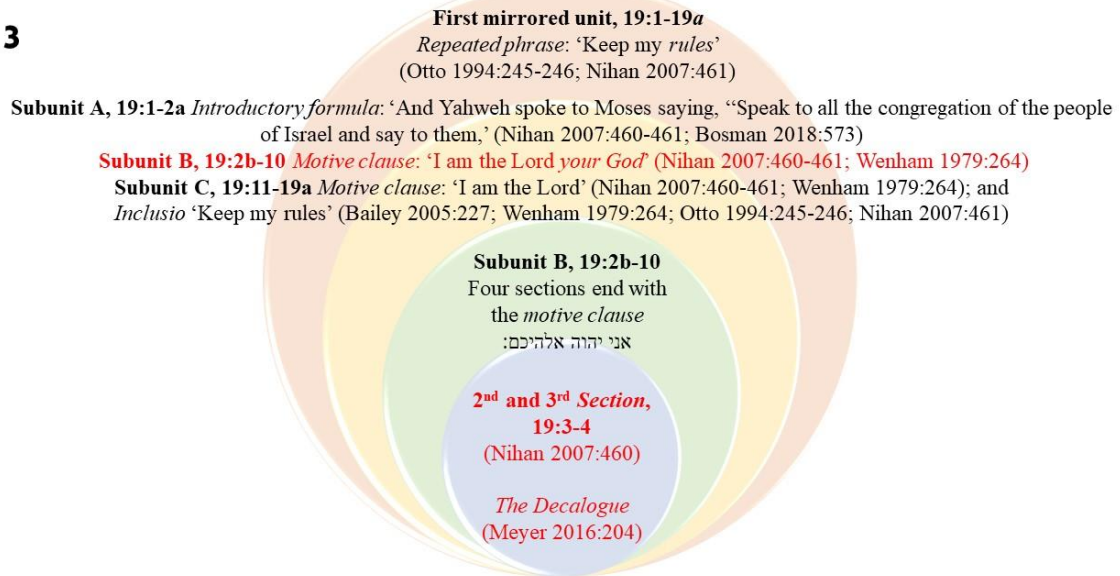
אִישׁ אָמוּ וְאָבִיו תִּירָאוּ וְאֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:  
 (Leviticus 19:3, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

‘Do not turn to idols or make for yourselves any gods of cast metal: I am the LORD your God’ (Leviticus 19:4, *English Standard Version*):

אַל־תִּפְנוּ אֱלֹהֵי־אֱלִילִים וְאֱלֹהֵי מִסְכָּה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:  
 (Leviticus 19:4, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

The second and third sections of subunit B are highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and discussed thereafter.

## 3



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 21 The Decalogue Leviticus 19:3-4

3.2.4.2. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:3-4*. Both verses 3 and 4 (as *reinterpreted* sections of *The Decalogue*) – and which form the second and third sections of subunit B – are motivated by the *motive clause*: ‘I am the Lord your God’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham’s 1979: 264). In this manner, the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) is maintained and reinforced in sections 2 and 3 of subunit B.

As already explained, the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ (Bosman 2018:573) of chapter 19 represents the way in which chapter 19 has been constructed in order to challenge the reader’s ‘existing systems of power’ – known as *rhetorical criticism* (Eagleton 1983:206). By addressing the *power-relations* of the historical audience and the implied reader, the motive clause, ‘I am the Lord your God’ functions to *legitimise* the preceding commands, and their application to, the *social* and *religious lives* of the historical audience and the implied reader (Eagleton 1983:194).

As previously noted, verses 3-4 have been demarcated by Meyer (2016:204) with connections to *The Decalogue*; also bear in mind that verses 11-12 of Leviticus 19 have been demarcated by Meyer (2016:204) with connections to *The Decalogue*.

When this author refers to *The Decalogue*, the term applies to the decalogue from Exodus 20:1-17. However – as this author has endeavoured to demonstrate through the discussions in the structural- and form-critical studies of Leviticus 19 thus far – *The Decalogue* of

Exodus 20:1-17, is in fact a *re*interpretation of the decalogue in Deuteronomy 5:1-21 (Otto 1994:208-233; Van Seters 2008:14). Therefore, by the time sections of the decalogue appear in Leviticus 19:3-4 and 11-12 – forming: *intertextual references* (Meyer 2016:198) to *The Decalogue*, or strata of the ‘decalogue tradition’ in Leviticus 19 (this author) – this ‘decalogue strata’ in verses 3-4 and 11-12 of Leviticus 19, function as (at least) the third *re*interpretation of the decalogue in Deuteronomy 5:1-21.

Accordingly, Meyer (2016:198) suggests that the authors of verses 3 and 4 (and verses 11-12) *re*interpreted parts of *The Decalogue*, through a method of *inner-biblical exegesis*, which was coined by Fishbane in 1985. Meyer’s ‘inner-biblical exegesis’ within (and of) the text, correlates with Wessels’ view of the text as having undergone ‘...phases of growth through interpretation and application’ (Wessels 2020:1). Therefore, how might verses 3 and 4 (and 11-12) form evidence for (*re*)interpretation (i.e., ideology/ theology), and application (i.e., praxis) by redactors thereof?<sup>64</sup>

Verses 3 and 4 also form part of the *parenetic frame* of the Holiness Code (Meyer 2012:5; Otto 1999:172-176). The concepts of the parenetic frame are: *separation* (i.e., the Israelites separated from ‘other peoples’); *division* and *distinction* (i.e., between clean and unclean); and *consecration* (i.e., Israel belongs to Yahweh) – the concepts of which together, form a ‘holiness language’ that has been identified by Meyer (2012:5).

In verses 3-4, the concepts of ‘holiness language’ are evident through the expression of *holiness* as ‘*respect*’: respect for: one’s parents; the Sabbath; and Yahweh as the only God – and the obedience of which is motivated by the  *motive clause* at the end of each verse.

Thus, in order to answer the following question: how might these concepts apply in this verse, to this author’s view (and Meyer’s view), of the connection between: holiness; and the *possession of land*? Meyer (2012:5) identifies an ‘explicit link’ between: obedience to (ritual) law; and the *possession of land*, which in verse 3-4, is clear: textually, the concept of *land* is connected to the concept of *respect* for: one’s parents; the Sabbath; and Yahweh, as the only true God. The connection to land is clearer in the corresponding verse in Exodus, examined below.

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<sup>64</sup> As previously noted, Meyer (2016:198) adds that the *re*interpretation of the text by these authors (*redactors*) resulted in ‘some tension’ between Leviticus 19, and *The Decalogue*; as well as with some texts of the Priestly document (Leviticus 1-16).

3.2.4.2. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:3 and Exodus 20:12*. Accordingly, this author assesses the *intertextual references to The Decalogue*, and the  *motive clause* (highlighted in green in the Hebrew text) below. A comparison is made between the corresponding verses of The Decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17. The verbs are highlighted in red, and the objects of the verbs have been highlighted in purple. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning, applied to each verse, follows:

איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת־שבתתי תשמרו אני יהוה אלהיכם:

(Leviticus 19:3, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

כבד את־אביך ואת־אמך למען יארכון ימך על האדמה אשר־יהוה אלהיך נתן לך:

(Exodus 20:12, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

כבד את־אביך ואת־אמך כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך למען יאריכון ימך ולמען ייטב לך על האדמה

אשר־יהוה אלהיך נתן לך:

(Deuteronomy 5:16, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

שמור את־יום השבת לקדשו כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך:

(Deuteronomy 5:12, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:3:

- איש (man)
- אמו (mother his)
- ואביו (and father his)
- תיראו (you will respect)
- ואת (and direct object marker)
- שבתתי (Sabbath my)
- תשמרו (you will preserve)
- אני (I)
- יהוה (Yahweh; the LORD)
- אלהיכם: (god you)

Man / his mother / and his father / you will respect / and my Sabbath / you will preserve  
/ I am Yahweh your God:

- A – ‘Man his mother and his father’ (note: ‘mother’ appears *before* ‘father’)
  - B – ‘you will respect’ (note: the verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
    - C – ‘and my Sabbath’ (note: the Sabbath is emphasised)

- B' – 'you will **preserve**' (note: the verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- A' – '**I am Yahweh your God**' (note: to respect one's parents, is to respect Yahweh; and *motive clause* legitimises the preceding verbs)

**ABCB'A'**: The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *single chiastic centre*; and the emphasis is thus on: C (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *after* the objects, which is unusual – and therefore function as a deliberate literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise the objects: mother, father, and the Sabbath. The Sabbath is emphasised both through the said pattern, and through verb order.

This author's translation of Exodus 20:12: **Honour** / your **father** / and / your **mother** / in order to / **make long** / your day / over and against (*regardless of*) / the **land** / which / Yahweh Elohim / **to give** to you:

- A – '**Honour**' (note: the verb appears *before* the object)
  - B – 'your **father** and your **mother**' (note: 'mother' appears *after* 'father')
    - C – 'in order to' (note: preposition)
      - D – 'make long your day' (positive gain)
      - D' – 'over and against (*regardless of*) the **land**' (negative loss)
    - C' – 'which' (note: preposition)
  - B' – 'Yahweh Elohim' (note: to honour one's parents, is to respect Yahweh)
- A' – '**to give to you**' (note: to give honour)

**ABCDD'C'B'A'**: The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *double chiastic centre*; and the emphasis is thus on: DD' (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as is normally the case.

3.2.4.2. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:3 and Exodus 20:12*. The word for respect (יָרָא) in Leviticus, is different from the word for respect (כָּבֵד) in Exodus.

In Leviticus 19:3, the verbs 'you will respect' and 'you will preserve' form Qal Imperfect verbs that are used to describe actions in the future; the form of these verbs also indicate *habitual actions*, and are dependent upon the *motive clause*, 'I am Yahweh your God'.

3.2.4.2. (d) *Significant Syntax for Leviticus 19:4 and Exodus 20:4*. This author assesses the *intertextual references to The Decalogue*, and the *motive clause* (highlighted in green in the Hebrew text) below. A comparison is made between the corresponding verse of The Decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17. The verbs are highlighted in red, which have been visually aligned in the case of a comparison of two rows of text. Where applicable, significant words have been highlighted in purple and blue, and are addressed in the semantical discussion of Leviticus 19:4 and Exodus 20:4. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning, applied to each verse, follows:

אל-תפנו אל-האלילים ואלהי מסכה לא תעשו לכם אני יהוה אלהיכם:

(Leviticus 19:4, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

לא תעשה-לך פסל וכל-תמונה אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מתחת ואשר במים מתחת  
לארץ:

(Exodus 20:4, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לא-תעשה-לך פסל כל-תמונה אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מתחת ואשר במים מתחת  
לארץ:

(Deuteronomy 5:8, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:4:

- אל (not)
- תפנו (you will turn)
- אל (to *wards*)
- האלילים (the idols)
- ואלהי (and god *singular*)
- מסכה (of cast image)
- לא (not)
- תעשו (you will make)
- לכם (to your)
- אני (I)
- יהוה (Yahweh; the LORD)
- אלהיכם: (god *your*)

Not / you will **turn** / to the **idols** / and **god** / **of cast image** / not / you will **make** / to your /  
**I am Yahweh your God:**

- A – ‘Not you will **turn**’ (note: a negative action, the verb appears *before* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
  - B – ‘to the **idols**’ (note: object)
    - C – ‘and **god**’ (note: idols and cast images have false gods)
  - B’ – ‘**of cast image**’ (note: object)
- A’ – ‘not you will **make** to your’ (note: a negative action, the verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- D – ‘**I am Yahweh your God**’ (note: true God, and *motive clause*)

**ABCB’A’ D:** The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *single* chiastic centre; and the emphasis is thus on: C, i.e., on (false) gods of idols and images (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The first verb (not you will turn) appears before the object, which in normally the case. The second verb (not you will make), however, appears *after* the object, which is unusual – and therefore a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise the object, which has already been emphasised by the Hebrew pattern, i.e., (false) gods of idols and images. The emphasis on C, with respect to false gods, is contrasted in the *motive clause* with Yahweh as the supreme and true God.

This author’s translation of Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8: Not / you will **make** / an **idol** / any or everything / **cast image** / which / in the heavens / above / which / in the earth / below / and which / in water / below / to earth:

- A – ‘Not you will **make**’ (note: a negative action, and the verb appears *before* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine singular verb)
  - B – ‘an **idol**’ (note: object of the preceding verb in A)
  - B’ – ‘any or everything **cast image**’ (note: further description and intensification of idols)
    - C – ‘which in the heavens above’ (note: place)
    - C’ – ‘which in the earth below’ (note: further description and intensification of place)
    - C’’ – ‘and which in water below to earth’ (note: even further description and intensification of place)



**ABB'CC'C''**: The pattern formed is *forward intensification*; and the emphasis is thus on: B', C', and C'', i.e., there are no exceptions to the command (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The only verb (make) appears before the object, which is normally the case. Intensification is created through further descriptions in C, C', and C'' – thereby strengthening the command.

3.2.4.2. (e) *Significant Semantics for Leviticus 19:4 and Exodus 20:4*. The words for idol (אֱלִיל) and cast image (מִטְּקָה) in Leviticus, are different from the words for idol (פְּסִל) and cast image (תְּמוּנָה) in Exodus.

In Leviticus 19:4, the verbs 'you will turn' and 'you will make' form Qal Imperfect verbs that are used to describe actions in the future; the form of these verbs also indicate *habitual actions*, and are dependent upon the *motive clause*, 'I am Yahweh your God'.

3.2.4.2. (f) *Narrative Criticism for Leviticus 19:3-4*. Yahweh's remains the main speaker, who in this section *simultaneously* speaks directly to Moses, and indirectly speaks to the assembled people of Israel. Moses remains the deliverer of Yahweh's speech to the assembly of Israel. The assembly of Israel remains the third character. Furthermore, the narrative setting stays the same, i.e., the newly-constructed tabernacle at the base of Mount Sinai (in the wilderness of Sinai).

Thus, the characters have not changed or moved, the narrative setting has not changed, and nor has there been a 'scene change'. The scene, therefore, remains the 'Theophany at Sinai' (Van Seters 2008:3-4), which forms part of 'The Revelation of the Law at Sinai' from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4). The result is that (in terms of these factors) the plot remains the same.

The fourth section that forms part of subunit B, is discussed below.

3.2.4.3. *Section 4, Leviticus 19:5-8 – The Cult and The Peace offering (Meyer 2016:204)*. Meyer has grouped verses 5-8 (that form part of section four) thematically, i.e.,

according to the *cult*. The *motive clause*, ‘I am the Lord *your God*’ (אני יהוה אלהיכם) that indicates the end of section four, only appears in verse 10 (Nihan 2007:460-461).

The verses are: ‘When you offer a sacrifice of peace offerings to the LORD, you shall offer it so that you may be accepted’ (Leviticus 19:5, *English Standard Version*):

וכי תזבחו זבח שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם תזבחהו:

(Leviticus 19:5, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

‘It shall be eaten the same day you offer it or on the day after, and anything left over until the third day shall be burned up with fire’ (Leviticus 19:6, *English Standard Version*):

ביום זבחכם יאכל וממחרת והנותר עד־יום השלישי באש ישרף:

(Leviticus 19:6, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

‘If it is eaten at all on the third day, it is tainted; it will not be accepted’ (Leviticus 19:7 *English Standard Version*):

ואם האכל יאכל ביום השלישי פגול הוא לא ירצה:

(Leviticus 19:7, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

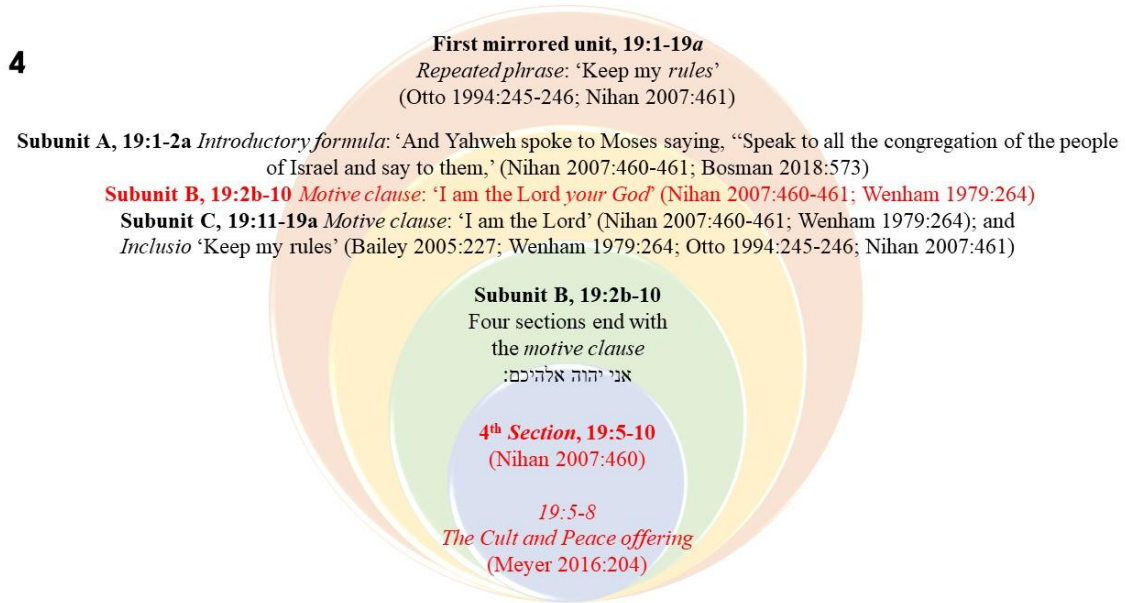
‘and everyone who eats it shall bear his iniquity, because he has profaned what is holy to the LORD, and that person shall be cut off from his people’ (Leviticus 19:8, *English Standard Version*):

ואכליו עונו ישא כי־את־קדש יהוה חלל ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מעמיה:

(Leviticus 19:8, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Verses 5-8 (of the fourth section of subunit B) are highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below discussed thereafter.

## 4



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 22 *The Cult Leviticus 19:5-8*

3.2.4.3. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:5-8*. Meyer (2016: 204) orders verses 5-8 thematically, thus as 'The Cult and the Peace offering'.

The results of the narrative analysis of section four remain the same as they were in the preceding third section of Leviticus 19:4:

#### *Characterisation*

- Yahweh's remains the main speaker, who simultaneously speaks directly to Moses, and indirectly speaks to the assembled people of Israel;
- Moses remains the deliverer of Yahweh's speech to the assembly of Israel; and
- the assembly of Israel remains the third character.

#### *Setting and Plot*

- The narrative setting stays the same, this being: the newly-constructed tabernacle at the base of Mount Sinai (in the wilderness of Sinai);
- thus, the characters have not changed or moved, the narrative setting has not changed, and nor has there been a 'scene change'.
- The scene, therefore, remains the 'Theophany at Sinai' (Van Seters 2008:3-4), which forms part of 'The Revelation of the Law at Sinai' from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4).

- The result is that (in terms of these factors) the plot remains the same.

3.2.4.3. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:5-8*. This author assesses Meyer's (2016:204) *thematic unit* on the *cult and the peace offering*. The same verbs are highlighted in red, and the objects have been highlighted in purple. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

וכי תזבחו זבח שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם תזבחהו:

(Leviticus 19:5, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

ביום זבחכם יאכל וממחרת והנותר עד-ייום השלישי באש ישרף:

(Leviticus 19:6, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*);

ואם האכל יאכל ביום השלישי פגול הוא לא ירצה:

(Leviticus 19:7, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

ואכליו עונו ישא כִּי־את־קדש יהוה הלל ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מעמיה:

(Leviticus 19:8, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:5:

- (And because) וכי
- (you will sacrifice) תזבחו
- (sacrifice) זבח
- (peace plural) שלמים
- (to Yahweh; the LORD) ליהוה
- (to delight your) לרצונכם
- (you will sacrifice) תזבחהו:

And because / you will **sacrifice** / **sacrifice** / *of peace* (plural) / to Yahweh / to delight your / you will **sacrifice**:

- A – ‘And because’
  - B – ‘you will **sacrifice**’ (note: this is the verb; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
    - C – ‘*sacrifice of peace* (plural)’ (note: object, i.e., a peace offering)
      - ❖ D – ‘to Yahweh’ (note: movement towards Yahweh)

- C' – 'to delight your' (note: the movement returns to the worshipper)
- B' – 'you will **sacrifice**' (note: 'your' sacrifice becomes Yahweh's sacrifice; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)

ABCDC'B': The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *single chiasmic centre*; and the emphasis is thus on: D, i.e., a peace sacrifice to Yahweh (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The first verb (sacrifice) appears *before* the object (peace offering), as is normally the case.

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:6:

- (on day) ביום
- (of sacrifice your) זבחכם
- (he will eat) יאכל
- (and in next day) וממחרת
- (and the remains) והנותר
- (as far as) עד
- (day) יום
- (the third) השלישי
- (in fire) באש
- (he will utterly burn up) ישרף:

On day / **sacrifice** (plural) / he will **eat** / and in next day (tomorrow) / and the **remains** / as far as / day / the third / in fire / he will **utterly burn up**:

- A – 'On day' (note: time)
  - B – '**sacrifice**' (note: object of verb in C plural)
    - C – 'he will **eat**' (note: verb *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine *singular* verb)
- A' – 'and in next day' (note: time)
  - B' – 'and the **remains**' (note: object of verb in B'')
- A'' – 'as far as day the third' (note: time)
  - B'' – 'he will **utterly burn up**' (note: verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine *singular* verb)

ABCA'B'A''B'': The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on: A''B'', i.e., on what may not be eaten on the third day and on what must be done on the third day (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). Both the first verb (will eat) and the second verb

(will burn up) appear *after* the first object (sacrifice) and second object (the remains), which is unusual – and therefore a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise the objects: sacrifice, and its remains.

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:7:

- (And if) ואם
- (the whole) האכל
- (he will eat) יאכל
- (on day) ביום
- (the third) השלישי
- (stink, unclean) פגול
- (he) הוא
- (not) לא
- (he will accept): ירצה

And if (when) / the **whole** / he will **eat** / on day / the third / stink (unclean) / **he** / not / he will **accept**:

- A – ‘And if (when)’
  - B – ‘the **whole**’ (note: the object of the verb in C)
    - C – ‘he will **eat**’ (note: verb appears *after* the object, ‘the whole’ in B; the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine *singular* verb)
    - ❖ D – ‘on day the third’
      - E – ‘stink (unclean)’ (note: the result, consequence)
      - E’ – ‘**he**’ (note: the object of the verb in E’)
      - E’’ – ‘not he will **accept**’ (note: note: verb appears *after* the object, ‘he’ in E’; the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine singular verb)

**ABCDEE'E''**: The pattern formed is *forward progression*, with a *climax*; and the emphasis is thus on: E, E', and E'' (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs: ‘eat’ and ‘accept’, appear *after* the objects, which is unusual – and therefore a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise the objects: ‘the whole’ and ‘he’.

