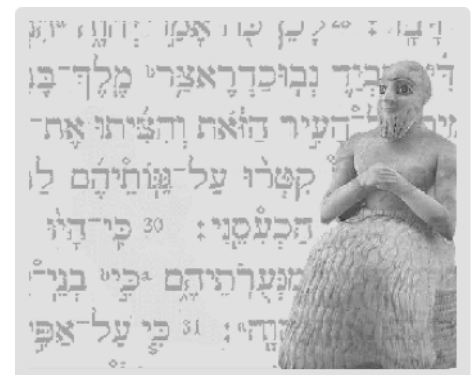


## Ritual Sequence and Narrative Constraints in Leviticus 9:1-10:3

LIANE MARQUIS FELDMAN



# RITUAL SEQUENCE AND NARRATIVE CONSTRAINTS IN LEVITICUS 9:1–10:3\*

LIANE MARQUIS FELDMAN  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## INTRODUCTION

The story of the inauguration of the tabernacle is the central episode in the priestly narrative (P).<sup>1</sup> In Lev 9:1–10:3, Yahweh finally follows through on his plan to live in the midst of the Israelites.<sup>2</sup> This episode tells the story of the events on the morning of the eighth day of the inauguration: a series of sacrifices, two blessings, the theophany, and a divine act of homicide. Despite being such an important part of the priestly narrative, few if any substantive arguments about the meaning or function of the sacrifices in this chapter have been made. Most analyses have focused on the theophany and the missteps of Nadav and Avihu.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the descrip-

---

\* I am grateful to Jeffrey Stackert, Mira Balberg, Simeon Chavel, and Joel S. Baden for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The existence of a priestly stratum within the Pentateuch is well-established, even while arguments about what type of document it is remain. Reinhard G. Kratz, for example, suggests that one of the few areas of consensus among pentateuchal scholars is that “we can distinguish and isolate two distinct literary strata within the Pentateuch: the book of Deuteronomy . . . and the so-called Priestly Writing (P),” see R.G. Kratz, “The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate,” in T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B.J. Schwartz (eds.), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 31–62 (34). My understanding of P is that it is an independent narrative source, which begins in Genesis and continues into Josh 22. It has been supplemented and combined with other independent sources to create the Pentateuch. While this study uses the documentary hypothesis as its foundation, it seeks to move beyond the four-source model in order to interrogate the narrative cohesion within one of its sources, P.

<sup>2</sup> See Exod 25:8.

<sup>3</sup> A common argument among scholars who see stratification in this chapter is to assign the opening dialogue and the closing theophany to the oldest stratum, and the execution of the ritual instructions to a later author or editor. See, for example, K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16: Eine überlieferungsgeschichtliche und literarkritische Untersuchung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 70–71; N. Lohfink, “The

tion of the sacrifices in Lev 9:8–21 has been seen by a number of scholars as a late addition to P, in part because its ritual contents were thought to be either inconsistent or unconnected with the rest of the priestly materials.<sup>4</sup> This article will argue that Lev 9:8–21 is an integral and necessary part of the priestly inauguration narrative.

There has been a tendency in the study of P to bifurcate priestly literature into law and narrative, and scholars have often chosen to focus on one or the other.<sup>5</sup> While some scholars have focused on the study of P from a literary perspective, they have usually done so with an emphasis on the narrative to the exclusion of the laws.<sup>6</sup> Recently, Suzanne Boorer has even gone so far as to argue that the entirety of Lev 9, and in fact the whole of Leviticus, must be seen as a late addition to the priestly narrative precisely because she understands law as incompatible with narrative.<sup>7</sup> Jacob

---

Priestly Narrative and History,” in idem, *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1977), 136–72 (145 n. 29); P. Weimar, “Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung,” *BN* 23–24 (1984), 81–134; 138–62 (85 n. 18). While more recent treatments of this chapter have assumed its relative unity, the focus of interpretation remains on the theophany event. John E. Hartley, for example, spends one sentence summarizing the types of sacrifices offered in Lev 9, and several paragraphs explaining vv. 22–24. Similarly, in his notes on individual verses, the introductory and concluding elements of the chapter receive disproportionate attention. J.E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC, 4; Nashville: Nelson, 1992), 120–21.

<sup>4</sup> Several scholars have followed Klaus Koch’s analysis of Lev 9, and separated its ritual components in vv. 8–21 from a “narrative frame.” See Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: from its Beginning to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. M. Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 301; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 183–85; M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, trans. B.W. Anderson (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1981), 8; R. Rendtorff, “Two Kinds of P? Some Reflections on the Occasion of the Publishing of Jacob Milgrom’s Commentary on Leviticus 1–16,” *JOT* 18 (1993), 75–81; R.G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2000), 99–100.

<sup>5</sup> This argument was made by Rolf Rendtorff in his review of the first volume of Jacob Milgrom’s commentary on Leviticus. See Rendtorff, “Two Kinds of P?” 75.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Noth, *A History*, 8–19; M. Douglas, *Leviticus As Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); B.A. Levine, “Leviticus: Its Literary History and Location in Biblical Literature,” in R. Rendtorff and R.A. Kugler (eds.), *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 55–78.

<sup>7</sup> This claim seems to rely almost entirely on the distinction between law and narrative made more than a century earlier by Julius Wellhausen. See J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 345. Boorer’s project is to read P from a narratological perspective. However, she limits her analysis to the Sinai episode, and within that defines Pg as containing only a small selection of verses in Exodus. Her argument makes a fundamental distinction between “law”

Milgrom, on the other hand, focused almost entirely on the study of P as law (or more accurately: ritual instructions), and gave relatively minimal attention to the narrative.<sup>8</sup> Even among those who focus on P as primarily law, almost no attention has been given to the patterning and purpose of the sacrifices in this chapter. Milgrom suggests only that one of each kind of “public sacrifice” is offered, but ignores the fact that some sacrifices are offered twice, others once, and one three times.<sup>9</sup> This does little to explain why these sacrifices are offered at this point in the story. Furthermore, the relationship between the sacrificial procedures and the narrative, in Lev 9 specifically and in P more broadly, has been left mostly untreated.<sup>10</sup>

Understanding the ritual logic in Lev 9, and in the priestly source as a whole, is critical to understanding the rhetorical effect of the narrative. The types of sacrifices, the animals used, the order in which they are offered, and the procedures used to perform those offerings all provide details essential for the identification of the function of these sacrifices and the development of the plot. In turn, the development of the plot can and does affect the way in which the rituals are presented in the text. Lev 9 offers one of the clearest cases of the mutual dependence of ritual and narrative in

---

and “narrative” and jettisons the entirety of Leviticus along with large portions of Exodus and Numbers, citing their “legal material” as a later and secondary extension of the narrative, but not essential to it. See S. Boorer, *The Vision of the Priestly Narrative: Its Genre and Hermeneutics of Time* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), 67–71.

<sup>8</sup> See J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 3; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 1–3. Menahem Haran and Israel Knohl also treated P, and specifically Leviticus, as “law” rather than narrative, and imagined that each chapter of Leviticus 1–16 once existed as a separate scroll. See M. Haran, “Book-Scrolls at the Beginning of the Second Temple Period: The Transition from Papyrus to Skins,” *HUCA* 54 (1983), 111–22 (115); I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 68.

<sup>9</sup> Milgrom also admits that the “rationale escape[d]” him for some of the ritual elements in this chapter. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 572.

<sup>10</sup> Christophe Nihan is one of the few contemporary scholars who makes an argument for the unity of Lev 9 and its continuity with Lev 8. However, his interest is solely in proving its continuity with an original stratum of P, and he does not attend to the details of the ritual instructions and their logic in Lev 9 or make a strong argument about rhetoric of the chapter. See C. Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus* (FAT, 2/25; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 115–24. Erhard Blum also largely eschews the distinction between law and narrative. See E. Blum, “Issues and Problems in the Contemporary Debate Regarding the Priestly Writings,” in J.S. Baden and S. Shectman (eds.), *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions* (Zurich: TVZ, 2009), 31–44.

P.<sup>11</sup> Law and narrative should not be considered separate entities, and this article will demonstrate that it is possible and productive to read them as interdependent elements of a single composition. The ritual instructions are a necessary part of the priestly story about the origins of the tabernacle and its cult.<sup>12</sup>

In what follows, I will argue that Lev 9:1–10:3 is the climactic moment of the inauguration episode and that it offers a clear and concise explanation for the existence of the tabernacle and its cult. I will also maintain that it is a unified composition and is not a late or secondary addition to the priestly narrative. The rituals in this chapter are far from being incoherent; they possess a strong ritual logic and comprise four distinct ritual acts that together effect the inauguration of the tabernacle: a purification ritual, the priestly *minhâ*, a *tamid* offering, and a festive *šalamim*.

offering. This article has three aims: 1) to explain the function of the sacrifices and their effect on the rhetoric of the story, 2) to demonstrate the interdependence of ritual and narrative in this story, and 3) to establish the importance of this episode within the larger priestly narrative.

## METHODOLOGY

The following discussion of Lev 9:1–10:3 looks both to narrative theory and ritual theory to analyze the literary integrity and ritual logic of the episode. This analysis takes as its starting point the argument for an independent priestly source.<sup>13</sup> First and foremost,

---

<sup>11</sup> For a theoretical argument about the interdependence of law and narrative in P, see J.S. Baden, “Identifying the Original Stratum of P: Theoretical and Practical Considerations,” in J.S. Baden and S. Shectman (eds.), *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions* (Zurich: TVZ, 2009), 13–27.

<sup>12</sup> Hanna Liss has made a strong argument for understanding the ritual materials in Leviticus as an integral part of the narrative whole, specifically in relation to the purity laws in Lev 11–15. See H. Liss, “Ritual Purity and the Construction of Identity: The Literary Function of the Laws of Purity in the Book of Leviticus,” in T. Römer (ed.), *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 329–54 (esp. 333–35). Andreas Ruwe has also argued in favor of the relationship between the legal and narrative elements in P, and the need for more careful analysis of the narrative structure of the text. See A. Ruwe, “The Structure of the Book of Leviticus in the Narrative Outline of the Priestly Sinai Story (Exod 19:1–Num 10:10\*),” in R. Rendtorff and R.A. Kugler (eds.), *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Reception* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 55–78 (esp. 61–62).

<sup>13</sup> J.S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (AYBRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 170–77. Konrad Schmid also argues that most scholars, at least in the European discussion, consider P to be a source document, though his definition of source document is not identical to that of Baden or Baruch J. Schwartz. See K. Schmid, “Has European Scholarship Abandoned the Documentary

this article understands the priestly text as a narrative with a clear beginning, middle, and end. This narrative includes speeches given by Yahweh that impart ritual instructions to various characters, including Moses and Aaron, and it also contains descriptions given by the narrator about the performance of ritual procedures. These descriptions of rituals are essential to the narrative. As Frank H. Gorman has argued, “for the Priestly traditions, the world is founded in and through ritual. At the same time, these ritual acts of founding are related to the Priestly understanding of history.”<sup>14</sup> If the narrative and its ritual instructions and descriptions are interdependent, any analysis of the priestly text should attend to both dimensions. This article does this both by recognizing the distinction between ritual and literary representation of ritual and by making use of Naphtali S. Meshel’s grammar of sacrifice in order to analyze the representation of ritual sequences.

Meshel’s grammar of sacrifice has provided an entirely new framework for understanding both sequences of sacrifices and the individual elements of sacrificial acts. He argues that the priestly sacrificial system is created on the basis of the five types of sacrifices and that different combinations of these sacrifices were created to serve different functions in the cult.<sup>15</sup> In short, several

---

Hypothesis? Some Reminders on Its History and Remarks on Its Current Status,” in T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B.J. Schwartz (eds.), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 17–30 (18–19, for a list of European scholars taking this view, see n. 6). In particular, this study follows the arguments of Haran and Schwartz for the unity of the priestly Sinai narrative. See M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry Into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1977); B.J. Schwartz, “The Priestly Account of the Theophany and Lawgiving at Sinai,” in M. Fox et al. (eds.), *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 103–34. It should be noted that major text critical variants between the LXX and MT in the priestly Sinai narrative (especially in Exod 35–40) have been used as evidence of the secondary nature of these chapters (see, for example, the discussion in Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 57–58.) While a detailed treatment of this issue is well beyond the scope of this article, I concur with the conclusion made by John W. Wevers that “difference in order . . . is not a reason for presupposing different parent texts. On the whole the Greek abbreviated rather than expanded the text, but usually it seems to have been on reasonable grounds . . . it is on the whole unnecessary to posit a parent substantially other than the consonantal text of MT”, see J.W. Wevers, “The Building of the Tabernacle,” *JNSL* 19 (1993), 123–31 (129).

