

**INTERPRETING THE PASSOVER IN THE EXODUS  
TRADITION AMONGST THE TIV AS A NARRATIVE  
CONCERNING ORIGIN AND MIGRATION**

**by**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it in any university for a degree.

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Signature

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Date

## ABSTRACT

This study has focused on interpreting the Passover in the Exodus tradition as a narrative of origin and migration among the Tiv of Nigeria. The main aim of the study is to go beyond a theology of liberation from slavery and colonialism which has been the crux of the interpretation of Exodus to a theology of identity that commemorates the beginning of the migration from Egypt through the ritual festival of the Passover. The study has argued that one's identity could be used as an indigenous interpretive resource to interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria who are mostly from an oral context.

By employing a literary and socio-rhetorical approach (cf. Robbins 1996a:1), the research has analyzed the inner-texture, inter-texture, socio-cultural and ideological/theological intertexture of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28. It is argued that the Passover tradition had to survive the onslaught of royal and priestly ideology evident in its changing character from being a family oriented feast (Ex. 12:1-28) to a centralized feast held in the temple in Jerusalem. Despite the onslaught, the Passover prevailed as a family feast in the end and theology triumphed over ideology – in a manner of speaking. The different stages of development and celebration of the Passover in biblical times from family/non-priestly to priestly and centralized feast in the temple is also regarded as a clue to its survival of the onslaught of royal and priestly ideology.

The socio-rhetorical approach is deemed appropriate for the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition to an orality-based audience such as the Tiv of Nigeria especially in terms of the oral-scribal intertexture. The approach is relevant to the oral community because it integrates the text with history and the readers to enable readers of any given text to interact with it using their context full of different life experiences to come up with new and informed interpretations that are meaningful and appropriate to them.

Thus, the study has argued that oral discourse should work hand-in-hand with the written as far as the interpretation of the Exodus and Passover (Ex. 12:1-28) among oral cultures such as the Tiv are concerned. Readers and interpreters of the Passover tradition are enjoined to keep their eyes open to detect oral elements in the literary text and carry out interpretations of portions of the written text that cannot be explained through literary devices by taking into account orality.

The study has also registered the need to pay more attention to a theological approach that appreciates readers from an oral culture and their interpretation of and interaction with the written text when placed side by side with the reader's oral text that is full of stories of origin and migration, identity, life experiences.

Furthermore, the multidimensional approach by Robbins (1996a & 1996b) has been employed to analyze the texture of Exodus 12:1-28 and its parallel texts in the Pentateuch, Prophets (Former and Latter) and the Writings. Eleven pericopes on the Passover were identified that stretch from the Pentateuch to the Latter Prophets and they cut across the three biblical legal codes namely the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19), the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:5-8) and the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 16:1-8). The pericopes also span non-priestly texts (Ex. 12:1-28) and priestly texts (Ex. 34:18-26; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-25). In another sense, the Passover texts could be said to cover the Deuteronomistic text (Jos. 5:10-12; 2 Kg. 23:21-23), Chronist text (2 Chron. 35:1-18) and the Latter Prophets (Ezek. 45:21-24).

By analyzing the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 against the backdrop of parallel texts in the Old Testament, the study has also identified eight variables in the texts on the Passover namely different terminologies, place, date, sacrifice, preparation, officials and different links between the Passover and unleavened bread as well as different links between the Passover and the Exodus tradition. The eight variables demonstrate that the Passover has a dynamic and ongoing character; as such, it should be interpreted as a ritual festival that commemorates the beginning of the migration of a chosen people out of slavery in Egypt. However, it should also be seen as a festival commemorating the identity of celebrants with different ideologies, cultures, religious ideas, and life circumstances over time and in different contexts.

The different modes of celebrating or interpreting the Passover in different periods and contexts to different audiences with different needs have shown that the narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv could be used as an indigenous interpretive resource for the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among people from an oral culture. In addition, the Passover should be interpreted as an ongoing ritual commemoration of the beginning of the migration

from Egypt to mark the identity of celebrants in different contexts and cultures. In this way, as the Tiv people celebrate their New Yam festival at the family level or the annual Tiv Day at a centralized place to commemorate their origin as a people that migrated from Congo via Swem in the Cameroon plains to their present home in Benue-Nigeria, fresh memories would be evoked of the Passover festival commemorating the liberation from Egypt to create hope of future survival in present celebrants.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif fokus op die interpretasie van die Paasfees binne die Eksodustradisie as ‘n verhaal aangaande oorsprong en migrasie onder die Tiv van Nigerië. Die hoofdoel van die studie is om verder te gaan as die gebruikelike kontekstualisering van Eksodus as bevrydingsteologie van slawerny en kolonialisme en om ‘n teologiese interpretasie te ontwikkel wat identiteit in ag neem met die herdenking van die begin van die migrasie vanuit Egipte tydens die rituele viering van die Paasfees. In die proefskrif word geargumenteer dat identiteit gebruik kan word as ‘n inheemse bron vir die interpretasie van die Paasfees onder die Tiv wat ‘n sterk mondelinge kultuur het.

Daar is gebruik gemaak van Vernon Robbins (1996a) se sosio-retoriese metodologie en sodoende is aandag verleen aan die “*inner*” en “*inter-texture*”, sowel as die sosio-kulturele en ideologies-teologiese intertekste van die Paasfees in Eksodus 12: 1-28. Dit word aangetoon hoe die Paasfeestradisie die ideologiese aanslae van koninklike en priesterlike ideologieë moes weerstaan toe koning Josia dit van ‘n familiefees verander het na ‘n gesentraliseerde fees by die tempel in Jerusalem. Ten spyte van hierdie aanslag het die Paasfees tog as familiefees oorleef en kan dit as ‘n voorbeeld gebruik word van hoe teologie ideologie te bowe kan kom. In die Ou Testament kan verskillende fases van ontwikkeling en viering van die Paasfees vanaf ‘n familiefees na ‘n priesterlik gedomineerde sentrale fees by die tempel in Jerusalem onderskei word en dit verleen ‘n aanduiding van hoe die priestelike en koninklike ideologiese aanslag oorwin is.

Binne die sosio-retoriese benadering is die sogenaamde “*oral-scribal intertexture*” van besondere toepassing vir die interpretasie van die Paasfees in die Eksodustradisie binne ‘n mondelinge kultuur soos die van die Tiv in Nigerië. Die eksegetiese benadering is juis van toepassing binne ‘n mondelinge kultuur omdat die teks teen die agtergrond van mondelinge oorlewering verstaan word en die Tiv-lesers in staat stel om dit binne hulle eie konteks met hulle eie lewenservaring in verband te bring.

Robbins (1996a & 1996b) se multidimensionele benadering is benut om die teks van Eksodus 12: 1 – 28 te analiseer, sowel as die parallele tekste in die Pentateug, Profete (Vroeëre en Latere) en die Geskrifte. Sodoende is elf intertekste geïdentifiseer wat met die Paasfees verband hou: voorbeelde is gevind in al drie belangrikste regsversamelings in die Ou Testament, naamlik die Verbondsboek (Eks 23:14-19), die Heiligheidswette (Lev 23:5-8) en die Deuteronomiese kodeks (Deut 16: 1-8). Daarmee saam is beide nie-priesterlike tekste (Eks 12: 1-28) sowel as priesterlike tektste (Eks 34:18-26; Num 9:1-14; 28:16-25) in ag geneem, asook Deuteronomistiese gedeeltes (Jos 5:10-12; 2 Kon 23: 21-23), ‘n Kronistiese teks (2 Kron 35: 1-18) en die latere profete (Eseg 45:21-24).

Die ondersoek na die bestaande navorsing oor die Paasfees het agt veranderlikes geïdentifiseer wat ook binne die eie teksinterpretasie benut is: uiteenlopende terminologie, plek, datum, offerhande, voorbereiding, amptenare, verskillende bande tussen die Paasfees en die Fees van die Ongesuurde Brode en verskillende verbande tussen die Paasfees en die Eksodustradisie. Hierdie agt veranderlikes demonstreer hoe die Paasfees dinamies voortbestaan het en ook hoe dit verstaan kan word as ‘n feesritueel wat die aanvang van die migrasie uit die Egiptiese slawerny herdenk.

Die navorsing het aangetoon hoe die verskillende maniere van paasviering verband hou met verskillende interpretasies van die Paasfees binne opeenvolgende periodes, kontekste, gehore en behoeftes. Daarom word die gevolgtrekking gemaak dat die verhale van oorsprong en migrasie van die Tiv benut kan word as ‘n inheemse bron vir die interpretasie van die Paasfees in die Eksodustradisie. Die proefskrif bevind ook dat dit belangrik is om daarop te let dat die klem val op die voortgaande rituele herdenking van die begin van die verhaal oor migrasie uit Egipte wat van besondere belang vir die identiteit van die feesgangers is – te midde van verskillende kontekste, kulture en ideologieë. Op ‘n soortgelyke manier vier die Tiv hulle “*New Yam Festival*” as ‘n familiefees en hulle nasionale Tiv Dag by ‘n gesentraliseerde plek as herdenking van hulle oorsprong as ‘n groep wat migreer het vanaf die Kongo via die Swemberg in die Kameroen na hulle huidige blyplek in Benue, Nigerië. Hiermee word die Paasfees ruimer as bevrydingsteologie herinterpreteer en skep dit nuwe hoop op die toekoms vir die deelnemers aan die feesviering.

## **DEDICATION**

To my able and humble Promoter

Prof. H L. Bosman

and

My Family

Atese Rebecca S. Weor (wife)

Favour Umburse Weor (daughter)

Mr. John Y Weor (oldest brother)

Mr & Mrs Weor Akombo (parents)

With gratitude to God for

Your love and support



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AB - The Anchor Bible  
ABD - Anchor Bible Dictionary  
BHS - Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia  
BTP - Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching  
CC - Continental Commentaries  
DBI - Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation  
DOH - Dictionary of Old Testament Historical Books  
HCO - Historical Commentary on the Old Testament  
JPS - Jewish Publication Society  
LXX - The Septuagint  
MT - The Masoretic Text  
NAC - New American Commentary  
NIB - The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible  
NBC - New Bible Commentary  
NCB - New Century Bible  
NIV - New International Version  
NRSV - New Revised Standard Version  
OTL - Old Testament Library  
SHBC - Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary  
TOC - Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries  
WBC - World Biblical Commentary  
Chr - Chronicles  
Deut - Deuteronomy  
Ex - Exodus  
Ezek - Ezekiel  
Jos - Joshua  
Kgs - Kings  
Lev - Leviticus  
Num - Numbers

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### **1.1 Background of Study**

Interpretation in biblical studies is in the midst of a “paradigm shift.” It has undergone some “radical” changes over the years as it involved different approaches and interpreters of varying backgrounds and theories (Arthur 2003:231; Crowell 2009:217). For instance, the historical approach to interpretation that defines the meaning of a text as the meaning intended by the author dominated biblical interpretation in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Arthur 2003:231; Crowell 2009:217). It was assumed that the meaning of a text was the one intended by the author. Thus, identifying the author and understanding the historical context of a text was essential to understanding the intended meaning of such a text by the author (Noth 1981:44; Fretheim 1991a:18; Arthur 2003:231). Based on such an understanding, Arthur (2003:231) defines exegesis as “the method of historical and literary analysis of a passage that brings forth a meaning.” This method of biblical interpretation was questioned, critiqued, ignored and rejected by many in the field of biblical studies. Thus, it lost its supremacy in recent years (Crowell 2009:218).