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:8:

- (and they will eat) ואכלו
- (his perversity) עונו

- (he will bear) ישא
- (because) כי
- (direct object marker) את
- (holy *noun*) קדוש
- (*of*Yahweh; the LORD) יהוה
- (profane) חלל
- (and will cut off we) ונכרתה
- (the flesh) הנופש
- (*of* he) ההוא
- (from people his) מעמיהו

And they will **eat** / his **perversity** / you will **bear** / because / direct object marker / holy / *of* Yahweh / **profane** / and we will **cut off** / the **flesh** / *of* **he** / from his people (plural):

- A – ‘And they will **eat**’ (note: the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine plural verb; and appears before the object in B)
  - B – ‘his **perversity**’ (note: the object of the verb in A)
    - C – ‘he will **bear**’ (note: the verb appears *after* the preceding object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect third-person masculine *singular* verb)
      - ❖ D – ‘because holy’
        - E – ‘Yahweh’ (note: ‘Yahweh’ is in the centre of the pattern and thus emphasised)
      - ❖ D’ – ‘**profane**’ (note: holiness is profaned)
    - C’ – ‘and we will **cut off**’ (note: the verb appears *before* the following object)
      - B’ – ‘the **flesh of he**’ (note: the object of the verb in C’)
- A’ – ‘from his people’ (note: the people)

**ABCDEDED’C’B’A’**: The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *single chiastic centre*; and the emphasis is thus on: E, i.e., on Yahweh (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verb: ‘will bear’, appears *after* the object: ‘his perversity’, which is unusual – and therefore a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise ‘his perversity’. Likewise, the verb: ‘profane’, appears *after* the object: ‘Yahweh’ – and again forms a literary choice by the author/ redactor in order to emphasise ‘Yahweh’. The chiastic pattern, at its centre, also emphasises ‘Yahweh’, thus: ‘Yahweh’ is emphasised twice. By contrast, the verb: ‘will cut off’, appears *before* the object: ‘he’, and this is usual Hebrew syntax.

3.2.4.3. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:5-8*. In an analysis by this author of the sacrificial system of ancient Israel in the ancient Near East, the development of the sacrificial system was analysed through a progression of various forms of sacrifice, these being (in ‘chronological’ order): gift offerings מִנְחָה (*mincha*); burnt offerings עֹלָה (*ola*); sacrificial meals זָבַח (*zebahim*); covenant sacrifices (berit); sin offerings (*hattat*); and trespass offerings (*asam*) (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:169-181).

The sacrificial meal (*zebahim*) appears in the Patriarchal history: – *after* the Primeval history. In the Primeval history, the gift offerings (*mincha*) and the burnt offerings (*ola*), form the first narrative forms of Israelite sacrifice in the Pentateuch; thus, thereafter, and in the Patriarchal history, זָבַח forms a ‘later-developed’ form of sacrifice. Accordingly, during the Patriarchal history, זָבַח develops in the following way:

- as a *communion meal* (or *sacrificial meal* that involves the slaughter of an animal);<sup>65</sup>
- in the *sealing of a covenant*;<sup>66</sup>
- as an *expiation sacrifice* performed by Jacob when he heard of Joseph’s life in Egypt;<sup>67</sup> and
- as a *substitution sacrifice* when the Israelites leave Egypt to enter the wilderness and replace human sacrifice (part of Egyptian sacrifice) with animal sacrifice.<sup>68</sup>

During the Tribal history, זָבַח is associated with (*selamim*).

Verses 9-10 of the fourth section that forms part of subunit B, are discussed below.

3.2.4.4. *Section 4, Leviticus 19:9-10 – Harvest Laws In Aid of The Poor and The Foreigner (Social Justice)*. Meyer (2016:2014) has grouped verses 9-10 (that form part of

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<sup>65</sup> ‘and Jacob offered a sacrifice זָבַח (*zebach*) in the hill country and called his kinsmen to eat bread. They ate bread and spent the night in the hill country’ (Genesis 31:54 *English Standard Version*).

<sup>66</sup> זָבַח (*zebach*) is used in the ‘sealing of the covenant’ between: Jacob, and Laban.

<sup>67</sup> ‘So Israel (Jacob) took his journey with all that he had and came to Beersheba, and offered sacrifices זָבַח (*zebach*) to the God of his father Isaac’ (Genesis 46:1 *English Standard Version*).

<sup>68</sup> ‘Then they said, “The God of the Hebrews has met with us. Please let us go a three days’ journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice זָבַח (*zabach*) to the LORD our God, lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword”’ (Exodus 5:3, *English Standard Version*).



section four) thematically, i.e., according to social justice. The *motive clause*, ‘I am the Lord your God’ (אני יהוה אלהיכם) appears in verse 10 and indicates the end of section four (Nihan 2007:460-461).

The verses are: ‘When you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap your field right up to its edge, neither shall you gather the gleanings after your harvest’ (Leviticus 19:9, *English Standard Version*):

ובקצרכם את־קציר ארצכם לא תכלה פאת שדך לקצר ולקט קצירך לא תלקט:

(Leviticus 19:9, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

‘And you shall not strip your vineyard bare, neither shall you gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard. You shall leave them for the poor and for the sojourner: I am the LORD your God’ (Leviticus 19:10, *English Standard Version*):

וכרמך לא תעולל ופרט כרמך לא תלקט לעני ולגר תעזב אתם אני יהוה אלהיכם:

(Leviticus 19:10, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Verses 9-10 (of the fourth section of subunit B) are highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below discussed thereafter.



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: *from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied.* Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 23 The Cult Leviticus 19:9-10

3.2.4.4. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:9-10*. Meyer (2016:204) orders verses 9-10 thematically, as: ‘Harvest laws in aid of the poor and the foreigner’. This author highlights the significance of the adjustment of laws in considering the poor and the foreigner, and the subsequent value placed on the poor and the foreigner through such an adjustment. Further, Rogerson (2014:48-53) defines the theme of verses 9-10 in light of *social justice*: Rogerson suggests that verses 9-10 form *singular* (individual responsibility), and *casuistic* (the context and circumstances of the commands are described) instructions that address *social justice* during the exilic and postexilic periods.

As singular and casuistic instructions, Gerstenberger (1996:262) adds that verses 9-10 form commands for the father of a household – or a clan – and are thus identified as: *familial commands*; while Jagersma’s (1972:9-11, 133-144) emphasis of these commands suggests them to be: *priestly*- and *cultic*-tradition commands – especially verse 9. This author adds that these singular, familial, cultic, and casuistic commands, form Wessels’ (2020:1) *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of the harvest laws associated with the festival of firstfruits, in light of the *social justice* of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The fourth section (from verses 5-10) of subunit B, ends in verse 10 with the *motive clause*: ‘I am the Lord your God’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham’s 1979:264). Consequently, the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of the festival of firstfruits in terms of the social justice of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, is motivated by the *motive clause*: ‘I am the Lord your God’ (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham’s 1979:264). In this manner, the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) is maintained and reinforced in section four of subunit B, through the motive clause, ‘I am the Lord your God’, which functions to *legitimise* the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of the festival of firstfruits in terms of the social justice of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

3.2.4.4. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:9-10*. This author assesses Meyer’s (2016:204) *thematic unit* of *harvest laws*, and the *motive clause* that ends section four. The verbs are highlighted in red, the objects have been highlighted in purple, and the *motive clause* is highlighted in green – which will be addressed in the semantical discussion of Leviticus 19:9-10. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

ובקצרכם את-קציר ארצכם לא תכלה פאת שדך לקצר ולקט קצירך לא תלקט:

(Leviticus 19:9, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

וכרמך לא תעולל ופרט כרמך לא תלקט לעני ולגר תעזב אתם אני יהוה אלהיכם:

(Leviticus 19:10, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:9:

- (and in harvest your) וְקִצְרְכֶם
- (direct object marker) אַתְּ
- (harvest) קִצִּיר
- (of earth your) אֶרְצְכֶם
- (not) לֹא
- (you will finish) תִּכְלֶה
- (extremity you) פֶּאֶתְךָ
- (field your) שְׂדֶךָ
- (at harvest) לְקִצְרְךָ
- (and glean) וְלִקְטָהּ
- (harvest your) קִצִּירְךָ
- (not) לֹא
- (you will pick up; glean): תִּלְקֹטְךָ

And in your harvest / direct object marker / **harvest** / *of your earth* / not / you will **finish** / extremity you / your field / at **harvest** / and **glean** / *of your harvest* / not / you will **pick-up**:

- A – ‘And in your harvest’ (note: this is the object form of ‘harvest’ and stipulates time)
  - B – ‘**harvest of your earth**’ (note: this is the object)
    - C – ‘not you will **finish** extremity your field’ (note: verb appears *after* the object; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine *singular* verb)
- A’ – ‘at harvest’ (note: this is the object form of ‘harvest’ and stipulates time)
  - B’ – ‘and **glean of your harvest**’ (note: this is the object)
    - C’ – ‘not you will **pick-up**’ (note: verb appears *after* the object in B’; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine *singular* verb)

ABCA’B’C’: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on: A’B’C’ (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). In both cases, the verbs: ‘finish’ and ‘pick-up’, appear

*after* the object: ‘harvest’. This is unusual as per Hebrew syntax – and therefore forms a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise the verbs, because their negation is unusual and important.

This author’s translation of Leviticus 19:10:

- (and vineyard your) וְכַרְמְךָ
- (not) לֹא
- (you will overdo) תַּעֲוֹלֵל
- (and stray grape) וְפֵרֵט
- (of vineyard your) כַּרְמְךָ
- (not) לֹא
- (you will gather; glean) תִּלְקֹט
- (to depressed) לְעָנִי
- (and to stranger) וְלִגְרָם
- (you will help) תַּעֲזֹב
- (you) אַתָּם
- (I) אֲנִי
- (Yahweh; the LORD) יְהוָה
- (god your) אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

And your **vineyard** / not / you will **overdo** / and stray or **single berry** / of your **vineyard** / not / you will **gather or glean** / to **poor** / and to **stranger** / you will **help** / you / **I am Yahweh your God**:

- A – ‘And your **vineyard**’ (note: object)
  - B – ‘not you will **overdo**’ (note: verb appears *after* the object in A; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine singular verb)
- A’ – ‘and **stray or single berry of your vineyard**’ (note: object)
  - B’ – ‘not you will **gather or glean**’ (note: verb appears *after* the object in A’; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine singular verb)
- A’’ – ‘to **poor** and to **stranger**’ (note: object)
  - B’’ – ‘you will **help** you’ (note: verb appears after the object in A’’; the verb form is a Qal imperfect second-person masculine singular verb)
- D – ‘**I am Yahweh your God**’ (note: *motive clause*)

**ABA'B'A''B''D**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on: A'B'A''B'' (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs: ‘overdo’, ‘gather/glean’, and ‘help’ appear *after* the objects: ‘vineyard’, ‘single berry’, and ‘poor/stranger’. Again, this is unusual – and therefore suggests a literary choice by the author/ redactor: which is possibly to emphasise, and juxtapose, (in this case) the negated actions (i.e., *overdo* and *glean*) with the endorsed action (i.e., *help*). In terms of the syntactical pattern, the *motive clause* functions independently, and is in this manner distinctly emphasised. The form of the verbs (Qal imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*) depends upon the *motive clause* for their habitual action.

3.2.4.4. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:9-10*. The cycle of agricultural production resulted in three annual and agricultural festivals: these festivals formed the centre of the Israelite cult and instated Yahweh as: the ‘Lord of the land’, in terms of agricultural produce (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:166). Consequently, the *harvest laws* that are referred to in Leviticus 19:9-10 form part of these said festivals, which are:

- the Feast of Mazzoth (*hag*) (or the Feast of Unleavened Bread), which took place at the *beginning* of the grain harvest during March/April (Exodus 23:15; 34:18-20);
- the Feast of Weeks (*sabu ot*), which took place at the *end* of the grain harvest seven weeks later (Exodus 34:22); and
- the Feast of Tabernacles (*sukkot*), which took place *after* the harvest of fruit and grapes in September/October (Deuteronomy 16:13) (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:165).

The grain offerings (*mincha*, in Leviticus 2) were described generically, as: *qorban*; similarly, the first-fruit offerings (*re'sit*, *bikkurim*) were also described generically, as: *qorban* (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:178). Accordingly, *qorban* formed a generic word that was used specifically in Levitical literature to refer to ‘sacrifice’, and means: ‘that which is brought near’ – from *qrb*: ‘to approach’ or ‘to draw near’ (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:178).

The wider meaning of *qorban* is: an *offering* – of any gift or animal – that is ‘brought near’ (verb is *qarav*) to the altar, tabernacle or temple. To support the wider meaning of *qorban*, clay vessels used for offerings were found from the Second Temple period with the inscription *qorban* on them (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:178). In the narrower sense of the word, *qorban* means: a *gift* toward the service or maintenance of the tabernacle, or temple (Beer Van Rooyen 2016:178).

This author's subunit C and its position in the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a is discussed below.

**3.2.5. Subunit C, Leviticus 19:11-19a.** As mentioned before, in Wenham's schema, the second subunit (which this author has defined as subunit C) is formed from 19:11-19a based upon the *repeated phrase*: 'I am the Lord' – which is repeated four times in this literary unit. This repeated phrase forms a variation of the *motive clause* – i.e., the motivating factor (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264) – at the end of each instructional section, the sections of which are: verse 12; verses 14; verses 16; and verses 18.

The results of the narrative analysis of Subunit C remain the same as they were in Subunit B, a reminder of which is:

*Characterisation*

- Yahweh's remains the main speaker, who simultaneously speaks directly to Moses, and indirectly speaks to the assembled people of Israel;
- Moses remains the deliverer of Yahweh's speech to the assembly of Israel; and
- the assembly of Israel remains the third character.

*Setting and Plot*

- The narrative setting stays the same, this being: the newly-constructed tabernacle at the base of Mount Sinai (in the wilderness of Sinai);
- thus, the characters have not changed or moved, the narrative setting has not changed, and nor has there been a 'scene change'.
- The scene, therefore, remains the 'Theophany at Sinai' (Van Seters 2008:3-4), which forms part of 'The Revelation of the Law at Sinai' from Exodus 15–Numbers 10 (Van Seters 2008:3-4).
- The result is that (in terms of these factors) the plot remains the same.

The said results create the narrative context for the remaining sections of the immanent reading.

Section five forms the first part of subunit C and is discussed below.

3.2.5.1. Section 5, *Leviticus 19:11-12 – The Decalogue*. Meyers has grouped verses 11-12 as ‘The Decalogue’ (2016:204). The verses of section 5 are: You shall not steal; you shall not deal falsely; you shall not lie to one another’ (*Leviticus 19:11, English Standard Version*):

לא תגנבו ולא־תכחשו ולא־תשקרו איש בעמיתו:

(*Leviticus 19:11, Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

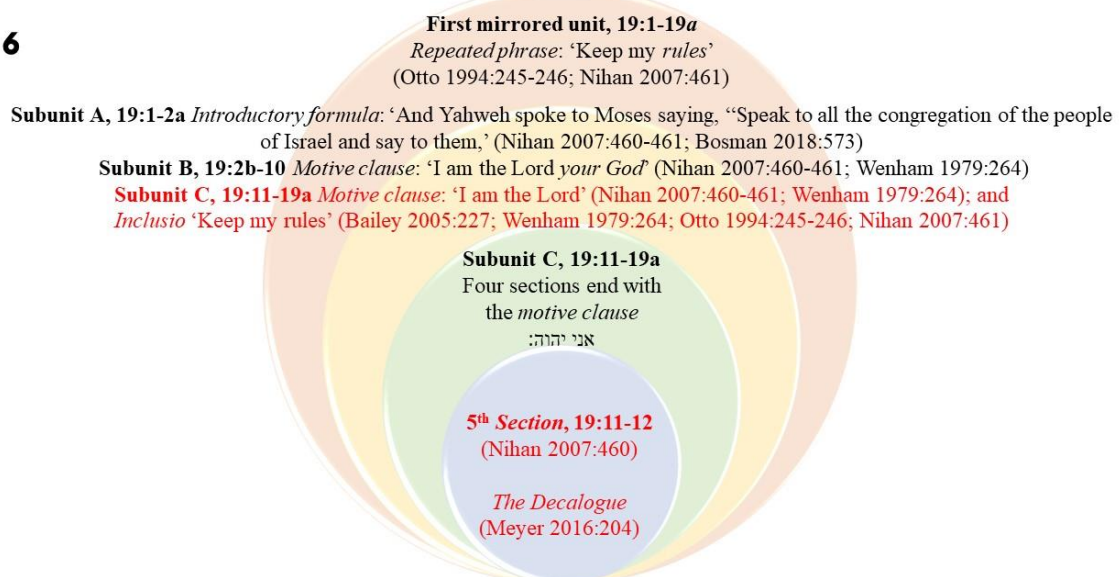
‘You shall not swear by my name falsely, and so profane the name of your God: I am the LORD (*Leviticus 19:12, English Standard Version*):

ולא־תשבועו בשמי לשקר וחללת את־שם אלהיך אני יהוה:

(*Leviticus 19:12, Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Section five is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and discussed thereafter.

6



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of *Leviticus 19:1-19a*: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 24 *The Decalogue Leviticus 19:11-12*

3.2.4.2. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:11-12*. Both verses 11 and 12 (as *reinterpretative sections of The Decalogue*) form the fifth section of *Leviticus 19:1-19a*. Both verses 11 and 12 further form the first part of subunit C but is referred to as the fifth section. The fifth section is demarcated by a variation of the *motive clause*, which is: ‘I am the Lord’ (אני יהוה) (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264). This variation of the *motive*

*clause* indicates the end of four of the five sections of subunit C – thus forming subunit C and the demarcation of subunit C. Consequently, through the *motive clause*, the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) is maintained and reinforced in the first four sections of subunit C.

As previously stated, the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ (Bosman 2018:573) of chapter 19 is established through the *motive clause*, which functions in the said portion of text to *legitimise* the preceding commands. In this manner, the reader’s ‘existing systems of power’ or *power-relations* (Eagleton 1983:206) – responsible for organising the *social* and the *religious life* of the historical audience *and* the implied reader (Eagleton 1983:194) – are confronted.

Meyer (2016:204) and Rogerson (2014:48-53) conclude that verses 11 and 12 have connections to *The Decalogue* of Exodus 20:1-17. Considering the exegesis of verses 3-4 in light of the exegesis of verses 11-12 that is to follow, verses 3-4 have been shown and verses 11-12 will be shown to be *organic* (Wessels 2020:1). These verses evince the complexity of the text tradition in terms of the ‘...ongoing interpretation within the text itself’ (Wessels 2020:1) by the text’s redactors – which this author refers to as: *new revelation*. Specifically, Leviticus 19:3-4 and 19:11-12 form Wessels’ *re*interpretation and *re*application of:

- the decalogue in Deuteronomy 5:1-21 (Otto 1994:208-233; Van Seters 2008:14); and
- *The Decalogue* of Exodus 20:1-17.

Accordingly, how might verses 11 and 12 function as evidence for (*re*)interpretation (i.e., ideology/ theology), and application (i.e., praxis) by the redactors thereof?

Rogerson (2014:48-53) suggests, based upon the plural form of verses 11-12, that these verses are *communal* and advocate *communal responsibility*. These commands are also apodictic, and to which exceptions or conditions are not added. Furthermore, these commands resemble seven of the Ten Commandments; and, are possibly older than the singular commands identified by Rogerson.

Gerstenberger (1996:262-264) also identifies the commands in verses 11-12 to be *communal* commands (based upon their plural form), which address the behaviour of the listener/reader towards their neighbour, and their behaviour towards Yahweh. Gerstenberger specifically suggests an audience comprised of the Jewish, religious community during postexilic period, which this author defines as the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).



3.2.5.1. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:11 and Exodus 20:12*. Accordingly, this author assesses the *intertextual references* to *The Decalogue* in Exodus. A comparison is made between the corresponding verse of The Decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17, by: highlighting the verbs in red and by highlighting the objects in purple. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning, applied to each verse, follows:

לא תגנבו ולא תכחשו ולא תשקרו איש בעמיתו:

(Leviticus 19:11, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לא תגנב:

לא־תענה ברעך עד שקר:

(Exodus 20:15-16, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

ולא תגנב:

ולא־תענה ברעך עד שוא:

(Deuteronomy 5:19-20, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:11:

- לא (not)
- תגנבו (you will deceive)
- ולא (and not)
- תכחשו (you will lie)
- ולא (and not)
- תשקרו (you will cheat)
- איש (man)
- בעמיתו: (with another his)

Not / you will **deceive** / and not / you will **lie** / and not / you will **cheat** / **man** / with another his:

- A – ‘Not you will **deceive**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- A’ – ‘and not you will **lie**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- A’’ – ‘and not you will **cheat**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
  - B – ‘**man**’ (note: the object of the preceding verbs; the verbs appear *before* the object)

- B' – 'with another him' (note: object of the verbs)

**AA'A''BB'**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on an intensification of the verbs (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax.

This author's translation of Exodus 20:15-16 and Deuteronomy 5:19-20: Not you will **steal** / not you will **testify** / with your **companion** / witness / a lie:

- A – 'Not you will **steal**' (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
- A' – 'Not you will **testify**' (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine plural verb)
  - B – 'with your **companion**' (note: the object of the preceding verbs; the verbs appear *before* the object)
  - B' – 'witness *of* a lie' (note: the object of the preceding verbs; the verbs appear *before* the object)

**AA'BB'**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus on an intensification of the verbs (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax.

3.2.4.2. (c) *Significant Semantics for Leviticus 19:11 and Exodus 20:15-16*. The verbs in Leviticus 19:11 form the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *plural* form of the verbs, therefore corresponding to Rogerson (2014:48-53)'s identification of these commands as *communal*. Accordingly, these commands address *communal responsibility*.

Although these communal commands are possibly older than the singular commands identified by Rogerson (2014:48-53) (based upon their resemblance with seven of the Ten Commandments) their *reapplication* to an audience comprised of the Jewish, religious community during postexilic period – which this author defines as the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Gerstenberger 1996:262-264) – forms the most recent *reinterpretation* of these commands. However, they still remain apodictic commands.