<sup>14</sup> F.H. Gorman, “Priestly Rituals of Founding: Time, Space, and Status,” in M.P. Graham, W.P. Brown, and J.K. Kuan (eds.), *History and Interpretation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 47–64 (64).

<sup>15</sup> N.S. Meshel, “Toward a Grammar of Sacrifice: Hierarchic Patterns in the Israelite Sacrificial System,” *JBL* 132 (2013), 543–67 (548–49). See also idem, *The “Grammar” of Sacrifice: A Generativist Study of the Israelite*

animals may be sacrificed in the course of a single ritual act, and the combination of all of those sacrificed animals serves a single function. Meshel's sacrificial grammar offers a cogent argument for the systematic nature of the priestly ritual materials. Meshel's model suggests that each element has a meaning and a function, and that there are unwritten rules that govern the limits of their use and adaptation.<sup>16</sup>

It is important to recognize, however, that the descriptions of ritual activity in Lev 9 are not themselves rituals.<sup>17</sup> They are a literary representation of ritual acts.<sup>18</sup> As William K. Gilders has argued, "interpreting a textually represented ritual requires attention to the text as well as the ritual. Both must be interpreted."<sup>19</sup> James W. Watts makes this point even more strongly when he argues that texts are not rituals. He goes so far as to say that "the text's meaning may or may not have anything to do with the ritual's meaning in the mind of the author, much less its meaning and function within ancient culture."<sup>20</sup> These claims about textually represented ritual can challenge structuralist or systematic analyses of the ritual instructions in the priestly narrative. An analysis of priestly literature need not fall on one side or the other of this debate. Rather, it is worth recognizing that there is a level of coherence and systematization in the presentation of the ritual instructions, but that these

---

*Sacrificial System in the Priestly Writings with a "Grammar" of  $\Sigma$*  (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> Meshel, *The "Grammar" of Sacrifice*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Meshel does not make this distinction and treats the ritual texts as rituals. He is unconcerned with either their literary nature or their historicity, instead taking the descriptions of the ritual procedures as data points for analysis (*ibid.*, 21–27).

<sup>18</sup> David P. Wright makes a similar argument for the relationship between ritual and narrative in Aqhat. He argues that in the Aqhat text, "ritual elements do not simply provide a stage for events in the story; they largely determine the very meaning of the story," see D.P. Wright, *Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning, and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 227. In other words, they serve a distinctively literary function within their narrative context. See also J. Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 50–51. This is different from what Bryan D. Bibb calls "narrativized ritual." In Bibb's view, in Leviticus "the ritual dimension of this text is still ritual, but now taking a different literary form, that of narrative description" (B.D. Bibb, *Ritual Words and Narrative Worlds in the Book of Leviticus* [London: T&T Clark, 2009], 35). For Wright and Stackert, ritual in narrative is no longer ritual, but is rather a mode of literary discourse, whereas for Bibb literary ritual remains ritual, even if it exists only in the form of a textual description.

<sup>19</sup> W.K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 9.

<sup>20</sup> J.W. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 29.

instructions are still presented as part of a literary work. It is possible to extract broader, generalized rules from the specific cases given, as Meshel has done.<sup>21</sup> However, one should not assume that the specifics given in one case apply to all similar cases. Because these ritual instructions are first and foremost textual, elements belonging to the world of literary creation and composition may also apply. Authors may have rhetorical aims, and they may adjust certain details to serve those aims.<sup>22</sup>

The approach taken in this study combines close analysis of the narrative with identification of patterns and anomalies in the ritual procedure(s) described. Using Meshel's grammar of sacrifice as a starting point for analyzing the individual components and larger sequences in the ritual descriptions, while also taking into account the literary nature of these descriptions, this article will argue that Lev 9:1–10:3 is a coherent and unified composition. More importantly, it will demonstrate that the ritual sequence in Lev 9 comprises four distinct ritual acts, one of which is parallel in form and function to the tabernacle purification ritual in Lev 16. The similarities between these two texts have been previously recognized, but the identification of Lev 9:7–17 as containing a tabernacle purification ritual akin to Lev 16 has not.<sup>23</sup> Once the priestly

---

<sup>21</sup> This is precisely what Meshel has recognized about the priestly ritual texts. He offers the example of Maimonides, who in the 12th century composed a list of rules about the sacrificial laws. These generalizations and rules do not exist anywhere in the biblical text, and yet “of the many dozens of sacrificial combinations found in late Second Temple literature . . . combinations that differ substantially from the instructions of the pentateuchal law—not a single one violates these rules formulated by a twelfth century Spanish-North African rabbi.” He goes on to say that most of the Second Temple texts were unavailable to Maimonides, and so his rules identified some underlying, internalized rubrics for sacrificial practice. See Meshel, *The “Grammar” of Sacrifice*, 5–6.

<sup>22</sup> Watts understands the rhetoric of a text to be for the purpose of persuading its reader or hearer of some point. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric*, 30–31. Persuasion needs not be the only reason for an author to adjust details of a textualized ritual. It is possible that an author simply wanted to tell a better story, to use a specific detail to highlight a given point of that story.

<sup>23</sup> For the recognition of the similarity in structure and function between these texts, see Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 358, 370–71. Nihan does not identify the structure of a tabernacle purification ritual in Lev 9, but instead recognizes that the tabernacle itself is purified along with the people. The function of this, he argues, is as part of a rite of passage in both Lev 9 and 16. This observation is certainly correct in general terms, but Meshel has shown that there is a specific sequence associated with the function of tabernacle purification (see Meshel, “Toward a Grammar of Sacrifice,” 543–67 (548–56).) What Nihan identifies as a purification of the tabernacle and a purification of the people in Lev 9 is more than that: it is another instance of this “tabernacle purification” sequence identified by Meshel.



narrative's internal constraints and rhetorical aims are taken into consideration, the identification of this ritual sequence becomes possible. This then allows for a new interpretation of the rhetorical function of Lev 9:1–10:3 in its broader narrative context.

### LEADING UP TO THE EIGHTH DAY

The story of the inauguration of the tabernacle begins on the first day of the first month of the second year after the Israelites depart from Egypt (Exod 40:2). On that day, Yahweh provides Moses with a final set of instructions, and then the narrator describes Moses assembling the remaining pieces of the tabernacle, moving its furniture into place, and performing several preliminary tasks such as lighting the lamps, burning incense, and sacrificing a whole burnt offering.<sup>24</sup> Yahweh then descends from the heavens in a cloud which covers the tabernacle, and, veiled by that cloud-cover, Yahweh's presence fills the sanctuary (Exod 40:34). The narrator then offers a brief description of the cloud and the ways in which it will behave going forward (40:36–38).<sup>25</sup> Yahweh delivers a long

---

<sup>24</sup> There has been substantial debate about whether all or part of Exod 40 belongs in the original stratum of P. Scholars such as Martin Noth, Thomas Pola, and Nihan argue that little to none of the chapter is original. While a detailed argument about the compositional history of Exod 40 is beyond the scope of this article, there are scholars who have made such arguments for its inclusion. For a concise argument for the inclusion of Exod 40 in P, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 36. The more pressing issue is the event narrated in Exod 40:29, Moses's whole burnt offering. It has been suggested that this is the first *tamid* offering made at the tabernacle. See *ibid.*, 389; W.H.C. Propp, *Exodus 19–40: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2006), 673. Milgrom specifically argues that when Moses offers the whole burnt offering in Exod 40:29, it is a *tamid*, and it is the fulfillment of Exod 29:38–42. The problem with this argument, however, is that Yahweh commands the offering of the *tamid* after the ordination of the priests, not before it. The priests have not yet been ordained in Exod 40. While it is possible that Moses does offer a *tamid*, it cannot be said to be the fulfillment of the command in Exod 29:38–42. Instead, it is most likely that this whole burnt offering with its accompanying grain offering is meant as an enticement to draw the deity down from the heavens into the newly constructed tabernacle. For a description of this function of the whole burnt offering, see B.A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel* (SJLA, 5; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 22–27.

<sup>25</sup> For the iterative sense of this statement about the behavior of the cloud, see P. Joüon, S.J. and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (SubBi, 27; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute), §113e and §167h. This description of the cloud has also been a specific point of debate from the perspective of the compositional history of the priestly text. Koch, for example, argues that it is a secondary addition and that Exod 40:35 led directly into Lev 1:1 in the original form of the priestly text. See Koch, *Priesterschrift*, 45–46. This position has become the dominant one, with a number of scholars arguing similarly. See, for example, Nihan, *Priestly*

speech to Moses from inside the tabernacle, imparting instructions about how and when to offer the five different types of sacrifices (Lev 1–7). Yahweh then instructs Moses to begin the ordination of the priests, which he does. The narrator describes the ordination procedures, and the process continues for seven days, during which time the priests cannot exit the tabernacle complex (Lev 8).

By Lev 9:1 it would seem as though the tabernacle should be fully functional; Yahweh is inside it and its priests appear to have been ordained and its contents have been consecrated, and yet the tabernacle is not quite up and running. Yahweh has been giving Moses instructions for performing sacrifices since Lev 1:1. While there is no explicit statement about his entry into the sanctuary until Lev 9:23, Moses is unlike other characters in the priestly narrative. At the conclusion of Yahweh's speech to Moses in Exod 25–31, the narrator shares a description of Moses's ability to enter Yahweh's presence (Exod 34:29–35). Moses is able to enter Yahweh's presence when he has been summoned even though he has not been consecrated. When Yahweh summons him in Lev 1:1, Moses is then allowed to enter his presence. Aaron and his sons, on the other hand are not yet able to enter the sanctuary, precisely because their ordination is not yet complete.<sup>26</sup> That being said, it is Aaron and his sons, not Moses who offer the sacrifices in Lev 9.<sup>27</sup>

---

*Torah*, 57. Nihan argues that Exod 40:36–38 were inserted in order to prepare for Num 9:15ff. This argument rests on the assumption that all of the priestly material in Numbers is secondary. (For his full articulation of this position, see C. Nihan, “The Priestly Laws of Numbers, the Holiness Legislation, and the Pentateuch,” in C. Frevel [ed.], *Torah and the Book of Numbers*, [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 109–37. This claim relies almost entirely on the argument that Num 18 revises Lev 27, another text identified as a secondary addition to P. The evidence Nihan offers for this, however, is not compelling. William H.C. Propp, on the other hand, sees Exod 40:36–38 as belonging to the original stratum of P, and understands the description of this same cloud in Num 9 as a kind of resumptive repetition, marking the continuation of action in the narrative after a “gigantic parenthesis between Exodus 40 and Numbers 7,” see Propp, *Exodus 19–40*, 671. Even Noth did not identify these verses as a secondary addition, instead pointing to Lev 1:1 as the later addition. See M. Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, trans. J.S. Bowden [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962], 283; M. Noth, *Leviticus: A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965], 21.) At the very least, the presence of this description does not contradict any element of the narrative to this point, nor is it in any way inconsistent with the narrator's style of discourse. The narrator has made several iterative statements describing the ongoing use or behavior of a particular element of the cult. See, for example, Exod 29:38–42; 30:20–21.

<sup>26</sup> Philip P. Jensen has made a compelling argument that the ordination ritual, like other rites of passage, consists of three stages: separation, liminality, and aggregation. The entire ritual is not complete until the priests have been reintegrated into society in with their new status. He argues that Lev 9 is the aggregation rite, and it is only at the end of Lev 9

The reason for Aaron and his sons' inability to enter the sanctuary is not immediately apparent. The instructions for the priestly ordination ritual given in Exod 29:1–37 have been carried out.<sup>28</sup> However, the remainder of Yahweh's speech in Exod 29 includes an instruction concerning the institution of the *tamid*.<sup>29</sup> At the end of this instruction, Yahweh declares:

---

that Aaron and his sons are fully ordained priests. See P.P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 119–21.