In the twentieth century, there was a shift in biblical interpretation from the author to the text (literary approach) and finally to the reader (theological approach)<sup>1</sup>. The literary approach has on its part three different renderings according to its usage in three different periods (Soulen & Soulen 2001:105). In the nineteenth century, it was regarded as a historical study of Scripture presently practiced and known as source criticism. In the early and mid-twentieth century, the literary approach described attempts to explain a biblical author’s intention and achievements through the analysis of the text’s rhetorical elements and literary structures. In the contemporary usage, the literary approach to Scripture deals with the text itself or is text-centred (Soulen & Soulen 2001:105; Arthur 2003:232).

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<sup>1</sup>See Soulen and Soulen (2001:105) and Crowell (2009:218). Other new approaches to biblical interpretation have also emerged recently such as feminism, liberation theology, ideological criticism, identity specific readings, Marxist criticism, and postcolonial criticism (Crowell 2009:218).

From the account above, one would notice that no attention is given to the theological approach to biblical interpretation. The question here is, “Where is the place of the reader in biblical interpretation?”

The interpretation of Exodus, like any other aspect of biblical interpretation, has gone through the same problem of non-uniformity and radical shifts in the past century. It has passed through an historical approach from the early nineteenth century to the third quarter of the twentieth century. This was followed by a rapid and steady rise of a literary approach or social criticism from the mid-1970s to date. Then, in recent times, an increase of cultural studies began in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Segovia 2000:121). Here also one would notice that little attention or priority is given to a theological approach that appreciates the reader and his/her interpretation through an interaction with the text based on his/her cultural, ideological, pre-religious ideas, identity, context, needs, vast experiences in life and circumstances.

In my 2006 MTh thesis,<sup>2</sup> I described the trends in the study of Exodus in Africa, which also pay more attention to historical and literary approaches of interpretation but with scant attention to the theological approach which is reception oriented and considers the reader in his/her context, life experiences, and stories. A summary of the trends is provided below.

### **1.1.1 Historical approach**

The historical approach is defined narrowly as an approach that seeks to understand the ancient text in the light of its historical origins, limiting it to the domain of biblical interpretation. In other words, the task of historical criticism is to discover the time and place a text was written – its sources, the events surrounding it, dates, persons, places and customs, and so forth, implied or mentioned in the text (Soulén & Soulén 2001:79). The historical approach, as Holladay (1985:130-132) notes, deals with the historical context in which a text was written. It attempts to reconstruct the historical situation from which a written document arose, and one of its main tasks is to establish how it became written.

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<sup>2</sup> The unpublished thesis is titled “*Modern Commentaries on the Book of Exodus and their Appropriateness in Africa.*”

Determining the history of a text has to do with its date of composition, place of composition or provenance of writing and authorship, including the author's identity, method of composition, and source (Holladay 1985:130-132; Weor 2006:14). This approach pays less or no attention to a theological approach that is reader-oriented. Exodus commentaries found under the historical approach include Noth (1962), Childs (1977), Fretheim (1991a), Sarna (1991) and Propp (1999; 2006) [Weor 2006:14].<sup>3</sup>

### **1.1.2 Literary approach**

The literary approach deals with the text itself or it is said to be more text centred. The category of commentaries that uses this approach asks questions in connection with the type of text found in Exodus. For example, is it an etiological narrative text that deals with the story of a people or is it a legal text dealing with laws and commandments? Literary approaches to Exodus study deal with the interpretation of the final form of the text and its semantic and syntactical character. This enables sensitivity to the syntactical unevenness and literary tensions in the book, which is typical of this method of interpretation (Houtman 1993; 2000; Janzen 1997; Weor 2006:100).

A careful consideration of the characteristics of the literary approach reveals that it cannot function meaningfully without the historical-approach. However, the literary approach has also not paid attention to the theological approach which is reader-centred. Commentaries found in this category include Houtman, (1993), Brueggemann (1994), and Janzen (1997). Where then can one place the readers particularly those who are not theologically trained in the area of biblical interpretation but who have acquired vast experiences in life that serve as their first text?

### **1.1.3 Theological approach**

A theological approach deals with the world in front of the text. Commentaries considered here include Durham (1987), Pixley (1987), Brueggemann (1997) and Ashby (1998). Theological interpretation, like other interpretive approaches, is characterised by its distinguishing presupposition rooted in Jewish and Christian traditions that the Bible is a sacred Scripture with

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<sup>3</sup> For an elaborate discussion on historical commentaries on Exodus, see Weor (2006:14ff).

its origin, subject matter and purpose in God. Theological approaches deal with the theological themes in Exodus and they are linked to both historical criticism and literary criticism.

The close relationship between the literary and historical as well as the theological approach is illustrated in the course of the interpretation of the Passover (Ex. 12:1-28) using the socio-rhetorical approach by Robbins (1996a) which is multidimensional in nature. Furthermore, historical criticism provides the historical background information on the literary Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28. This information then paves way for the use of a reader-centred theological approach that would place the vast experiences of the reader which are moulded in his/her context side-by-side with the literary text of Exodus 12:1-28 to generate a meaningful interpretation (Soulén & Soulén 2001:192-193). In other words, there is some interplay in the literary, historical and theological approaches as far as the interpretation of the Passover in the literary text of Exodus 12:1-28 is concerned.

The survey of the modern commentaries on the book of Exodus in Weor (2006) establishes trends in the book of Exodus. It also establishes that the modern commentaries on the book of Exodus, with the exception of Ashby (1998), are not directly appropriate for Africa. Ashby interprets Exodus theologically using the context of apartheid in South Africa as his point of departure. He addresses the ongoing issues of poverty, political, economic/religious crises, oppression, HIV/AIDS, famine, racial/gender discrimination, and so forth. Ashby maintains the theme of liberation and/or redemption of the oppressed highlighted by other scholars discussed in the previous paragraph (Bosman 2002:1491; Ashby 1998: xi).

However, one of the key stories told by the faith community is the story of how the world and humans came into existence. Such stories of origin provide human beings with a sense of place, personal identity, gender identity, and relationship to God and/or to the powers of the universe, relationship to each other, and purpose for human existence. The Tiv people of Nigeria share similar stories of origin and migration with the faith community. The question therefore is how will such Tiv readers understand and interpret the book of Exodus? Where is the place of the Tiv reader in the exegetical analysis of Exodus discussed previously? How possible is it to interpret

the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv when the reader-centred or theological approach is hardly treated?

Evidently, the reader so far has gained less or no attention in biblical interpretations of Exodus, a book that deals with fascinating stories of God's chosen people, which are similar to stories of readers in Africa especially of the Tiv of Nigeria. Consequently, the present study is titled *'Interpreting the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv as a narrative concerning origin and migration.'* In this study, I will move a step further by conducting a socio-rhetorical research that seeks to integrate the text with history and the reader in order to enable readers of any given text to interact with the text and generate their own interpretation that is based on their context and vast experiences in life (Robbins 1996a:1; Park 2010).

In other words, this study will explore a method of biblical interpretation that will recognize the reader and his/her context, which abounds with stories, mostly in oral form. Such a method must aid readers to place their vast life experiences and fascinating stories in oral form side-by-side with the literary text of Exodus to find meaning by way of analogy. In that sense, readers of the biblical text particularly the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 could find parallels and/or allusions from their past experiences in the written text of Exodus and in turn generate their own interpretation based on their own context and understanding.

To achieve my aims and objectives in this present study, which is finding a theologically oriented method of biblical interpretation for Exodus, I choose to employ the socio-rhetorical approach by Robbins (1996a:1).<sup>4</sup> Special attention will be given to the subject of oral-scribal

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<sup>4</sup> Socio-rhetorical criticism is an approach to literature that focuses on values, convictions, and beliefs both in the texts we read and in the world in which we live (Robbins 1994; 1995; 1996a:1). The approach involves detailed attention to the text itself. It also moves interactively from the world of the people who wrote the texts into our present world.

The term 'socio-' refers to the rich resources of modern anthropology and sociology that socio-rhetorical criticism brings to the interpretation of a text. In other words, 'socio-' refers to the text as a cultural artefact that embraces the past, present and future (Robbins 1996a:1; Park 2010).

The term 'rhetorical,' on the other hand, refers to the way the language of a text serves as a means of communication among people; that is, 'rhetorical' analysis refers to the text as a literary element that has to be read. With respect to interpretation, rhetorical analysis pays particular attention to the subjects and topics a text uses to present its thought, speech, stories, and arguments (Robbins 1996a:1).

intertexture.<sup>5</sup> The analysis will focus on the inner texture of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 from a literary and socio-rhetorical perspective followed by the intertextual as well as the socio-cultural and ideological/theological considerations. The study will seek to detect elements of oral tradition particularly in areas where written texts cannot be explained through literary devices. Such texts could be explained through oral means. The aim is to help the Tiv who are from an oral background to find a place in the interpretation of the Bible particularly of Exodus using their stories and vast experiences in life which are also oral in nature as an indigenous interpretive resource.

## **1.2. Problem Statement/Research Question**

Exegetes of the book of Exodus have focused on the historical approach, (which is author-centred) and the literary approach, (which is text-centred) paying little attention to the theological or reader-centred approach. Thus, not much attention or appreciation is accorded to the readers of Exodus and to their interpretive resources. The primary aim of this dissertation is to investigate and establish the extent to which the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition can take place among the Tiv people of Nigeria. The fundamental question to consider here is, “*How does one interpret and/or establish the theological relevance of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria?*”

## **1.3. Hypotheses**

The Tiv people of Nigeria have fascinating stories of origin and migration. These stories and the early experiences of the Tiv people reveal their previous knowledge of God and his dealings with humanity. The history and experiences of the Tiv people also serve as a building block in understanding the past, present, and future. This study sets out to explore the following hypotheses as possible answers to the research questions above:

(a) That the theological relevance of the Passover may be established among the Tiv by reading it as a narrative of origin and migration.

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<sup>5</sup> Oral-scribal intertexture involves a text's use of any poet, non-canonical apocalyptic material, or Hebrew Bible. In other words oral-scribal refers to the way in which a text uses the language that exists in another text through recitation, re-contextualization, reconfiguration, narrative amplification and thematic elaboration (Robbins 1996a:40).

(b) That Exodus is a theological text that implies more than liberation. In view of the first hypothesis, it will be argued that the Passover is a significant theological part of Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity in different times and literary contexts – an approach that will make theological sense to Tiv readers.