The verb **גָּנַב** appears in all three decalogue references of the corresponding verse, i.e., in Leviticus 19:11, Exodus 20:15 and Deuteronomy 5:19. **גָּנַב** forms a primitive root word that includes both the literal and figurative forms of 'to *thieve*'. Thus, in addition to 'taking away' a physical entity from another without their consent, the meaning also includes 'to *deceive*'

another, thus: ‘secretly bring’ or ‘to get by stealth’ (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

The verb שָׁקַר appears in Leviticus 19:11 and in Exodus 20:16 – however, it does not appear in the corresponding verse in Deuteronomy. שָׁקַר also forms a primitive root that means ‘to cheat’ or to advance oneself ahead of another by ‘being untrue’ with false words. In this manner, it means to ‘fail’ another by ‘dealing falsely’ with them, and thus: ‘to lie’ (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

The verb כָּזַב appears only in Leviticus 19:11 as the second verb in the verse. כָּזַב forms a primitive root word that means ‘to be untrue’ in either word or action. In this manner, the scope of this verb is broad: therefore, ‘to lie, feign, disown’ or ‘to disappoint, fail, cringe’. It includes deception, rejection, destruction, failure, falsehood, and lying (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

3.2.4.2. (d) *Significant Syntax for Leviticus 19:12 and Exodus 20:7*. This author assesses the *intertextual references to The Decalogue*, and the *motive clause* (highlighted in green in the Hebrew text) below. A comparison is made between the corresponding verse of The Decalogue in Exodus 20:1-17, by: highlighting the verbs in red; highlighting the objects in purple; and highlighting the motive clause in green. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning, applied to each verse, follows:

ולא־תִשְׁבַּעוּ בִשְׁמִי לְשַׁקֵּר וְחָלַלְתָּ אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

(Leviticus 19:12, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת־שֵׁם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוּא כִּי לֹא יִנְקֶה יְהוָה אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ לְשׁוּא:

(Exodus 20:7, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת־שֵׁם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוּא כִּי לֹא יִנְקֶה יְהוָה אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ לְשׁוּא:

(Deuteronomy 5:11, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author’s translation of Leviticus 19:12:

- (and not) ולא
- (you will swear) תִּשְׁבַּעוּ
- (by my name) בְּשִׁמִּי
- (to false) לְשַׁקֵּר

- (and profane you) וְהִלַּלְתָּ
- (direct object marker) אֵת
- (name) שְׁמִי
- (of your god) אֱלֹהֶיךָ
- (I) אֲנִי
- (Yahweh; the LORD) יְהוָה

And not / you will **swear** / by name my / to false / and **profane** you / direct-object marker / **name** / of your god / **I am Yahweh**:

- A – ‘And not you will **swear**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *plural* verb)
  - B – ‘by my **name** falsely’ (note: the object of the preceding verb; the verb appears *before* the object)
    - C – ‘and you **profane**’ (note: verb)
    - B’ – ‘**name of your god**’ (note: object)
- A’ – ‘**I am Yahweh**’ (note: *motive clause*)

**ABCB’A’**: The pattern formed is *reverse symmetry*, with a *single* chiasmic centre; and the emphasis is thus on: C (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). Both verbs appear before the object, as per usual Hebrew syntax.

This author’s translation of Exodus 20:7 and Deuteronomy 5:11: Not / you will **swear** / direct object marker / **name** / of **Yahweh your God** / in vain / because / not / clean / of Yahweh / direct object marker / which / **swear** / direct object marker / his **name** / in vain:

- A – ‘Not you will **swear**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *plural* verb)
  - B – ‘**name of Yahweh your God**’ (note: the object of the preceding verb; the verb appears *before* the object)
    - C – ‘in vain’ (note: the trespass)
    - ❖ D – ‘because not clean *of* Yahweh’ (note: the consequence)
- A’ – ‘which he will **swear**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *plural* verb)
  - B’ – ‘**his name**’ (note: the object of the preceding verb; the verb appears *before* the object)
    - C’ – ‘in vain’ (note: the trespass is repeated and intensified)

ABCD A'B'C': The pattern formed is *forward repetition*, with a *single chiastic centre*; and the emphasis is thus on: D, i.e., being unclean and removed from Yahweh (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the object, as per usual Hebrew syntax.

3.2.5.1. (c) *Significant Semantics for Leviticus 19:12 and Exodus 20:7*. The verb שָׁבַע in Leviticus 19:12 forms the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *plural* form of the verb, and thus corresponds to Rogerson (2014:48-53)'s identification of the command as *communal*. Accordingly, this command communally addresses *communal responsibility*.

The verb שָׁבַע forms a primitive root word that means 'to *be complete*' in terms of 'severing oneself', therefore: 'to *swear* (as if by repeating a declaration seven times)'. It implies an oath, and the 'taking of an oath', either: deliberately, or not (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers).

This verb also forms part of the communal commands identified by Rogerson (2014:48-53) (based upon their resemblance with seven of the Ten Commandments). Again, although possibly older than the singular commands, the *reapplication* of this *plural* (i.e., communal) command takes place during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) to an audience comprised of the Jewish, religious community (Gerstenberger 1996:262-264). 'You will not swear' therefore forms the most recent *reinterpretation* of the command, found in Leviticus 19:12, however, it still remains an apodictic command.

By contrast, the same verb שָׁבַע or שָׁבַע is used in the corresponding verses of Exodus 20:7 and Deuteronomy 5:11 – instead of שָׁבַע that is used in Leviticus 19:12. שָׁבַע or שָׁבַע forms a primitive root word that means 'to *lift*' and has many literal, figurative, absolute, and relative applications. One of these applications is, 'to *swear*' (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers).

Section six, which forms the second part of subunit C, is discussed below.

3.2.5.2. *Section 6, Leviticus 19:13-14 – Business Laws In Aid of: Those Not Earning a Lot of Money; The Deaf; and The Blind*. Meyer has grouped verses 13-14 with the title: 'Business laws in aid of: those not earning a lot of money; the deaf; and the blind'

(2016:2014). The verses of section six are: ‘You shall not oppress your neighbour or rob him. The wages of a hired worker shall not remain with you all night until the morning’ (Leviticus 19:13, *English Standard Version*):

לֹא-תַעֲשֶׂק אֶת-רֵעֶךָ וְלֹא תִגְזֹל לֹא-תִלִּין פְּעֻלַּת שְׂכִיר אֶתְךָ עַד-בֹּקֶר:

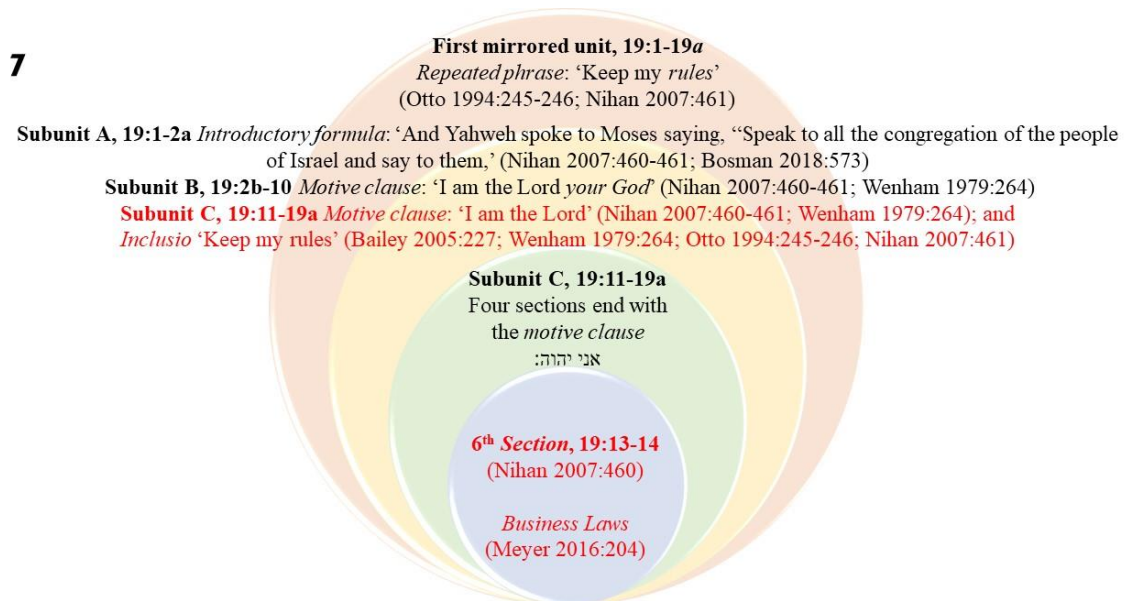
(Leviticus 19:13, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

‘You shall not curse the deaf or put a stumbling block before the blind, but you shall fear your God: I am the LORD’ (Leviticus 19:14, *English Standard Version*):

לֹא-תִקְלַל חֵרֵשׁ וּלְפָנַי עוֹר לֹא תִתֵּן מִכְשָׁל וִירֵאתָ מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

(Leviticus 19:14, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Section six is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and is discussed thereafter.



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied.

Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 25 *Business Laws Leviticus 19:13-14*

3.2.5.2. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:13-14*. Summarised by Meyer (2016:204) as ‘Business laws in aid of: those not earning a lot of money; the deaf; and the blind’, verses 13 and 14 form the sixth section of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Both verses 13 and 14 further form the second part of subunit C but are referred to as the *sixth section*. The sixth section is also demarcated by the variation of the *motive clause*, this being: ‘I am the Lord’ (אֲנִי יְהוָה)

(Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264). As previously stated, this form of the *motive clause* designates subunit C and maintains the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) in the first four sections of subunit C.

The ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ (Bosman 2018:573) of chapter 19 is established through the *motive clause*, which functions in verse 13 to *legitimise* the preceding commands in verse 13 and in verse 14. ‘Yahweh as God’ legitimises the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of business laws in consideration of the poor, the deaf, and the blind. In this manner, the reader’s ‘existing systems of power’ or *power-relations* (Eagleton 1983:206) are challenged in such a way as to *reorganise* the *social* and the *religious life* of the historical audience *and* of the implied reader (Eagleton 1983:194).

This author highlights the significance of the adjustment of business laws (Meyer 2016:204) in considering the poor, the deaf, and the blind; and the subsequent value placed on the poor, the deaf, and the blind, through such an adjustment. The concern of these verses for the poor, the deaf, and the blind has led Rogerson (2014:48-53) to define the theme of these verses in terms of *social justice*. Rogerson suggests that verses 13-14 form *singular* commands that indicate the *individual’s* responsibility of the hearer/reader to the poor, the deaf, and the blind. The commands in verses 13-14 are also *casuistic*, for which the context and circumstances of the commands are described. These commands make provision for the poor, the deaf, and the blind (summarised as *social justice*) during the exilic and postexilic periods.

As singular and *casuistic* instructions, Gerstenberger (1996:262) adds that verses 13-14 form commands for the father of a household – or a clan – and are thus identified as: *familial commands* that address social behaviour.

According to Jagersma’s (1972:9-11,133-144), verses 13-14 form *prophetic-tradition* commands. This author adds that these singular, *casuistic*, *familial*, and *prophetic* commands, form Wessels’ (2020:1) *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of business laws in light of the *social justice* of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

3.2.5.2. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:13-14*. This author assesses the following *familial* commands that address *social* behaviour, by: highlighting the verbs in red; highlighting the objects in purple; and highlighting the *motive clause* in green. A word-for-

word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

לֹא-תַעֲשֶׂק אֶת-רֵעֶךָ וְלֹא תִגְזֹל לְאֶתְלִין פְּעֻלַת שְׂכִיר אֶתְךָ עַד-בֹּקֶר:

(Leviticus 19:13, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לֹא-תִקַּל חֵרֶשׁ וּלְפָנַי עוֹר לֹא תִתֵּן מִכְשָׁל וִירֵאת מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

(Leviticus 19:14, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:13:

- לא (not)
- תַעֲשֶׂק (you will oppress)
- את (direct object marker)
- רֵעֶךָ (neighbor your)
- וְלֹא (and not)
- תִגְזֹל (you will rob)
- לא (not)
- תִלִין (you will tarry)
- פְעֻלַת (reward)
- שְׂכִיר (employee)
- אֶתְךָ (direct object marker your)
- עַד (until)
- בֹקֶר: (morning)

Not / you will **oppress** / direct-object marker / your **neighbour** / and not / you will **rob** / not / you will **tarry** / they-their **reward** / *of employee* / direct-object marker / until / morning:

- A – ‘Not you will **oppress**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *singular* verb)
  - B – ‘your **neighbour**’ (note: the object of the preceding verb; thus, the verb appears *before* the object; however, this object also functions as the object of the following verb)
- A’ - ‘and not you will **rob**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *singular* verb)
- A’’ – ‘not you will **tarry**’ (note: Qal imperfect second-person masculine *singular* verb)



- B' – 'reward of employee until morning' (note: the object of the preceding verb; thus, the verb appears *before* the object)

**ABA'A''B'**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*, with a *single chiasmic centre*, A'; and the emphasis is thus on: A', i.e., 'not robbing', which includes oppression and tarrying (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). Barring the verb in A', the verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax; and are in their *form*: the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and *singular*.

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:14:

- לא (not)
- (you will curse; mock) תקלל
- (deaf) חרש
- (and upon the face of) וקפני
- (blind) עור
- לא (not)
- (you will give) תתן
- (stumbling block) מכשל
- (and fear they) ויראת
- (from god your) מאלהיך
- אני (I)
- יהוה (Yahweh; the LORD)

Not / you will **curse; mock** / **deaf** / and upon the **face of** / **blind** / not / you will **give** / **stumbling block** / and **fear** they / from your god / **I am Yahweh**:

- A – 'Not you will **curse**' (note: the verb appears first, before the objects in B and B'; the verb form is: Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and *singular*)
  - B – 'deaf and upon the **face of blind**' (note: the objects of A)
- A' – 'not you will **give**' (note: the verb appears first, before the object in B'; the verb form is: Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and *singular*)
  - B' – '**stumbling block**' (note: the object of A')
    - C – 'and **fear** they from your god'
    - C' – '**I am Yahweh**'

**ABA'B'CC'**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*, with a double climax on C and C'; the emphasis is upon intensification, which ends in the conclusion or final consequence in C

and C' – thereby creating the impression that the deaf and the blind are protected by Yahweh and by one's reverence for Yahweh (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax; and are in their *form*: the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and *singular*.

3.2.5.2. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:13-14*. The imperfect form of the verbs in verses 13-14 points toward their actions *in the future*; and as habitual actions that are dependent upon other factors in its literary context, these being:

- the *motive clause*, 'I am Yahweh';
- 'Yahweh is holy';
- and that the 'people of Israel (Yahweh) *will be* holy'.

In this manner, the *motive clause* in C, functions to legitimise the Qal Imperfect verbs.

Thus, the exegesis of verses 13-14 have shown the verbs to be in their Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular* form. These findings align with Gerstenberger's (1996:262) demarcation of verses 13-14 as *singular*, *casuistic*, and *familial commands* that address *social behaviour*. The singular form of the verbs further support Rogerson's (2014:48-53) suggestion that verses 13-14 address the *individual's* responsibility as it pertains to *fair* and *social justice* regarding the deaf and the blind during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

Section seven, which forms the third part of subunit C, is discussed below.

3.2.5.3. *Section 7, Leviticus 19:15-16 – Fair justice (social justice) (Meyer 2016: 204)*. The verses of section seven are: 'You shall do no injustice in court. You shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great, but in righteousness shall you judge your neighbor' (Leviticus 19:15, *English Standard Version*):

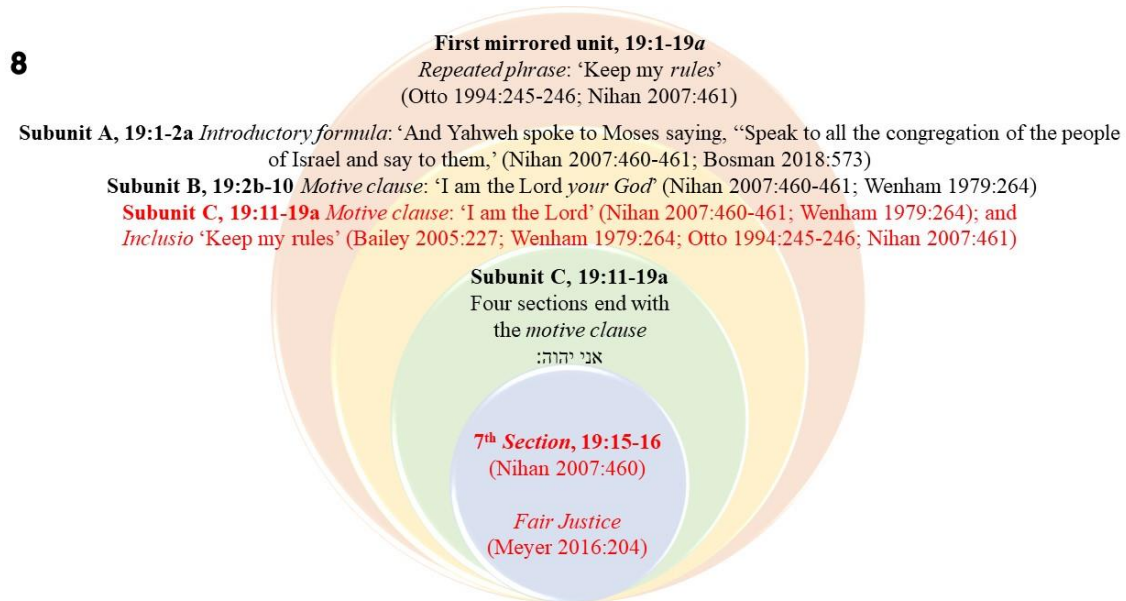
לֹא-תַעֲשׂוּ עוֹל בְּמִשְׁפַּט לֹא-תִשָּׂא פְנֵי-דָל וְלֹא תִהְדָּר פְּנֵי גָדוֹל בְּצַדֵּק תִּשְׁפֹּט עִמִּיתְךָ:

(Leviticus 19:15, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

‘You shall not go around as a slanderer among your people, and you shall not stand up against the life of your neighbor: I am the LORD’ (Leviticus 19:16, *English Standard Version*):

לֹא-תֵלֵךְ רַכִּיל בְּעַמֶּיךָ לֹא תַעֲמֵד עַל-דַּם רֵעֶךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:  
(Leviticus 19:16, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Section seven is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and discussed thereafter.



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 26 Fair Justice Leviticus 19:15-16

3.2.5.3. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:15-16*. Thematically summarised by Meyer (2016:204) as ‘Fair justice (social justice)’, verses 15 and 16 form the seventh section of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Both verses 15 and 16 further form the third part of subunit C but are referred to as the *seventh section*. The seventh section is also demarcated by the variation of the *motive clause*, this being: ‘I am the Lord’ (אֲנִי יְהוָה) (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264). As previously stated, this form of the *motive clause* designates subunit C and maintains the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) in the first four sections of subunit C.

The ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ (Bosman 2018:573) of chapter 19 is established through the *motive clause*, thus: ‘I am the Lord’ (אֲנִי יְהוָה) situated at the end of verse 16,

legitimises the *re*interpretation and *re*application of the instructions regarding fair justice in verse 15 and in verse 16. In this manner, the *social* and the *religious lives* of the historical audience during the Achaemenid Persian Empire, *and* of the implied reader, are *re*organised (Eagleton 1983:194) in terms of fair justice.

This author highlights the significance of the adjustment of *business* laws (Meyer 2016:204) in considering fair justice; and the subsequent value placed on fair justice, through such an adjustment. The concern of these verses for fair justice has led Rogerson (2014:48-53) to define the theme of these verses in terms of *social justice*. Based upon the singular form of these commands, Rogerson suggests that verses 15-16 address the *individual's* responsibility towards fair justice. The commands in verses 15-16 are also casuistic, thus: the context and circumstances of the commands are described, which further address fair justice (summarised as *social justice*) during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

As singular and casuistic instructions, Gerstenberger (1996:262) adds that verses 15-16 form commands for the ‘father of the household’ – or the clan – and are thus identified as: *familial commands*. However, these familial commands address legal proceedings.

Furthermore, according to Jagersma’s (1972:9-11,133-144), verses 15-16 form *prophetic-tradition* commands that further form the *re*interpretation and *re*application (Wessels 2020:1) of legal proceedings in light of the *fair/social justice* of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

3.2.5.3. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:15-16*. This author assesses the following familial commands that address legal proceedings, by: highlighting the verbs in red; highlighting the objects in purple; and highlighting the motive clause in green. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

לא-תעשו עול במשפט לא-תשא פני-דל ולא תהדר פני גדול בצדק תשפט עמיתך:

(Leviticus 19:15, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לא-תלך רכיל בעמיתך לא תעמד על-דם רעך אני יהוה:

(Leviticus 19:16, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author’s translation of Leviticus 19:15:

- לא (not)

- (you will make) תעשׂוּ
- (evil) עול
- (in judgement) במשפט
- (not) לא
- (you will bear, cast away) תשא
- (face of) פני
- (poor) דל
- (and not) ולא
- (you will swell up) תהדר
- (face of) פני
- (great) גדול
- (in righteousness) בצדק
- (you will judge) תשפט
- (neighbour your): עמיתך

Not / you will **make** / **evil** / **in judgment** / and not / you will **bear, cast away** / **face of** / **poor** / and not / you **proud** / **face of** / **great** / in righteousness / you will **judge** / your **neighbour**:

- A – ‘Not you will **make**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *plural*)
  - B – ‘**evil in judgement**’ (note: object of the preceding verb)
- A’ – ‘and not you will **bear, cast away**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*)
  - B’ – ‘**face of poor**’
- A’’ – ‘And not you will **puff up**’ (note: verb before object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*)
  - B’’ – ‘**face of great**’ (note: object of preceding verb)
- A’’’ – ‘in righteousness you will **judge**’ (note: verb appears before object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*)
  - B’’’ – ‘your **neighbour**’ (note: object of preceding verb)

**ABA’B’A’’B’’A’’’B’’’**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus upon an intensification of both the verbs and their objects (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax. Except for the first verb form in A (which is in its *plural*, Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine form), the

rest of the verbs in verse 15 are in their *singular*, the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine form.

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:16:

- (not) לא
- (you will walk) תלך
- (talebearer) רכיל
- (in people your) בעמך
- (not) לא
- (you will stand) תעמד
- (with) על
- (blood) דם
- (of neighbor your) רעך
- (I) אני
- (Yahweh; the LORD) יהוה

Not / you will **walk** / **talebearer** / in your **people** / not / you will **stand** / with / **blood** / of your **neighbour** / **I am Yahweh**:

- A – ‘Not you will **walk**’ (note: verb before object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*)
  - B – ‘**talebearer** in your **people**’ (note: object of preceding verb)
- A’ – ‘And not you will **stand**’ (note: verb before object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular*)
  - B’ – ‘with **blood** of your **neighbour**’ (note: object of preceding verb)
    - C – ‘**I am Yahweh**’ (note: the *motive clause* forms the other literary factors on which the Qal Imperfect verbs depend)

**ABA’B’C**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus upon an intensification of both the verbs and their objects, i.e., ‘walking’ becomes ‘standing’, and gossip becomes blood (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax; and are in their *form*: the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and singular.

3.2.5.3. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:15-16*. The imperfect form of the verbs in verses 15-16 points toward their actions *in the future*; and as habitual actions that are dependent upon other factors in its literary context, these being:

- the *motive clause*, ‘I am Yahweh’;
- ‘Yahweh is holy’;
- and that the ‘people of Israel (Yahweh) *will be* holy’.

In this manner, the *motive clause* in C, functions to legitimise the Qal Imperfect verbs.

Thus, the exegesis of verses 15-16 have shown the verbs to be in their Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular* form (except for the first verb in verse 15, which is in its *plural* form). These findings align with Gerstenberger’s (1996:262) demarcation of verses 15-16 as *singular*, *casuistic*, and *familial commands* that address *legal issues*. The singular form of the verbs further support Rogerson’s (2014:48-53) suggestion that verses 15-16 address the *individual’s* responsibility as it pertains to *fair* and *social justice* during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

In verse 15 (and in verse 37) משפט is used to refer to the *judgement* of one’s neighbour – which must not be an evil judgment. In verse 37, *all* of Yahweh’s משפט must be kept, typically appearing after the verb, שמר.

משפטי means: a *verdict* – which can be favourable, or unfavourable – that is pronounced judicially. In this sense it refers to a sentence or formal decree, which further can be: human, or divine; individual, or collective. It includes the act, the place, the crime, and the penalty (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

Section eight, which forms the fourth part of subunit C, is discussed below.