<sup>27</sup> See Lev 9:8–9.

<sup>28</sup> The relationship between Exod 29 and Lev 8 is a complicated issue in the history of scholarship. There is not an exact correlation between the instructions and their execution and this has been the source of many hypotheses about different compositional origins for the two texts. See, for example, J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Reimer, 1899), 142–44; Noth, *Exodus*, 229; Koch, *Priesterschrift*, 67–70; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 513–16. This article will proceed under the premise that there is a broad correlation between the two chapters, and it agrees with the analysis of Nihan that Lev 8 is basically a literary unity and is dependent upon Exod 29, with some minor stylistic variants. Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 51–53, 134.

<sup>29</sup> The description of the *tamid* sacrifice in Exod 29:38–42 has long been seen as a late addition to the text. One of the main arguments for the secondary nature of this passage is that it appears to be out of place after the ordination procedure, in part because it is not fulfilled in Lev 8. (Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 36 n. 83.) For similar arguments, see B. Baentsch, *Leviticus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 257; Noth, *Leviticus*, 191; C. Houtman, *Exodus*, vol. 3 (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 549–51; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence*, 65–66. My discussion of the second ritual act in Lev 9 below will address this claim in greater detail. Another issue often raised is that of the twice-daily *šolâ* offering, which is referred to again only in Lev 6:2–6 and outside of the priestly narrative in Neh 10:34. Its presence in Nehemiah is seen as evidence of it being a late development. It should be noted that the twice-daily *šolâ* offering is also attested in Num 28:3–8, a passage that is a nearly verbatim repetition of Exod 29:38–42. (For a detailed treatment of the relationship between Exod 29:38–42 and Num 28:3–8 see S. Bar-On, “The Development of the Tamid Offering and its Place in the Priestly Calendar of Sacrifices,” in R. Margolin [ed.], *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997*, vol. 1: *The Bible and its World* [Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999], 143–53.) It is clear that there are different traditions regarding the composition of the *tamid* offering in the Hebrew Bible. In 2 Kgs 16:15 there is a morning *šolâ* and an evening *minhâ*, whereas in Ezek 46:13–15 there is an *šolâ* and *minhâ* each morning (and thus only once per day). Any attempt to position the priestly account as a late development because it only appears elsewhere in a demonstrably late text (Nehemiah) is methodologically problematic first and foremost because in the text of Neh 10:34 is far from clear how and when the *šolâ* and *minhâ* of the *tamid* are offered. They are simply elements in a list of sacrificial materials for the cult. Claiming that this verse espouses the same *tamid* structure as Exod 29:38–42 reads more into the text than is actually

ונראיתי<sup>30</sup> שמה לבני ישראל ונקדש בכבדי

Then I will appear to the Israelites there, and it will be sanctified by my presence (Exod 29:43).

This corresponds to the statement made in Exod 25:8 and 29:45 that Yahweh would dwell (שכן) among the Israelites and sanctify the tabernacle by his presence only once they finished building it.<sup>31</sup> The establishment of the *tāmīd*, sandwiched between the ordination of the priests and the divine theophany, appears to be a necessary part of the inauguration of the tabernacle. Yet it does not appear in Lev 8 as one would expect.<sup>32</sup> The description of the ordination of

---

there. The representation of the *tāmīd* in Exod 29:38–42, Lev 6:2–6, and Num 28:3–8 are all consistent and all belong to a priestly hand.

<sup>30</sup> The best reading of Exod 29:43 is not ונעדתי שמה לבני ישראל (MT), but rather should be emended to read ונראיתי שמה לבני ישראל. While this reading is entirely conjectural, both LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch contain variants for the phrase ונעדתי שמה in Exod 29:43. LXX uses the verb *τασσω*, the Samaritan Pentateuch uses *דרש*, and the Targums all use *זמן*. At least two scribal errors would have had to occur to get from ונעדתי to ונראיתי. I would posit both a ר/ד and an א/ע interchange as well as the metathesis of the letters. The versions have unrelated translations, which suggests an issue with the reception of the Vorlage. (For a succinct summary of the text critical issues in this verse, see Propp, *Exodus 19–40*, 472–73.) Further, in Lev 16:2, Yahweh describes the function of the ark by saying *כי בענן אראה על הכפרת*, “because in a cloud I will appear on the cover.” The use of the root ראה in 16:2 to describe Yahweh’s activity in the holy of holies further supports the emendation of ונעדתי in Exod 29:43 to ונראיתי. The close proximity of אועד in the previous verse could have influenced the choice of verb in the MT, but in the broader priestly narrative context the statement ונעדתי שמה לבני ישראל makes little sense. Nowhere in the priestly narrative is Yahweh said to “meet” the Israelites at the Tent of Meeting; Yahweh meets only Moses there. Rather, the relationship of the Israelites with Yahweh’s presence in the Tent of Meeting is purely a visual one. The verb יעד is used most often to refer to interactions between Yahweh and Moses/Aaron inside the sanctuary itself. (See Exod 25:22; 30:6, 36; Num 17:19.) A reading of ונראיתי שמה לבני ישראל would be most appropriate; Yahweh appears to the Israelites throughout P. It has, of course, been argued that this verse provides the etymology for the אהל מועד. See, for example, Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 140. However, the etymology is provided in Exod 29:42, and is not necessary in v. 43 as well.

<sup>31</sup> See A. Marx, *Les systèmes sacrificiels de l’Ancien Testament: Formes et fonctions du culte sacrificiel à Yhwh* (VTSup, 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 158–59; Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 53–54. Indeed, Lev 9:23–24 has even been suggested as the end of P precisely because it marks the completion of the ritual instructions given by Yahweh to Moses on top of Sinai in Exod 25–30. See E. Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 199.

<sup>32</sup> The absence of the establishment of the *tāmīd* in Lev 8 has often been cited as one reason for identifying Exod 29:38–42 as a secondary addition. See, for example, B. Baentsch, *Exodus–Leviticus–Numeri*

the priests has ended in Lev 8, and yet the theophany does not occur until Lev 9:23.<sup>33</sup> According to the instructions in Exod 29, the *tāmīd* should be established by the priests between these two events.<sup>34</sup> Lev 9:1–22 contains the description of a series of sacrifices performed by Aaron and his sons. As I will argue in more detail below, one of the sacrifices in this series is the prescribed *tāmīd*, and that it is only after Aaron and his sons offer this *tāmīd* that their ordination is complete and they have full access to the tabernacle.

With the exception of the *tāmīd*, none of the other events described in Lev 9 are explicitly commanded in Yahweh's instructions in Exodus. This has been cited as the main evidence for the secondary nature of Lev 9.<sup>35</sup> While one narrative pattern in P is to have corresponding instruction and fulfillment notices, this is not its only mode of discourse. Characters in the text can, and do, act without the specific direction of the deity.<sup>36</sup> The instructions given

---

(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), 256; Noth, *Exodus*, 233. This article will argue that this identification is unnecessary as the *tāmīd* is established in the course of the inauguration procedures in Lev 9.

<sup>33</sup> The notice in Exod 29:35b could be seen as the conclusion of the ordination ritual. According to this instruction, Moses should ordain Aaron and his sons for seven days. If one understands the ordination as referring only to the ritual acts, then Exod 29:35b indicates that once the final *millū'im* ram has been offered on the seventh day, the ordination is complete. However, as in most rites of passage, the passage of time is as important as the ritual activity itself. (See A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961], esp. 65–115). Seven full days must pass before the priests are fully ordained, followed by a reintegration period. At the end of that reintegration period, which occurs on the eighth day, Moses brings Aaron into the tabernacle signaling the completion of the entire ordination procedure (Lev 9:23).

<sup>34</sup> The addressee of Exod 29:38–42 is most plausibly Moses, as it is a continuation of the speech begun by Yahweh in Exod 25:1 to Moses on Sinai and the verb is second person singular (תעשה). However, the fact that the command is not to offer a single *tāmīd*, but is rather to begin the regular twice-daily offering, suggests that the sacrifice is to be performed by the appropriate cultic officials, the priests. The juxtaposition of this instruction with the instructions for the ordination of the priests further supports the idea that the *tāmīd* is meant to be offered on a regular basis by the priests, not Moses. There are several other instances in which Yahweh commands Moses to do something in the second person singular, but it is clear that the execution of that command is carried out by another character: Exod 25:23/37:10; 25:31/37:17; 26:1/36:8; 26:15/36:20, for example.

<sup>35</sup> See C. Frevel, "Kein Ende in Sicht? Zur Priestergrundschrift im Buch Levitikus," in H.-J. Fabry and H.-W. Jüngling (eds.), *Leviticus als Buch* (BBB, 119; Berlin: Philo, 1999), 85–123; Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 123 n. 59.

<sup>36</sup> This happens also with Nadav and Avihu in Lev 10 (which leads, of course, to a tragic end for both characters). A more precise parallel, however, is in Moses's response to the deaths of Nadav and Avihu. Just like in

in Exod 25–31, 40 cover only the construction of the tabernacle and the creation of its servants (the priests). They say nothing about the inauguration of the tabernacle. Lev 9 marks a transition point from the creation of the tabernacle complex to its inauguration and ongoing maintenance.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, the mode of discourse shifts and rather than the instruction/fulfillment notice model, the narrator tells the events as they unfold, slowing down the pace of the story just as it reaches its climactic moment in the theophany of Lev 9:23–24.

The ritual acts in Lev 9:1–22 leading up to the theophany have a distinct meaning and function within the broader priestly story. Close attention to the details of the ritual elements in Lev 9—the specific animals prescribed, their sacrificial type (*ḥaṭṭā't*, *ʾōlā*, *ʾēlamīm*, etc.), and the order in which they are sacrificed—yields a new interpretation of the ritual sequence in this chapter. The performance of these sacrifices is also narrated in a way which responds and adapts to the conditions described in the narrative. In the next section, the ritual sequences in Lev 9 will be analyzed with both Meshel's grammar of sacrifice and attention to the narrative context of the ritual descriptions.

## THE FIRST RITUAL ACT: A PURIFICATION RITUAL

### *IDENTIFYING THE RITUAL SEQUENCE*

The sacrifices described in Lev 9:8–22 can be broken down into four separate ritual acts. I will address each of the four acts in turn, beginning with the most complex. This discussion, while technical, is important because it will show that Lev 9:8–16 contains a ritual procedure structurally and functionally parallel to the tabernacle

---

Lev 9, Moses, unprompted by Yahweh, summons (קרא) Mishael and Elzaphan and gives them instructions for the disposal of their cousins' bodies (10:4–5). He further instructs Aaron, Elazar, and Ithamar not to mourn these deaths (10:6–7). Nowhere in the priestly narrative has Yahweh given Moses these instructions to impart. Rather, there are at least two possibilities. The first is that the reader should assume Moses has the knowledge and authority to command these characters on his own. The second is that the author has gapped Yahweh's command, and instead chosen to report only Moses's fulfillment of those commands. Either of these possibilities is plausible, and would be a stylistic choice on the part of the author. For examples of fulfillment formulas without a preceding commission, see A.M. Vater, "Narrative Patterns for the Study of Commissioned Communication in the Old Testament," *JBL* 99 (1980), 365–82 (376–77). Meir Sternberg discusses the phenomenon of gapping in biblical narrative at great length. See M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 230–63.

<sup>37</sup> Alternatively, Bibb sees Lev 8–9 as a unit which concludes the "ritual prescriptions" in Lev 1–7. However, he also argues that they are the climax of the story. See Bibb, *Ritual Words*, 100.

purification ritual identified by Meshel in the *Temple Scroll* and in Lev 16. This sequence has a specific function: tabernacle purification. The use of this sacrificial sequence at this point in the narrative has implications for understanding the way in which the priestly narrative represents the tabernacle, its divine inhabitant, and the Israelite community that dwells around it.