#### ***1.4 Aims and Objectives***

The aim of this research is to establish the theological relevance of the Passover among the Tiv by reading and interpreting it as a narrative of origin and migration rather than simply as a text of liberation. The research employs the socio-rhetorical approach of Robbins (1996a) but it also engages the Tiv readers of Exodus in the re-reading and interpretation of selected texts of Exodus in their own way/context by way of analogy without jeopardizing the integrity of the book of Exodus.

#### ***1.5. Empirical Research***

This research engages with two different narratives namely that of the Tiv of Nigeria and of the ancient Israelites in the book of Exodus. The Tiv tradition on the one hand is oral in nature and is embedded in stories of the origin and migration of the Tiv, and stories concerning their personal life experiences and circumstances such as poverty, famine, political, religious and economic crises, festivals, land disputes and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, etc. The Exodus tradition on the other hand is a written document that can be read as part of the Bible.

To do justice to the two different traditions mentioned above, the researcher conducted a qualitative/empirical research to investigate the Tiv tradition that is more or less oral in nature as well as a theological research to investigate the ancient Israelite tradition of the biblical Exodus. The qualitative/empirical research used to investigate the Tiv tradition helped the researcher to engage the Tiv respondents who are from an oral tradition in a face-to-face interaction guided by some formulated questions. It is anticipated that the verbal responses of the Tiv respondents would indicate the extent of the Tiv knowledge of their origin and migration. To employ the theological approach as a tool for investigating the Exodus tradition which is written in nature, the researcher surveyed the available written literature on Exodus to ascertain the degree to



which oral tradition has interacted with the literary text of Exodus to come out with new and informed interpretation that is context based.

The pilot study of the empirical research was done with two selected Tiv clans (Ityuluv-ya and Turan). The two clans are located close to the migration scene of the Tiv from Swem in the Cameroon metropolis. Thus, it was anticipated that respondents from these clans would have firsthand information regarding the Tiv narrative of origin and migration. Both structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with members of the selected clans. Men and women alike were selected bearing in mind their education status, work status, settlement scheme, age bracket (25-100 years) and religious affiliation. Questions asked during the interview were related to the origin and migration of the Tiv. It was established from the pilot research that the Tiv are aware of their origin in terms of the place and the ancestral origin. It was established also that the Tiv are aware of their migration narratives and that it the narratives have shaped or influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Bible particularly of the Passover in the Exodus tradition. The pilot research served as a building block upon which the main research was built to probe deeper into the Tiv knowledge of their origin and migration, and how these influence their understanding and interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition in their own context.

The main research was a follow up empirical research conducted among members of the Masev and Ipav clans of Gwer and Gboko Local Government area respectively. The research focused on the role of the Passover in the Exodus narrative and its impact on Israelite and early Jewish identity. Focus group interviews conducted among the selected clans also probed how the Tiv's firstfruit festivals (such as the New Yam festival) create a fruitful intertext with the Exodus narrative in an investigation of the impact of migration narratives on identity.

The research itself is of a qualitative type that entails practical fieldwork in which the researcher engages in observation, listening, and a more active inquiry by means of asking questions and recording answers on tapes and taking down notes on paper (Babbie 2007:305). Qualitative research is appropriate in this situation because the target audience and/or readers, the Tiv, come

from an oral tradition, and an interactive research method of this kind will help to probe their knowledge of their origin and migration.

Qualitative research is also appropriate because, as a Tiv, the researcher also comes from the same oral background, and it is much easier for me to engage with the audience orally since most of them are neither formally educated nor theologically trained. Qualitative research therefore will help to probe into the knowledge of history of origin and migration of the Tiv and to come up with meaningful findings at the end. The Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 will be read aloud together with the respondents during the interview sessions using the Tiv vernacular Bible (*Bibilo*). Guided by some formulated questions, the audience will be allowed to interpret the text in their own way based on their oral context. In this sense, the words of the texts of Exodus 12:1-28 will interact with the outside world and words of the Tiv people to generate new interpretations. This implies that the research is a socio-rhetorical type (Robbins 1996a:1).

### **1.5.1 Aim of empirical research**

The aim of the empirical research is to ascertain to what degree the Tiv remember their own tradition of origin and migration, how it influences their identity, and how their traditions would serve as a tool for the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition. In order to accomplish this aim, certain objectives are taken into account. First, structured interviews will be conducted with members of the Tiv group to ascertain to what degree they understand their own narratives of origin and migration. Second, focus group discussions will be conducted with the Tiv to test the peoples' understanding of the Exodus tradition through group readings and interpretation of selected passages in Exodus.

#### **1.5.1.1 Chain referral approach**

The chain referral aspect of the study aims at getting information about the Tiv people as regards their origin and migration. Here interviews will be conducted with some Tiv people within the same geographical area who are knowledgeable of the Tiv tradition. In other words, this will be a qualitative research because it involves face-to-face discussions which are guided by formulated questions. After each interview, respondents will be asked to recommend other Tiv individuals that they know who are better acquainted with the Tiv narratives of origin and migration. The

aim is to interview people with different levels of understanding of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration to compare and analyze their views. Men and women alike qualify for the interviews.

The target age group for the empirical research however, was 25-100 years. Since the Tiv narratives are more or less oral in nature, the assumption is that people between 25 and 100 years would have better mastery of the narratives than those below the age of 25 years. Interviews will be by means of interview schedule that are open-ended in nature and are guided by probing questions. The aim is to probe deeper into the Tiv people's knowledge of their origin and migration. The interview will be recorded on tapes if permitted by the respondents and written notes taken for subsequent transcription and analysis (Babbie 2007:308). Confidentiality of the respondents will be guaranteed before and after the interview. This is necessary because many Tiv people are reluctant to release information that would be documented on paper or tapes because, according to them, they do not want their secrets to get to hands of white people who they believe are too clever (*bugh ashe* – literary, open eyed).

#### **1.5.1.2 Focus group discussions**

Focus group discussions typically comprise of 12-15 people who are brought together to engage in a guided discussion of some topic (Babbie 2007:308). Participants in this case are not chosen through rigorous and probability sampling method nor do participants represent any meaningful population. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the study entails qualitative and not quantitative research because it involves open interaction with respondents individually and in a group, which is guided by pre-formulated questions. This type of interview is suitable for both the researcher and his respondents who are from an oral background.

The focus group will comprise of eight members of varying ages, genders, religious affiliations, educational backgrounds, and from various settlement schemes (urban/rural), and so forth. The choice of eight persons for the interview is to allow for easy management of the group in terms of monitoring the active participation of each member of the group during the interview session. Additionally, a limited budget for transporting and feeding respondents as well as time constraints contributed to the choice of only eight participants.

During the discussions, sections of Exodus 14, 19, and 20 will be read aloud using the Tiv translation of the Bible (*Bibilo*). The aim is to determine the degree of understanding and interpretation of the Exodus tradition among the Tiv people using their identity, as well as socio-cultural, ideological, theological and/or pre-religious experiences as an interpretive resource. Questions from the selected Exodus passages will probe the Tiv people's knowledge of the Exodus tradition. The details of the questions and interviews will be discussed in Chapter Two of this study. Respondents will be allowed to read the selected passages aloud with the help of the researcher.

After the readings, the researcher will remind the respondents of their narratives of origin and migration and ask them guided questions that could aid them to interpret the passages read based on their own understanding and context. The researcher will then reinterpret the texts theologically, taking into account the interpretations of his respondents. The interview will be recorded on tapes and written notes taken for further transcription and analysis.

### **1.5.1.3 Pilot Project<sup>6</sup>**

The researcher first conducted a pilot research in 2007 with two clans namely the Ityuluv-Nyiev-Ya and the Turan both in the Kwande Local Government Area of Benue State. The aim of the pilot research was to obtain some preliminary information on the Tiv people's understanding of their narratives of origin and migration. It would also help to identify loopholes in the research that would enable the researcher to improve on the main study.

In the pilot research conducted among the Ityuluv and Turan clans, one chain referral interview was conducted for each clan comprising of 10 male and female respondents on different dates in 2007. Respondents from different age groups, religious affiliations, settlement schemes, and educational backgrounds, and so forth, were chosen using snowball sampling. Questions asked in

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<sup>6</sup> A pilot study has to do with the pre-testing of a measuring instrument, which consists of "trying out on a small number of persons having characteristics similar to those of the target group of respondents. Representative sample does not normally play a role here because the researcher does not plan to generalise the findings; nevertheless, varied factors are taken into consideration (De Vos 1998:178).

this interview were related to the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv people and the answers generated from the research indicate that the Tiv are knowledgeable about their origin and identity.

The focus group discussions, which were also held at different dates and places, followed. One focus group discussion was held among each of the clans, namely the Ityuluv and Turan, guided by formulated questions. Eight male and female respondents were selected for each group discussion. Selected texts from Exodus 14, 19, and 20 were read and interpreted by the respondents based on their own understanding and context, and they were guided by formulated questions. The respondents read the passages out loud one after the other, assisted by the researcher where necessary. After the reading, the researcher reminded the respondents of their narratives of origin and migration before asking them the guided questions to hear respondents' interpretation of the passages. Answers generated from the interview were recorded on tape and written notes were taken for subsequent transcription.

The pilot research was important as it enabled the researcher to assess the Tiv's understanding of their origin and migration narratives as well as their understanding of the Exodus tradition. From the pilot study, it seems that the Tiv's identity and context have influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Bible and particularly of the Exodus. The pilot study also pointed out the enthusiasm of respondents to contribute openly and without hesitation through verbal means in both sessions of the interview. The environment was made conducive for respondents and they seemed satisfied with the nature of questions asked and the manner in which the researcher conducted himself and the research.

Lastly, one could gather from the pilot research that respondents had more information to share but had no time at their disposal at that stage of the interviews. However, with the preliminary information obtained during the pilot project, the study proceeded to the main research which dealt with more probing questions than the previous ones.

#### **1.5.1.4 Main Project**

Informed by the Tiv's knowledge of their origin, migration and identity gathered in the pilot research mentioned in 1.5.1.3 above, the researcher set out to conduct the main research in the Masev–Gwer West Local Government and the Ipav-Gboko Local Government Areas of Benue State. The research was conducted on different dates and locations, and was guided by formulated questions. The aim of the main study was to probe deeper into the Tiv's knowledge of their origin and migration as well as their festivals and ritual activities, and the ways these influence their knowledge of the Bible particularly of the book of Exodus.

One personal interview comprising of 10 participants (five men and five women) and one focus group interview comprising of eight participants (five men and four women) were conducted for each of the four selected clans. The responses were recorded on paper since the respondents in those research areas were not comfortable with recording their voices on tapes. The entire research was conducted in the Tiv language and the written notes were later transcribed into English by the researcher.