3.2.5.4. *Section 8, Leviticus 19:17-18 – The command to love your neighbour (Meyer 2016:204)*. The verses of section 8 are: ‘You shall not hate your brother in your heart, but you shall reason frankly with your neighbor, lest you incur sin because of him’ (Leviticus 19:17, *English Standard Version*):

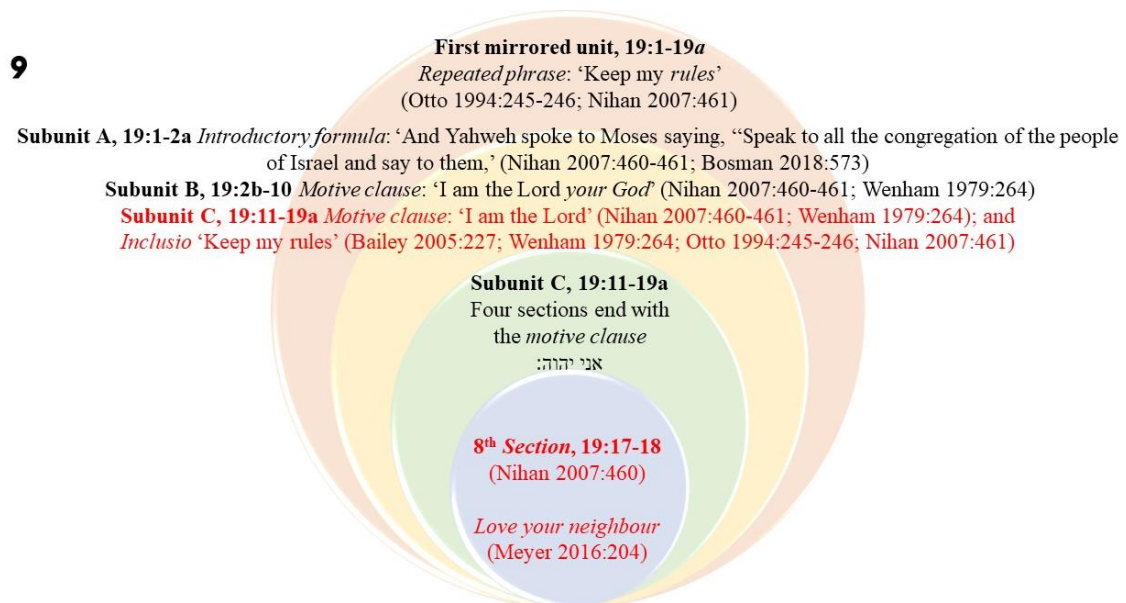
לֹא־תִשָּׂא אֶת־אָחִיךָ בְּלִבְּךָ הוֹכַח תּוֹכַח אֶת־עַמִּיתְךָ וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא עָלָיו חָטָא:

(Leviticus 19:17, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

‘You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against the sons of your own people, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself: I am the LORD’ (Leviticus 19:18, *English Standard Version*):

לֹא־תִקֵּם וּלֹא־תִטַּר אֶת־בְּנֵי עַמְךָ וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:  
(Leviticus 19:18, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Section eight is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and discussed thereafter.



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: *from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied.* Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 27 *Love your neighbour Leviticus 19:17-18*

3.2.5.4. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:17-18*. Thematically summarised by Meyer (2016:204) as ‘The command to love your neighbour’, verses 17 and 18 form the eighth section of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Both verses 17 and 18 further form the fourth part of subunit C but are referred to as the *eighth section*. The eighth section is also demarcated by the variation of the *motive clause*, this being: ‘I am the Lord’ (אֲנִי יְהוָה) (Nihan 2007:460-461; Wenham 1979:264), which designates subunit C and maintains the ‘theological-ethical argumentation’ of chapter 19 (Bosman 2018:573) in the first four sections of subunit C.

Thus, ‘I am the Lord’ (אֲנִי יְהוָה) situated at the end of verse 18, functions to legitimise the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* of the instructions regarding neighbourly love in verse 17 and in verse 18. In this manner, the *social* and the *religious lives* of the historical audience



during the Achaemenid Persian Empire, *and* of the implied reader, are *reorganised* (Eagleton 1983:194) in terms of love for one's neighbour.

This author highlights the significance of the adjustment of *business* laws (Meyer 2016:204) in considering neighbourly love; and the subsequent value placed on neighbourly love, through such an adjustment. The concern of these verses for neighbourly love has led Rogerson (2014:48-53) to define the theme of these verses in terms of *social justice*. Based upon the singular form of these commands, Rogerson suggests that verses 17-18 address the *individual's* responsibility towards fair justice. The commands in verses 17-18 are also casuistic, thus: the context and circumstances of the commands are described, which further address neighbourly love during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

As singular and casuistic instructions, Gerstenberger (1996:262) adds that verses 17-18 form commands for the 'father of the household' – or the clan – and are thus identified as: *familial commands* that address communal behaviour.

Furthermore, according to Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144), verses 17-18 form *prophetic-tradition* commands, in contrast to priestly/cultic commands. This author adds that verses 17-18 form Wessels' (2020:1) *re*interpretation and *re*application of commands in light of neighbourly love during the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

3.2.5.4. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:17-18*. This author assesses the following familial commands that address communal behaviour, by: highlighting the verbs in red; highlighting the objects in purple; and highlighting the motive clause in green. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

לֹא-תִשָּׂא אֶת-אָחִיךָ בַלְבַּבְךָ הֹכַח תּוֹכִיחַ אֶת-עַמִּיתְךָ וְלֹא-תִשָּׂא עָלָיו חֲטָא:

(Leviticus 19:17, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*); and

לֹא-תִקַּם וְלֹא-תִטַּר אֶת-בְּנֵי עַמְךָ וְאֶהְבֵּת לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

(Leviticus 19:18, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:17:

- לא (not)
- תִשָּׂא (you will hate)
- את (direct object marker)

- (brother **your**) אהיך
- (in heart **your**) בלבבך
- (the wise) הַיָּכֵחַ
- (you will judge) תִּשְׁפֹּט
- (direct object marker) אֵת
- (neighbor **your**) עֲמִיתְךָ
- (and not) וְלֹא
- (**you** will carry, bear) תִּשָּׂא
- (above, over, against plural) עֲלֵיהֶן
- (sin): חַטָּא

Not / you will **hate** / direct-object marker / your **brother, sister** / in your heart / the wise / you will **judge** / direct-object marker / your **neighbour** / and not / you will **carry** / above, over, against / **sin**:

- A – ‘Not you will **hate**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, singular)
  - B – ‘your **brother/sister** in your heart’ (note: object of the preceding verb)
- A’ – ‘wisely you will **judge**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, singular)
  - B’ – ‘your **neighbour**’ (note: object of preceding verb)
- A’’ – ‘And not you will **carry** above, over, against’ (note: verb before object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, singular)
  - B’’ – ‘**sin**’ (note: object of preceding verb)

**ABA'B'A''B''**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition*; and the emphasis is thus upon an intensification of both the verbs and their objects (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax; and are in their *form*: the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and singular.

This author’s translation of Leviticus 19:18:

- (not) לֹא
- (**you** will begrudge) תִּקַּח
- (and not) וְלֹא
- (**you** will resent) תִּטַּח
- (direct object marker) אֵת

- (sons) בני
- (nation; people your) עמך
- (and love them) ואהבת
- (towards brother your) לרעהך
- (you therefore) כמך
- (I) אני
- (Yahweh; the LORD) יהוה

Not / you will **begrudge** / and not / you will **resent** / direct-object marker / **sons** / **of your people** / and **love** / towards your **brother, sister** / therefore **your (self)** / **I am Yahweh**:

- A – ‘Not you will **begrudge**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, singular)
- A’ – ‘and not you will **resent**’ (note: verb before the object; the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, singular)
  - B – ‘**sons of your people**’ (note: object of preceding verbs in A and A’)
- A’’ – ‘And **love**’ (note: verb before the following objects in B’ and B’’)
  - B’ – ‘towards your **brother, sister**’ (note: object of preceding verb in A’)
  - B’’ – ‘therefore **yourself**’ (note: second object of preceding verb in A’’)
    - C – ‘**I am Yahweh**’ (note: *motive clause* legitimises the preceding verbs)

**AA’BA’’B’B’’C**: The pattern formed is *forward repetition* with *alternating couplets*; and the emphasis is thus upon an intensification of the verbs (i.e., A, A’, A’’) and objects (i.e., B, B’ and B’’) (this author; Walsh 2001:11, 20, 36). The verbs appear *before* the objects, as per usual Hebrew syntax. The verbs in A and A’ are in their *form*: the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and singular – and the *motive clause* in C functions as the literary factor on which the Qal Imperfect verbs depend.

3.2.5.4. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:17-18*. In verse 17, יָכַח forms the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular* verb. This form of the verb aligns with Gerstenberger’s (1996:262) demarcation of verse 17-18 as: *singular* and casuistic instructions that form *familial commands* that address communal behaviour. Based upon the singular form of the verb, Rogerson (2014:48-53) suggests that verses 17-18 address the

*individual's* responsibility towards *fair justice* in terms of neighbourly love during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The imperfect form of  $\text{יִכְהֹל}$  implies  $\text{יִכְהֹל}$  in the future, and as a habitual action that is dependent upon other factors in its literary context, these being: ‘I am Yahweh’; ‘Yahweh is holy’; and that the ‘people of Israel (Yahweh) will be holy’.

The verb,  $\text{יָצַד}$  means: to *be right*, following a process of *argumentation, rebuke* or *reprovement*. This process leads to a decision or a conviction. It may also result in a *dispute*, which leads further to *pleading* and *reasoning*, in order to: *decide, justify* or *convict* (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

At the end of verse 18, the object,  $\text{עֲוֹן}$  means: a *crime*, or the *penalty* associated with the crime. It also refers to: a fault; a sin; a grievous offence; and the punishment for the offense (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

Section nine, which forms the final part of subunit C, is discussed below.

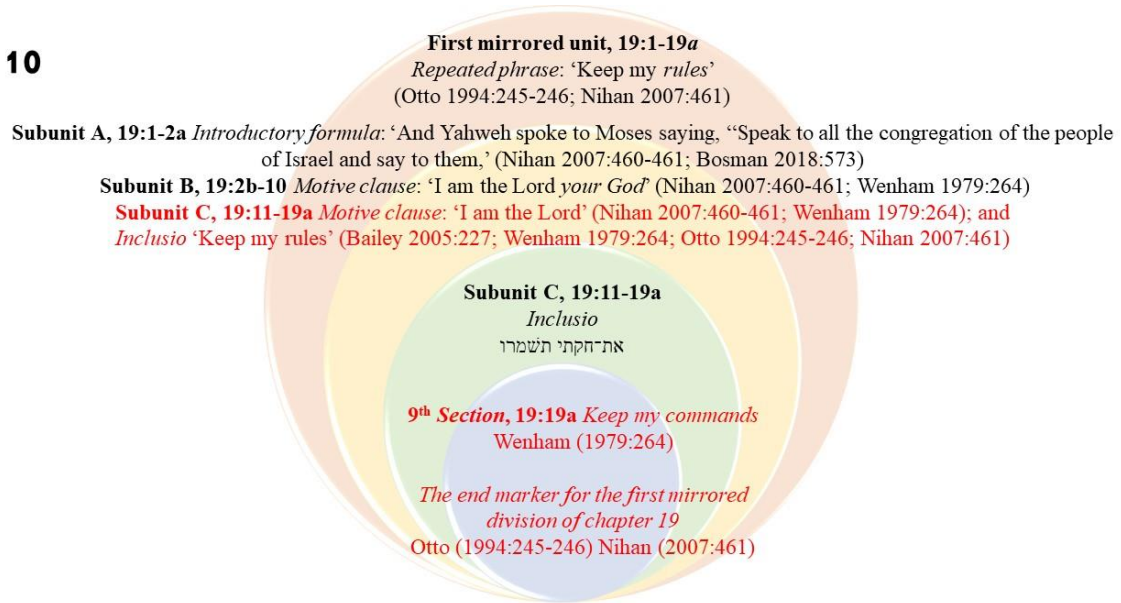
3.2.5.5.        *Section 9, Leviticus 19:19a – Keep my commands.* The verse of section nine is: ‘You will keep my statutes’ (Leviticus 19:19a, *English Standard Version*):

אַתָּה־חַקְתִּי תִשְׁמְרוּ

(Leviticus 19:19a, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

Section nine is highlighted in red in the innermost circle of the image below and discussed thereafter.

## 10



The *generic elements* that indicate each literary unit of Leviticus 19:1-19a: from the largest unit, to the smaller subunit, and the section within the subunit that is being studied. Created by L. Beer 2021

Figure 28 *Keep my Commands Leviticus 19:19a*

3.2.5.5. (a) *Generic Elements of Leviticus 19:19a*. Although Wenham (1979:264) identifies verse 19a as a *marker* for the beginning of a literary unit from verses 19a-37, this author has discussed the reasons for choosing the command, ‘You will keep my statutes’ in verse 19a, as a *marker* for the end of the literary unit from verses 1-19a. Verse 19a therefore forms the ninth (and final) section of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Although verse 19a forms the fifth part of subunit C, verse 19a is referred to as the *ninth section* of the literary unit, Leviticus 19:1-19a.

The command, ‘You will keep my statutes’ in verse 19a, is repeated in verse 37, which this author therefore identifies as a *repeated phrase*. As noted in the opening sections of the immanent reading, Bailey’s (2005:227) identification of chapter 19 as an *inclusio* based upon the command in verse 2b to be holy (קדושים) because Yahweh is holy (קדוש), and ending with the command in verse 37 to follow Yahweh’s statutes (חקתי) and rules (משפטי), further supports this author’s selection of verse 19a as an end for the literary unit from verses 1 to 19a.

If Wenham’s (1979:264) marker, ‘Keep my rules’, in verse 19a is applied to Bailey’s premise for the inclusion, it follows that the ‘adherence to a command’ in both verse 2b, and

in verse 19a, can function as markers for this author's selection of Leviticus 19:1-19a – contrasting the traditional unit of Leviticus 19:1-18.

This proposal may be further supported by Otto (1994:245-246) and Nihan's (2007:461) division of chapter 19 into two halves, by using Wenham (1979:264) and Bailey's (2005:227) identified *marker*, 'You will keep my statutes', as the marker for the end of each half of chapter 19. Thus:

- First half: 19:1-19a                      Ends with: 'You will **keep** my **statutes**'  
את־חֻקְתֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ
- Second half: 19:19b-37                Ends with: 'You will **keep** my **statutes** and **regulations**...'  
וְשִׁמְרֵתֶם אֶת־כָּל־חֻקְתֵי וְאֶת־כָּל־מִשְׁפָּטֵי וְעִשִּׂיתֶם אֹתָם  
אֲנִי יְהוָה:

Accordingly, this author treats verses 1-19a as a literary unit.

Verse 19a also forms part of Gerstenberger's (1996:262) demarcation of verses 19-20 as singular and casuistic instructions that form commands for the 'father of the household' – or the clan. These commands are therefore identified as *familial commands* against *mixing*.

Furthermore, Jagersma (1972:9-11,133-144) identifies verses 19-20 to be of the priestly/cultic tradition, thus interpreting the commands in verses 19-20 to be *priestly-tradition* commands.

3.2.5.5. (b) *Significant Syntax of Leviticus 19:19a*. This author assesses the *marker/ repeated phrase*. The verb is highlighted in red, and the object has been highlighted in purple – and both are addressed in the semantical discussion of Leviticus 19:19a. A word-for-word English translation (by this author), and an application of Hebrew patterning thereto, follows:

את־חֻקְתֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ

(Leviticus 19:19a, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*).

This author's translation of Leviticus 19:19a:

- (direct object marker) את
- (statutes **my**) חֻקְתֵי

- (you will preserve) תשמרו

Direct object marker / my statutes / you will preserve:

- A – ‘My statutes’ (note: object appears before the verb)
  - B – ‘you will preserve’ (note: the form of the verb is the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, plural)

**AB:** The pattern formed is inconclusive because it only has two parts. However, the emphasis falls upon A, because the object in A appears *before* the verb in B. The appearance of the object *before* the verb is unusual Hebrew syntax – and therefore forms a literary choice by the author/ redactor, in order to emphasise: Yahweh’s statutes.

3.2.5.5. (c) *Significant Semantics of Leviticus 19:19a*. Both verse 19a and verse 37 use the verb, שמר: however, in verse 19a the verb שמר appears *after* the object (which is unusual for Hebrew syntax); contrasted by verse 37, in which the verb שמר appears *before* the object – as per typical Hebrew syntax.

In verse 19a, שמר forms the Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *plural* verb. However, the rest of the verbs in verse 19b form *singular* verbs, which align with Gerstenberger’s (1996:262) demarcation of verse 19 as: *singular* and casuistic instructions that form commands for the ‘father of the household’ – or the clan; and as: *familial commands* against *mixing*. Accordingly, this author highlights the *plural* form of the command in verse 19a as another indication for the literary separation between 19a from 19b.

The imperfect form of שמר implies שמר in the future, and as a habitual action that is dependent upon other factors in its literary context, these being: ‘I am Yahweh’; ‘Yahweh is holy’; and that the ‘people of Israel (Yahweh) will be holy’.

The verb שמר forms a primitive root word that implies ‘to hedge about (as with thorns)’, thus giving the impression that the degree or quality of ‘hedging about’ is of a serious nature if thorns are to be used in the hedge; – or, if the hedge is to be made from thorns (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong’s numbers).

The use of thorns, in this author’s view, further implies a ‘sophisticated’ or ‘experienced’ form of *protection* (‘to protect’) and *guardship* (‘to guard’) (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica

Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers). שָׁמַר also implies '...to attend to', which in this author's view may be applied once the hedge is in place – thus forming the second aspect of the concept, which is: the *maintenance* of the 'thorny hedge'. Maintenance of the hedge includes aspects such as: 'keep, mark, observe, preserve, regard, and reserve' (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers).

The final aspect of the concept is 'to be on the lookout' (this author), which is further expressed with terms such as: beware, to be circumspect, to take heed towards *oneself*, to look narrowly to save *oneself*, and to wait and watch in order to be sure (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers).

Considering the said concepts associated with שָׁמַר, this author selects 'preserve' as an interpretation for שָׁמַר.

Both verse 19a and verse 37 use the object חֻקֹּת: however, as stated, in verse 19a the verb שָׁמַר appears *after* חֻקֹּת; contrasted by verse 37 in which the verb שָׁמַר appears *before* חֻקֹּת. The object חֻקֹּת means: an appointed custom, manner, ordinance, or statute (Meyers 2020: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia with Strong's numbers).

~ In the following section, the third aim of the thesis is addressed, which is: to determine the functionality and *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence for the compromise reached between *authorial factions*, these being: the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers, regarding the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, *postexilic* period). This is achieved by examining the writing goals and ideologies of the Zadokites and of the Shaphanites that are present in Leviticus 19:1-19a. ~

### 3.3. THE AUTHORSHIP OF LEVITICUS 19:1-19a

This author identifies three literary aspects from the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. These are:

- The Decalogue Tradition, in verses 3-4 and verses 11-12;
- The prophetic, Shaphanite Tradition, in verses 13-18; and the



- The priestly, Zadokite Tradition, in verses 5-10.

This author has grouped verse 2b, ‘*You will be holy*’ as evidence for the writing goals and ideologies of the Shaphanites, based upon the instructional form of the verse (i.e., the generic element/repeated phrase) when compared with the corresponding generic element/repeated phrase ‘*You will be*’ of the decalogue references in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

This author has presented the following image accordingly:

#### Leviticus 19:1-19a

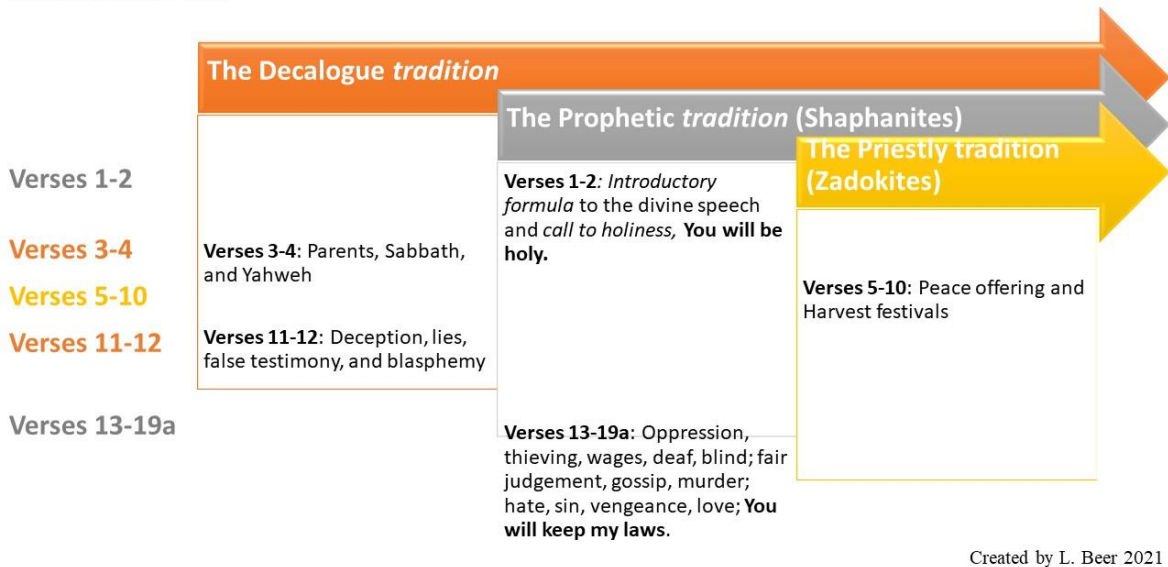


Figure 29 The Traditions in Leviticus 19:1-19a

Following, the literary evidence for Zadokite authorship and Shaphanite authorship in Leviticus 19:1-19a, is discussed.

**3.3.1. Literary Evidence for Zadokite Authorship in Leviticus 19:1-19a.** Jagersma (1972:9-11,133-144) identifies verses 9 and 19-20 to be of the priestly/cultic tradition, thus interpreting the commands in verses 9 and 19-20 as: *priestly-tradition* commands.

As singular and casuistic instructions, Gerstenberger (1996:262) identifies the command in verse 9 as singular and casuistic *familial commands*. This author adds that these singular, familial, cultic, and casuistic commands, form Wessels’ (2020:1) *reinterpretation* and

reapplication of the harvest laws associated with the festival of first-fruits, in light of the *social justice* of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

According to the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, verses 5-10 form references to the Cult and the Priestly tradition; and verse 19a was shown to form a connection to the Law, i.e., ‘You will keep my commands’.

Following, a discussion of the priestly (Zadokite) concept of ‘separation’ (as a characteristic of *Zadokite identity-formation* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire) is presented; and considered in light of the literary connections to the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**3.3.2. Holiness as *Separation* – Evidence for The Zadokites.** This author proposes a literary characteristic of the Zadokites to be: the cult; and the concept (ideology) of *separation*.