The first four sacrifices in Lev 9:8–16 have a distinctive pattern in their type, ownership, and sequencing.<sup>38</sup> These sacrifices are: one *ḥaṭṭā't* calf for Aaron and his sons (9:8–11), one *ʿōlā* ram for Aaron and his sons (9:12–14), one *ḥaṭṭā't* goat for the people (9:15), and one *ʿōlā* calf for the people (9:16). There appears to be a very close correspondence between this sequence of sacrifices in Lev 9:8–16 and those in the tabernacle purification ritual described in Lev 16.

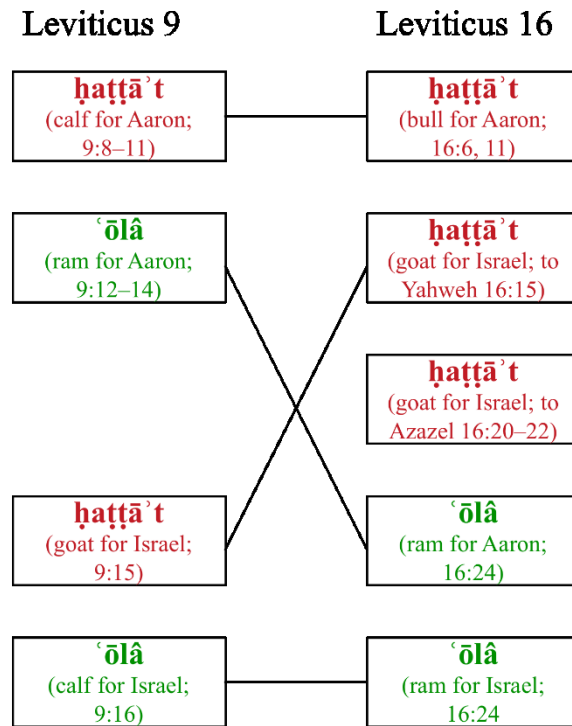


Figure 1: Comparison of Sacrificial Sequence in Lev 9 and 16

<sup>38</sup> “Type” refers to the category of offering, such as *ʿōlā* or *ḥaṭṭā't*, represented by green and red in the chart, respectively. “Ownership” refers to the individual or group on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered. The sequencing refers to what Meshel has called “hierarchics.” This is the way in which individual sacrifices are combined to create sacrificial sequences with particular functions and meaning. See Meshel, *The Grammar of Sacrifice*, 104–29.

As this chart makes clear, the first four sacrifices in Lev 9 are almost identical in kind (*ḥaṭṭā't* or *ʿōlā*) and ownership (Aaron or the Israelites) to Lev 16. Each chapter contains a pair of sacrifices for each group: a *ḥaṭṭā't* and an *ʿōlā* for Aaron and a *ḥaṭṭā't* and an *ʿōlā* for the Israelites.<sup>39</sup>

This pattern is not unique to the priestly narrative. In his explication of a ritual grammar, Meshel takes one segment of the *Temple Scroll* as an example in order to show that there is distinct formula to represent a “temple purgation” ritual.<sup>40</sup> This formula consists of two *ʿōlā* sacrifices and two *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices, one of each for Aaron and one of each for Israel. According to Meshel, the specific order of the sacrifices within the sequence is not fixed or reflective of an intrinsically significant hierarchy in the ritual; the significant elements in the identification of this combination are the correlation between the sacrificial type and ownership.<sup>41</sup> The combination identified by Meshel in the *Temple Scroll* is parallel to that in Lev 16, which is what allows him to claim that this is a fixed formula, rather than a single case in one text.

Meshel does not argue, however, that this formula also appears in Lev 9. In part, this may be because the parallels between Lev 9 and Lev 16 are not exact. There are a number of differences

---

<sup>39</sup> This distinctive group of sacrifices has gone unrecognized, likely because they are only four of the eight offerings mentioned in the chapter. Karl Elliger, following Gerhard von Rad, proposed dividing the chapter into two layers, vv. 8–14 and vv. 15–21. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 125–26. By dividing the chapter where he does, Elliger leaves no opportunity to identify the pattern in the first four sacrifices. Thomas Hieke also divides the chapter between vv. 8–14 and 15–21, choosing to see a stark divide between offerings on behalf of the priests and offerings on behalf of the people. See T. Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2014), 368–69. Nihan, responding specifically to this division by von Rad and later Elliger, makes a compelling case that all of the sacrifices in the chapter are part of a unified composition, and cannot be broken down into two separate and parallel texts. However, he does not attempt to explain the function or purpose of these sacrifices, but rather focuses solely on their literary integrity. See Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 117. Alfred Marx has argued that these four sacrifices in Lev 9 should be grouped into pairs, the *ḥaṭṭā't* and *ʿōlā* for Aaron and his sons, and the *ḥaṭṭā't* and *ʿōlā* for Israel. The function of these pairs is the separation and aggregation inherent in a rite of passage (Marx, *Les systèmes sacrificiels*, 176). While Marx is correct to identify that the *ḥaṭṭā't* and *ʿōlā* sacrifices are linked, he fails to explain why these sacrifices are necessary on behalf of the Israelites at this point in the narrative (see especially *ibid.*, 173–74).

<sup>40</sup> Given that Meshel is working with the *Temple Scroll*, he uses the term “temple” rather than the more appropriate term for the priestly narrative, “tabernacle.” When directly citing his work, I will use his terminology, but when summarizing it or applying it to the priestly narrative myself, I will use the more appropriate term “tabernacle.”

<sup>41</sup> See Meshel, “Toward a Grammar of Sacrifice,” 548.



between the chapters and these differences need to be explained before it can be safely concluded that the sequence of sacrifices in Lev 9:8–16 has a parallel function to that of Lev 16:6–25. There are four issues to address. First and foremost, the procedure for offering the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices as it is described in Lev 9 does not conform to the description of the paradigmatic sacrificial procedure given for the *ḥaṭṭā't* in Lev 4. The variation in Lev 9 must be accounted for. Following that, there are three major differences between Lev 9 and Lev 16 to be addressed: 1) the order in which the sacrifices are offered, 2) the specific animal used for each sacrifice, and 3) the presence of a third *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifice in Lev 16, the goat for Azazel. If it can be shown that Lev 9 is indeed a tabernacle purification ritual parallel to Lev 16, then it will be possible to begin to explain the ostensibly incoherent sacrifices narrated in this chapter, which in turn will generate a better understanding of the text's rhetoric and place in the larger priestly narrative.

***THE SACRIFICIAL PROCEDURE FOR THE ḤAṬṬĀ'T AND  
THE 'OLĀ OFFERINGS IN LEV 9***

The description of the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices on behalf of Aaron and Israel in Lev 9:8–15 is nearly parallel to the *ḥaṭṭā't* procedure described in Lev 4:3–12, but it is not identical.<sup>42</sup> According to Lev 4:6–7, 16–18, when a *ḥaṭṭā't* is offered on behalf of the high priest (Aaron) or on behalf of the entire community (Israel), its blood should be brought into the outer sanctuary<sup>43</sup> in order to sprinkle it on the *pāroket* (the curtain separating the inner and outer sanctuaries) and to smear the blood on the horns of the incense altar. For the sake of brevity, I will call this type of *ḥaṭṭā't* a “sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't*” because its blood is brought into the sanctuary.

In Lev 9:8–11, Aaron does not enter the outer sanctuary, and does not smear the blood on the horns of the incense altar or sprinkle it on the *pāroket*.<sup>44</sup> Instead, he smears the blood on the

---

<sup>42</sup> This issue has been noted many times by scholars with varying explanations. See, for example, Elliger, *Leviticus*, 125–26; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* (WMANT, 24; Neukirchenvluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 223; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 281; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 121–22; Y. Feder, *Blood Expiation in Hittite and Biblical Ritual: Origins, Context, and Meaning* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 75–76.

<sup>43</sup> According to the descriptions given in Exod 25–31 and 35–40, the tabernacle complex has three main areas: the courtyard which contains the bronze altar on which animals are burned, the outer sanctuary inside of which is a lamp stand, an incense altar, and a table with the bread of presence on it, and the inner sanctuary which contains the ark with its cherubim-topped cover and the physical presence of Yahweh.

<sup>44</sup> This issue is taken up by N. Kiuchi, who argues that the reason for this adjustment in the ritual procedure is that the events of Lev 8–9 are “preliminary to the regular service” of the tabernacle. See N. Kiuchi,

horns of the bronze outer altar, something he should not do if the sacrifice is for him and his household. The blood of the *ḥaṭṭā't* is smeared on the bronze outer altar only if it is offered on behalf of a chieftain of the community or an individual Israelite (see Lev 4:22–35). I will refer to this second type of *ḥaṭṭā't* as a “courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't*” because manipulation of its blood happens entirely in the courtyard. Despite the fact that the two *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices in Lev 9 are being offered on behalf of Aaron and the Israelites, they appear to be offered as courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't*.

There is one detail, however, that prohibits understanding the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices in Lev 9 as courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't*. In Lev 9:11, the narrator states that: “the flesh and the skin are burned in fire outside of the camp.” This notice comes after the conclusion of the ritual in 9:10 because the burning of the remains outside of the camp is a means of disposal and not a part of the ritual itself.<sup>45</sup> According to Lev 6:23, “[the meat and skin of] any *ḥaṭṭā't* whose blood was brought into the Tent of Meeting for purification in the sanctuary will not be eaten; it must be burned with fire.” Similarly, in the descriptions of the *ḥaṭṭā't* rituals in Lev 4, only the remains of the sacrifices for the high priest and the entire Israelite community are disposed of outside of the camp.<sup>46</sup> The meat of a *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifice on behalf of an Israelite leader or individual (Lev 4:22–26 and Lev 4:27–35), a courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't*, is divided between the altar, where the fats are burned, and the priests, who consume its flesh (Lev 6:19). No mention is made of any disposal of its remains outside of the camp.<sup>47</sup> In Lev 9:11, the narrator relays that the flesh and skin of the animal are burned outside of the camp. This would be the

---

*Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature Its Meaning and Function* (JSOTSup, 56; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1987), 45. The more common explanation for the difference in procedure is that the author of Lev 9 is not aware of the existence of the incense altar in the outer sanctuary, and thus does not refer to it in the description of the ritual. See Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 138; W. Zimmerli, “Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezeziel,” *ZAW* 66 (1954), 1–26 (10); Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 580–81; Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 368. This argument for the later development of the incense altar has led to a number of theories concerning the complex history of the *ḥaṭṭā't* offering. For an overview of this issue and the scholarship on it, see Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 160–86. Whatever the historical development of the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifice was in ancient Israel, the literary representation of it in the priestly narrative is consistent.

<sup>45</sup> See D.P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1987), 134–35, 145–46.

<sup>46</sup> See Lev 4:12, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Milgrom provides a detailed description of the two kinds of *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 261–64. An alternative explanation is offered by Baruch A. Levine, who also distinguishes between these two different types, but suggests that only one type of *ḥaṭṭā't*, the sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't*, actually has a purificatory function. See Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*, 103–4.

case only for a sanctuary *ḥattāṭ*, and yet the procedure performed by Aaron in Lev 9:8–11 does not conform to that of a sanctuary *ḥattāṭ*.