It is interesting to know that although the Tiv are one people, their understanding of their identity and place of origin as well as their understanding of the Bible differs. Besides, it could be observed from the main study that the Tiv people are familiar with the Bible and with the Exodus when read in the context of their origin and migration narratives. They were able to find many parallels from their personal life circumstances and from their narratives of origin and migration with biblical narratives of the people of Israel in Exodus.

The full discussion of the subject matter and results of the empirical research are presented in Chapter Three of this study.

### ***1.6 Exegetical Approach***

In what follows in this section, we would seek an appropriate method of biblical interpretation that is orally based and that will enable readers from an oral culture to engage with the literary text and with Exodus 12: 1-28 in particular using their oral background or history full of stories of origin and migration, poverty, famine, and so forth.

### **1.6.1 Oral tradition in relation to tradition history**

This research argues that oral tradition is essential in understanding and interpreting the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria. The narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv people are oral in nature, that is, they have passed through the oral stage before the written documentation. An effective biblical interpretation among the Tiv should consider their oral context that is oral, historical, cultural, and full of their life experiences. That means that the history and experiences of the Tiv people constitute an oral text that is read among the people and passed on to subsequent generations orally. For instance, when the Tiv lament over famine, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, land and religious crises, etc., through storytelling, songs, and cultural dances, they are in a sense reading aloud and interpreting their oral text in the hearing of others within their community.

The oral text of the Tiv, which is full of stories of different life circumstances, should find a place in any biblical interpretation before it would be meaningful to the Tiv. In other words, the Tiv can only find a biblical interpretation appropriate when they are able to find parallels from the given text in their real life experiences, that is, in their first text. This can be achieved by means of analogy. This however does not mean that interpreters and readers of the Bible should force parallels to happen in the name of finding a suitable meaning. Rather, this study seeks a method of biblical interpretation that is suitable for Bible readers who are from an oral context. Such a method has to create space for the Bible readers to interact with the text and dialogue with it by means of analogy. In this way, new interpretations could be generated between the written text of the Bible and the readers' oral context. However, the question is where does one start the search for such an oral based methodology that is appropriate for the appropriation of the Exodus among the Tiv?

In his discussion on tradition history, Gnuse (1999:583) stresses that the approach seeks to reconstruct hypothetically the evolution of a biblical text, set of texts, or themes and the way(s) in which such a text and themes might have communicated different messages to the ancient audience over the years. In other words, tradition history studies the way a text relates to its greater literary context in the present biblical canon. It rediscovers how cycles of texts grew into even larger cycles in the process of oral and written transmission. Gnuse (1999:583-587) further

proposes five steps that an exegete of Exodus and the Pentateuch in general should follow while using the tradition historical method.<sup>7</sup>

In searching for a methodology based on orality that will engage the Tiv readers in their oral and historical context, the second step of Gnuse (1999:584) is considered useful in this study. Thus, the step will be explored to in order to appropriate it for reading the Exodus tradition among the Tiv. The remaining steps highlighted by Gnuse (1999:584) are cited in the footnote to clarify the methodological context within which the engagement with oral tradition takes place.

***The possible oral pre-history of the biblical text under study*** - Gnuse (1999:84) presupposes that the Pentateuch narratives had an oral pre-history, and that a careful scrutiny of our present literary text may reveal some of the stages of this developmental process, which include the original form, message, and social setting (Gnuse 1999:84). Although Gnuse has presupposed an oral pre-history of some of the biblical texts particularly the Pentateuchal books, he has not established any solid facts about the oral traditions and written texts behind Exodus in particular. Consequently, I do not consider this methodology appropriate to the written text of Exodus.

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<sup>7</sup> The five steps are as follow: 1. Ancient Near Eastern or Hellenistic parallels to the biblical passage - One has to consider comparable texts that probably influenced biblical authors in the oral or written formation of the biblical text. This refers to the use of well-established formulas and stereotypic language by biblical authors and exegete to communicate with their audience. Sometimes, they employed analogous language and literary genres to communicate similar ideas. Biblical authors also sometimes evoked imageries used by their foreign contemporaries in order to critique or reject ideas advanced by those contemporaries. Examples include prophetic oracles, which adapted the messenger formula of ancient Near Eastern diplomatic correspondence such as, “*Thus says the King,*” to become “*Thus says the Lord*” (Gnuse 1999:584).

2. The second step is adopted in this research for a close analysis of the main study and is discussed in the main text below.

3. Envisioning how the biblical text might have grown into its present literary context - the scholar seeks to observe how the original form now relates to passages around it and to discover which of those passages might have been woven together in a separate oral or written cycle at some point of transmission. Diverse texts are however associated with one another on the basis of common vocabulary, themes, and theological ideas.

4. A reflection on how the great cycle of narratives was connected to an even larger segment of literature - this has do with the editorial process, i.e. observing additions to the text that appear literary in origin and are possibly from scribal hands.

5. The use of the interpretation of the genre by later biblical traditions - this involves investigating how an individual text fits into the message of the entire biblical canon and into biblical theology as a whole with regard to the concept of tradition. This analysis would consider how the original texts under consideration might have been used and reinterpreted by later biblical traditions, e.g., by books in the Kethubim (Writings) generated during the post-exilic era or by New Testament writings (Gnuse 1999:585-586). The exegete in this case attempts to discern the ultimate religious message of the biblical text for people today. For example, the interpretation of Exodus in Africa is seen primarily as a text for liberation but now we appreciate it as a text for identity. This in a sense proves the open-ended nature of the Exodus tradition (Gnuse 1999:583).



Rather, I would settle for the socio-rhetorical approach of Robbins (1996a:1) to fill up the gap that is created between the tradition history approach of Gnuse (1999) and the written text of Exodus 12 in order to come up with a method that will do justice to the oral tradition of the Tiv.

### **1.6.2 Socio-rhetorical criticism**

Social rhetorical criticism is an approach to the interpretation of texts that focuses on values, convictions, and beliefs both in the texts we read and in the world in which we live (Robbins 1994, 1995, 1996a:1). In other words, the approach requires detailed attention to the text itself (literary perspective) followed by an interactive move into the world of the people who wrote the text (an author-centred or historical perspective), and an investigation of our present world (socio-cultural perspective). In this sense one can consider the socio-rhetorical approach as an interdisciplinary method of interpretation that pays close attention to the analysis of texts by linking manifold disciplines such as literary, rhetorical socio-scientific, cultural anthropology and theological approaches (Tate 2006:342; Park 2010). The term rhetorical is understood as referring to the text as a literary object that should be read while 'socio' refers to the text as a cultural historical object that should be open to the past, present and future (Robbins 1995:116).

As a social rhetorical research, this study will attempt to do justice to the inner texture of the Passover text of Exodus 12 with all its elements such as the repetitive, progressive, narrative, argumentative, and open-middle-close texture in Chapter Four. The study will also pay attention to the intertexture of texts which deals with entrance into the interactive world of a text (oral-scribal, cultural, social, and historical intertextures). These intertextures will be identified from the Passover text of Exodus 12 and analyzed in Chapter Four of this research. The idea is to see how the Passover in Exodus 12 is understood and interpreted by people of varying contexts, cultures and ideologies. Furthermore, as readers gain access into the text and interact with it in their context, they will understand it better and be able to generate their own meaning from the given text by means of analogy (Ackermann 2001:18).

- The *inner texture* of a text resides in features in the language of the text itself such as the repetition of words and use of dialogue between two persons to communicate. With written texts,

the inner texture in particular resides in the verbal texture, that is, the texture of the language itself (Robbins 1996a:7).

- ***Intertexture*** is a text's representation of, reference to, and use of phenomena in the "world" outside the text being interpreted. In other words, intertexture of a text is the interaction of language in the text with "outside" materials and physical "objects," historical events, customs, values, roles, institutions, and systems. The text in this case configures phenomena outside of its arena in a particular language environment (Robbins 1996b:40).

- ***Oral-scribal*** intertexture involves a text's recitation, re-contextualization, and reconfiguration of other oral or written texts outside of itself - whether an inscription, the work of a Greek poet, non-canonical apocalyptic material, or the Hebrew Bible (Robbins 1996a:97; 1996b:40; Watson 2002:187). Therefore, this study will combine Robbins' oral-scribal intertexture with "the possible oral pre-history of the biblical text" that forms part of Gnuse's (1999:584) five steps of tradition history. The aim of combining the two different but related outlooks is to ascertain the extent to which the oral aspect works with written texts in the Old Testament particularly in Exodus 12. The oral-scribal intertexture comprises of the following elements:

***i. Recitation*** deals with the transmission of a speech or narrative from either an oral or a written tradition, in the exact words in which the person has received the speech, in narrative or in different words (Robbins 1996a:40).

***ii. Recontextualization*** contrasts with recitation. It presents words from biblical texts without explicit statements or implications that the words "stand written" anywhere else. This may occur either in narration or in attributed speech (Robbins 1996a:48).

***iii. Reconfiguration*** has to do with recounting a situation in a manner that makes the later event 'new' in relation to a previous event. Since the new event is similar to a previous event, the new event replaces or 'outshines' the previous event, making the previous event a 'foreshadowing' of the more recent one (Robbins 1996a:50).

- ***Socio-cultural intertexture*** has to do with living with a text in the world and/or social and cultural nature of the text rather than examining the mere intertexture of the said text. It

seeks to investigate the kind of social and cultural person that is found in the world of a particular text (Robbins 1996a:71). Social knowledge is visible and/or readily accessible to all people through general interaction. Cultural knowledge on the other hand must be taught with the careful use of the knowledge and transmission of specific traditions (Robbins 1996a:62).

- ***Ideological and theological intertexture*** – the ideological texture of a text is an agreement by various people that they will dialogue and disagree with one another with a text as a guest in the conversation. Theological or sacred texture on the other hand deals with locating the way(s) the text speak about God or gods, or talks about realms of religious life (Robbins 1996a:95, 120).

Although Robbins (1996a:1) mentioned oral-scribal intertexture, as stated above, he did not do justice to the oral but to only the written source. Therefore, this study will probe the oral element in the written text of Exodus 12 based on literary elements such as repetitions and allusions that are found in the text. The elements will be compared to the oral/outside text of the Tiv readers, which comprises their fascinating stories of origin and migration as well as their vast experiences and life circumstances. This however will be determined based on Gnuse's presupposition of the possible oral pre-history of the written text of the Pentateuch.

A careful analysis of Exodus 12 may reveal some elements of oral tradition behind the text which might have undergone some additions and expansions in the written form (Gnuse 1999:583). This in a sense explains the connection and that exists between "the oral world of texts" (Robbins 1996a:1) and the oral pre-history of texts (Gnuse 1999:583). It is presupposed that biblical texts existed first in oral form and they were transmitted orally over the decades before their development into the written form. Determining the pre-history is necessary because it helps interpreters of biblical texts to understand the way such texts were interpreted over the years before their reception in the present time and context. On this point, it is clear that although Gnuse (1999:583) and Robbins (1996a:1) differ; they have established a common link, which is the oral nature of texts.