The connection between the *cult* and *creation* has been proposed by Liss, who says that: first, the created world consists of categories; and second, the cult (and its rituals) forms an extension of this created ‘world comprised of categories’ (Liss 2008:352). Meyer’s critique of Liss is that the connection between the cult and creation *as* it relates to the cult’s purpose therein, is unclear (Meyer 2012:4).

Ruwe gives clarity on the connection between the cult and creation by suggesting that the *sanctuary* (this author adds, by implication: the *cult*) functions as ‘...a kind of restoration of the creation’ (Ruwe 1999:103-115). Therefore, the sanctuary (again this author adds, and its *cult*) have a ‘creation-restoring’ capacity – the capacity to restore creation (Ruwe 1999:103-115; Meyer 2012:4).

Ruwe supports his view by explaining that the ‘act of creating’ and the ‘act of sanctuary-building’ may be viewed as parallel acts based upon the premise that in both cases the ‘building’ of order is accomplished through: *separation, division*, and ‘systematic arranging’ (Ruwe 1999:106-107,111), which Carr and Conway (2010) similarly support (Meyer 2012:4).

In the Holiness Code, the root  $\text{בָּדַל}$  in Leviticus 20:24-26, forms part of the parenetic frame of the Holiness Code. Accordingly, the Holiness Code demands that in order to restore and maintain cosmic order, the sanctuary and the cult, and the Sabbath and the festivals, must be

implemented and maintained. The cult therefore forms part of the elements that re-establish and uphold the ordered world: – a world divided into different living spaces, and mirrored by the different ritual spaces of the sanctuary, thereby ‘restoring creation’ (Ruwe 1999:111; Meyer 2012:4).

Meyer’s view is that the principles (i.e., separation and division) of the ‘creation-restoring’ elements of the Holiness Code (i.e., the sanctuary and its cult; and the Sabbath and its festivals) are then applied to *ethics*, in terms of: ‘keeping everything in its proper place (Meyer 2012:4; Ruwe 1999:115-120). For example, the laws against ‘mixing’ in 19:19, and against ‘mixing’ in the marriage of priests to unkosher wives in 21:7-14, has as its theological premise, the cosmological creation law of separation and division (Meyer 2012:4; Ruwe 1999:116-117).

The Priestly concept of creation is addressed in Meyer’s article, *Divide and be different: Priestly identity in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE)* (2012), in which he identifies the Hebrew root word בָּדַל<sup>69</sup> (meaning ‘divide’), to support his views of:

- Israelite identity/ Judaic identity during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE);
- Priestly identity; and
- Priestly power

in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

By understanding בָּדַל in its broader ancient Near Eastern context, and therefore, as an ancient Near Eastern thought-form and symbol, this author highlights בָּדַל as an ‘Israelite convention’ – in contrast to a ‘Canaanite convention’ (Deist 1986:37). This ‘Israelite convention’ is concerned with the creation of *order* (Meyer 2012:1) – as an abstract noun, via בָּדַל – i.e., the verbs: divide, separate, differentiate.

Meyer advocates that the priests highly regarded the concept of order, based upon the use of בָּדַל in the first Creation narrative of Genesis 1 (Meyer 2012:1), which according to source criticism, forms the *Priestly* creation account. In this Priestly creation account, the *context*

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<sup>69</sup> The Strong’s number is H914. בָּדַל (bādal) *baw-dal'* is a primitive root meaning: to *divide* (in various senses literally or figuratively, *separate, distinguish, differ, select*, etc.): - (make, put) difference, divide (asunder), (make) separate (self, -ation), sever (out), X utterly. Total KJV occurrences: 42 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

(i.e., the condition of the earth) for the creation of *order* (ANE thought-form: Israelite convention) is described with the adjectives: תהו<sup>70</sup> and בהו<sup>71</sup>; resulting in the noun: חשך<sup>72</sup>.

In this Priestly creation account, *Elohim* brings order to disorder, which for Collins shows the priestly concept of creation to be that ‘...everything must be in its proper place’ (Collins 2004:76; Meyer 2012:1) – or, that *creation* as an Israelite convention, means creating boundaries between things; the separation of things in which the end of one thing and the beginning of another exists; such that through boundaries and separation, space and time are created, allotting everything its ‘proper place’.

Meyer’s view is that בָּדַל offers an understanding of Judaic identity during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Meyer 2012:1). Furthermore, the priests seem to be responsible for implementing this system of Judaic identity, as well as for preserving this identity (Meyer 2012:1). ‘For them [the priests] it was probably not only about Judaic identity, but obviously also about the power they held in this post-exilic society’ (Meyer 2012:1). How did the priests determine Judaic identity, how did they implement it, and how did they preserve it?

Having made the connection between בָּדַל in the Priestly account of creation, Meyer highlights two key instances of בָּדַל in Leviticus, which functions as a *dividing action* to be carried out by the priests, thus replicating *Elohim’s dividing action* in creation (which the priests also wrote) (Meyer 2012:1). In this sense they are *like Elohim* as they ‘...perform the same act’ (Meyer 2012:1). This self-understanding of the priests’ role in the process of separation preserves Judaic identity of separation in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), *and* elevates the priests to a position of power (Meyer 2012:1).

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<sup>70</sup> The Strong’s number is H8414. תהו (tôhû) *to’-hoo* is from an unused root, meaning: to lie *waste*; a *desolation* (of surface), that is, *desert*; figuratively a *worthless* thing; adverbially in *vain*: - confusion, empty place, without form, nothing, (thing of) nought, vain, vanity, waste, wilderness. Total KJV occurrences: 20 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+). Synonyms for ‘confusion’ are: chaos, disorder, mix-up, muddle.

<sup>71</sup> The Strong’s number is H922. בהו (bôhû) *bo’-hoo* is from an unused root (meaning to *be empty*); a *vacuity*, that is, (superficially) an undistinguishable *ruin*: - emptiness, void. Total KJV occurrences: 3 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+). Synonyms for ‘ruin’ are: devastation, decay, destruction, collapse, disintegration, damage.

<sup>72</sup> The Strong’s number is H2822. חשך (chôshek) *kho-shek’* is from H2821; the *dark*; hence (literally) *darkness*; figuratively *misery, destruction, death, ignorance, sorrow, wickedness*: - dark (-ness), night, obscurity. Total KJV occurrences: 79 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

The specific instances of separation in Leviticus that Meyer investigates, are:

- Leviticus 10:10 and
- Leviticus 11:47,

in which the priests record themselves as being given the command by *Yahweh* to distinguish between that which is holy, and that which is profane (in reference to proper sacrifice); and between that which is clean, and that which is unclean (in reference to animals) – respectively. Thus, Meyer notes that while *Elohim* was the subject of בָּדַל in the Priestly account of creation, now in Leviticus, Aaron and his sons become the subject of בָּדַל (Meyer 2012:2).

The ‘clean and unclean’ literary unit of Leviticus 11-15 is recognised by Liss (2008:348) as a section of text that has as its theme, the action of separation. The theme of separation is applied to the priestly world in terms of the categories and particularities that comprise this world (Liss 2008:348). This world is first ordered via separation, by *Elohim* in the Priestly account of creation, and now in the world of Persia, by the priests (Liss 2008:348).

Nihan similarly makes connections between the first creation narrative and chapter 11 of Leviticus (also supporting source-criticism of these texts) by highlighting that through the priestly focus on what is clean and unclean, order is established – and by implication: the restoration of *Elohim*’s original created order (Nihan 2007:338).

Nihan adds to this, the concept of Israel’s identity among the other nations of the ancient Near East, this being: Israel as a ‘priestly nation’ (Nihan 2007:338). Hence, in terms of Israel’s identity, chapter 11 of Leviticus in conjunction with Genesis 1, administers Israel to conform to *Elohim*’s creational order during the Persian or Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE). Thus, in terms of Israel’s identity, both Nihan and Meyer conclude that ‘...an act of conformity to the cosmic order is an act of nonconformity to the Persian Empire’ (Nihan 2007:383-394; Meyer 2012:4).

This author recognizes the dualism: conformity and nonconformity – which Gerstenberger describes thus: by identifying one’s own group, one also defines a relation to the outside (Gerstenberger 1996:145). Therefore, by Israel abiding by the order *Elohim* established within the created order, Israel at the same time defines themselves as a priestly nation within the Persian Empire – thus implementing their unique Jewish identity (Meyer 2012:4).

This author responds by adding that the created order takes place in *space* and *time*, and according to the priests, the sanctuary forms the order in *space*, and the festivals form order in *time*. The cult fills the space and time allocations, i.e., the sacrifices take place in the sanctuary and during the festivals. This author proposes that the festivals formed sacred partitions in time, and abstract ‘containers’ in space, which were set aside/demarcated (and thus: – *holy*) to be filled with specific thought forms and rituals and sacrifices. The performance of these rituals and sacrifices was thus not only to preserve the cult, but to maintain creation (Meyer 2012:5).

For example, the Sabbath (in Leviticus 23:1-4) establishes order within time, every seventh day. The sacrifice that fills this time and space, is a male lamb that is one year old, and that has no defects (Exodus 12:1-28; Numbers 9:1-14; Deuteronomy 16:1-7).

Three festivals establish order within time, every March/ April:

- The Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread (in Leviticus 23:5-8) establishes order within time, every March/April. Specifically, the Passover establishes order within time once a year, on the fourteenth day of the first month of the priestly calendar, this being: Nisan. The festival of unleavened bread follows from the fifteenth of Nisan, and lasts for seven days, of which the first and the seventh days are Sabbaths and during which no yeast may be eaten. The sacrifices that fill this time and space are: The Burnt offering (אֵשׁ־זָרָה);<sup>73</sup> the Meal offering (Numbers 28:17-25); and the Sin offering (Deuteronomy 6:8). All three offerings had to be offered for each of the seven days.
- The Festival of First-fruits (in Leviticus 23:9-14) also establishes order within time, every March/April. The festival of First-fruits takes place directly after the last Sabbath of the festival of Unleavened bread, this being on the twenty third day of Nisan. The first portion of the grain harvest had to be harvested and offered to

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<sup>73</sup> H801 אֵשׁ־זָרָה ('ishshâh) *ish-shaw'* The same as H800, but used in a liturgical sense; properly a *burnt offering*; but occasionally of any *sacrifice*: - (offering, sacrifice), (made) by fire. Total KJV occurrences: 65 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

Yahweh. The sacrifices that fill this time and space are: The Burnt offering (עֹשֶׂה);<sup>74</sup> the Meal offering (Numbers 28:17-25); and the Sin offering (Deuteronomy 6:8).

- The Festival of Harvest (in Leviticus 23:15-22) establishes order within time, every March/April.

Three festivals establish order within time, every September/ October:

- the Festival of Trumpets in Leviticus 23:23-25 establishes order within time, every September/ October.
- The Day of Atonement in Leviticus 23:26-32 establishes order within time, every September/ October.
- The Festival of Shelters in Leviticus 23:33-43 establishes order within time, every September/ October.

The priests were not only maintaining the cultic system: – through their actions to perform sacrifices and to pronounce people clean and unclean, they were at the same time expressing supremacy (Meyer 2012:6).

Thus, Meyer suggests that the special position of the priests during Achaemenid *Yehud*, was one of privilege and power – based upon the rhetoric that they ‘...were doing God’s work’ (Meyer 2012:5). This rhetoric was founded on Elohim’s work in creation: ‘Just as he ordered the world in six days by separating things which did not belong together, so the priests were to keep things apart which not belong together’ (Meyer 2012:5).

Meyer asks who these priests were, who formed the elite and who had the power? (Meyer 2012:6). He concludes that ‘The winners of this power struggle produced the Pentateuch and the texts which we call P and post-P’ (Meyer 2012:6).

These points of discussion indicate the identity formation of the priests and how they saw their function, this being: a Jewish identity of *non-conformity* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE), and the priests’ ‘...own understanding of their role in maintaining this identity’ (Meyer 2012:1). The priests’ self-understanding in their postexilic society was that they were in a position of power through their duty to imitate Yahweh. Meyer demonstrates this view through the Hebrew root [divide] [*bdl*], which is used in

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<sup>74</sup> H801 עֹשֶׂה (*ishshâh*) *ish-shaw*’ The same as H800, but used in a liturgical sense; properly a *burnt offering*; but occasionally of any *sacrifice*: - (offering, sacrifice), (made) by fire. Total KJV occurrences: 65 (Meyers 2020: Hebrew OT+).

Genesis 1, the Priestly Code (Leviticus 10:10 and 11:47) and the Holiness Code (Meyer 2012:1).

While Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144) identifies priestly sections and prophetic sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the decalogue sections of Leviticus 19: 3-4 and 11-12 are not included in the priestly and prophetic decalogue sections. In this manner, the decalogue tradition possibly forms an independent tradition when compared with the *priestly* and *cultic* traditions in Leviticus 19:9 and 19:19.

According to Gerstenberger (1996:26-264), the commands in verses 11-12 form plural, communal commands for the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Gerstenberger 1996:262), which form part of the decalogue tradition. Conversely stated, a characteristic of the decalogue tradition in Leviticus 19 takes the form of plural and communal commands that address the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

Consequently therefore, *both* the priestly and prophetic traditions form singular, familial commands that address the father of the household or clan (Gerstenberger 1996:262).

Following, a discussion of the prophetic (Shaphanite) concept of 'social justice' (as a characteristic of *Shaphanite identity-formation* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire) is presented; and considered in light of the literary connections to the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a.

**3.3.3. Literary Evidence for Shaphanite Authorship in Leviticus 19:1-19a.** According to Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144), verses 17-18 form *prophetic-tradition* commands, in contrast to priestly/cultic commands. This author adds that verses 17-18 form Wessels' (2020:1) *re*interpretation and *re*application of commands in light of neighbourly love during the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The concern of these verses for neighbourly love has led Rogerson (2014:48-53) to define the theme of these verses in terms of *social justice*. Based upon the singular form of these commands, Rogerson suggests that verses 17-18 address the *individual's* responsibility towards *fair justice* that is specifically expressed as *neighbourly love*. The commands in



verses 17-18 are also casuistic (the context and circumstances of the commands are described).

Furthermore, Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144) identifies the commands in verses 15-16 to form *prophetic-tradition* commands that further form the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* (Wessels 2020:1) of legal proceedings in light of the *fair/social justice* of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The exegesis of verses 15-16 have shown the verbs in these two verses to be in their Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, and *singular* form (except for the first verb in verse 15, which is in its *plural* form). These findings align with Gerstenberger's (1996:262) demarcation of verses 15-16 as: *singular*, casuistic, and *familial commands*, which further address *legal proceedings* and *issues*. Based upon the singular form of the verbs in Leviticus 19:15-16, verses 15-16 therefore addresses the *individual's* responsibility (Rogerson's 2014:48-53) as it pertains to *fair* and *social justice* during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

Again, Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144), identifies the commands in verses 13-14 as *prophetic-tradition* commands. The exegesis of verses 13-14 have shown the verbs to be in their Qal Imperfect, second-person masculine, *singular* form. These findings align with Gerstenberger's (1996:262) demarcation of verses 13-14 as *singular*, casuistic, and *familial commands* that address *social behaviour*. The singular form of the verbs further support Rogerson's (2014:48-53) suggestion that verses 13-14 address the *individual's* responsibility as it pertains to *fair* and *social justice* regarding the deaf and the blind during the exilic period and Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The Shaphanite amalgamation of the concept of *holiness* with *social justice*, is presented below.

**3.3.4. Holiness as Social Justice – Evidence for The Shaphanites.** This author proposes a literary characteristic of the Shaphanites to be: social justice.

While Jagersma's (1972:9-11,133-144) identifies priestly sections and prophetic sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the decalogue sections of Leviticus 19: 3-4 and 11-12 are not included in the priestly and prophetic decalogue sections. In this manner, the decalogue tradition

possibly forms an independent tradition when compared with the *prophetic* tradition in 19:13-18.

Gerstenberger (1996:26-264)'s singular, familial commands – and their 'life context' – that are applicable to this author's immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a are: the commands in verses 9-19, as mostly singular, familial commands (Gerstenberger 1996:262; Bosman 2018:574); and the commands in verses 11-12 as plural, communal commands for the Jewish religious community during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) (Gerstenberger 1996:262).

Accordingly, this author presents the following image of familial and communal commands in Leviticus 19:1-19a:

#### Leviticus 19:1-19a

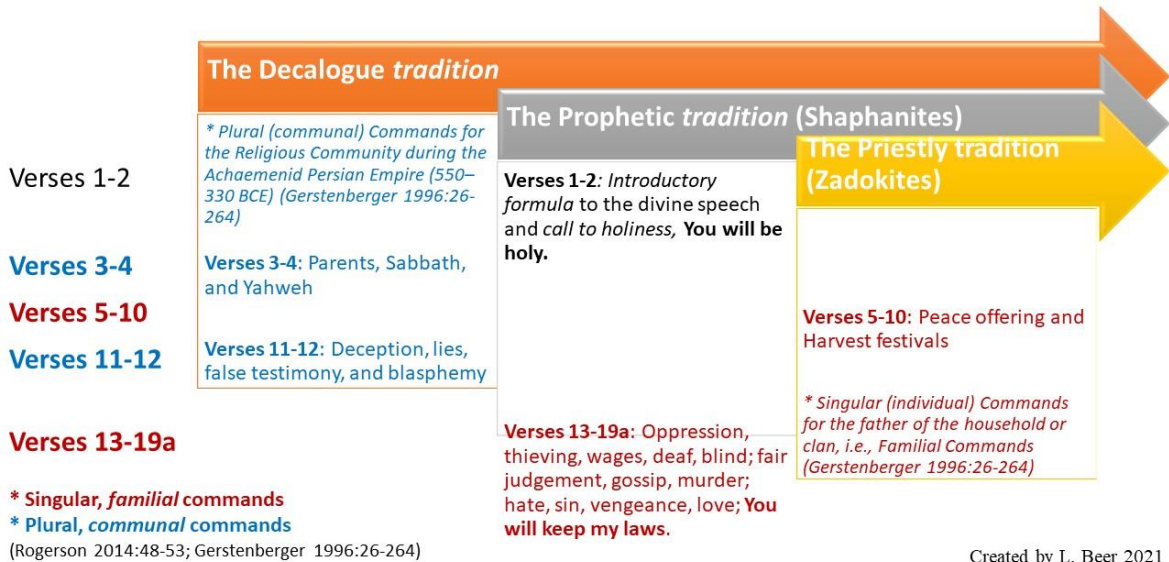


Figure 30 Familial and Communal Commands in Leviticus 19:1-19a

#### In Sum

Chapter three opened with a structural and form-critical analysis of Leviticus 19:1-19a, in which the compositional history and formation of Leviticus 19:1-19a were addressed – thereby setting the literary context for the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. The third aim of the thesis was addressed, which is: to determine the *functionality* and *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence for the compromise reached between *authorial factions*, these being: the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers, regarding

the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, *postexilic* period).

This was achieved through the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, and by examining the writing goals and ideologies of the Zadokites and of the Shaphanites that are present in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Accordingly, the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a has shown a combination of references to the Cult, and to the Law (of Moses). The *Call to Holiness*, the references to the peace offering and to the harvest festivals, function as distinct connections to the Cult. The *Introductory formula*, the instructions to obey and to execute fair judgment, and The Decalogue commands of the Sinai Tradition – function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition.

~ Chapter 4 will investigate the implications of the functionality and authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a for the formation and multi-authorship of the Pentateuch. Accordingly, this chapter will unpack this author's research on Israel's identity-formation, and how the process of Israel's identity-formation contributes towards the discussion on the formation and authorship of the Pentateuch. ~

## Chapter 4

## THE PENTATEUCH

Chapter 4 begins with the review of qualitative research and secondary scholarship aiming at clarifying the theoretical context for this author's investigation of the debate concerning the formation of the Pentateuch, in as much as the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a contributes hereto. Accordingly, this author's research on Israelite *identity* and the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a is applied to the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch in terms of the possible contributions towards the discussion on the 'promulgation and acceptance' (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:1) of the Pentateuch.

As stated in the introduction of the thesis, Israel's endeavour to maintain their religious and cultural independence in the ANE during the exilic (Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE) and the *postexilic* periods (Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE), led to *new revelation*, which re-established Israelite *identity* in light of pre-existent traditions. This author suggested that Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code formed the result of this process. It is also this author's view that the *broad* result of this process was the formation of the final form of the Pentateuch (– Pentateuchal multi-authorship –). Therefore, the final form of the Pentateuch possibly represents Israel's 'religious and cultural separation' from, and Israelite identity-formation in light of, Persian culture and religion.

The traditional, Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is addressed in this chapter through the synchronic contribution of the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. The diachronic contribution of the immanent reading presents the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a (and of the Holiness Code) as evidence of not only *priestly* authorship, but as evidence of the compromise reached between priestly factions *and* the Judean literate (elite) (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:2-3). Therefore, in light of the immanent reading and the suggested authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a, what *are* the implications for the formation of the final form of the Pentateuch?

The authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a in the Holiness Code, possibly contributes further towards Knoppers & Levinson's key question: '...what was the internal or external stimulus

that triggered this societal compromise and the ensuing elevation in status for what came to be known as “the five books of Moses”?” (Knoppers, & Levinson, 2007:4).

For example, if Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the result of both the *priestly* and *prophetic* endeavour to *re-establish Israelite identity* during the exilic and postexilic period, can the final form of the Pentateuch during this time, further form the broad outcome of their dialogue? Thus, if the process of founding new revelation, while preserving pre-existent traditions – which Brueggemann calls *imaginative remembering* (Brueggemann 2003:1) – is what ultimately led to creation of Leviticus 19:1-19a in the Holiness Code – can the same be said for the final form of the Pentateuch (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3)? In this light, the Pentateuch therefore possibly forms *new revelation* through a process of *imaginative remembering* by *priestly* and *prophetic* authorial groups.

By demonstrating that Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code forms a micro (this author) ‘compromise document’ between the priests *and* various other authorial groups, the dialogue between priestly schools and prophetic schools in the formation of the final form of the Pentateuch, is possibly further supported; and possibly further sheds light on the traditional source-criticism of the Pentateuch.

~ In the following section the Pentateuch is addressed as the product of Israel’s identity-formation during the Achaemenid Persian Empire. ~

#### 4.1. THE PENTATEUCH AND IDENTITY-FORMATION

While the Pentateuch forms the ‘literary merger’ of legal collections (i.e., law codes) (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3), it is this author’s view that the Pentateuch forms the *ideological* shift for Israel’s process of *identity-formation*. Therefore, one answer to Knoppers & Levinson’s (2007:4) key question: ‘...what was the internal or external stimulus that triggered this societal compromise and the ensuing elevation in status for what came to be known as “the five books of Moses”?’ is: Israel’s need for *identity-formation* in new historical settings.

The immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code (shown to be a varied composition) also demonstrated syntactical and semantical connections between Leviticus 19:1-19a, Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21 – and in this manner, supports the

Pentateuch as amalgamation of various law codes into one corpus of law. Further, the syntactical and semantical connections between: Leviticus 19:1-19a; Exodus 20:1-17; and Deuteronomy 5:1-21, also demonstrate *why* the amalgamation of various law codes into one corpus of law – i.e., the Pentateuch – took place, the answer being: for the *re*interpretation of law codes and traditions in *new* historical settings (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:2).<sup>75</sup>

Specifically, the ‘new historical settings’ resulting from ‘key historical events’ (in space and time), which led to Israelite *identity-formation* and the *re*interpretation of law codes and traditions in *new* historical settings, are:

- the loss of Solomon’s Temple;
- the loss of the (Promised) Land;
- the Babylonian exile;
- the necessity for new revelation; and
- the search for identity through competing conceptions of Israelite culture by various learned and literate elite (priestly groups and Judean leaders).