The *ḥattāṭ* sacrifices in Lev 9, then, are a mixed form, sharing characteristics of both the sanctuary and courtyard *ḥattāṭ*. They are offered on behalf of Aaron and the Israelites (necessitating a sanctuary *ḥattāṭ*), but their blood is not brought into the sanctuary (as in the case of a courtyard *ḥattāṭ*). Despite the fact that their blood was not brought into the sanctuary, their meat and skin are burned outside of the camp (characteristic of a sanctuary *ḥattāṭ*).<sup>48</sup>

The reason for this mixed form of the *ḥattāṭ* sacrifice is found in the narrative context. The *ḥattāṭ* sacrifices in Lev 9 require entrance to the outer sanctuary, but Aaron still cannot access that part of the tabernacle complex at this point in the narrative.<sup>49</sup> In P, only fully ordained priests can enter the outer sanctuary, and only a fully ordained high priest can enter the inner sanctuary;<sup>50</sup> the holiness of the priests must match the holiness of the area of the sanctuary they wish to access.<sup>51</sup> It is not until the fulfillment of the final instruction given in Exod 29, the institution of the *tamid*, that their ordination is complete and they will have full access to the sanctuary. This event has not yet happened. Faced with this limited access to the sanctuary, Aaron adapts the *ḥattāṭ* ritual, and smears blood on the only altar accessible to him—the bronze outer altar. The sprinkling rite is omitted because there is no corollary to the *paroket* in the courtyard. The animal is disposed of outside the camp because it is still a *ḥattāṭ* offered on behalf of Aaron or Israel. The mixed form of this sacrifice is required by the narrative context. Because Aaron and his sons cannot enter the outer sanctuary, they innovate. The narrator makes sure to include a detail to identify the sacrifice as a sanctuary *ḥattāṭ*, even if its blood did not enter the sanctuary in this case. The narrative constraints in Lev 9 explain the discrepancy between the *ḥattāṭ* procedure in Lev 4 and Lev 9, and remove one of the obstacles to the

---

<sup>48</sup> This mixed form is not typically identified as such, but rather these sacrifices are seen as a courtyard *ḥattāṭ* with an abnormal disposal procedure. See Kiuchi, *Purification Offering*, 45; Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 368. Yitzhak Feder, following Elliger, goes so far as to suggest that there are two traditions in priestly literature about the consumption of the *ḥattāṭ* remains, and sees the argument between Moses and Aaron in Lev 10:16–20 as an early midrash that “seeks to remove the tension between the law of Lev 6:18–20, which mandates the priestly consumption of courtyard sin offerings, and the ritual of Lev 9 where the congregation’s offering is apparently burned like that of the priesthood (vv. 11, 15),” see Y. Feder, *Blood Expiation*, 76; Elliger, *Leviticus*, 135–36.

<sup>49</sup> See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 55, 1013–14; Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 91.

<sup>50</sup> See Lev 16:2–4 for a description of the circumstances under which the high priest (and only the high priest) may enter the holy of holies.

<sup>51</sup> M. Haran, “Priests,” *EncJud* 13 (2007), 1080; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 119–21.

identification of this chapter as containing a tabernacle purification ritual. At the same time, the narrator makes clear that ritual innovation is possible, and at times necessary, within the priestly story world.

After the first *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice, Aaron offers his ram as an *ʿolā*. The ritual as it is described here conforms precisely to the ritual described in Lev 1:10–14, the procedure for sacrificing an *ʿolā* from the flock.<sup>52</sup> Aaron then offers the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* goat on behalf of the Israelites (9:15), slaughtering it and making purgation with it just as he did with the first *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice (כְּרֵאשׁוֹן), which can only refer to the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* he offered for the sake of himself and his household in Lev 9:8–11.<sup>53</sup> This is precisely as one would expect: according to Lev 4, the ritual for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice on behalf of the entire Israelite community is identical to that of a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice on behalf of the high priest. The adjustments that had to be made with the high priestly *ḥaṭṭāʾt* in vv. 8–11 are also made here for the same reasons. Aaron then performs the *ʿolā* sacrifice with the calf of the Israelites כַּמִּשְׁפֵּט, according to the regulation (9:16). In this case, the narrator cannot say כְּרֵאשׁוֹן as he did in Lev 9:15 with regard to the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice because the *ʿolā* of the Israelites is a calf from the herd and not of the flock as the *ʿolā* of the priest. Thus, the מִשְׁפֵּט referred to in v. 16 is the instruction in Lev 1:3–9, the procedure for sacrificing an *ʿolā* from the herd.<sup>54</sup>

The identification of these first four sacrifices in Lev 9:8–16 conforms to the paradigmatic priestly procedures in Lev 1 and 4 with slight variation due to narrative constraints placed on certain characters—the priests. There are two sanctuary *ḥaṭṭāʾt* offerings, one each for Aaron and for the Israelites, and two *ʿolā* offerings, also one each for Aaron and the Israelites. With the type and ownership of the individual sacrifices in Lev 9:8–16 clearly identified, it is now possible to examine the pattern of these four sacrifices more closely. Is this sequence truly parallel to the tabernacle purification ritual in Lev 16?

#### ***DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEV 9 AND LEV 16:***

##### ***THE ANIMALS USED IN THE SACRIFICES***

The discrepancies in the animals being offered are two-fold: Lev 9 and 16 do not match each other, and neither match the prescriptions for the two relevant *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices in Lev 4:3–21. According to Lev 4, both the high priest and the Israelites are supposed to offer a bull for their *ḥaṭṭāʾt*. In Lev 9, Aaron offers a calf and Israel offers a goat.<sup>55</sup> In Lev 16 Aaron does offer a bull, but Israel offers a

<sup>52</sup> The description in Lev 9:12–14 is abbreviated slightly from that in Lev 1:10–14, but the sequence is identical.

<sup>53</sup> Contra Kiuchi, *Purification Offering*, 45.

<sup>54</sup> Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers*, 111; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 583.

<sup>55</sup> It has been suggested that the reason the animals in Lev 9 do not

goat. Lev 9 and 16 seem to be in agreement against Lev 4: Israel's *ḥattā't* for a tabernacle purification ritual is a goat.<sup>56</sup> The calf offered by Aaron in Lev 9, on the other hand, is an anomaly in P.<sup>57</sup> It is the only sacrifice of a calf as a *ḥattā't* anywhere in P, and there is no clear explanation as to why.<sup>58</sup> A calf does belong to the bovine class like the bull (מן הבקר), but it is not fully grown like a bull. In terms of the categories set up by P, the substitution of a calf for a bull is entirely appropriate. The procedure for the sacrifice of a calf as a *ḥattā't*, while unique in P, would be identical to the procedure for the sacrifice of a bull.

There is yet another way to address these seeming discrepancies in Lev 9. In the case of the calf instead of the bull, an immature animal makes sense for the inauguration of a fledgling cult. Additionally, since the inauguration of the tabernacle is a one-time event in the priestly narrative, it makes sense to underscore its unique nature by prescribing a category-appropriate but otherwise unique animal for the very first sacrifice offered by the high priest.<sup>59</sup>

The goat offered as a *ḥattā't* by the Israelites, somewhat problematically, is not a bovine like the bull or calf, but is rather an

---

match those of Lev 4 is because they match an alternate tradition in Num 15 instead. See J. Milgrom, "The Two Pericopes on the Purification Offering," in C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (eds.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 211–15. However, Num 15 prescribes a bull for the *ʿolā* and a goat for the *ḥattā't* on behalf of the Israelite community. In Lev 9, the Israelites offer a goat for the *ḥattā't*, but a calf for the *ʿolā*. While the *ḥattā't* goat is a match in both cases, it is also a match for Lev 16. It may be the case that Lev 4 and Num 15 represent two different traditions of the purification offering for the whole Israelite community, but neither of those traditions is a complete match for Lev 9. The use of different animals for the *ḥattā't* and *ʿolā* sacrifices in Lev 9 cannot be explained by a dependence on the tradition in Num 15.

<sup>56</sup> Milgrom also suggests that the substitution of a goat for a bull in the case of the two *ḥattā't* offerings in Lev 9 reflects the public offerings prescribed for festivals in Num 28–29, thus marking the events of this chapter as a festive occasion. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 573.

<sup>57</sup> This anomaly is well noted, and various explanations have been offered. Meshel, for example, suggests that עגל is "P's coinage for male cows of any age," see Meshel, *The "Grammar" of Sacrifice*, 58. This would offer the possibility that the "calf" offered in Lev 9 is, in fact, a bull. For a similar argument, see also Ibn Ezra on Lev 9:2; Marx, *Les systèmes sacrificiels*, 105.

<sup>58</sup> Rabbinic commentators have, of course, said that Aaron sacrifices a calf in Lev 9 to atone for his sin with the golden calf in Exod 32. However, the golden calf story belongs to a non-priestly source. It is not impossible that the priestly author knew non-priestly sources, but this brief mention of a calf is not sufficient evidence to make such a claim.

<sup>59</sup> See Lev 9:8.

ovine (מן הצאן). According to Lev 4, a *ḥaṭṭā't* offering can take one of four forms depending on whose behalf it is offered. A sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't* is a male bull. The courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't* is a female goat or sheep, depending on the offeror. As I demonstrated in the previous section, the form of the *ḥaṭṭā't* in Lev 9 is mixed. While it is undoubtedly a sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't* because of its disposal procedure, the way its blood is handled puts it somewhere in between a sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't* and a courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't*. The choice of sacrificial animals reflects this intermediary position. The procedure of the two *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices in Lev 9 best match those of the courtyard *ḥaṭṭā't* which requires a flock animal. However, the instructions for the disposal of the animal's remains in Lev 9:11 best matches the sanctuary *ḥaṭṭā't*, which requires a herd animal. What Lev 9 prescribes is one of each: an animal from the herd (עגל) for Aaron and his sons, and an animal from the flock (שעיר עזים) for the Israelites.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, in Lev 16 the Israelites offer two goats as *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices, one to Yahweh and one to Azazel. It is also possible that the use of the goat on behalf of the entire community in both Lev 9 and Lev 16 is an intentional variation in the *ḥaṭṭā't* procedure that indexes it as one element of a more complex tabernacle purification ritual.<sup>61</sup>

There is no major variation in the *ʿolā* ritual in Lev 9. According to Lev 1, an *ʿolā* must be a male animal, and it may come either from the flock (מן הצאן) or from the herd (מן הבקר).<sup>62</sup> In the case of both *ʿolā* offerings in Lev 9:8–16, the animal is male, and from the flock or the herd.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> There is also a parallel structure in the four animals used for this tabernacle purification ritual in Lev 9. The sequence of sacrifices begins and ends with the calf (an immature bovine, and an animal unique to only this ritual sequence in P). In between the two calves are two animals of the ovine category: the larger and arguably less domesticated animal, a ram, for the priests, and the smaller, a goat, for the Israelites.

<sup>61</sup> The use of a goat for a *ḥaṭṭā't* on behalf of the high priest or the Israelite community as a whole appears only in Lev 9, 16, and Num 15:24, the latter of which is commonly seen as a late revision of the *ḥaṭṭā't* regulations in Lev 4. For this argument, see Milgrom, "The Two Pericopes."

<sup>62</sup> The phrase מן הבהמה in Lev 1:2 should be read as a general category of which the "flock" and the "herd" are two distinct subcategories. Thus, "he will bring an animal sacrifice for Yahweh, either from the flock or from the herd."

<sup>63</sup> Meshel argues that the איל is clearly a mature male ovine, that is, sheep. It is to a bull what a lamb is to a calf. See Meshel, *The "Grammar" of Sacrifice*, 30–31, 51. Milgrom simply translates איל in Lev 9:3 as "lamb" and does not comment further on it. (See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 576.) The use of a ram is not particularly common in priestly literature. In fact, the use of a ram (איל) in a sacrificial ritual is limited in P to three main contexts: events of consecration/dedication, tabernacle purification, and the *ʿāšām* offering (Exod 29:1, 3, 15–20, 22, 26–27, 31–32; Lev 5:15–16, 18, 25; 8:2, 18, 20–22, 29; 9:2, 4, 18–19; 16:3, 5; Num 5:8; 6:14, 17, 19; 7:15, 17, 21, 23, 27, 29, 33, 35, 39, 41, 45, 47, 51, 53, 57, 59, 63, 65, 69, 71,

**DIFFERENCES IN LEV 9 AND LEV 16:  
THE ORDER OF THE SACRIFICES**

The second major difference between Lev 9 and Lev 16 is the order in which the sacrifices are offered.<sup>64</sup> Lev 16 describes two *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices being offered first followed by the two *ʿōlā* sacrifices, whereas Lev 9 describes Aaron's sacrifices (*ḥaṭṭā't* and *ʿōlā*) being offered first followed by both of Israel's sacrifices. There are two ways of explaining this difference in sacrificial order. One is through ritual logic, and the other is by understanding the presentation of these ritual processes as an element of the rhetoric of the story, similar to the case of the *ḥaṭṭā't* calf above.<sup>65</sup>

From the perspective of ritual logic, the presence of the third *ḥaṭṭā't* goat for Azazel in Lev 16 triggers a change in the order of sacrifices. There are two general requirements for ritual sequences in P: 1) if Aaron sacrifices a *ḥaṭṭā't* for his own sake, he does so before he sacrifices a *ḥaṭṭā't* for the sake of the community,<sup>66</sup> and 2) an *ʿōlā* sacrifice must be offered last in a ritual sequence.<sup>67</sup> Once

---

75, 77, 81, 83, 87–88). The events described in these verses cover: priestly ordination, the *ʾuṣām* sacrifice, (Lev 9), the day of atonement, the *nāzīr* ritual, and the dedication gifts from the twelve tribes. Lev 9 is consistent with these categories. It is both a tabernacle purification and the day of the consecration (המשח) of the tabernacle. In all of these cases, the ram is offered on behalf of someone or something in a liminal state (dedication, consecration, and purification) or an especially dangerous state (guilty of the most severe transgression). The priests are both in a liminal and dangerous state prior to the completion of their ordination; the latter is because they are in close proximity to the deity, which is in itself a risky act. For a discussion of the dangerous nature of the priesthood, see *ibid.*, 1035.