The Passover text of Exodus 12 will be scrutinized to determine whether elements of orality such as repetition occur in any of the verses. These could be used to explain such verses especially where literary elements do not explain them. Although repetition is also a feature of the literary genre, the content/context will help in this case to determine whether its usage in the text is indeed oral or written.

## **1.7 Definition of Terms**

Important terms used in this research are briefly but concisely defined in the paragraph below.

### **1.7.1 Exodus tradition**

Dozeman (2009:51) refers to the Exodus tradition as the events in the book of Exodus that have been a source of ongoing interpretation from the time of the ancient Israelites to the present. It is the belief and confession of the faith community of Israel that Yahweh has acted in history to save them from their enemies (Kitchen 1992:700). This saving act of Yahweh on behalf of Israel has become a paradigm for all acts of salvation and it lies at the heart of the faith of the Old Testament in general (McConville 1997:601). The religion of Israel is understood based on this belief of Yahweh's salvific act in history. The salvific act of Yahweh on behalf of Israel is passed from one generation to the other; hence, it is referred to as a tradition (McConville 1997:601; Keesmaat 1999:16-17).

### **1.7.2 Narratives of origin and migration**

Migration refers to movement from place to place as distinct from emigration, which means permanent departure from a country, or immigration, which means entry into a foreign country on a permanent basis. Migration includes both but also may describe internal movements within a country and temporary movements in search of work. Migration is an act of people moving from one place of abode to another especially from a different country to another. In biblical terms, the Exodus narrative of origin and migration could mean the exit of the clans of Israel from Egypt to resettle in Canaan from where their ancestors had earlier come. This movement was an escape from foreign oppression but it led to the formation of an incipient nation. The narrative reaches its high point with the giving of the law and covenant, instituting of worship at

a portable shrine (the tabernacle), and the discipline for disobeying the Deity, which took place in the wilderness before reaching Canaan (Kitchen 1992:700; Fretheim 2003:249-250).

### **1.7.3 Passover**

The term Passover refers to either the feast or sacrifice of Passover. In other words, the term Passover is used for the festival celebration (Ex. 12:48; 2 Kgs. 23:21) and for the Passover sacrifice (Ex. 12:11, 21, 27; Deut. 16:2; 2 Chron. 30:15, 18). It also refers to the spring festival in the Jewish liturgical calendar that commemorates God's deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage (Bosman 1997a:642-644).

The Old Testament combines the Passover (a sacrifice slaughtered on the fourteenth day of the first month) with the Feast of the Unleavened Bread (a festival that started on the fifteenth day of the first month and lasted seven days) with its cultic commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt (Deut. 16:1-8; see Bosman 1997a:642-644). However, the Passover and the Unleavened Bread existed as two separate festivals - one pastoral and nomadic (Passover) and the other agricultural (Unleavened Bread). The two consecutive festivals were only combined and treated as one holiday during the reign of Josiah (Bosman 1997a:642-644; Vanderkam 2009:388). It is interesting to note that only the Unleavened Bread festival was kept as a national Israelite feast before Josiah (Ex. 23:14-17; 2 Kgs. 23:21-23) and that in the list of pilgrimage festivals (Ex. 23:14-17; 34:18, 22-24), only the Feast of the Unleavened Bread is mentioned (Bosman 1997:643; Vanderkam 2009:389). This implies that although the Feast of the Unleavened Bread has been incorporated into the Passover festival, commemorating God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt maintained its older character.

Although they existed as separate feasts, the Passover and the Feast of the Unleavened Bread shared a common characteristic of identity and of history, and of collective memory. This in a sense is linked to the narratives of the origin and migration of the biblical Israelites who celebrated the abovementioned feasts to commemorate their identity as a chosen people of God who were delivered out of slavery in Egypt by God.

#### **1.7.4 Tiv**

The name Tiv is applied to the people of north central Nigeria who consider it as the name of the original ancestors from whom they all trace their agnatic (lineage genealogy from the father's line) descent (Bohannon & Bohannon 1953:9). The Tiv are an ethno-linguistic group or ethnic nation in West Africa. They constitute approximately 2.5% of Nigeria's total population, and number over 5.6 million people throughout Nigeria and Cameroon. The Tiv's traditional language is spoken by over 6 million people in Nigeria, with a few speakers in Cameroon. Most speakers of the language are found in Benue State of Nigeria. The language is also widely spoken in Plateau, Taraba, Nasarawa States as well as the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja in Nigeria. It is part of the Southern Bantoid Tiv family, a branch of Benue-Congo and ultimately of the Niger-Congo language phylum. The Tiv are also known as the Mitshi, Munchi, or Munshi and they depend on agricultural produce for commerce and life.

### **1.8 Chapter Outline**

This dissertation will follow the chapter outline below.

#### **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

Chapter 1 is the introduction to the study and it states the research problem, motivation for the study, hypotheses, methodology, aims and objectives of the study, definition of terms, and limitations of the study. The research however is not interested in cosmology but rather in the origin of a particular group of people called Tiv. The aim of the research is to discover not how the Tiv understand creation but how their identity could help them to read, understand, and interpret the Exodus in their own context.

#### **Chapter 2 - Literature study and empirical research on the narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv**

Chapter 2 deals with both literature and empirical researches on narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv. The chapter begins with the introduction followed by a survey of Tiv researchers and research trends on the Tiv. In addition, the empirical research is conducted in two phases namely the pilot project and the main project with both structured and focus group studies. The pilot project serves as a foundation on which the main project is built. The analysis

and synthesis of both the pilot and main projects are followed by a summary of the empirical research and conclusion.

### **Chapter 3 - Research survey of the Exodus tradition**

A survey of the Exodus tradition is the focus of this chapter. The chapter reviews the background of the book of Exodus and studies on the Passover in Exodus as tradition, on the oral Exodus tradition, on the written Exodus tradition, as well as on Exodus 12 and ends with the conclusion of the chapter.

### **Chapter 4 – Intratexture of Exodus 12**

Chapter 4 begins with an introduction followed by the demarcation of Exodus 12 and the review of scholarly research. As the heading implies, the chapter examines the textual criticism of Exodus 12:1-28 among other things such as the translation of Exodus 12:1-28, intratextual analysis of Exodus 12:1-28, opening, middle and closing textures and pattern, narration texture and pattern in Exodus 12, argumentative texture and pattern, sensory-aesthetic texture and pattern, and it ends with the conclusion.

### **Chapter 5 – Intertexture of Exodus 12 and parallel texts in the Old Testament**

In Chapter 5, the intertextual connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and other parallel Passover texts of the Old Testament are considered. Specifically, the intertextual connection between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 23:14-19 (Covenant Code); Exodus 34:18-26 (Covenant Renewal); Leviticus 23:5-8 (Holiness Code); Numbers 9:1-14; Numbers 28:16-28; Deuteronomy 16:1-8; Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 and Ezekiel 45:21-24 are investigated, followed by the summary and conclusion of the chapter.

### **Chapter 6- The social, cultural and ideological/theological intertexture of parallel Passover texts in the Old Testament**

The chapter explores the socio-cultural and ideological/theological intertexture of parallel Passover texts in the Old Testament identified as Exodus 23:14-19 (Covenant Code); Exodus 34:

18-26 (Covenant Renewal); Leviticus 23:5-8 (Holiness Code); Numbers 9:1-14; Numbers 28:16-28; Deuteronomy 16:1-8; Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 and Ezekiel 45:21-24, followed by the summary and conclusion of the chapter.

### **Chapter 7- Summary and conclusion**

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter of the study. It opens with an introduction followed by a summary of all the chapters in the study. The chapter also contains the main contributions to research and suggestions for further research.

The study ends with the bibliographical entries and appendices which contain additional information on the survey of Tiv researchers (A1), interview questions/schedule for the pilot project (A2) and structured and focus group interviews with members of four selected clans of the Tiv (Itylvu-ya, Turan, Masev and Ipav).



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE TIV - LITERATURE AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON NARRATIVES OF ORIGIN AND MIGRATION**

#### ***2.1 Introduction***

In this chapter, both literature and empirical researches on narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv will be explored. The literature study will entail a survey of trends in research and literature on the Tiv much of which was written by the white missionaries who came to Tivland in 1911. The chapter also deals with works on the Tiv written in both English and Tiv language by some educated Tiv and Tiv researchers in the last century. The empirical research, on the other hand, is conducted in two phases namely the pilot and the main project. The pilot project serves as a foundation on which the main study is built. The aim of the research is to unpack the history of origin and migration of the Tiv in order to use it as the background for generating new interpretation that is informed by the Tiv context that is from a Tiv Christian perspective.

The study will be based on a qualitative and not quantitative research. Moreover, it does not aim at analysing the variables in terms of ratio rating and/or counting but describing the different ways the Tiv people understand their narratives of origin and migration and how such knowledge influence their understanding and interpretation of the Passover in Exodus 12. However biographical data rather than numerical data analysis is provided to explain the category of persons that partake in the research interviews. Additional information on the Tiv culture will also be provided in the addendum along with the transcription of the empirical research for reference purposes.

In an attempt to identify the components or aspects of dialogue with the Bible particularly in Africa, Ukpong (2000:17-18) has proposed five comparative approaches to biblical interpretation.<sup>8</sup> Of these five approaches, the third approach is deemed applicable to this chapter

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<sup>8</sup> The first approach seeks to evaluate elements of African cultures, religions, beliefs, concepts or practices in the light of the biblical witness to arrive at a Christian understanding and bring out their values for Christian witness.

and study. Reviewing the literature on the Tiv and conducting empirical research on narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv will ascertain the degree to which the Tiv people understand their narratives of origin and migration. This understanding will help one to interpret by way of analogy the Passover ritual in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv. The cultural, social, religious, historical, ideological, and life experiences of the Tiv will serve as the background for a dialogue with the Passover text that will enable one to generate new meanings based on the culture and context of the Tiv people. In this sense the paradigms that are found in the Passover text of Exodus 12 will find their parallels in the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv which in turn will foster a quick and easy understanding of the biblical Passover among the Tiv of Nigeria (West 2008:48).