Accordingly, in Otto’s view, the Pentateuch – as a varied composition of various law codes – accounts for the competing conceptions of Israel’s beginnings, history, and identity produced by these historical events (Otto 2007:172).

Thus, the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a in the Holiness Code of the Pentateuch, possibly mirrors the functionality of the final form of the Pentateuch in the following way: Leviticus 19:1-19a, the Holiness Code, and the Pentateuch, possibly function as the compromise reached by various authorial groups between competing conceptions of Israel’s beginnings, history, and what it meant to be the *people of Yahweh* in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE).

Otto adds that the differing conceptions between priestly (P) theology and Deuteronomistic (D) theology of Israel’s ‘...history of God with Israel’ (Otto 2007:172-173) is also what motivated the unification of different views in order to preserve Israel’s monotheism, i.e., ‘only one God of Israel’.

Furthermore, Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code further functions as the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by the postexilic *literati*, of which the same may be said for the

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<sup>75</sup> See Brueggemann’s *traditioning process* (Brueggemann 2003:9-13) and Deist’s *functionality of texts* (Deist 1986:105-107).

functionality of the Pentateuch, i.e., the Pentateuch functions as the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by the *postexilic* literati. The Zadokites and the Shaphanites, as possible authors of Leviticus 19:1-19a, likely form the *postexilic* literati, and authors of the Pentateuch.

Accordingly, Leviticus 19:1-19a as the ‘Levitical decalogue’ of the Holiness Code, forms evidence for the Pentateuch as a heterogeneous composition of ‘merged sources and law codes’ (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:2). The immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a demonstrated the text as being evidence of a multi-authored decalogue. Therefore, Leviticus 19:1-19a – as evidence of a multi-authored decalogue and of what underscores Israel’s *postexilic* and ‘compromised’ identity – further sheds light on the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch.

~ The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is explored in light of biblical *tradition*, narrative-criticism, and a synchronic approach towards the text of the Pentateuch. ~

#### 4.2. THE BIBLICAL *TRADITION* OF THE PENTATEUCH

The authorship (and formation) of Leviticus 19:1-19a has implications for the authorship (and formation) of the Pentateuch (Kiuchi 2010:523), based upon the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a therein.

In order to introduce the authorship of the Pentateuch according to Christian, Jewish, and biblical *tradition*, this author simply asks: did *Moses write the Torah on Mount Sinai* (as Jewish and Christian tradition advocate),<sup>76</sup> or was the *Torah* ‘written’ (properly, *redacted*) – according to modern critical scholarship (Kiuchi 2010:523) – in the Second-Temple Period by *postexilic* authors?<sup>77</sup>

Huddleston (2013:193) highlights the connection between Israelite identity and the Pentateuch, describing the *Torah* as the ‘Mosaic blueprint for Israelite identity’ (2015:193).

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<sup>76</sup> The view that Moses wrote the Pentateuch (*Torah*) is known as the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; and is supported by scholars such as Kiuchi (2010:523).

<sup>77</sup> *Postexilic* authorship of the Pentateuch is known as the Multi-authorship of the Pentateuch, and this view is widely supported by scholars.

However, ‘beyond the perennially challenged assumption that Moses wrote all five books...’ (2013:194), Huddleston raises the Pentateuch’s compositional and rhetorical unity by inquiring beyond the boundaries of Jewish and Christian tradition, and asking what holds the Pentateuch together?

The debate regarding the Pentateuch (in Judaism, *Torah*) as *the five books of Moses*, introduces some of the latest scholarship on the Pentateuch’s authoritative status; composition; and redaction. This author introduces the *five books of Moses* and Israelite identity with the English idiom: they go hand in hand.

The traditional paradigm of Mosaic authorship contrasts the composite process of source-critical authorship. As one of many topics, Pentateuchal authorship is addressed by Knoppers and Levinson (2007:3) in their review of past scholarship on the formation of the Pentateuch: the Pentateuch’s unity, genre, and compositional history have in the past been addressed by, for example, the works of Bernard Levinson (1991) and James Watts (1999).

This author proposes that through the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a and with specific references to the *introductory formula* (verses 1-2a) and the *divine speech* (verses 2b-19a) – as well as through the application of Narrative-criticism to the introductory formula and the divine speech – the synchronic level of the text speaks to the biblical tradition of Mosaic authorship. The narrative elements of the introductory formula and the divine speech, support Moses’ words to the people of Israel as being Yahweh’s words.

However, the narrator functions, in this author’s view, as literary device that speaks to ‘another voice’ in the text, which this author suggests to be synonymous with the historical author/s of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the diachronic levels of the text.

Accordingly, the field of Pentateuchal-criticism addresses the tradition of Mosaic authorship by suggesting that *postexilic* authors chose the figure of Moses as a *type-person*<sup>78</sup> and ‘first scribe’ (Pleins 2001:41). According to Pleins, these *postexilic* authors, used – as *preexilic* sources – the legal sections of the Pentateuch (these being: The Covenant Code, and the

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<sup>78</sup> This concept is based upon the language of law in which a ‘type-time’ is used to demarcate a standard of time to which other time periods are compared; the same concept may be applied to a person.



Decalogues in the Covenant Code and in the Deuteronomy Code),<sup>79</sup> and *reinterpreted* and applied them in new time and space settings (Pleins 2001:41).

The suggestion therefore, is that *postexilic* authors and redactors authorised their work by selecting the prophet Moses as the *prophet par excellence* through whom the Laws of Sinai (formally known as the Sinai Tradition<sup>80</sup>) were expounded in the narrative setting of the Land of Moab.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, despite the Pentateuch's traditional, and authoritative status given as: 'the five books of Moses' (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3), these *postexilic* visionaries – of whom the Zadokites and the Shaphanites form a part – very likely are possible authors of the Pentateuch in its final form.

~ To this end, the Pentateuch's multi-authorship is addressed in the following section by asking and examining *who* these source-critical authors were; and by asking and examining how these Pentateuchal authors shaped Israelite identity – *or* how Israelite identity developed as a result of this process? Accordingly, the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch is explored in light of biblical history, historical-criticism, and a diachronic approach towards the text of the Pentateuch. ~

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<sup>79</sup> Textual references within the Covenant Code (C-Code) are: Exodus 24:4, (MKJV) 'And *Moses wrote all the Words of Jehovah*, and rose up early in the morning, and built an altar below the mountain and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel'; and Exodus 24:7, (MKJV) 'And *he [Moses] took the book of the covenant*, and read in the ears of the people. And they said, "All that Jehovah has said we will do, and be obedient."'

Textual references within the Deuteronomy Code (D-Code) are: Deuteronomy 31:9, (MKJV) 'And *Moses wrote this Law* and delivered it to the priests, the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, and to all the elders of Israel'; and Deuteronomy 31:24, (MKJV) 'And it happened when *Moses had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a book, until they were finished.*'

<sup>80</sup> The Sinai Tradition is formed from selected verses in Exodus 20-23. For example, Exodus 20:22-23 (MKJV) 'And Jehovah said to Moses, "So you shall say to the sons of Israel, you have seen that *I have talked with you from the heavens*. 23: You shall not make with Me gods of silver, neither shall you make to you gods of gold.'"

<sup>81</sup> Textual references are: Numbers 36:13, (MKJV) 'These are the commandments and the judgments which Jehovah commanded by the hand of Moses to the sons of Israel *in the plains of Moab beside Jordan, at Jericho*'; and Deuteronomy 1:5, (MKJV) 'beyond the Jordan, *in the land of Moab*, Moses began to explain this Law, saying....'

### 4.3. THE BIBLICAL *HISTORY* OF THE PENTATEUCH

As stated in the introduction, recent Pentateuchal criticism suggests the Pentateuch to be a macro (this author) ‘compromise document’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3) between *priestly groups* and *lay Judean leaders*, based upon the different legal codes therein and the process required to combine them. Smith (1972:191-215) suggests this process involved long and drawn-out societal negotiations and concessions between various groups – therefore contrasting the premise that the process was only a priestly endeavour that involved a ‘...long series of internal developments at the Jerusalem Temple’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3).

These groups have been defined as the ‘religious literate’ and ‘learned elite’ of the postexilic period (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3; Meyer 2012:6). Furthermore, the final form of the Pentateuch possibly represents the priestly and prophetic compromise between various views of Israel’s ‘religious and cultural separation’ (i.e., Israelite identity-formation) from Persian culture and religion – to which Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code, speak.

The early stages of the historical study of the Pentateuch began with scholars in the seventeenth century, such as: Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) and Richard Simon (1638-1712) (Huddleston 2013:194). Even as early as during the medieval age, Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1167) already projected the birthing of a historical approach towards the Pentateuch (Huddleston 2013:194). By the eighteenth century, the historical approach flourished through the analysis of the Pentateuch’s sources; traditions; forms; genre; and redactions – by scholars such as Jean Astruc (1684-1766), Johann Eichhorn (1752-1825), and Wilhelm de Wette (1780-1849) (Huddleston 2013:194). In turn, this scholarship led to the Documentary Hypothesis: a classical theory of the nineteenth century, which remains a continued scholastic debate to this day – and many theological works advocate the JEDP framework (Huddleston 2013:194).

‘For over a century, the Documentary Hypothesis has provided the most compelling approach to the Pentateuch’s multiple voices’ (Huddleston 2013:196). Source-criticism of the Pentateuch reveals its multi-authorship, and the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch is widely accepted by *contextual interpreters*<sup>82</sup> (Huddleston 2013:196). Contextual interpreters

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<sup>82</sup> Huddleston refers to *contextual interpreters* as those who ‘seek to understand ancient texts in light of ancient authors and readers’ (2013:196).

focus upon the ancient (*historical*) author and ancient (*historical*) audience – employing a historical-critical approach (diachronic analysis); contrasted by narrative criticism<sup>83</sup>, which focuses upon the *implied* author and *implied* reader/audience (synchronic analysis) (Huddleston 2013:196; Aune 2003:33; Powell 1990:240-241; Deist 1986:73).

In contrast to the traditional Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the historical-critical study of the Pentateuch suggests that the Pentateuch's final form was composed and written over centuries (Huddleston 2013:196). The historical-critical study of the Pentateuch began with the critical thinking of Ibn Ezra and the church father, Calvin – who examined *internal* Pentateuchal evidence, which led them to ask if Moses had used earlier sources, or if later biblical authors added to Moses' original work (Huddleston 2013:196)? Unsatisfied with these options, others questioned Mosaic authorship entirely, based upon internal Pentateuchal evidence (Huddleston 2013:196).

Currently, the consensus seems to be split between those who accept a single Pentateuchal author using earlier source material, and edited by later authors (such as Roger Whybray and John Sailhamer); and between those who accept multiple Pentateuchal authors, which include earlier sources and later editors. Thus, in both instances, the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch is accepted, evidenced by the Pentateuch's multiple voices, contexts, and theologies (Huddleston 2013:196).

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<sup>83</sup> First and foremost, Narrative criticism is a method that asks different questions and creates new perspectives on biblical texts by applying the same techniques which are applied to novels and short stories, to biblical texts. Such narrative techniques focus on the qualities of the text which make it literature, and thus ask how the biblical text may be read as literature, and specifically as ANE literature (Aune 2003:18).

Second, Narrative Criticism is the process used to determine the expected effects of ANE literature on readers of the text (Powell 1990:239); and not to be confused with literary-criticism, which is a diachronic historical-critical method). Aune (2003:30) explains that in Narrative Criticism the reader's response is considered as important as the text, and the reader's response is used to determine the full meaning of the text. The reader's response is defined further by its own discipline, called Reader-Response Criticism.

Using literary cues, Narrative Criticism guides the personal responses of the reader according to the expected effects and responses seemingly encouraged by the text. In this way, the range of potential meaning by the text's implied author, may be determined (Powell 1990:241).

One of Deist's (1986:73) primary points in his discussion of narrative texts is the importance of the distinction between the actual, historical author, and the narrator (implied author) of the text. Deist concludes that this aspect of narrative criticism is important for understanding the story itself. Although narrative criticism has certain interpretive limitations, it does allow one the opportunity to read a biblical text as a story and work of literature in its own right, over and above the historical and theological values of the text that other methods unlock (Powell 1990:253,254).

Source-criticism of the Pentateuch functions as evidence of the priests' and prophets' *varied* adaption of Israel's transcendent self-understanding as the people of Yahweh in mundane settings. How does the Pentateuch provide clarity on the Shaphanites and Jeremiah, and on the Zadokites and Ezekiel? How does the Pentateuch provide clarity on the connections between the *ideology* of source D and Jeremiah; and the *ideology* of source P and Ezekiel.

The Documentary Hypothesis – and various forms of biblical scholarship – have in the past suggested a linear chronology (i.e., first, second, third, fourth) and model of composition, of the Pentateuch and its sources (Choi 2010:23). While *biblical criticism* deals systematically with the functionality of texts, Choi argues that biblical criticism has in the past been limited in terms of the *reception history* of biblical texts (2010:23). This is because – as he argues – the elementary premise of biblical criticism presupposes a linear model of textual composition, and a linear model of textual composition may not necessarily provide accurate results as to the historical development of textual interpretation.

Moshe Weinfeld (2004:80) identifies independent ideologies in the Hebrew Bible as *theological currents*. He suggests that these 'theological currents' may be ascertained through either: their *sociological background*, i.e.: – independent ideologies are the product of simultaneous but disparate groups in the same historical period and therefore share only one historical period; or, these 'theological currents' may be ascertained through the same *historical-chronological setting*, i.e.: – independent ideologies are the product of the same groups, but in different historical periods, and therefore share more than one historical period (Weinfeld 2004:80).

Thus, the connection between the sources D and P, with priestly and prophetic rhetoric – and each as a 'theological current' with its own characteristics – may be tested as either:

- individual scholarly groups that are simultaneously connected in the *same* historical period, thus sharing the same sociological background, i.e., the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) – producing Leviticus 19:1-19a; or
- alternatively, as the 'religious evolution' of the same prophetic and priestly groups throughout the preexilic, exilic, and postexilic periods, i.e., they share a historical-chronological setting over more than one historical period – producing independent ideologies from *distinct* historical periods.

~ In the following section, Pentateuchal criticism is discussed with a specific focus upon sources P and D, in light of the results of the thesis with respect to the Zadokite and the Shaphanite authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19. ~

#### 4.4. SOURCES P AND D, THE ZADOKITES, AND SHAPHANITES

Otto (2007:172) suggests that the Pentateuch can simply be understood with two main literary developments, these being: The Priestly literary-layer; and the non-Priestly literary layer. Geller (2004:2021) identifies Otto's Priestly literary-layer, with Priestly religion<sup>84</sup> and Otto's non-Priestly literary layer, with Deuteronomic-covenantal religion.<sup>85</sup> Otto's hypothesis therefore suggests the Pentateuch to be the result of two main redactions, these being: The Priestly redaction; and the Deuteronomistic redaction, which (as stated numerous times throughout the thesis) '...were combined by means of a literary compromise between priests and laymen' (Otto 2007:172).

During the exilic period (sixth century BCE) the Priestly and the Deuteronomistic redactions of Israel's origins, 'rivalled' each other and formed a critical rhetoric of each other's work. Otto's (2007:172) view is that the Aaronide faction of the Priestly school chronicled the Priestly Code, which was originally formed from Genesis 1 to Exodus 29 (ending with the Sinai Tradition). A later version of the Priestly Code was formed from Genesis 1 to Leviticus 9. The prophetic faction, which the research of this thesis presents as being the Shaphanites, recorded what is called the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr], and begins with the Horeb motif. In the *postexilic* period these '...two competing conceptions of Israel's origins and identity' (Otto 2007:172) were unified.

In attempting to understand themselves as the *people of Yahweh* in the ancient Near East, the suggestion has been made that postexilic Israelite priests (i.e., the Zadokites connected to the Ezekiel tradition) and prophets (i.e., the Shaphanites connected to the Jeremiah

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<sup>84</sup> Priestly religion centres on the sacrificial cult – it emphasises purity and faithful observance of rituals (Geller 2004:2021).

<sup>85</sup> Deuteronomic-covenantal religion is based upon the legal form of the treaty between Israel and Yahweh – it emphasises loyalty and the performance of divine commands that are understood as the stipulations of the treaty (Geller 2004:2021).

tradition) – in the fifth century BCE – used *preexilic* source material and *exilic* source material, a reminder of which are:

- *preexilic* source material: The Covenant Code, and the Decalogues in: Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20, and
- *exilic* source material: the priestly factions responsible for the exilic Priestly Code [P]; and the exilic Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy [D/Dtr].

This forms the impetus for a debated issue within the latest scholarship on the Pentateuch's authoritative acceptance in early Judaism and Samaritanism, which is whether or not the Pentateuch was formed as a result of the rise, or demise, of other prominent writings in the community (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:4). This is based upon scholarship around the Hexateuch. The narrative conclusion of the acquisition of land that is found in the book of Joshua, suggests a strong literary case for the unity of Joshua with the Pentateuch. The idea is therefore, that the Pentateuch first existed as the Hexateuch. In separating Joshua from the Pentateuch, the Pentateuch's focus and function shifts (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:4).

Related to the possible separation of the Pentateuch from the Hexateuch, is the elevation in authority of the Pentateuch, above other literary units. This is achieved through the Pentateuch's connection to Moses' revelation – through the Law sections of the Pentateuch – as incomparable to any other prophetic revelation to follow (Knoppers and Levinson 2007:4).

The Hexateuch (Genesis–Joshua) narrates the acquisition and fulfilment of the Promised Land (Otto 2007:173-174); contrasted by the Pentateuch (Genesis–Deuteronomy), which narratively stops short of the acquisition and fulfilment of the Promised Land (Otto 2007:173-174).

Accordingly, the activity of the *postexilic*, priestly school during the time of Ezra (i.e., the Zadokites with connections to the Ezekiel tradition) understood Yahweh's redemptive purpose within Israelite history differently. These scholars viewed the *Cult* and the *Torah* – Yahweh's law – and *not* the possession of the land, to be God's history of salvation with Israel. In this manner, their expansion of the Sinai pericope with the Holiness Code achieved this focus; and the removal of the book of Joshua (the possession of the land) further achieved this end (Otto 2007:174).

To expand, these *postexilic*, priestly authors (i.e., the Zadokites with connections to the Ezekiel tradition) formed the Holiness Code from Leviticus 17–26, using the exilic Priestly Code (Genesis–Leviticus 9) and Deuteronomy 12–26, in conjunction with the *preexilic* Covenant Code (Otto 2007:172-174). Therefore, the finished *Torah* represents Yahweh’s revelation to Israel: through the combination of the *Law* of Moses and the *Cult* of Aaron, and that needs *neither* Temple, nor Land. In this sense the Land – and Temple – take a secondary position alongside the *Law* of Moses and *Cult* of Aaron, as primary.

Within the subject of Pentateuchal Criticism, the Documentary Hypothesis (– also known as the Wellhausen Hypothesis –), its key concepts, and related research are subsequently integrated and examined below in light of the above; and also, in considering the connection of the above to this author’s proposal of *Israelite Identity*. Following, source-criticism centred on P and D as they relate to the combined authorship of the Zadokites (and the Ezekiel tradition) and the Shaphanites (and the Jeremiah tradition) – the key concepts, and related research – are integrated and examined considering the formation and authorship of the Pentateuch.

**4.4.1. The Wellhausen Hypothesis.** The Babylonian exile – as a *mundane* (Deist 1986:88) and historical setting for the formation of the Pentateuch – forms the premise for many of the hypotheses shaped by 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship and Pentateuchal Criticism. In 2006 biblical scholars met at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature to discuss the latest scholarship on the Pentateuch’s authoritative acceptance in early Judaism and Samaritanism. In the book edited by Knoppers and Levinson (2007) the influence and prestige of the Pentateuch as: *Torah*, – is examined; not only in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, but also in the development of Western societies.

This convention asked afresh, ‘...when, how, where, and why did the rise of Torah occur?’ (2007:2). Choi (2010:184) cites the conclusion of Mullen’s work by saying, ‘...prior to 200 CE, though various Jewish movements shared the concept of תּוֹרָה as divine instruction, they did not agree on which specific documents constituted תּוֹרָה.’

In this section of the thesis, one of the most prominent topics in the scholarly debate is introduced, this being: the Pentateuch as a *heterogeneous* work, comprised of composite sources, known as the Documentary Hypothesis (2007:2).

As previously stated, broadly speaking, Geller (2004:2021) identifies Deuteronomic-covenantal religion and Priestly religion within the Pentateuch as differing theological perspectives therein. It has been noted that these theological – albeit *ideological* – differences, interrupt, or disrupt the narrative flow within the Pentateuch (Van Seters 1998:6). This premise is based upon scholarship concerning differing *stylistic* and *philological* characteristics within the Pentateuch. For example: literary conflicts are created through the fusion of different literary forms (i.e., when prose narrative is set within genealogies, *toledoth* formulas, and chronological frameworks)<sup>86</sup>; and multiple authors are suggested through various terms used in Genesis for God’s name<sup>87</sup> (Van Seters 1998:6).

The multi-authorship of the Pentateuch is further suggested, or indicated, through parallel stories that are repeated separately,<sup>88</sup> each one also differing in: style, perspective, terminology, and detail. Portions of text that appear to be additions to narratives, give these narratives a new context or theme, and further create the development of the narrative’s perspective (Van Seters 1998:6-7).

While Van Seters (1998:6-7) focuses upon some of the literary differences within the Pentateuch by highlighting internal, parallel stories and additions to ‘older’ narratives, Choi (2010:1) identifies these internal differences as ‘inner-biblical discrepancies’ in his comparative work between the Pentateuch and non-Pentateuchal texts.

Accordingly, the Documentary Hypothesis (or Wellhausen Hypothesis) – a German theory also known as the Source Document Hypothesis – explains the varied literary features in the Pentateuch by suggesting that the Pentateuch in its final form, combines principal sources (Huddleston 2013:196). In this author’s view, these sources reflect – and *articulate* –

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<sup>86</sup> In the narrative of Hagar and Ishmael’s eviction from Abraham’s household (Genesis 21:7-20), Ishmael is presented as being a young boy. By contrast, the corresponding chronological framework presents Ishmael as approximately sixteen years old at the time of his and his mother’s eviction (Genesis 12:4; 16:3; 17:1 and 21:5). Narrative conflict is thus created in the image of a teenage youth on his mother’s shoulders entering the desert (Genesis 21:14).

<sup>87</sup> Parallel divine appearances are recorded in Genesis 15:7 and 28:13 in which God reveals himself as *Yahweh/Jehovah* – meaning ‘the LORD’ (יהוה); contrasted by Genesis 17:1 and 35:9-11 in which God reveals himself as *El Shaddai* – meaning ‘God Almighty’ (אלהים). In Exodus 6:2 *Yahweh/Jehovah* is used alongside *Elohim* – meaning ‘God’ (אלהים), and is also the ANE generic term for a deity. *Elohim* is also used in Genesis 1:1.