<sup>64</sup> See Figure 1 on page 15 for a visual representation of the ordering of the sacrifices.

<sup>65</sup> The rhetorical nature of priestly instructions in general and Lev 8–10 in particular has already been treated in some detail by Watts. See Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric*, 97–129. Watts's focus, however, falls on keywords and ambiguous moments (especially those in Lev 10) and ignores the sequence of ritual actions in Lev 9 altogether.

<sup>66</sup> Milgrom has discussed the rationale for the priority of the high priestly *ḥaṭṭā't* extensively in his commentary on Lev 16. Briefly, Aaron must first atone on his own behalf before he is ritually qualified to act on behalf of the entire community; he cannot purge the impurities and sins of the Israelites if he has still not purified the sanctuary from those he himself has caused. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1019.

<sup>67</sup> With only one possible exception (Lev 12), every ritual or ritual sequence in P that is made up of more than a single sacrifice ends with an *ʿōlā* offering. Lev 8 is one ritual sequence in which it appears as though the sequence ends with a *šālāmim* sacrifice. However, it is important to recall that the instructions for the ordination of the priests does not end at Exod 29:37, but rather continues through 29:46. This includes the offering of the year-old male lamb as a *tamid*, which is one subtype of the *ʿōlā* sacrifice. The apparent absence of the *tamid* in the fulfillment of those

these two broad rules are fulfilled, the options for the insertion of the *ḥattā't* goat for Azazel are limited. There are two goats on behalf of the Israelites in Lev 16, one for Yahweh and one for Azazel. Each of these goats is one half of a two-part purification of the tabernacle (Lev 16:7–22). Their function in the sequence of the tabernacle purification in Lev 16 demands that they be used one after another, and in Lev 16 the goat for Azazel is placed immediately after the *ḥattā't* goat designated for Yahweh (Lev 16:15–16). Interrupting the offering of these two by introducing an *ʿolā* would undermine the ritual's logic.

The high priestly *ʿolā* could, in theory, have been offered prior to the two *ḥattā't* goats on behalf of the Israelites in Lev 16. However, the placement of the three *ḥattā't* sacrifices at the beginning of the ritual sequence effects a full purification of the tabernacle complex prior to the offering of the *ʿolā* sacrifices in this chapter. In other words, the function of the ritual in Lev 16 is to purify the tabernacle from the major impurities and sins of the Israelite community.<sup>68</sup> This level of full purification is not necessary in Lev 9 because the tabernacle is not yet contaminated with such a large degree of impurity.<sup>69</sup> The only people who have been inside of the

---

instructions in Lev 8 will be discussed below. The situation in Lev 12 is less clear. Like Lev 14 and 15, at the completion of a period of purification, the woman is to bring one animal as a *ḥattā't* and one as an *ʿolā*. In Lev 14 and 15, they are listed in that order. In Lev 12, the *ʿolā* is listed before the *ḥattā't*. It is entirely possible that this is simply stylistic variation and does not actually reflect the order in which the sacrifices were presumed to be offered. Baruch A. Levine has argued that the *šalamim* sacrifice must follow an *ʿolā*. His rationale for this argument is that the deity must first indicate his readiness to “come” to the worshippers before they can offer a gift to him. The sources he identifies in this case are all non-priestly. The priestly narrative presumes a deity who is living permanently in the midst of the Israelites, and does not need to be summoned. See Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*, 25–26.

<sup>68</sup> See Lev 16:16 for a summary of the effects of the three *ḥattā't* sacrifices: **וּכְפַר עַל הַקֹּדֶשׁ מִטְּמֵאת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִפְּשָׁעֵיהֶם לְכָל חַטָּאתָם**. “And he will purify the sanctuary from the impurities of the Israelites and from their transgressions and all of their sins.” This verse has been debated at length among scholars, and some part of it has often been considered to be a secondary addition. For a summary of the major debates, see Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 188–91, 361. Milgrom argues for the logical coherence of the verse and its place in the original stratum of the chapter. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1033–35.

<sup>69</sup> Impurity in P is a normal part of human existence. It is not the same as sin. Impurity results from a variety of healthy and unhealthy discharges, childbirth, death, and certain diseases. Within the priestly worldview, the deity is sacred and pure and does not want to inhabit an impure space. Impurity, though, is attracted to things that are sacred, like the tabernacle and its resident deity. A person who is impure does not need to be in the tabernacle complex in order to transmit their impurity. An impure person needs only to be in the same geographical area as the tabernacle. In P's



sanctuary complex for the last seven days have been the priests and Moses. The Israelites have been living in the camp in proximity to the tabernacle, but have not had ample time to contract major impurity.

Ritual theory can also provide an additional explanation for the need for a purification ritual prior to the completion of the tabernacle inauguration. Victor W. Turner has suggested that initiation rituals like the priestly ordination in Lev 8 are seen as polluting to persons, objects and events.<sup>70</sup> Simply by transitioning from one status to another, pollution (impurity) is generated. This pollution would render the sacred space (the tabernacle in the case of the priestly narrative) impure and thus in need of its own process of purification. In the priestly narrative, the previous seven days have been spent performing precisely this type of initiation ritual. The priests have transformed from ordinary Israelites into a distinct, sanctified group, thus shedding their prior identity and quite possibly causing some form of pollution in the process according to Turner's theory.

The narrative context of the ritual in Lev 9 and that of the one described in Lev 16 also provides a compelling reason for the different ordering of the sacrifices.<sup>71</sup> In Lev 9, the hierarchy of the

---

terms, this is the camp which surrounds the tabernacle. Blood from the sacrifices serves as a cleaning agent; by smearing it on the altars, the priests clean up the impurity from the tabernacle and remove it from the deity's presence. This system of impurity and its relationship with the tabernacle is described more fully in J. Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray," *RB* 83 (1976), 390–99. Milgrom's theory has been subject to some critique over the years. Most notably, Roy E. Gane has argued that the purpose of the ritual described in Lev 16 is not the purification of the sanctuary, but rather the purification of the Israelites themselves. This argument is in large part based on his understanding of the function of the *ḥattā't* sacrifice being to enable forgiveness for its offeror. See R.E. Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), esp. 106–62. Nihan has offered a convincing point-by-point refutation of Gane, arguing instead that Milgrom's theory remains the most compelling (*Priestly Torah*, 188–92.) An argument made by John Dennis finds a middle ground between these two perspectives. He argues that the *ḥattā't* sacrifice purifies the sanctuary (per Milgrom), but that a direct result of that purification is the subsequent forgiveness and purification of the offeror, see J. Dennis, "The Function of the **חַטָּאת** Sacrifice in the Priestly Literature: An Evaluation of the View of Jacob Milgrom," *ETL* 78 (2002), 108–29 (117–18).

<sup>70</sup> See V.W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New Brunswick, NJ/London: Aldine, 1969; repr., 2008), 108.

<sup>71</sup> This appeal to rhetorical structure is, in part, dependent on Watts's model of reading Leviticus rhetorically. That being said, there are significant issues with Watts's treatment of the rhetoric of Lev 8–10. Watts discusses the rhetorical features of Lev 8 in passing and Lev 10 in some detail, but seems to ignore Lev 9 in its entirety or else subsumes it under

priestly cult is still being established. By placing Aaron's two sacrifices prior to the two sacrifices belonging to the Israelites, the narrator is marking a distinction in the newly established hierarchy between the priesthood (Aaron and his sons) and the Israelites. The ritual in Lev 9 ultimately joins the priests and the Israelites together in that it is not complete until all four sacrifices have been offered. The distinction made between the priests and the Israelites in the performance of that ritual, however, is a critical one at this stage of the cult: there is now a clear difference between the priesthood and the laity; the mediation of Aaron and his sons is a necessary component of the public worship of Yahweh.

Lev 16, on the other hand, is situated at a place in the priestly narrative where the establishment of cultic hierarchy is no longer necessary. The role of the priests has been defined, as has the place of the Israelites in the cult. The point of Lev 16 is the purification of the tabernacle, and that the responsibility for polluting the tabernacle falls equally on the priests and the Israelites. Both parties are equally responsible for its purification. The interweaving of priestly and Israelite sacrifices within the permissible limits of the adaptation of a ritual makes good sense in this context.

#### ***DIFFERENCES IN LEV 9 AND LEV 16: THE GOAT FOR AZAZEL***

The presence of the *hattā't* goat for Azazel in Lev 16 could have been part of the reason for the difference in the order of sacrifices between Lev 9 and Lev 16. But is a tabernacle purification ritual still a purification ritual if the goat for Azazel is absent? In order to answer this, the function of the goat for Azazel must be identified. The use of this goat is described in Lev 16:20b–22:

והקריב את השעיר החי וסמך אהרן את שתי ידו על ראש  
השעיר החי והתודה עליו את כל עונת בני ישראל ואת כל  
פשעיהם לכל חטאתם ונתן אתם על ראש השעיר ושלה ביד  
איש עתי המדברה ונשא השעיר עליו את כל עונתם אל ארץ  
גזרה ושלה את השעיר במדבר

He will bring forward the living goat and Aaron will place his two hands on the head of the living goat and confess on it all of the iniquities of the Israelites, and all of their transgressions, and all of their sins. He will put them on the head of the goat and send it with a designated man into the wilderness. The goat will bear upon it all of their iniquities into a desolate region. He will send the goat into the wilderness.

According to this passage, the *hattā't* goat for Azazel in Lev 16 serves to purify the tabernacle from Israel's iniquities, transgres-

---

the heading of Lev 8. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric*, 97–117. Lev 9, while sharing a number of significant characteristics with Lev 8 is also quite distinct in its rhetorical force, emphasizing an entirely different dimension of the priestly cult than the story found in Lev 8.

sions, and sins, but not from its impurities. The distinction between impurity and sin becomes even more important here. Impurity is, again, an inevitable fact of human existence. There is no negative connotation to impurity, other than Yahweh's aversion to too much of it in his dwelling place.<sup>72</sup>

At this point in the narrative, the Israelites have only been given instructions about how to perform certain sacrifices. They have not been given many instructions about what constitutes a sin. They have only been told what to do when they accidentally commit an act that Yahweh has prohibited (Lev 4) and what to do if they have defiled a sacred object (Lev 5). Sacred objects exist only once their consecration is complete. This has not yet happened in the story, and thus the scenario in Lev 5 is not yet applicable. Secondly, while the Israelites know that they must offer a *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifice if they do something Yahweh commanded them not to do, Yahweh has not yet had the opportunity to issue such commands, and the Israelites have had no chance to commit such a transgression. The tabernacle has existed for only seven days, most of which have been occupied by the ongoing ordination ceremony for the priests.