## **2.2 Survey of Tiv Researchers<sup>9</sup>**

Few literate Africans who enjoy reading restrict themselves to books written by Europeans and in European languages thus ignoring those that are written by Africans in European languages. This clearly shows that in a sense the education brought by the whites has helped the blacks to read and write for practical everyday purposes. It has not instilled in them the love of letters as a means of filling leisure hours or of enriching the mind, or the desire to express their thoughts and feelings in written form (Akiga 1939: v). The main reason for this lack of literary interest and publication among educated Africans is unknown. Nevertheless, Akiga (1939: v) attributes it to

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This approach uses historical criticism to analyze biblical texts (Ukpong 2000:17; West 2008:47). The second approach is concerned with what a biblical text or theme has to say in the critique of a particular issue in the society or in the life of the church, or the lesson that may be drawn from a biblical text or theme for a particular context. The third approach, which is of interest to this study, deals with the interpretation of biblical texts against the background of African cultures, religions and life experiences. The aim of this approach is to arrive at a new understanding of the biblical text that would be informed by the African situation and would be African Christian. This approach recognizes that any interpretation of a biblical text or theme is done from the socio-cultural perspective of the interpreter. Approaching a theme or text from an African perspective is therefore expected to offer some fresh insight into its meaning even though the tools remain western (Ukpong 2000:17-18; West 2008:48). The fourth approach has to do with erecting “bridgeheads” for communicating the biblical message that is making use of concepts from either the Bible or African culture that are identifiable in such a way that they enhance the continuity between African cultures and Christianity for the purpose of communicating the biblical message (Ukpong 2000:18; West 2008:48). Lastly, the fifth approach has to do with the study of the biblical text to discover biblical models or foundations for aspects of contemporary church life and practices in Africa. This also uses the tools of historical critical research in analysing the biblical text (Ukpong 2000:18; West 2008:48).

<sup>9</sup> Under the survey of the Tiv researchers, a brief biography of some of the authors will be given. This is done to help the Tiv readers and interpreters of the Bible and of the Exodus in particular and not necessarily for the consumption of biblical scholars, theologians, interpreters and/or exegetes of the Bible who presumably are already acquainted with the background of such scholars and the trend in scholarship.

the low level of education, which hinders Africans who were educated early from developing keen interest in writing in order to mentor younger literate generations. However, it is possible to attribute the problem to the oral background and/or culture of Africans and the Tiv in particular which influenced the first set of educated Africans to communicate their knowledge and preserve it orally rather than in written form (Akiga 1939: v).

The situation among the Tiv of central Nigeria is not an exception in terms of this inadequate literary production of history in areas of social, cultural, political, and religion. Oral literature gained an upper hand over and against written literature. The white missionaries who walked and worked among the Tiv gained first-hand information on the Tiv orally in early 1911 and documented it, but mostly in their language. According to Ker (2002:17), quite a good number of books on various aspects of the Tiv people and society were based on the studies of western anthropologists who came as either colonial administrators or missionaries. There were also a few Tiv writers and researchers who have published works on Tiv traditions in either or Tiv language. Notable among such authors as relates to this study was Akiga, who was the first Tiv to come directly under European influence in 1911. He grew up as a staunch adherent of the mission work among the Tiv and eventually wrote a wonderful book about the Tiv (Akiga 1939: v). However, Akiga had only very little western education compared to other literate Nigerians. Some of the publications on the Tiv origin and migration narrative will be discussed below.

### **2.2.1. R C Abraham (1933) - The Tiv People<sup>10</sup>**

Abraham's (1933) study is the result of a year's research into the religion and organisation of the Tiv people (1933:41). The work was carried out through the medium of the Tiv language and not by means of anthropological studies conducted with the aid of interpreters. It cannot be said that he really synthesized his material to give an overall portrait of Tiv society and culture. Both Abraham and Rupert East, Akiga's editor and translator seemed to have assumed that the Tiv had

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<sup>10</sup> The author was a remarkable linguist and social anthropologist who acquired a great deal of ethnographic information of value. Other books written by Abraham on the Tiv people include *The Grammar of Tiv* (1933) [Abraham 1933/40-cover notes]; *A Tiv Reader for European Students* (1940); and *A Dictionary of the Tiv Language* (1940).

at some time in the past an ancestral cult (Abraham 1940:41; see Akiga 1939: v). Abraham claims that the people hold certain beliefs about the survival of some parts of the human entity in death (Abraham 1940:41-42). There is a common view that the members of the community of the dead are embodied in the forms of spirits who haunt the living on the banks of streams. These of course refer to sprites whom the English-speaking Tiv refer to as fairies. It appears however that the Tiv do not believe in ancestral worship though they believe in life after death.

On the issue of the origin of the Tiv, Abraham (1933) claims that the Tiv are the most homogenous Bantu people who have retained more original characteristics of the Bantu than any other Bantu group elsewhere. The author says the resemblances between the Tiv and their Bantu relatives on the other side of the African continent are most striking both ethnologically and linguistically. He established through linguistic analysis like other Tiv writers that the Tiv are originally a Bantu-speaking group, which penetrated as far west as to become cut off from the main body, and to become isolated among the Sudan peoples. Tracing the origin of the Tiv linguistically would support Abraham's claim that they are of Bantu origin, otherwise their origin is traced from Takurukuku Anyamazenga an African from Congo-Zaire.

### **2.2.2. R M Downes (1933) - The Tiv Tribe<sup>11</sup>**

Downes (1933) like Bohannan and Bohannan (1953), Abraham (1933), Gbor (1981), and a number of other authors on the Tiv agree that the Tiv are probably a section or clan of some Bantu group, which at some remote period became detached from the other elements and migrated to settle in the Benue province of Nigeria. The author also shares similar views with other authors on Tiv history and culture on the issue of the ancestral lineage of the Tiv, which is traced from Takurukuku their father. On the issue of the migration of the Tiv Downes claims that they migrated from the south where they stayed with their neighbours the Ekoi a Bantu group living in the south of the Cross River in Nigeria (Downes 1933; 1971: vii).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Major Rupert Downes was a social anthropologist and one of the district officers in the service of the then Nigerian administration who worked among the Tiv in 1929 having studied their language for two years (Downes 1933).

<sup>12</sup> The Tiv live south of the Benue River in the gently rolling countryside. They are attractive, stouthearted (brave, determined, and strong), and hardworking people, and in earlier days, were brave warriors. They had resisted the invasions of the Muslim Hausa-Fulani who pressed down from the north, and were little affected by the Ibo and

However, Downes (1933: 23) claims that the actual history of the origin and migration of the Tiv appears to be erased completely from living memory prior to their migration to and settlement in the Benue province of Nigeria. Since no written record was kept, only few allusions in folklore, myths, and songs convey and act as clues to the Tiv history and myths. Thus, most of what we have now is an oral duplication of the Tiv history that has been transmitted from generation to generation and that has undergone some kind of addition to or omission of its original component (Downes 1933:23).

Ker (2002:5) contributing to the subject matter, suggests that the oral literature of the Tiv should be revived to bring back to memory that part of the history of Tiv that has been erased. In our view, this in a sense could be achieved by tapping into the collective memory of knowledgeable members of the Tiv community.

### **2.2.3 P Bohannan and L Bohannan 1953 - The Tiv of Central Nigeria<sup>13</sup>**

The authors writing from an anthropological and not a judicial point of view state that legal concepts and practices familiar to members of western societies have no equivalent in the thought and action of the Tiv. In addition, the Tiv have nothing, which may be described as a corpus of law. The aim of the *Ijir* (criminal or civil case) according the authors is to arrive at the right action in a specific situation and not to apply the law (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953).

On the issue of Tiv origin, the Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:12-15) shared similar views with Downes (1933), Akiga (1939:21-23) and other scholars that the actual origin or point of migration in terms of geographical location is difficult to establish since different authors and

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other Nigerian tribes in the South. They were one of the last tribes in Nigeria to be brought under the rule of law imposed by the colonial government. It was only in the late 1920s and early 1930s that the government began to be aware of them (Downes 1971: vii).

<sup>13</sup> Laura and Paul Bohannan were both anthropologists who wrote extensively on the Tiv of Central Nigeria. Their first publication deals with the ethnography of the Tiv people and it was based on the intensive fieldwork that was conducted among the people between 1949 and 1952 coupled with their study of literature on the Tiv. The primary topics discussed by the Bohannans include social control through courts and debates. In 1957, the Bohannans published *Justice and Judgement among the Tiv* a book that described and defined the Tiv ideas of law as expressed in the operation of the courts known as the *Ijir*. In 1954 the Bohannans wrote *Tiv Farm and Settlement* and in 1964 they wrote a fictitious novel titled *Return to Laughter* which is described as an entertaining work on the cultural life of the Tiv people (Ker 2002:17-19). They also wrote and published *Tiv Economy* in 1968 and altogether they have written twenty-seven books and articles on various aspects of Tiv history and culture.

interpreters hold varying views on the location. For example while some claim that the Tiv came from the South East to Ibinda hills, some people suggest the people migrated from Swem hill and some others claim that they actually moved from the Ngokugh hills (all in the Cameroon area) to settle in their present location in the Benue province of Nigeria. As regards Swem, the Bohannans claim that it holds a unique position in the legend and religion of the Tiv people. However, the differing views surrounding the place of origin of the Tiv people could be explained in terms of collective memory and identity.

The Tiv narratives are oral in nature and based on what has been passed down from one generation to the next as authentic information. Moreover, although the Tiv people constitute one tribe, they differ in terms of lineage grouping. The two lineages are the Ichongo (circumcised) and the Ipusu (uncircumcised). The narratives tell of their identity and in turn influence their knowledge of who they are and where they came from. Each lineage group explains the origin and migration of the Tiv with reference to the mountain that is found in its territory. Only a few elderly people who witnessed the migration or obtained firsthand information from their parents provide accurate information without prejudice or any form of bias.

As regards the primary cause of the people's migration from one point to the other, Bohannan and Bohannan (1953) claim that this was difficult to understand before the nineteenth century because when the people were asked of the reason for their migration the only answer from them was "*ka inja yase*" (i.e. it is our nature or habit). From the nineteenth century onwards however the Tiv adduce their migration to various economic, social and cultural factors such as the search for fertile land and escape from epidemics of measles, smallpox, chicken pox and scabies, and from enemies (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953). A Tiv adage says: "*ka we a tema a doo u ga u ngee a iche*" (i.e. when you are not comfortable in your home you keep on counting old homes). In other words, one has to keep moving from one place to another until one finds a suitable place of rest.

#### 2.2.4. E Rubingh 1969 - Children of Tiv<sup>14</sup>

Rubingh (1969) details the birth and development of the Christian church among the Tiv. The study focuses on how the gospel first reached the Tiv, how early missionaries persevered despite decades of discouragement, and the amazing growth witnessed in the last decade. Rubingh (1969:63), like other authors on Tiv history and culture, traced the people's origin to Takurukuku who is regarded as the father of the Tiv people. He observes that the tradition of the origin of the Tiv is shrouded in antiquity, and various versions existed even among the Tiv elders. Rubingh assumes that the people sojourned northwards even though the point of departure is not known. Nevertheless, legend holds that the migration took place in the nineteenth century and it revolved around the Ibinda hills (Rubingh (1969:63).