<sup>88</sup> For example: two creation accounts (Genesis 1-3), parallel patriarchal narratives, analogous episodes of the Wilderness Wanderings, comparable accounts of the Conquest, two records of the giving of the Law at Sinai/Horeb, and two Decalogues (Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5).



particular modes of Israel's religion at different stages of Israelite history. According to Huddleston (2013:201), the *redacted Pentateuch* '...is no mere apologetic preference for the received canon; it is a historical grappling with the historical processes by which Israel came to possess this multifaceted account of its traditions, its identity, and its God.'

Originally the work of Julius Wellhausen (1885), the Documentary Hypothesis suggests that the Pentateuch is comprised of four autonomous sources: JEDP, which are described in Addendum A. The Documentary Hypothesis suggests further that the final form of the Pentateuch was put together during the exilic/postexilic period, by historical writers and editors (i.e., and not by Moses). Thus, the hypothesis identifies these sources in order to understand the text (Van Seters 1998:8).

While the Documentary Hypothesis remains the oldest and most popular approach, the Fragmentary Hypothesis<sup>89</sup> and the Supplementary Hypothesis<sup>90</sup> have also offered alternative distinctions in the debate (Huddleston 2013:197-199; Van Seters 1998:9-10), which are discussed below.

**4.4.2. P and the Fragmentary Hypothesis.** Most significant for the aims of this thesis, is the observation made by Huddleston regarding the scholarly re-examination of the Fragmentary Hypothesis with specific reference to P. Scholars recognise '...multiple layers of P, including but not limited to the late Holiness Code' (2013:198). Multiple layers of P have been accounted for by suggesting that the Priestly school had been writing over centuries: 'Thus some scholars are revisiting an old fragmentary hypothesis, contending that a late redactor-author used innumerable pieces of traditional material instead of four sources' (Huddleston 2013:198).

**4.4.3. P and the Supplementary Hypothesis.** Huddleston asks further if the multiple layers of P were ever separate (2013:198) based upon the identification of P and *pre-P* versions of narratives and laws in the text of the Pentateuch – leading scholars to believe that these

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<sup>89</sup> The view that the Pentateuch is the product of a single editor (and/or a redactor) who edited a collection of traditional materials, comprising many small and independent – already written – units, into one coherent whole at one particular point in time (Van Seters 1998:8-9).

<sup>90</sup> The view that the Pentateuch is the product of multiple additions, by multiple authors, at multiple times (Van Seters 1998:8-9).

‘seemingly contradictory versions’ instead form evidence for at least two different Priestly schools or priestly authorial groups (Huddleston 2013:198).

An analysis of these alternative P versions suggests that P aims to ‘replace’ the *pre*-P version, thereby creating P’s ‘own distinct, separate document’ (Huddleston 2013:198). However, Huddleston does comment that this view does not explain why in some instances the P version requires the reader to know the *pre*-P version – which in this sense supports the view that P does not stand alone as a distinct and separate document (2013:198). Accordingly, Frank Moore Cross’ (1997) work in this regard sees P as an editorial framework built around J-E-D, by which P preserved the sources J-E-D by adding to these sources another or later layer (Huddleston 2013:198). Erhard Blum (1990:229-232) ‘...proposes a mediating position in which P is, rather confusingly, both a separate source and an editorial layer’ (Huddleston 2013:199).

Therefore, Huddleston concludes that ‘...many scholars have revived the old Supplementary Hypothesis – the Pentateuch’s “sources” are really successive layers added to an ever-growing kernel of tradition; they are not separate alternative versions that have been woven together’ (2013:198-199).

Also, throughout the scholarly debate there have been various suggestions as to the number of autonomous sources responsible for the narrative parallels and stylistic differences found within the Pentateuch, which is examined below.

**4.4.4. The Order and Date of JEDP.** Initially *four* sources of the Pentateuch were identified, these being: J, E, D and P; and more recently, only *three*: J, D, and P (Van Seters 1998:9-11). Similarly, the order and the dating of the sources continue to be deliberated over. The original suggestion as to their order and their dates are described in Addendum B.

Scholarship on the order and dating of these sources continues to demonstrate the application of various forms of method throughout the debate. The result is that various schemes have been proposed and modified.

In summary form, while *form-criticism* focused upon the *forms* of literature within each source, *tradition-history* focused upon the *development* of these forms of literature – or more specifically, the *oral traditions* that gave rise to their literary expression. As pioneers in each respective field: Gunkel, Gressmann, and Alt, paved the way in understanding the literary

forms of the Pentateuch within their broader, historical contexts, these being: as ancient Near Eastern literature (form-criticism). Von Rad and Noth paved the way in understanding the Pentateuch as the product of the *credo tradition*, and the many other traditions (tradition-history) that comprise the material of the Pentateuch (Van Seters 1998:9-11).

Van Seters offers a critique of both *form-criticism* and *tradition-history* in a broader analysis of the Documentary Hypothesis, which is presented in Addendum C.

The Documentary Hypothesis – and various forms of biblical scholarship – have in the past suggested a *linear* chronology (i.e., first, second, third, fourth) and model of composition, of the Pentateuch and its sources (Choi 2010:23), thus: J is first, E is second, D is third, and P is fourth. This is significant because this author proposes in this thesis that sources D and P were active as independent schools, but during the *same* historical period.

Accordingly, while *biblical criticism* deals systematically with the functionality of texts, Choi argues that biblical criticism has in the past been limited in terms of the *reception history* of biblical texts (2010:23). This is because – as he argues – the elementary premise of biblical criticism presupposes a *linear* model of textual composition, and a linear model of textual composition may not necessarily provide accurate results as to the historical development of textual interpretation.

Consequently, in light of Weinfeld's (2004:80) 'independent ideologies/theological currents' – which this author applies to the sources JEPD of the Hebrew Bible – the sources JEDP may share either: their *sociological background*<sup>91</sup> or, the same *historical-chronological setting*<sup>92</sup> (Weinfeld 2004:80).

Thus, the connections between the sources D and P, with priestly and prophetic tradition and rhetoric – and each forming an independent 'theological current' with its own characteristics – are proposed to be: individual scholarly groups that are *simultaneously* connected in the *same* historical period, thus sharing the same *sociological background*, i.e., the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) – producing Leviticus 19:1-19a.

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<sup>91</sup> *Independent ideologies or theological currents* form the product of simultaneous but disparate groups in the same historical period, and therefore share only one historical period.

<sup>92</sup> *Independent ideologies or theological currents* form are the product of the same groups, but in different historical periods, and therefore share more than one historical period.

Accordingly, the answers to the following questions are engaged further, below: were there times in Israelite history when priests and prophets worked together when correlating their identity as the *people of Yahweh*? And if so, what was the nature of these influences?

**4.4.5. Prophets and Priests.** A connection between some of the *Major Prophets* and some of the *sources of the Pentateuch* was proposed by 19<sup>th</sup> century higher criticism, namely: the prophet *Jeremiah* was connected with the *Deuteronomistic source*; and the prophet *Ezekiel* was connected with the *Priestly source*.

Concerning the Pentateuch's authoritative acceptance in early Judaism and Samaritanism, how were the prophets and their works connected with the Pentateuch's redaction and authoritative status? For example, the Wellhausen Hypothesis suggests connections between the postexilic formation of the Pentateuch, and the prophets (books of) Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

In Eckart Otto's work on scribal scholarship in the formation of the Torah and the Prophets in the postexilic period, he suggests that '...the formation of the prophetic books, especially the book of Jeremiah (which was the result of the work of the Jeremianic school), influenced the formation of the Pentateuch and vice versa' (Otto 2007:171).

Thus, to what extent is the Pentateuch the result of a response to the *postexilic* Prophetic school, by the *postexilic* Priestly school, also taking into account that Otto appears to agree with the Documentary Hypothesis, or at least in some part, base his scholarship on the Documentary Hypothesis?

Otto explains that *postexilic*, prophetic authors viewed themselves as descendants from *preexilic* prophets, such as Isaiah and Jeremiah. These *postexilic*, prophetic authors understood Yahweh's self-revelation – and *likewise* Israel's *identity* – in light of their historical heritage. Otto suggests that these *postexilic*, prophetic authors debated Yahweh's self-revelation to Israel in history, with *postexilic*, *scribal* authors (Otto 2007:171).

Grabbe (2006:79) investigates the relationship between priests and prophets in the prophetic texts of the Latter Prophets. Grabbe (2006:79) suggests that the distinction between *priest* and *prophet* is most evident during the monarchic period, the period of which is recorded in the books of the DH and the Prophets. These books informed the later exilic and *postexilic* understanding – and critique – of the monarchic past and the associated ideological images of the monarchic period.

A theme throughout these books is the condemnation of the priests and the cult – *by* the prophets – because of the influence of the Baal cult upon the Israelite cult and its priests (Grabbe 2006:80). Thus, Grabbe (2006:1,79) suggests that the texts of the Latter Prophets form the exilic and postexilic, prophetic critique of a ‘corrupt elite’, including some priests and the monarchy.

Ben Zvi (2006:19) titles these postexilic readers and learned individuals of the Nevi’im as the *Yehud literati* (2006:79). Specifically, Ben Zvi describes this group of readers as a “scribal school”, who possibly form the redactors and authors of the final form of the Torah, Nevi’im and Ketuvi’im. He suggests them to be the primary readership of the biblical literature during the exilic and postexilic periods (2006:19).

Both Grabbe (2006:79-80) and Ben Zvi (2006:19) purport the distinction between *priest* and *prophet* to be the most evident during the postexilic period; during which Ben Zvi examines *priest* and *prophet* as, what he terms: ‘discursive categories’ (2006:19). This is based upon a prophetic critique of the Israelite cult and its priests, because, for example: of the influence of the Baal cult within the Israelite cult. To this prophetic critique, Grabbe (2006:1) adds a “corrupt monarchic elite”, in which some of the priests are included.

Trevaskis (2011) too examines the connection between *prophets* and *priests* by examining afresh the idea of holiness, and the assumptions related thereto. He does so by asking if the *prophetic critique* of the *priestly cultic tradition*, found in the book of Leviticus, adds an ethical dimension to holiness. In order to answer this question, he compares the concept of holiness in Leviticus 1–16 – known as the Priestly material of Leviticus, and traditionally labelled ‘P’ – with Leviticus 17–26 – known as the Holiness Code, and traditionally labelled ‘H’ (2011:1).

Accordingly, Leviticus 17-26 (H) likely forms the (later) prophetic critique of Leviticus 1-16 (P) – which supports the joint-authorship of the *Shaphanites* (and the Jeremiah tradition) and the Zadokites (and the Ezekiel tradition), of Leviticus 19:1-19a, as well as of the Holiness Code, and of the Pentateuch. The scholarly assumption suggests that the Holiness Code forms the *prophetic reinterpretation* of Leviticus 1-16, which is based upon an ethical aspect of holiness presented in the Holiness Code that is not prevalent in the material of Leviticus 17–26.

Thus, if the scholarly assumption suggests that the Holiness Code forms the *prophetic reinterpretation* of Leviticus 1–16, the contribution of this thesis hereto is that the

Shaphanites and the Jeremiah tradition form part of this *prophetic* contribution of the reinterpretation of Leviticus 1–16, resulting in Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code.

### *In Sum*

The Pentateuch was addressed as the product of Israel's identity-formation during the Achaemenid Persian Empire. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was explored in light of biblical *tradition*, narrative-criticism, and a synchronic approach towards the text of the Pentateuch.

By contrast, the biblical *history* of the Pentateuch was addressed through Pentateuchal criticism and the Pentateuch's multi-authorship, by asking and examining who the source-critical authors of the Pentateuch were; and by asking and examining how these Pentateuchal authors shaped Israelite identity – or how Israelite identity developed as a result of this process.

Accordingly, the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch was explored in light of biblical *history*, historical-criticism, and a diachronic approach towards the text of the Pentateuch. Pentateuchal criticism was discussed with a specific focus upon sources P and D, in light of the results of the thesis with respect to the Zadokite and the Shaphanite authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19.

The contribution of this thesis to the scholarly assumption that the Holiness Code forms the *prophetic* reinterpretation of Leviticus 1-16 is that the Shaphanites and the Jeremiah tradition form part of this prophetic contribution of the reinterpretation of Leviticus 1-16, resulting in Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code.

The priestly role in Israel's identity formation has in this chapter been examined in light of the following.

~ In this fifth and final chapter, conclusions are presented in light of the significance of this research regarding the aims and objectives that were presented in chapter 1; and, a discussion of the implications of this work for further study, are incorporated. ~

## Chapter 5

## CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

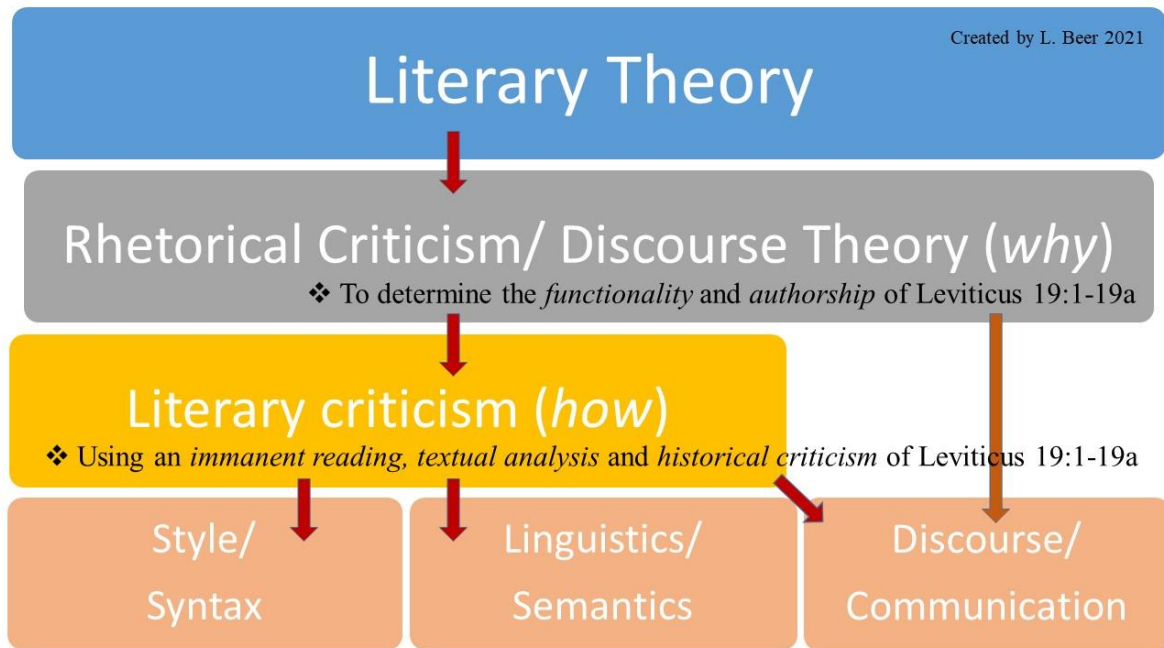
In this fifth and final chapter, conclusions are presented in light of the significance of this research regarding the aims and objectives that were presented in chapter 1; and, a discussion of the implications of this work for further study, are incorporated.

The research question/s, problem statement, hypothesis, and the significance of the thesis are *revisited* in light of the results of the research that were produced by the chosen methods.

Forming a sub-category of rhetorical-criticism, literary-criticism was applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code in order to determine the *functionality* of Leviticus 19:1-19a concerning Israel's *identity-formation* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE). Accordingly, the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a formed the *reason* (discourse theory/ rhetorical-criticism) for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a. Conversely stated, through the application of *discourse theory/ rhetorical-criticism* to Leviticus 19:1-19a, the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a could be ascertained in terms of Israel's *identity-formation* during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE). In this manner, discourse theory/ rhetorical-criticism answered *why* this author read Leviticus 19:1-19a.

Next, Leviticus 19:1-19a was read using an immanent reading, from the perspective of this author as the *reader* (reader-response criticism) – thereby engaging rhetorical-criticism – because this author assessed that the sub-categories and philosophies of rhetorical-criticism formed a 'satisfactory literary strategy' (Burden 1986:41) through which to achieve this author's reason for reading Leviticus 19:1-19a, stated above. The sub-categories and philosophies of rhetorical-criticism that were applied to Leviticus 19:1-19a via an immanent reading, were: style (syntax), linguistics (semantics), and discourse/communication (Deist's textual communication).

Accordingly, the methodology of the thesis is summarised by this author in the following image:



*Figure 31 Methodology*

~ Below, the preliminary research questions and the main research question are re-evaluated in light of the research results produced by the methodology. ~

## 5.1. CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary research questions of the thesis and the main research question, are revisited.

**5.1.1. Preliminary Research Questions.** The preliminary questions of the thesis are revisited as statements following the results of the research according to the subjects of the thesis, reminder of which are: the Babylonian exile; Israelite Identity; Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code; and Pentateuchal multi-authorship.

*5.1.1.1. Babylonian Exile.* The Babylonian exile formed the impetus for the time and space settings that necessitated a ‘unified corpus of law’ in the form of the Pentateuch, which led further to the formation of Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code through a process of *inner-biblical exegesis* (Fishbane’s model from 1985; Choi 2010:6-7; Meyer 2016:198), and the *reinterpretation* and *reapplication* (Wessels 2020:1) of former decalogues and law



codes, these being: *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21; and the Priestly Code.

The Babylonian exile and the destruction of the Temple led further to factions within the priestly school because the priestly school was geographically split between Jerusalem and Babylon, thus forming (or *reinforcing*) various priestly groups. This split impacted upon how these groups saw their purpose and function in history, in light of *pre-existent* traditions regarding: Israel's origins, identity, and purpose.

Accordingly, the Levites (as the priestly elite left behind in Judah) *reinterpreted* and *reapplied* Yahweh's home *without* the Temple, yet still *in* Jerusalem – thereby forming *new revelation* of Yahweh's home still in Jerusalem, but *without* the Temple. By contrast, the Zadokites (as those taken away in exile to Babylon) *reinterpreted* and *reapplied* Yahweh's home *without* the Temple, *as well as* *without* the *land* – thereby also forming *new revelation* of Yahweh's home *without* the Temple, but *in* *Babylon*.

The way in which the *loss* of the Temple (*as well as* the *loss* of the *land* for the Zadokites) changed and affected the work of the priests – and the priesthood – during the *exilic/postexilic* period, was necessary because: first, by doing so, the office and purpose of the priesthood could be preserved. Second, how the office and purpose of the priesthood was preserved was by combining the Cult with the Sinai Tradition (i.e., the Law of Moses), evidenced through the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Accordingly, the Levites and the Zadokites accomplished these theological and ideological shifts through negotiations with the Shaphanites, by which the Cult was combined with the Law. Aspects of the cult such as, the peace offering and the harvest festivals, in conjunction with the Law, could be fulfilled in *any* land. The Law is fulfilled through obedience, and is therefore *independent* of geographical *land* (i.e., the land of either Jerusalem *or* Babylon, in which various groups of religious elites found themselves).

Therefore, in light of: the Babylonian exile; the *loss* of the Land: and the *loss* of the Temple, Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code formed part of the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by the *postexilic* 'religious *literati*', of whom were: the Levites, the Zadokites, and the Shaphanites. Having lost the Land and the Temple, the Cult was maintained (*without* a temple) in the *exilic/postexilic* period by unifying the Cult with the Law in Leviticus 19:1-19a.

5.1.1.2. *Israelite Identity. Postexilic authors and redactors* – of whom were: the Levites, the Zadokites, and the Shaphanites – shaped Israelite identity during the exilic/postexilic period in the following ways:

- By connecting the cult with the law and with social justice
- Without the land and the Temple

The priestly source of the Pentateuch has connections to the Zadokites, who likely have connections to the Ezekiel tradition. Similarly, the Deuteronomistic source of the Pentateuch has connections to the Shaphanites, who likely have connections to the Jeremiah tradition.

5.1.1.3. *Leviticus 19:1-19a of the Holiness Code.* The Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a formed the result of a compromise reached between the Deuteronomistic school (source D), and the Priestly school (source P), in attempting to understand themselves as the *people of Yahweh* in the ancient Near East.

Furthermore, Leviticus 19:1-19a forms the basis for the identity of Israel as seen by the *postexilic* priestly authors and redactors, who were likely the Zadokites and the Shaphanites. The cult underscores the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a's view of Israelite identity, as seen by the *postexilic* priestly authors and redactors. The law underscores the Holiness Code and Leviticus 19:1-19a's view of Israelite identity, as seen by the *postexilic* prophetic authors and redactors.

Therefore, Leviticus 19:1-19a –as the most recent decalogue within the Pentateuch – forms a literary compromise reached between community rifts resulting from the exile, and specifically, as evidence of the literary compromise reached between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites.

In addition, the Holiness Code as the most recent of the law codes within the Pentateuch, forms a literary compromise reached between community rifts resulting from the exile, and specifically, as evidence of the literary compromise reached between the Shaphanites and the Zadokites.

The Shaphanites and the Zadokites form part of the Jehud *literati* (i.e., *postexilic* priestly authors and redactors), whom Otto (2007:172) suggests created the Holiness Code, as: a 'literary achievement' by using *preexilic* and *exilic* sources.

5.1.1.4. *Pentateuchal Multi-Authorship.* The Zadokites and the Shaphanites may have been possible contributors to the authorship of the Pentateuch based upon their possible authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a. Accordingly, Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is based upon biblical *tradition* and a synchronic and narrative reading of the Pentateuch. Consequently, the field of Pentateuchal-criticism addresses the tradition of Mosaic authorship by suggesting that *postexilic* authors chose the figure of Moses as a *type-person* and ‘first scribe’ (Pleins 2001:41). According to Pleins, these *postexilic* authors, used – as *preexilic* sources – the legal sections of the Pentateuch (these being: The Covenant Code, and the Decalogues in the Covenant Code and in the Deuteronomy Code), and *reinterpreted* and applied them in new time and space settings (Pleins 2001:41).

The suggestion therefore, is that *postexilic* authors and redactors authorised their work by selecting the prophet Moses as the *prophet par excellence* through whom the Laws of Sinai (formally known as the Sinai Tradition) were expounded in the narrative setting of the Land of Moab. Therefore, despite the Pentateuch’s traditional, and authoritative status given as: ‘the five books of Moses’ (Knoppers & Levinson 2007:3), these *postexilic* visionaries – of whom the Zadokites and the Shaphanites form a part – very likely are possible authors of the Pentateuch in its final form.

The diachronic and historical authorship of the Pentateuch is supported by the function of the narrator in the introductory formula in Leviticus 19:1-2a.

Therefore, according to a synchronic reading of the Pentateuch, *Moses wrote the Torah on Mount Sinai* (as Jewish and Christian tradition advocates); and according to a diachronic reading of the Pentateuch, *postexilic* authors finalised the Pentateuch (*Torah*) during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Second-Temple Period). These *postexilic* authors were possibly: the Zadokites (source P) and the Shaphanites (source D).

By demonstrating the authorship of the Zadokites and the Shaphanites in Leviticus 19:1-19a, the *combined authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a supports Leviticus 19:1-19a as a ‘compromise document’, which further supports the multi-authorship of the Pentateuch. The authorship (and formation) of Leviticus 19:1-19a has implications for the authorship (and formation) of the Pentateuch (Kiuchi 2010:523), based upon the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a therein.