The final case that the goat for Azazel addresses is that of major impurities which have been neglected. The instructions for cleansing oneself and the sanctuary from various impurities have not yet been given in the story. These appear in Lev 11–15. This does not mean that impurity does not exist yet; it only means that the Israelites do not know that they are responsible for its effects. It is only if one neglects these impurities for an extended period of time that a sin is committed. Not enough time has elapsed in the story for this to have happened yet. Therefore, there has been no opportunity for the Israelites to commit the kind of brazen sin described in Lev 16:20b–22, and thus the goat for Azazel is unnec-

---

<sup>72</sup> Schwartz describes the priestly system of thought about the relationship between impurity and holiness. According to his explanation, impurity and sin both produce defilement. This defilement is then drawn to sacred objects, such as the tabernacle, and can be eliminated only with the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifice. See B.J. Schwartz, "The Bearing of Sin in Priestly Literature," in D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 3–21 (4–7). Milgrom explicitly argues that because Yahweh is himself holy, people with impurities may not enter the tabernacle complex. He makes it clear, however, that impurity presents no moral or physical danger to the individual who contracts it. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 616–17. Jonathan Klawans develops the distinction between ritual and moral impurity even further and suggests explicitly that the presence of the deity is dependent on a reasonable level of purity. See J. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 68–69.

essary in Lev 9.<sup>73</sup> The purification in Lev 9 addresses the minor impurities that could have accrued over the previous seven days, either among the Israelites or through the process of ordaining the priests, and the purification ritual generates, quite literally, a clean slate.<sup>74</sup>

Each of the discrepancies between Lev 9 and Lev 16 has been addressed, as has the difference in the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* procedure between Lev 4 and Lev 9. Where Lev 9:8–16 varies from the chapters containing paradigmatic instructions, it does so predictably and either because of constraints given within the narrative context or to further a rhetorical function in the narrative. Far from being incoherent or simply an offering of each public sacrifice as Milgrom suggested,<sup>75</sup> these four individual sacrifices combine into a single ritual act, a tabernacle purification ritual parallel to that in Lev 16. The implementation of this purification ritual allows for the priestly cult to begin in its ideal pure state, and thus establishes the baseline by which the ongoing maintenance of the tabernacle can be measured.<sup>76</sup>

#### THE SECOND AND THIRD RITUAL ACTS: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *TĀMĪD* AND THE PRIESTLY *MĪNHĀ*

After the tabernacle purification ritual, four of the animals listed in Lev 9:2–4 have been sacrificed, and only one-year-old male lamb for an *ʿōlá*, one *mīnhā*, and an ox and a ram for the two *šəlamīm* offerings remain. The second and third ritual acts in this chapter are contained in a single verse, 9:17, and are identifiable only by a brief notice and the sacrificial materials themselves: the year-old

---

<sup>73</sup> In addition, the goat for Azazel also seems to be absent from the temple purification ritual as it is described in the *Temple Scroll*. Meshel discusses this exact issue, and concludes that the presence of the third goat for Azazel is unnecessary, though he never explains why this is the case. See Meshel, “Toward a Grammar of Sacrifice,” 548.

<sup>74</sup> Contrast this with Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 568) who cites m. Yoma 1:7 to argue that surely the priests would have taken precautions to prevent impurities from occurring during the seven days they were staying within the confines of the Tent of Meeting. Milgrom’s use of rabbinic sources to explain biblical texts is anachronistic and methodologically unsound; it betrays an a priori assumption of how the priestly cult would operate without considering the biblical evidence on its own terms.

<sup>75</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 547.

<sup>76</sup> Joel S. Baden has argued that Lev 16 serves as a kind of ritual “reset” button, returning the priestly cult to the pure state it began with in Lev 9 (J.S. Baden, “Leviticus 16: What’s in a Layer?,” lecture at the University of Chicago Divinity School, October 21, 2013). This presupposes a moment in which the Tabernacle was in a pristine state, possible only if the first public sacrifices were immediately preceded by a purification ritual.

male lamb for an *ʿolá* and the *mínḥá*. With only one exception,<sup>77</sup> a year-old male lamb (כבש בן שנה) is used in P only for the *tamid*.<sup>78</sup> The *mínḥá*, however, is not unique. Within P, the *mínḥá* can be offered on its own or accompanying any *ʿolá* or, at times, a *ʿelāmim*.<sup>79</sup> Lev 6 mentions a *mínḥá* offered by the priests on the day of their consecration.<sup>80</sup> It is most probable that the *mínḥá* described in Lev 9:17 is the grain offering prescribed for Aaron and his sons on the day of their consecration.<sup>81</sup>

Lev 9:17 narrates only the performance of a *mínḥá* offering: ויקרב את המנחה וימלא כפו ממנה ויקטר על המזבח מלבד עלת הבקר, “then [Aaron] brought the *mínḥá*, and he filled his hand with it and turned it to smoke upon the altar—this in addition to the morning burnt offering.” This description of Aaron offering the *mínḥá* deviates slightly from what is expected given the prescriptions in Lev 2 and 6. The phrase used in Lev 9:17, וימלא כפו, certainly describes the act of taking a handful of something, but differs from the way

<sup>77</sup> An *ʿolá* and an *ʿelām* are the only permissible sacrifices to perform with a male lamb according to P, and the *tamid* sacrifice falls under the category of an *ʿolá* (see Exod 29:42). There is one other instance where a year-old male lamb is said to be used: the *pēsah* lamb in Exod 12, yet according to P this is not a proper sacrifice as it occurs prior to the construction of the tabernacle and establishment of the cult. See, for example, D.M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 136; W.K. Gilders, “Sacrifice before Sinai in the Priestly Narratives,” in J.S. Baden and S. Shectman (eds.), *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions* (Zurich: TVZ, 2009), 57–72.

<sup>78</sup> In a number of cases a female year-old lamb is prescribed (Lev 4:32; 5:1–5; 14:10), but the gender distinction is significant for P. Lastly there are a handful of texts that prescribe a כבש בן שנתו, a male lamb in its first year (Lev 12:6; Num 6:12,14; Num 7:15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81). Milgrom has argued, with Arnold B. Ehrlich and Paul Joüon that this usage is distinct from בן שנה and designates a lamb younger than one year. A lamb described as כבש בן שנה is one who has reached its first birthday, but not its second. (Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 757). Meshel disagrees, and argues that בן שנה and בן שנתו are synonymous. However, he ignores not only the issue of stratification within P, but also cites the meanings and uses of these phrases in Mishnaic Hebrew to support his point. See Meshel, *The “Grammar” of Sacrifice*, 54–55.

<sup>79</sup> Exod 29:41; 40:29; Lev 5:13; 14:10, 20, 21, 31; Num 6:15, 17; 8:8.

<sup>80</sup> See Lev 6:12–16.

<sup>81</sup> As Milgrom notes, this *mínḥá* offering is specifically a priestly prebend, which is not the case for the *tamid*. He concludes that because of the lack of the incense offered with the *tamid* in Lev 6:12–16, it is a stand-alone offering of the high priest. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 399. Milgrom does not see the *tamid* in Lev 9:17 as the same one referred to in Lev 6:12–16, however. He argues that it is part of the *tamid*, and that the “oil and frankincense . . . are assumed,” see *ibid.*, 584. While this is possible, the more straightforward explanation is that it is the *mínḥá* described in Lev 6:12–16, which is to be offered ביום המשח אתו, once he has been consecrated.

in which the action is typically described with the verb הרים to indicate a lifting of a handful (usually קמצו instead of כפו).<sup>82</sup> The terminology for ordination in P is יד + מלא.<sup>83</sup> I would suggest that the phrase וימלא כפו serves a dual purpose in this verse: it describes the physical action taken by Aaron, and it also serves to mark this *minhā* as an explicit part of his ordination process.

The final clause of v. 17 remains somewhat enigmatic. After the conclusion of the final *ōlā* of the purification sequence and the priestly *minhā*, the narrator reports that these sacrifices are מלבד עלת הבקר, in addition to the morning burnt offering. This phrase is almost always considered a secondary addition to the text.<sup>84</sup> However, these three words at the end of Lev 9:17 serve to explain the presence of an otherwise unsacrificed year old male lamb in Lev 9:2–4. If this phrase is secondary, so, too, is the כבש בן שנה in 9:3. Like the fulfillment of days two through seven of the priestly ordination (Lev 8:34–35), the fulfillment of the command to offer the *tamid* is given only the briefest of notices.<sup>85</sup> Lev 9:17b may be a

<sup>82</sup> This has already been noted by Noth, *Leviticus*, 79; Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 156–57. The tendency among scholars is to draw a parallel between this *minhā* offering and the one in Lev 2:1–3, and not the one in Lev 6:12–16. See, for example, Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 369. While the offering in Lev 6 may be of the type described in 2:1–3, it serves a specific purpose, and is included only in Lev 6, and not in Lev 2 as well because Lev 6–7 are addressed only to the priests and contain information necessary only for them, whereas Lev 1–5 are addressed to all Israelites and contain information they need to make sacrifices.

<sup>83</sup> See Exod 28:41; 29:9, 29, 33, 35; Lev 8:33; 16:32; 21:10; Num 3:3.

<sup>84</sup> See A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1880), 469–70; Elliger, *Leviticus*, 126; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 584; Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 121; Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 369. In every case, the claim for the secondary nature of this phrase in Lev 9:17b is based on the argument that Exod 29:38–42 is also secondary. Knohl argues that the word מלבד is always an indication of an editorial stratum in the Pentateuch. Instead of arguing for each individual case on its own grounds, however, he simply relies on previous identifications of verses as secondary additions where possible. In the case of Lev 9:17, for example, Knohl appeals only to August Dillmann's identification of the verse as secondary to support his argument that מלבד marks an editorial insertion. In one case (Num 5:8), he judges the verse to be original, but assigns it to the "last compositional stage of HS, simultaneous with the redaction of the Pentateuch, thus making the use of מלבד understandable," see Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence*, 56–57. While it is certainly plausible that some of the ten examples Knohl provides are secondary additions, his assertion that they all are solely on the presence of the word מלבד remains unconvincing.

<sup>85</sup> While one might wish for a clearer connection between instruction and fulfillment, the narrator of this story has not provided it. Instead, the performance of the first *tamid* sacrifice in the functional tabernacle is understated. The establishment of the *tamid* is the start of an ordinary routine and treated as such in the text with a brief notice to orient the audience to the time of day (morning) and the need to offer the first of two daily *tamid* offerings. There is never again any mention made of the

terse note, but together with the presence of the year-old male lamb, it suggests that at this point in the inauguration procedure, Aaron and his sons offered the first *tāmīd* sacrifice, thus instituting its twice-daily regular offering, as prescribed in Exod 29:38–46.<sup>86</sup>

The institution of the *tāmīd* sacrifice is the culminating moment in the series of instructions given in Exod 29. According to Exod 29:42–46, there is a relationship between the institution of the *tāmīd* and the appearance of the deity to the Israelites in the tent of meeting. Yahweh will appear to the Israelites only after Aaron and his sons offer the *tāmīd* (29:42–45).

עלת תמיד לדרתיכם פתח אהל מועד לפני יהוה אשר אועד  
שמה לבני ישראל ונקדש<sup>87</sup> לכם שמה לדבר אליך שם ונראיתי  
בכבדי וקדשתי את אהל מועד ואת המזבח את אהרן ואת בניו  
אקדש לכהן לי ושכנתי בתוך בני ישראל והייתי להם לאלהים

It is a regular burnt offering throughout your generations at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting before Yahweh. Then I will meet with you to speak to you, and I will appear to the Israelites there. I will sanctify the Tent of Meeting and the altar and Aaron and his sons; I will sanctify them as priests for me. I will dwell in the midst of the Israelites and become their God.

This is precisely what happens in Lev 9. Shortly after Aaron offers the *tāmīd* in Lev 9:17, the presence of Yahweh appears to the people (9:23b) and fire bursts forth from the holy of holies and consumes the sacrifices on the altar. The people see this, and react appropriately, by celebrating and worshipping Yahweh as their god (9:24).<sup>88</sup> The sacrifice of both the priestly *minḥā* and the *tāmīd* serves as the culmination of both the priestly ordination ritual and the formal inaugural event for the Tent of Meeting.

---

daily *tāmīd* offerings in P.