#### 2.2.5 AC Edwards 1983/84

According to Edwards (1984:77), no completely satisfying synthesis of Tiv religious beliefs or social structure has been achieved despite numerous works on Tiv by professional anthropologists and other scholars. This is because the unity of the Tiv values does not lie in political institutions or in formal rituals, but rather in their beliefs in power - whether natural, supernatural, or social. For the Tiv the mysterious power of the *tsav* (witch) is both the mystical correlative of the authority of the elders and an anti-social form of occult malice. However, the *tsav* is kept from getting out of hand by the Swem pot on which oaths are taken. The Swem pot is linked to what is called *the outer circle* of Tiv beliefs; those connected with the unseen spirits (*Adzov*) the destiny changers, and the mysterious mountain of Swem. Edwards explains that although *the outer circle* of beliefs shows little of ritual expression its existence shows the more optimistic side of Tiv religion (Edwards 1984:77-78).

The article further stresses that good as well as bad fortune - exceptional gifts of personality - is recognized as along with envy and malice. Furthermore it is suggested that Tiv religion cannot be seen either as a reflection of the Tiv social structure or as a mystification which prevents

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<sup>14</sup> The author served as a Reformed missionary among the Tiv from 1958 to 1968. He was a social anthropologist and guest lecturer in missions at Calvin Seminary in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He attended Calvin College, Calvin Seminary, Free University of Amsterdam, University of Basel in Switzerland, and the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford (see cover notes of Rubingh 1969).

people from understanding the society in which they live. This observation is correct as the Tiv religion was used to resolve tension in the society and to maintain discipline and order among the people. Justice, truth, love, unity, and peace were more or less maintained through Tiv religion (Edwards 1984:77-78).

In 1984, Edwards also wrote another article titled *On the Non-existence of an Ancestor Cult among the Tiv*, which discusses several aspects of Tiv cosmology and rituals. The article criticizes the information on Tiv ethnography gathered by British administrative officers in the country between 1907 and 1930 during the period of the *Namakaa* or *Haakaa*.<sup>15</sup> He claims that they were hazily aware of the Tiv's major *akombo*, which they interpreted as deities with specific roles rather than as material signs of the mystical power of the living (Edwards 1984:77). The author then describes both the *Haakaa* and *Namakaa* upheaval as essentially a witch-hunt in which those suspected of witchcraft were obliged to yield up the trappings of their mystical ill doing. It was a continuation of earlier movements against the *tsav* (witch).

The above criticism seems justified because most of the reports that were gathered by the British officials were based on oral information obtained from Tiv interpreters and servants of the British government officials. Sadly, most of the interpreters were not knowledgeable about Tiv traditions and they passed on the little information they had to their masters. On the other hand, those who had knowledge of Tiv traditions were not able to communicate the right information on Tiv values and religious beliefs because they had no formal education and could not speak English to their masters but Tiv language. Moreover, since the British officials also could not understand Tiv properly they had to make do with their limited understanding. As such, falsification of information is observable in most of the reports on the Tiv people.

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<sup>15</sup> *Haakaa* means “throwing things away” and *Namakaa* means “giving one things.” There is a vivid account of this in Akiga's story (1933:275) and Bohannan (1958:1-12).



### **2.2.6. J S Yakobu (s.a.) - *Mbaheberu man Tiv*<sup>16</sup>**

Yakobu's work is an interesting comparative account of the Hebrews of the Old Testament and the Tiv of central Nigeria. The book attempts to provide for the reader of the Old Testament particularly one who is conversant with Tiv traditions certain similarities between the Hebrews and the Tiv. For an easy understanding the author first discusses Hebrew traditions using biblical references and then the Tiv tradition based on the original traditions of the people before the advent of Christianity and westernisation (Yakobu s.a.: 5-7).

Yakobu also traces the origin of the Tivto Takurukuku and their migration from Congo-Zaire via Swem in the Cameroon area. Their neighbours were the Ekoi of the South (Yakobu s.a. 5-7). On the whole, the book discusses the Tiv customs, skills, beliefs, traditions, religion, origin, economy, and lineage system alongside those of the Hebrews in order to establish similarities between the two.

### **2.2.7 A Ker 2002 - *Tiv Poetry and Politics*<sup>17</sup>**

Ker's study attempts to correct the unevenness in the oral literary and socio-political research on the Tiv. The study uses the career of Tarker Golozo one of the most outstanding Tiv oral composers as a case study. Golozo's songs which cover the Nigerian Civil War, the various national census exercises, and the different regimes in the country as well as their programs are among many other issues critically analyzed and discussed in this book (Ker 2002:13). The author also notes in brief the origin and migration of the Tiv people confirming the uncertainty of the exact place and time of the migration. Like other authors before him, Ker holds that the Tiv originated from Takurukuku the father of Tiv and that they migrated from Congo via Swem to their present location in Nigeria (Ker 2002:18).

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<sup>16</sup> Rev Dr J S Yakobu is a Reformed theologian and pastor who once headed the then Reformed Theological College of Nigeria (now Reformed Theological Seminary) at Mkar for fifteen years. He also served on the Tiv Bible revision team as chair/director before retiring in 2006 from active service. The year of this book's publication is unknown.

<sup>17</sup> A Ker holds a 1998 PhD in English (oral literature). He lectures in various tertiary institutions in Nigeria and is presently a special assistant (research and policy) to the Honourable Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, National Assembly Abuja (see cover notes on Ker 2002).

### 2.2.8 B D Iyortyom 2002 - *Israel and Tiv*

In his "*Israel and Tiv*" Iyortyom (2002:4) finds parallel between the Tiv people and the biblical Israelites. He also traces the origin of the Tiv to Takurukuku their father and their migration from Congo through Swem to their permanent home in the Benue valley in Nigeria. The author attributes the migration of the Tiv to the search for a fertile land for farming. In the past, the Tiv engaged in several religious practices such as the "*akombo*" (ritual ailment or ritual healing) which controlled their way of life. The violation of any of these "*akombo*" required a sacrifice to put things right (Iyortyom 2002:13).

The author notes that the Tiv also had family cults that were ritualised at the family level in a way that was similar to the Passover of the Israelites in Egypt. In times of misfortune, individuals could to appeal to these cults which include *twer*, *ichigh*, *ibyamemgh*, *igbe*, and *mku* to mention just a few (Iyortyom 1983:49; 2002:14). These cults were observed at the family and clan levels with burnt offerings and sacrificial rituals that involved slaughtering an animal and sprinkling its blood on people, stones, trees, rivers and forests. This was done to appeal to the sky god for deliverance from whatever odd circumstance surrounding the people encountered (Iyortyom 2002:11, 14).

Although Iyortyom does not mention any direct link between the Tiv festivals and the Passover one could notice some parallels between the two different traditions (Israelite and Tiv) in terms of festive practices. For instance the Tiv yam festival was a family feast just as the Passover in Egypt was. In the same way, the Tiv cult, "*akombo*," was a family cult just as the family Passover in Egypt (Iyortyom 2002:11-14). One could also suggest that the present Tiv Day celebration, Tiv Kwaghhir (puppet art) and Tiv New Yam festival find a parallel in the Passover celebration since they carry forward, in a more formal way, elements of identity, which is one of the main themes of the biblical Passover. Moreover the biblical Passover was celebrated to honour Yahweh the salvific God just as the festivals celebrated by the Tiv were done in honour of the supreme God in the sky (Iyortyom 2002:13).

## 2.2.9 Conclusion of section

The above review of various researches on the Tiv shows that there is no consensus on issues of the origin and migration of the Tiv people. However, Abraham (1933), Yakobu (s.a), Rubingh (1969) and Iyortyom (2002) agree that the Tiv are Bantu emigrants who journeyed from Congo through the Swem Mountain in Cameroon to the Benue valley. Some other Tiv researchers simply submit that the origin of the Tiv is difficult to trace since it was not documented in writing at its earlier stage but was kept in oral form (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953; Ker 2002). The review also shows that the Tiv had no centralized cult worship nor did they believe in ancestral worship. Rather the Tiv engaged in rituals that were meant for both healing and protection (Edwards 1983:3-4).

The present study will follow the understanding of the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv, which have been preserved orally. It will be based on the assumption that the Tiv migrated from Congo via Swem to the Benue valley in Nigeria and that they are descendants of Takurukuku. Since the issue of a Bantu descent is a recent argument often used by linguists this study may not focus on that but would rather trace genealogical origin of the Tiv to Takurukuku Anayamadzenga and their geographical origin to Congo.

However some of the views of the abovementioned researchers particularly on the issue that the Tiv were inarticulate (e.g. Downes 1932:26) may not be considered accurate. Actually, the Tiv are articulate people but they are shy and slow to act and speak when they meet a stranger. For this reason, Downes portrayed them as inarticulate during the missionaries' visit to Tivland in 1908. The missionaries spoke English but the Tiv knew only their indigenous language; thus, there was a misunderstanding or language barrier.

On the whole, it is interesting to see how the Tiv researchers shown above have unveiled the Tiv worldview, culture, religion, ideology and social life in plain terms. One should bear in mind however that most of the issues raised about the Tiv in the studies highlighted above belong to history and are no longer a reality among the people. Some of the narratives on the Tiv have undergone series of modifications with various additions and omissions. Thus what one knew about the Tiv culture and ideology in the past is not the same today. Nevertheless, it is clear that

the abovementioned studies have unpacked the identity of the Tiv as expressed through the performances of rituals and festivals that differentiate them from the neighbouring peoples.

This study will build on the above survey of works on the Tiv by focusing on the issue of oral tradition, which happens to be the main source of preserving and transmitting the Tiv narratives of origin and migration. Little attention is paid to the question of oral tradition in previous studies. Therefore, the present concern will be to develop a method of biblical interpretation that could aid the Tiv readers of the Bible to engage with the text by means of oral dialogue and come up with interpretations that are based on their own context using allusions and analogy (Downes 1933; Ker 2002:5). The expectation is that existing literature on Tiv traditions would provide the background for a discussion of the historical traditions of the Tiv.

### **2.3. Research Trends on the Tiv**

In this section, the different developments of the research on the Tiv people will be explored. However, the survey will not detail every aspect of the Tiv life but only issues that relate to the origin and migration narratives of the people. Other elements of the Tiv life that are not closely related to their origin and migration will be discussed in the addenda.

#### **2.3.1 The name Tiv**

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:9), Tiv is a name the people gave to themselves. They consider it as the name of their ancestor from whom they all trace their patrilineage<sup>18</sup>. The name has no geographical origin thus its etymology is difficult to explain. Nevertheless, the history of the origin of the Tiv could be considered from a lineal perspective. They claim their origin from the legendary Takurukuku who was said to have given the blessings that was meant for Tiv his eldest and favourite son to Uke (non-Tiv) who deceived him in his old age and took the blessings as Jacob did in the biblical Esau and Jacob narrative. Instead of blessings Takurukuku therefore gave Tiv a hoe and poured some soil on his feet to symbolize that Tiv would toil on the farm to get food and money. When the Tiv migrated and recollected this story,

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<sup>18</sup> A patrilineal lineage traces descent through males as in the agnatic so that a man inherits from his own father. This differs from the matrilineal system in which descent is traced through females and a man inherits from his mother's brother(s) and not from his own father (Bohannan 1953:9; Edwards 1984:77).

they were encouraged to fight all the people who refused them entry into the land, as they believed that the whole land was given to them by their father (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:9-10).