In light of the stated research of the preliminary research questions, the main research question is now addressed.

**5.1.2. Main Research Question.** The main research question (comprised from the preliminary questions in the introduction to the thesis) asked: in what way does Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code function as the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes, and as the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets and the Zadokite priestly writers regarding Israelite *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period); and what are the resultant implications for the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

The study thus assessed the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a through an immanent reading of the text in order to determine the authorial (writing) goals and ideologies present within the text, which have in turn been tested in light of the writing goals and ideologies of the Shaphanites and the Zadokites. Hereby, the study addressed the research question in the following ways:

- Leviticus 19:1-19a was examined as the *new revelation* of Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21;
- the Holiness Code was examined as the *new revelation* of the Priestly code;
- Leviticus 19:1-19a was examined as the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets and the Zadokite priestly;
- The functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a forms Israelite *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period); and
- and Leviticus 19:1-19a contributes towards the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

~ Below, the hypothesis and the problem statement are re-evaluated in light of the synchronic, narrative and diachronic, historical research results of the thesis. ~

## 5.2. FUTURE RESEARCH

In this section the hypothesis and problem statement are revisited. When setting out to do this study, the expectation was that Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period), led to the formation of the Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code as the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes, in the form of the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers; equally, the expectation was that the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a would contribute towards the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

By applying historical criticism and specifically literary criticism to Leviticus 19:1-19a, it became likely that Leviticus 19:1-19a functions as the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionists and the priestly writers regarding the identity of the people of Israel in the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE). In this regard, Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code also contribute towards biblical *history* and the discussion on the formation of the Pentateuch and its multi-authorship.

While Pentateuchal source-criticism advocates the Holiness Code (and by implication Leviticus 19:1-19a) to be the work of the Priestly source, the significance of this thesis further contributed towards an understanding of the Priestly source, by examining the Priestly source in further detail using historical criticism. Leviticus 19:1-19a was ‘tested’ as a micro, ‘compromise document’ between the Shaphanites: – scribes connected to Jeremiah; and the Zadokites: – priests connected to Ezekiel, by examining the text for evidence of the writing goals and ideologies of the Zadokites and of the Shaphanites.

Leviticus 19:1-19a was therefore examined both *synchronically* and *diachronically*, as the *new revelation* of former decalogues and law codes. The result is that the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a likely forms evidence for the authorial compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers, regarding Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period). A further result is that, equally, the authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a likely contributes towards Biblical *history* and the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

Through the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, this study has presented the following synchronic (narrative) and diachronic (historical) results.

**5.2.1. Synchronic, Narrative Results.** The synchronic, narrative results of Leviticus 19:1-19a are:

- The immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a has shown a combination of references to the Cult, and to the Law (of Moses).
- The *Call to Holiness*, the references to the peace offering, and the references to the harvest festivals – function as distinct connections to the Cult.
- The *Introductory formula*, the instructions to obey and to execute fair judgment, and The Decalogue commands of the Sinai Tradition – function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition.
- The decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a function as distinct connections with the equivalent decalogue sections of *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21, and based upon the connection of the decalogues (i.e., Law) to Moses – the decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition.

**5.2.2. Diachronic, Historical Results.** The diachronic, historical results of Leviticus 19:1-19a are:

- The *Call to Holiness*, the references to the peace offering, and the references to the harvest festivals – that function as distinct connections to the Cult – also form evidence of the writing goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *priests*: specifically, with the Levites and Zadokites.
- The *Introductory formula*, the instructions to obey and to execute fair judgment, and *The Decalogue* commands of the Sinai Tradition – that function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition – also form evidence of the writing goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *prophets*: specifically, with the Shaphanites.
- The decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a that function as distinct connections with the equivalent decalogue sections of *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21, therefore also form evidence of the writing goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *prophets*: specifically, with the Shaphanites.

- The possible connection between source D of the Pentateuch with the Shaphanites.

~ Below, the research objectives that were achieved and the according contributions made by this thesis, are presented in light of the synchronic, narrative and diachronic, historical research results of the thesis. ~

### 5.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES ACHIEVED AND CONTRIBUTIONS MADE

The first aim of the thesis endeavored to determine the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as the *new revelation* of the decalogues in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1-21; and similarly, the functionality of the Holiness Code as the *new revelation* of the Priestly Code. This was achieved by:

- Through the immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a, the decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a were compared with the equivalent decalogue sections of *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21.

The second aim of the thesis endeavored to determine the functionality of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence of Israel's *identity-formation* during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and during the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period). This was achieved by:

- Examining the connections between the concepts of the cult and of *separation* associated with cult.

The third aim of the thesis endeavored to determine the functionality and authorship of Leviticus 19:1-19a as evidence for the compromise reached between *authorial factions*, these being: the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers, regarding the identity of the people of Israel during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire (Israelite, *postexilic* period). This was achieved by:

- Examining the text of Leviticus 19:1-19a through the immanent reading thereof, for evidence of the writing goals and ideologies of the Zadokites and of the Shaphanites.

The fourth aim of the thesis endeavored to determine the contribution made by Leviticus 19:1-19a towards the debate concerning the authorship and formation of the *Pentateuch*. This was achieved by:

- Understanding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch *synchronically* through an application of narrative criticism to Leviticus 19:1-19a, in which the function of the narrator was demonstrated.
- Understanding that the references in Leviticus 19:1-19a to the Decalogue, Law, Moses, and Social Justice, function as evidence for the authorship of the Shaphanites – who are connected to the prophet Jeremiah. In this manner, these literary references support the authorial activity of the Shaphanites in Leviticus 19:1-19a – and based upon the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a within the Pentateuch – therefore, in the Holiness Code, and in the Pentateuch.

Consequently, this work has contributed the following to the field of study:

- The decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a function as distinct connections with the equivalent decalogue sections of *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21, and based upon the connection of the decalogues (i.e., Law) to Moses – the decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition.
- The *Introductory formula*, the instructions to obey and to execute fair judgment, and The Decalogue commands of the Sinai Tradition – function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition.
- The immanent reading of Leviticus 19:1-19a has shown a combination of references to the Cult, and to the Law (of Moses).
- The *Call to Holiness*, the references to the peace offering, and the references to the harvest festivals – function as distinct connections to the Cult.
- The *Call to Holiness*, the references to the peace offering, and the references to the harvest festivals – that function as distinct connections to the Cult – also form evidence of the writing goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *priests*: specifically, with the Levites and Zadokites.
- The *Introductory formula*, the instructions to obey and to execute fair judgment, and *The Decalogue* commands of the Sinai Tradition – that function as distinct connections to the Law of the Mosaic Tradition – also form evidence of the writing



goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *prophets*: specifically, with the Shaphanites.

- The decalogue sections of Leviticus 19:1-19a that function as distinct connections with the equivalent decalogue sections of *The Decalogue* in Exodus 20:1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:1-21, therefore also form evidence of the writing goals and ideologies that are synonymous with the *prophets*: specifically, with the Shaphanites.
- Understanding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch *synchronically* through an application of narrative criticism to Leviticus 19:1-19a, in which the function of the narrator was demonstrated.
- Understanding that the references in Leviticus 19:1-19a to the Decalogue, Law, Moses, and Social Justice, function as evidence for the authorship of the Shaphanites – who are connected to the prophet Jeremiah. In this manner, these literary references support the authorial activity of the Shaphanites in Leviticus 19:1-19a – and based upon the literary context of Leviticus 19:1-19a within the Pentateuch – therefore, in the Holiness Code, and in the Pentateuch.

~ Future research in light of the synchronic, narrative and diachronic, historical research results of the thesis, are subsequently presented. ~

#### 5.4. FUTURE RESEARCH

Considering these contributions, this study proposes that an area for future research may be to examine further the Pentateuch for the joint-authorship of the Zadokites and of the Shaphanites, and the working relationship between the priests and prophets in the Pentateuch.

#### *In Sum*

According to biblical *tradition*, Israelite *identity-formation* in the ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian Empire of 626–539 BCE (Israelite, exilic period) and the Achaemenid Persian Empire of 550–330 BCE (Israelite, *postexilic* period), led to the formation of the Leviticus 19:1-19a and the Holiness Code, as: the *new revelation* of former decalogues and

law codes, which according to biblical *history*, form textual evidence of the compromise reached between the Shaphanite traditionist prophets, and the Zadokite priestly writers; equally, the *authorship* of Leviticus 19:1-19a contributes towards biblical *history* and the debate regarding the authorship and formation of the Pentateuch.

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*Addenda A: The Sources of the Pentateuch*

The Documentary Hypothesis requires an appreciation for the nature and function of *folklore*; the role it played in primitive, preliterate societies; and how it was transmitted by oral tradition. To this end, *form-criticism* and *tradition-history* are based upon the theory that the tribes and the clans of Israel came together as a 12-tribe league in the time of the Judges and the United Monarchy, during which time the individual tribal, oral traditions were merged (Gray 1977:1-11; Coates 1983:5-6,12).

Through *form-criticism*, the fragments of genre and literature forms within the source documents of JPD, each have a life of their own and a tradition, before it came to be part of the Torah; therefore, its form clues its previous context. Through *tradition-history*, each unit or story, was connected with a particular locality (a sanctuary), which was the special preserve of the tribe or clan, and handed down orally within the life-setting of the particular clan (Coates 1983:5-6;12).

*Source-criticism* of the Pentateuch suggests that various strands of authorship comprise the Pentateuch, the concept of which forms the ancient Near Eastern practice of combining and reworking traditional literature, i.e., the forms and traditions of the Pentateuch (Huddleston 2013:201). Four strands of authorship have been identified in the Pentateuch: The Yahwist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist, and the Priest, described below.

**1. The Yahwist source [J] of the Pentateuch** is also called the *Yahwist*, which refers to Israel's God in Genesis–Numbers, as: *Yahweh/Jehovah* (יהוה) (Genesis 15:7 and 28:13). This written source is originally suggested to be the oldest, dating from the tenth- and ninth-century BCE (950–850 BCE) during the period of the Israelite Monarchy. Possibly originating from Judah, this source is unsophisticated, anthropomorphic, and story-telling in style – suggesting it to contain the most primitive traditions (Van Seters 1998:6; Boadt 2004:56).

The Yahwist is suggested to have produced the *Yahwist Epic*, from Genesis 2–Numbers 24; and possibly also including the death of Moses in Deuteronomy 34 (Van Seters 1998:6; Boadt 2004:56). In this epic, Abraham forms the focus of the author, and speaks of principal aspects comprising the Pentateuch, these being: Creation; the Patriarchal promise; Egyptian

oppression and deliverance; tribal life in the Wilderness; the Covenant theophany at Mount Sinai; and the Land promise. The Yahwist uses folk traditions such as: the conflict between brothers; the triumph of the younger brother; and the barren wife (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel); as well as other literary forms such as myths, customs, legends, saga, songs, and oral histories. Through the arrangement and composition of these forms, the Yahwist emphasises Yahweh's *immanence* and *benevolent sovereignty* (Van Seters 1998:6; Boadt 2004:56).

**2. The Elohist source [E] of the Pentateuch** is also called the *Elohist*, which was originally considered a later source, possibly written during the time of the Divided Monarchy and its Northern Kingdom. Source E is thought to have been influenced by the early prophetic movement of the eighth century BCE (Van Seters 1998:9). Presenting the narrative of Israel's Northern Kingdom tradition, the *Elohist* is suggested to have originated from Israel, and dates from between 850–700 BCE. This source applies the ANE generic term for a deity in various other Pentateuchal references to Israel's deity, this being: *Elohim* (אלהים) (Genesis 1:1 and Exodus 3, 6) (Van Seters 1998:6; Boadt 2004:57).

The hypothesis suggests that the *Elohist* combined unique and independent traditions with those of the Yahwist, beginning in Genesis 20, and emphasising: Bethel and Shechem; the Joseph tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; Mount Horeb as the mountain of Israel's deity; and the persons of: Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. It has been further suggested that the *Elohist* uses historical traditions that are in nature, moralistic and *anti-Baal*. The fear of Elohim is also emphasised by the *Elohist* through: the Isaac sacrifice (Genesis 22); Joseph's mercy on his brothers (Genesis 42); and the fear of the Israelite deity through: the midwives (Exodus 1), Moses (Exodus 3), the elders (Exodus 13), and the people (Exodus 20) (Van Seters 1998:6; Boadt 2004:57).

Both the *Yahwist* and the *Elohist* share literary forms such as: sagas, songs, and oral histories. Examples hereof are: wife as sister (J – Genesis 12 and 26; E – Genesis 17); Hagar leaves (J – Genesis 16; E – Genesis 21); and Joseph sold into slavery (both J and E – Genesis 37) (Boadt 2004:57).

**3. The Deuteronomic source [D] of the Pentateuch** is also called the *Deuteronomist*, whose core material comprises the book of Deuteronomy. Thus, the book of Deuteronomy

is considered a separate work, in addition to the expanse of this source that includes a larger framework, known as: the Deuteronomic History [DH], from Deuteronomy 1–2 Kings. Dated to the early seventh-century (650 BCE) and also writing during the period of the divided monarchy, the narrative of Israel's Southern Kingdom tradition is presented in the book of Deuteronomy, which also uses the name, *Yahweh*, to identify Israel's deity; and focuses upon the person of Moses (Van Seters 1998:9). Here the *Deuteronomist* uses both northern and southern *reform theology* in order to advocate Mosaic obedience through 'covenant language', during the time of Josiah's religious reform of 625 BCE (Van Seters 1998:9). This covenant language includes introductions, the Ten Commandments (Decalogue), general instructions, the Mosaic Law (Deuteronomy 12-26, similar to Exodus 20-24), and long, reformist speeches (Van Seters 1998:9).

The writing style in the book of Deuteronomy addresses every day matters in a verbose and preachy style, through counsel and advice (Van Seters 1998:9). Thus, the authorial intent is understood as 'propaganda of the Law' with a focus upon the purity of the cult, actioned at a central shrine, through which the people are exhorted to serve Yahweh with devoted love (Van Seters 1998:9).

**4. The Priestly source [P] of the Pentateuch** is also called the *Priest/s*. The work of the priests is identified through its meticulous style throughout Genesis–Numbers, which is characterised by: dates, times, calendars, and genealogies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58). Source P is suggested by scholars to date to the *postexilic* period (500 BCE), and concerns the origin and regulation of institutions that were initiated by the priestly reforms of the Second Temple in the fifth-century BCE (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58). The assumption suggests that the Priestly source builds upon the historical narrative – created by J, E, and D – by expanding the historical narrative of Israel with legal texts and other cultic material. Thus, the focus is upon: genealogies; cultic law; covenants; holy days, such as the Sabbath; blueprints of cultic buildings; and the procedures for sacrifices and ceremonies (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

Further, P focuses upon: Aaron (in contrast to Source D, which focuses upon Moses); rituals (such as circumcision in Genesis 17); the Cult (Leviticus 1-17; Numbers 1-10, 25-36); and the High Priest (Exodus 4:28; Numbers 1). Through these foci, the emphasis falls upon God's holiness, sovereignty, and transcendence; and it is the priests who establish and

facilitate, Israel's necessary and true worship. P uses *Elohim* for God's name, and is further suggested to use southern traditions (Judah) concerning: the cult, genealogies and place names (Van Seters 1998:7; Boadt 2004:58).

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*Addenda B: The Order and Date of the Sources of the Pentateuch*

Throughout the scholarly debate there have been various suggestions as to the number of sources (either four or five, and more recently only three), their order, and their dating. The original suggestion of the order of the sources and their dates are presented briefly below:

1. Yahwist 950–850 BCE (Southern Traditions; Judah’s traditions);
2. Eloist 850–700 BCE (Northern Traditions; Israel’s traditions);
3. Deuteronomic 650–621 BCE, early seventh-century BCE (Josiah’s Reform Book);  
and
4. Priestly 550 BCE, middle of the exile (Exilic Priestly Materials) (Van Seters 1998:7).

It was later suggested that source P is *postexilic*, thus operating *after* the exile, as follows:

1. Yahwist 850 BCE (Southern Traditions);
2. Eloist 750 BCE (Northern Traditions);
3. **Deuteronomic** 621 BCE (Josiah’s Reform Book); and
4. Priestly 500 BCE (Post-Exilic Priestly Materials) (Van Seters 1998:7).

It was suggested thereafter that each source should be altered by approximately 100 years; and that sources J and E could be considered as *one* source, as follows:

1. J-Yahwist/ Eloist (JE 550 BCE) Early documents, and Early-Primitive;
2. **Deuteronomic** (JED 650 BCE) Middle documents, and Ethical Monotheism; and
3. Priestly (JEDP 400BCE) Late documents, and Legalism (Van Seters 1998:10).

Van Seters proposes that this scheme has since been modified once more, and presents his contemporary view that he calls the *New Supplementary Hypothesis*. He suggests only three main sources, being D, J, and P; and that the date of D remains the same as at the time of Josiah's reform in 625 BCE (Van Seters 1998:13).

However, the Yahwist source is more likely to be exilic (540 BCE) and the Priestly source post-exilic (400 BCE). These dates indicate the historical perspectives from which these source historians may have been writing, although in some instances the material these source historians used are obviously older.

Thus: (Van Seters 1998:13)

1. **Deuteronomic** 625BCE (Josiah's Reform Book);
2. Yahwist 540BCE (exilic); and
3. Priestly 500BCE (post-exilic, Ezra).

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*Addenda C: A Critique of the Form-criticism and Tradition-history of the Pentateuch*

Scholarship on the order and dating of the sources of the Pentateuch continues to demonstrate the application of various forms of method throughout the debate. The result is that various schemes have been proposed and modified. Accordingly, Van Seters offers a critique of both *form-criticism* and *tradition-history* in a broader analysis of the Documentary Hypothesis.

With respect to *form-criticism*, his main points are: to view the author as a *historian*, and similarly; to view the Pentateuchal text as a form of *ancient history-writing*. By understanding the author as a historian, Van Seters highlights the historian's creative role in their presentation of the past. Thus, he views the Pentateuch as the work of such historians who assimilated folklore with their own inventions '...to fill in the gaps in the material' (1998:12).

With respect to his critique of *tradition-history*, Van Seters writes: (1998:11)

Tracing the development of a theme of tradition is a fine idea in *practice* but becomes too speculative in *practice*. We simply do not have the oral stage of the biblical tradition, so one can only guess what it was like. Since there is no control, both the original shape of the tradition and its development over time are conjectural, and no two scholars ever propose the same tradition history for the stories of the Pentateuch.

Accordingly, Van Seters concludes the following based upon the dating of Von Rad's *little credos*: originally Von Rad suggested that early in Israel's history these credos formed the nuclei around which Israel's religious festivals were initiated. This was done in remembrance of Yahweh's earliest acts in their history, which were passed on and recited in *credos*. Of these credos, Von Rad found that the historical credo became the epicentre around which the Primeval, Patriarchal, and Mosaic sagas were added. This was based upon the absence of the Sinai and Law traditions in the earliest forms of the credos (Van Seters 1998:11-12).

Van Seters critiques Von Rad's work on the basis that credos have not been confirmed in the broader ancient Near Eastern setting; and instead suggests that such an assumption reflects Von Rad's reconstruction of the model of early Christian creeds. The date of the credos has also been suggested to be late monarchic or exilic, in contrast to Von Rad's

perception of the credo as being at the beginning of Israelite history and part of their primitive liturgy (Van Seters 1998:11-12).

Van Seters critiques Noth's work by addressing the core assumption thereof, this being: the operation and function of the pre-monarchical twelve-tribe league, and the authoritative use of five major Pentateuchal oral traditions<sup>93</sup> during this time. The critique questions the existence of such a twelve-tribe league during the period of the judges, and the *independent* development of major oral traditions. For example, one of the five major oral traditions – the Patriarchal promise – is suggested by Noth to be the product of the complex assimilation of the autonomous stories of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob (Van Seters 1998:11).

Each of these were originally connected to a particular locality: the stories of Abraham were connected to Hebron (in the central hills); the Isaac stories belong to Beersheba (in the south); and the stories of Jacob originate from Shechem and Bethel (in the north). Following the conquest and settlement of Canaan, the suggestion is made that the twelve tribes grouped together to form a twelve-tribe league, through which each tribes' traditions were amalgamated into a unified set of traditions through the use of a genealogical scheme (Van Seters 1998:11).

Van Seters concludes that 'The basic weakness with both von Rad and Noth is that they restricted the use of oral tradition to the earliest period of Israel's history. But Israel and Judah continued to be predominantly oral throughout their history to the end of the monarchy and beyond. We may therefore assume that the biblical writers could draw upon a body of oral tradition throughout this time period. Nevertheless, our primary concern must be an analysis of the *written* text' (1998:12).

This author has created a graphical presentation of Pentateuchal scholarship in the 1800's in order to summarise and assimilate the former Pentateuchal scholarship on which the sources of the Pentateuch (JEDP) were originally based, presented below:

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<sup>93</sup> These are suggested by Noth to be originally independent tradition groups, namely: 1) The Exodus; 2) The Conquest; 3) The Patriarchs; 4) The Wilderness; and 5) Sinai.

Summary of Pentateuchal Scholarship in the 1800's CE



Figure 32 Pentateuchal Scholarship of the 1800's

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*Addenda D: Biblical Chronology of the Prophets*

This author has summarised and assimilated the historical periods of Israel's history with the prophetic tradition, in the following table. The prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been highlighted in yellow:

<u>The Pre-exilic Period:</u>		<u>The Exilic Period:</u>	<u>The Postexilic Period:</u>
United Monarchy	Divided Monarchy	Assyrian and Babylonian	Persian
1	2	3	4
Pre-classical Prophets	Classical Prophets	<b>Exilic Prophets:</b> Prophets of the Captivity	<b>Postexilic Prophets:</b> Prophets of the Return
Land: Jerusalem	Divided Land: Jerusalem and Dan	No Land	Return to Land: Jerusalem
First Temple		First Temple destroyed	Second Temple
10 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> centuries BCE	8 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> centuries BCE	6 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> centuries BCE	5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> centuries BCE
<u>Pre-Classical</u> <u>Prophets</u>	<u>Classical</u> <u>Northern Prophets</u> 742 – 701 BCE	<u>Assyrian, Exilic</u> <u>Northern Prophets</u> 722 BCE onwards	<u>Persian</u> <u>Postexilic Prophets</u> 538 BCE onwards
Samuel, Saul, Nathan the prophet, Gad the Seer, Ahijah the Shilonite, the Man of God the Old Prophet, Elijah, Elisha,	1.Jonah 2.Joel 3.Amos 760-750 4.Hosea 5.First Isaiah 6.Micah	<b>Second Isaiah</b>	14.Haggai 15.Zechariah 16.Malachi  Third Isaiah?

<p><b>Micaiah, and Huldah.</b></p>	<p><b><u>Classical Southern Prophets</u></b> 627 – 587 BCE</p> <p>7.Nahum 8.Zephaniah 9.Habakkuk 10.Jeremiah</p>	<p><b><u>Babylonian, Exilic Southern Prophets</u></b> 586 BCE onwards</p> <p>11.[Daniel] 12.Obadiah 13.Ezekiel</p>	
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*Table 7 The Historical Timelines of Jeremiah and Ezekiel*

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