<sup>86</sup> Knohl and Shlomo Na'eh use the *Temple Scroll* to connect the establishment of the tabernacle with the *tāmīd* offering. See I. Knohl and S. Na'eh, "Ordination and Atonement," *Tarbiz* 62 (1993), 17–44 (22–24). The same claim is made in *Megillat Ta'anit*. See V. Noam, *Megillat Ta'anit: Versions, Interpretation, History* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003), 65–69.

<sup>87</sup> See n. 30 for an explanation of this emendation.

<sup>88</sup> Similarly, in the Sumerian Kesh Temple Hymn, the climax of the inauguration of the temple comes when the goddess Ninhursag takes her seat in the temple. See A. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1969), 155–58.

### THE THIRD RITUAL ACT:

#### THE FESTIVE ŠĀLAMĪM OFFERINGS

The third and final ritual act in Lev 9 is narrated in vv. 18–21:

וישחט את השור ואת האיל זבח השלמים אשר לעם . . . ואת  
החזות ואת שוק הימין הגיף אהרן תנופה לפני יהוה כאשר צוה  
משה

Then he slaughtered the ox and the ram, the *šālamīm* sacrifices for the people . . . but the breast and the right thigh Aaron elevated as a *təniṣpā* offering before Yahweh as Moses commanded.

What is especially notable about the description in these verses is that the right thigh and the breast of the *šālamīm* offerings are given to Aaron in 9:22 as a *təniṣpā*.<sup>89</sup> The right thigh is the *mānā*, the designated portion, for the priests whereas the breast is the perquisite of the person performing the sacrificial act. In Lev 8, the right thigh was burned on the altar because Aaron and his sons were not yet priests and could not perform the sacrifice (8:25b–27), and Moses received the breast because he performed the sacrifice (8:29). In Lev 9:21 Aaron receives both the right thigh and the breast because he is now both fully a priest and the one who performed the *šālamīm* sacrifices. This is the first confirmation in the narrative that the ordination rite is complete and that Aaron and his sons have been fully consecrated.

The performance of the *šālamīm* offerings at the end of this chapter are entirely fitting for the occasion. The *šālamīm* is sacrificed whenever an Israelite desires to eat meat.<sup>90</sup> According to Num 10:10, *šālamīm* (along with *šōlā* sacrifices) should also be offered on days of celebration, *ביום שמחתכם*.<sup>91</sup> The sacrifice of *šālamīm* offerings for the sake of creating a festive meal is a common occurrence in the ancient Near East.<sup>92</sup> The consumption of meat would have

<sup>89</sup> It has been argued that the elevation of the right thigh is a late interpolation because it is explicitly stated in Lev 7:28–34 that the right thigh is not subject to the elevation ritual. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 585–86. However, as Nihan points out, the *šālamīm* sacrifices in Lev 9 are part of the larger sequence of sacrifices that effect the ordination of the priests and inauguration of the tabernacle. There is a notice in Exod 29:24 and Lev 8:27 that states that all sacrificial portions in the course of the ordination offering are subject to the elevation rite. See Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 122.

<sup>90</sup> See Lev 17:3–6. For an extended discussion of the aspects of rejoicing and consumption of meat related to the *šālamīm* offering, see Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*, 27–35; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 218–21.

<sup>91</sup> Levine points out that the *šālamīm* emerges in later texts as the “central sacrifice in the dedication of the Jerusalem temple, the dedicatory sacrifice, proper,” see Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*, 33. He further argues that “we see the *šālamīm* as originally a sacrifice related to royal and/or national celebrations of a distinctive character,” see *ibid.*, 34.

<sup>92</sup> Sacrifices and subsequent festive meals are described following the



been rare for ordinary Israelites, and reserved for special occasions.<sup>93</sup> The *šalāmim* offerings at the end of the sequence of sacrifices in Lev 9 serve as the conclusion to the inauguration of the tabernacle and emphasize the celebratory nature of the eighth day.

### THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE INAUGURATION

The final verses of Lev 9 and the first verses in Lev 10 narrate the aftermath of these three ritual acts. First, Aaron blesses the people and descends from the altar (v. 22). He and Moses then enter the Tent of Meeting together and bless the people together when they come out. At this point the presence of Yahweh appears to the Israelites precisely as promised in Exod 29:43. A fire bursts forth from the tabernacle and consumes the offerings on the altar (9:24). Yahweh has accepted the offerings of the priests and the Israelites, and the public cult has been inaugurated. The people respond both by celebrating and by falling to the ground to worship their god. Immediately thereafter, Nadav and Avihu, two of the sons of Aaron, take their incense pans, fill them with coals and set incense on the coals. They then attempt to offer the incense to Yahweh with disastrous results. Once again, the fire bursts forth from the inner sanctuary, but this time it consumes the two brothers (10:2).

Moses takes this opportunity to turn and relay to Aaron a pithy, if somewhat insensitive statement from Yahweh:

הוא אשר דבר יהוה לאמר בקרבי אקדש ועל פני כל העם  
אכבד

This is what Yahweh said: “I will be sanctified by those near to me, but before all of the people I will be present.”

This meaning of this verse has been the source of much debate between scholars.<sup>94</sup> Yet, read in the context of the events immediately preceding it and taking into account the rhetoric conveyed by

---

inauguration the Esagila temple in Enuma Elish, at various points throughout Atrahasis, and throughout the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle for the purpose of establishing a group (often for the sake of warfare in that epic). They are also a part of the investiture of a king. See, for example, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. For a more detailed description of the *šalāmim* offering in ancient Near Eastern rituals, see *ibid.*, 29–32.

<sup>93</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 221.

<sup>94</sup> These verses have been variously explained by scholars. For example, Nihan suggests that they are a summary of the theology of H. See Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 586–88. For a discussion of the passive rendering of the verbs in this verse, see *ibid.*, 579, 586–88. Watts, on the other hand, suggests that “the oracle’s ambiguity sums up perfectly the narrative context in which the deity requires specific services from the priests that place them in mortal danger from that same deity,” see Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric*, 113.

the ritual logic and the construction of the narrative as a whole, the verse makes perfect sense.<sup>95</sup>

In Lev 10:3, Yahweh says two things: 1) that he will be sanctified by those close to him (that is, the priests),<sup>96</sup> and 2) that he will be present before all of the people. It is important to recognize that this statement is not directed toward the people, but rather to Aaron; it is a message for the priests. The first half of this verse indicates a special status for the **קֹרְבָּיִם**, the priests who are allowed to approach Yahweh. They have a role as the agents of purification and sanctification in the cult. However, the second part of this statement qualifies the first. In the second part of the statement Yahweh says that he will be present before of all the people.<sup>97</sup> Moments earlier Yahweh made a public appearance to all of the people, thus announcing his presence in the tabernacle.<sup>98</sup> It is the presence of the people as a whole that both necessitates and enables the presence of the deity.<sup>99</sup> This pithy statement in Lev 10:3 is a short summation of the recent events: the cult cannot be fully established unless the people themselves perceive the presence of the deity within the tabernacle.<sup>100</sup> The public theophany of Lev 9:23–24 was, indeed, the decisive moment of the inauguration proceedings and this statement serves to reinforce that fact.

What this verse seems to emphasize, then, is the hierarchy and purpose of the priestly cult once more. It also serves as a warning to Aaron and his remaining two sons. The newly ordained priests

---

<sup>95</sup> Nihan does admit that there is a close relationship between the immediately preceding events in Lev 9 and this statement in Lev 10:3. He argues, however, that a secondary author has crafted this statement specifically to bridge the account of the tabernacle inauguration with the story of Nadav and Avihu. See Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, 587. Such a scenario is not necessary, however. This statement does not contradict any of the preceding priestly narrative and in fact only strengthens the arguments already made by it. From a narratological perspective, there are no grounds for calling it a secondary addition.

<sup>96</sup> See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 600.

<sup>97</sup> The second clause of 10:3 is best understood as an intentional word-play between **כְּבוֹד יְהוָה** in Lev 9:23b and **אֲכַבֵּד** in Lev 10:3 and translated as “I will be present before all of the people.”

<sup>98</sup> This public theophany occurs after Aaron twice blesses the people in Lev 9:22 and 23. The function of blessing in the priestly narrative is regularly connected with the multiplication of progeny, and thus the increase of the Israelite population. For a discussion of blessing and Yahweh’s promise in P, see J.S. Baden, *The Promise to the Patriarchs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 104–12.

<sup>99</sup> Contra Elliger, who argues that revisions in Lev 9 exist to emphasize the primacy of the priestly class, and Watts, who argues that the message of Lev 10:1–3 “from the Aaronide priests to the Israelite congregation” was that the priests have a dangerous job and deserve their perks. See Elliger, *Leviticus*, 125–26; Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric*, 113.

<sup>100</sup> For this observation about the purpose of the theophany, see Marx, *Les systèmes sacrificiels*, 171.

are the means by which Yahweh can be sanctified because they can now approach and move about his residence in order to attend to his needs. However, the priests cannot function without the participation and presence of the Israelites. The priestly cult is fundamentally a public cult.<sup>101</sup> This reading suggests that the offense of Nadav and Avihu, in addition to doing something they were not commanded to do,<sup>102</sup> was that they treated the tabernacle as their own private domain. By doing so, they fundamentally misunderstood their place in the hierarchy and the nature of the newly established cult. In the conception of the priestly narrator, the people are an absolutely necessary part of the story, and have been from the beginning.<sup>103</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Yahweh's plan in the priestly narrative, articulated in the initial command to construct the tabernacle in Exod 25:8, is to be present in the midst of the people. This is carried out through the events of Lev 9:1–10:3. Making sense of the ritual logic in this episode is essential to understanding the rhetorical force of the narrative at every stage of the story. Rather than understanding the ritual components in Lev 9 as late additions to the priestly source as most scholars have, I have argued that they are part of the original priestly narrative and essential to the development of its plot. Before the priestly cult can begin, the tabernacle must be purified in order to establish the ideal conditions for Yahweh's new home. Immediately thereafter, the priests are able to offer the *tamid* required of them in order to complete their ordination procedure, as prescribed in Exod 29:38–42. It is only after making this sacrifice that the priests are fully consecrated and have access to the entirety of the tabernacle complex. This change in status is demonstrated by Aaron's entry into the outer sanctuary with Moses in Lev 9:23. With the ordination of his priests complete, Yahweh can fulfill his promise and make his presence publicly known to the Israelites. This sequence of events in Lev 9 unfolds just as Yahweh prescribed in Exod 29.

The events described in Lev 9:1–10:3 reflect a deep understanding of the "grammar" of the priestly sacrificial system, not only in the ways in which they conform to prescribed ritual procedure, but also in the ways in which they deviate from those prescriptions. The adaptations made by Aaron and his sons in the *hattā't* procedure, which were driven by narrative constraints placed on the movement of certain characters, fell within the bounds of permissible ritual innovation. The attempted incense

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>102</sup> See Lev 10:1b. Also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 582.

<sup>103</sup> Contra Knohl, who argues that the "cultic system of PT takes place in a sacred sphere far removed from the masses" (*The Sanctuary of Silence*, 152).

offering by Nadav and Avihu, on the other hand, served as an example of improper ritual innovation both because no narrative circumstance required the offering and because the two priests exceeded their authority by attempting to bring it to Yahweh. These two acts together show that while there is room for ritual innovation within the priestly sacrificial system, there are also limits.

The episode narrated in Lev 9:1–10:3 is the clearest articulation of the central claim of the whole priestly narrative: the tabernacle and its cult are at the center of Israel's life. The rituals enacted on the day of the tabernacle's inauguration served to prepare and purify the sanctuary so that Yahweh could take up permanent residence in the midst of the people. These same rituals served to define the limits of priestly authority and underscore the essential role of the Israelite community in the establishment and continued existence of the priestly cult. With the sudden and fiery deaths of Nadav and Avihu, Yahweh dramatically demonstrates the centrality of the Israelite community to this new arrangement. It is only with the presence and the perception of all of the people (פני כל ועל העם), that Yahweh will be made present (אכבד). After this declaration, the narrator succinctly relays Aaron's stunned and silent acceptance: וידם אהרן. One final element of the new hierarchy now falls into place: in the priestly world, there can be no arguing with this deity, even by those closest to him.