The name Tiv was adopted formally in the 1920s and all other nicknames given to them by their non-Tiv neighbours were discarded (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:9). The name was based on their collective memory but the people also attached much importance to names in the family. Tiv children are named based on either past events or present experiences within the family. Names such as Tyowua (kinsmen have killed), Kwaghtser (much problems), Tyavkase (battle has surrounded), Terhide (father has returned), all refer to happenings in the family. The naming system among the Tiv is based more on remembered memory of the past and present and even of a futuristic hope.

### **2.3.2 Narratives of the origin of Tiv**

According to Gbor (1978:1) and Yakobu (s.a.: 4) the origin of the Tiv can be traced in two forms. On the one hand, it can be traced from the family lineage in terms of ancestry and on the other hand, it can be traced geographically that is to the place or location of the ancestors before migrating to the present Benue region. Whether in terms of blood ancestry or geographical origin, different versions of the narratives are held by both writers on Tiv and Tiv respondents themselves. According to Gbor (1978:3), Tiv was born to Takurukuku his father and Aliwe his mother both being Africans. Tiv grew up and married Ayaaya who gave birth in turn to four children namely Gbe, Ipusu (uncircumcised), Ichongo (circumcised), and a girl who was deformed called Anadedem. The children could not pronounce their mothers name in full thus they shortened it to *Aya* (mother) a term which is used by Tiv children up till today. However, in Tiv homes today, children are taught to call their grandmothers and any other elderly woman *Aya* (old mother) while their mothers are called '*Mama*' (mummy).

Legend held that when the children grew up Gbe the eldest decided to part ways with his family to settle elsewhere leaving Ipusu and Ichongo who remained together and shared things in common. The female child however disappeared from the scene just like Gbe. Among the traditional Tiv elders, whenever something was to be shared in homes or in the clan (and this was

based on age or seniority) a piece had to be thrown away before proper sharing commenced. This meant that they first had to give Gbe the eldest son of Tiv his share before giving to the junior children (Gbor 1978:3).

Another legend of lineal origin held that Takurukuku had only two children namely Tiv and Uke (non-Tiv). Tiv according to this version of the story was hardworking and more favoured by his father than Uke who was lazy and clung to his mother. Tiv became a farmer and a hunter so that he could produce food and meat for his father but Uke his brother never did. When Takurukuku became old, he asked Tiv to prepare food for him to eat so that he could bless him and die. Uke overheard this conversation and while Tiv left to hunt for game, he prepared food and took it to Takurukuku who unknowingly ate the food and blessed Uke in place of Tiv. Immediately he finished blessing Uke Tiv came back and quickly prepared food for his father only to discover that Uke had stolen his blessing. It is told that Takurukuku became angry but there was no way to reverse the blessings. Thus, he gave Tiv a hoe and poured sand on his legs as an indication of survival through continuous farm work. Based on this legend it is clear why the Tiv are less privileged than Uke but are good farmers up till today. The above legend parallels the biblical Esau and Jacob story in the book of Genesis (Gbor 1978:3).

Rubingh (1969:59) claims that the most popular view expounded by the Tiv on their lineal origin was that Takurukuku was the first man and he had three children namely Buter (whites), Uke the progenitor of all the other black peoples, and Tiv. However regardless of the various versions of the Tiv origin narratives that exist, Yakobu (s.a.4) notes that it is established beyond doubt that as a people, the Tiv are descendants of one man and children of Ipusu (the uncircumcised) and Ichongo (the circumcised).

On the question of the physical place of origin, Akiga (1939:5) and Gbor (1978:6) note that there are also various versions of this aspect of Tiv narratives. The reason for the non-uniformity in both written and oral traditions concerning the origin and migration of the Tiv is that no written documents were kept by the ancient people who might have witnessed and or participated in the events directly. The few books available on Tiv tradition were based on oral collections, which also present different versions by different people based on their collective memory. The elders

who were versed in Tiv history died with their knowledge and even those who had direct contact with the white missionaries could not give correct versions of their history partly because of the fear of prejudice and mostly because of the language barrier between them and the missionaries. Most of the data collections at that time were based on close observation of events, which often yielded poor results (Akiga 1939:5; Gbor 1978:6).

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:12), the Tiv arrived at their present location from the South East. They met the Fulani in the North West as they moved down and stayed with them for a while before they departed peacefully. The Tiv claimed that they once lived in a single but large community on top of a mountain located in the South East. However, the exact hill is not known. Some said it was the Swem Mountain while others opposed this claim and suggested the Cameroon hills. Akiga (1933:21) claimed that it was the *Ibenda* hill in Turanand some other oral versions held that it was the hills in Ikyurav-ya (BarAkume i.e.cave of cobras). Elders in the Southern area said it was Wokungun in Wukari-Takum. The Kunav clan suggest Ngokur in Shangev-ya. The people in the North West being Ihyarev, Masev, and Nongov said it was the Selagi hill in Shangev Tiev.

However, the majority of the Tiv scholars and many of the Tiv people agree that Congo-Zaire was the place of origin of the Tiv people (Gbor 1978:5; Yakobu s.a.: 5; Iyortyom 2002:7). The different versions of the origin narratives of the Tiv presented above indicate that the issue is polemical in nature. The present study will be based on the version that traced the origin of the Tiv from Congo (a Bantu nation) since they share similar features and experiences with other Bantu peoples in terms of language and the migration traditions.

### **2.3.3 Narratives of migration**

Like the origin narratives, the Tiv migration narratives also come in different versions as mentioned above (Gbor 1978:6-7). The various renderings of the migration event therefore make it difficult to maintain uniformity and become polemical. Nevertheless, the Tiv migration event remains important, as no ethnographic report on the Tiv would be complete without it (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54). This is also because many important aspects of the Tiv social structure, economy and culture are reflected in the migration experience. Bohannan and Bohannan

(1953:54) note that Tiv legends are extremely rich in terms of the migration accounts. Legends of movements, divisions, battles, and migration are closely associated with the Tiv genealogies, which form the blueprint of the Tiv social structure (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54).

Bohannan has rightly noted that the Tiv origin and migration episode is rich in narrative. The actual migration started with the older generation most of who died during the wandering period. Those who were alive and those who were born during the migration event kept the memories of their late relatives fresh by retelling their stories orally. This act energised them to keep on moving until they finally got to Benue where they settled permanently. This tradition is similar to the migration experience of the Hebrews in Exodus that reached its climax when the people finally got into Canaan and inherited it.

According to Gbor (1978:6-8), the Tiv migrated from Congo-Zaire and only journeyed through Cameroon before settling in the present Benue area of Nigeria. Gbor like other western Tiv researcher such as Auchinleck and Gordon consider the Tiv as Bantu and since the Bantu people were in the Congo region in their earliest times until they started migrating to other parts of Africa due to numerical increase or overpopulation, the Tiv also migrated in search of fertile land for agriculture (Gbor 1981:6).

Gbor (1978:6) confirms Tiv migration and the point that their origin was Bantu based on the similarity of their spoken language to that of the Bantu Nyanza of Malawi who are also migrants from the Congo-Zaire region. Examples of words common to the languages include *Nyame* (Bantu) and *Nyam* (Tiv), i.e. animal or meat; *enyonyi* (Bantu), *inyon* (Tiv), i.e. a bird; *isui* (Bantu), *ishu* (Tiv), i.e. a fish. Both Yakobu (s.a.:5), Chile Afanyo (2006/12/27 oral collection) and Adzegeiwen (2007/01/12: oral collection)<sup>19</sup> agreed that the migration took place from Congo through Cameroon to Swem where the Tiv stayed for a long time before continuing their wandering.

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<sup>19</sup> Both Chile Afanyo and Adzegeiwen were interviewed orally by this researcher on 27 December 2006 and 12 January 2007 respectively.



### 2.3.3.1 Reasons for migration of the Tiv

The reasons for the migration of the Tiv are not clearly known because when they were asked why they moved so often they would respond: “*ka ieren shin inja yase,*” i.e. It is our nature or habit (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54). However, the Bohannans reason that the migration must have been prompted by several economic, social, and cultural factors.

The major occupation and source of economy of the Tiv was farming (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54; Rubingh 1969:59; Gbor 1978:7; Yakobu [s.a. 5] and Iyortyom 2002:7). They were and are always looking for fertile and virgin lands on which to settle and farm. This of course contributed greatly to their frequent migration. Furthermore, the people migrated from one place to another whenever they experienced population growth. In such cases, only a clan or an extended family would move to settle elsewhere leaving the others in the former place. The reason would also appear to be the search for bigger space for farm activities.

The people also migrated from one place to another whenever they felt threatened by people outside their group who came to live with them. In such instances they would try first to resist the encroachment by fighting but if were unable to prevail against the intruders then they would move away to find another place to settle. If the new place was occupied already, then the Tiv would fight the people, displace them and take possession of their land. If on the other hand the occupants of the land were too powerful for them, the Tiv would then move on to find a safe and fertile land elsewhere. Although the Tiv were said to be good fighters other peoples sometimes employed secret techniques to overcome them, but only in rare instances (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54; Rubingh 1969:59; Gbor 1978:7; Yakobu [s.a.: 5] and Iyortyom 2002:7).

The Tiv were also conscious of their culture, which they wanted to preserve despite their contacts with other cultures. Whenever they encountered a non-Tiv group (Uke) which asked for their daughters in marriage, the Tiv would refuse for fear of adulterating their culture. If such a group insisted on marrying their daughters, the Tiv would move to settle elsewhere rather than fight. They reasoned that if their daughters married these non-Tiv tribes they would produce non-Tiv children (Uke) who one day could turn to fight them alongside their fathers who were also Uke (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54; Gbor 1978:9; Iyortyom 2002:7).

Another reason for migrating was to escape the political influence of a man or a group of men considered tyrannical (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54). The Tiv generally preferred to live and work together in large groups. They believed in the empowerment obtained through group efforts or group solidarity, which gave them the strength and the courage needed to face their enemies. The Tiv also migrated in search of job opportunities but mostly on temporal basis since they usually left with the hope of returning to their homes alive or dead. Others these days migrate from rural to urban areas in search of better amenities such as electricity, hospitals, schools, etc while some continue to migrate in search of good farmlands but with the hope of returning home someday alive or dead to be buried with their forefathers (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:54).

Many Tiv migrate to other places for fear of witches and wizards of whose evil plans to witch-hunt them they have been foretold by diviners. In such cases, the people migrate permanently or plan to return only at very old age or when their enemies are already dead (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:50). On the whole, one can say that migration is an ongoing process among the Tiv. They have an adage which says “*Ka we tema a doo u ga u ngee a iche,*” (i.e. when you are not satisfied with your settlement in life you keep accumulating new settlements). Homes and settlements are named after the head of the family thus when a certain family settled in a place, that place was named after the family head. If that family migrated to another place the old place (*iche*) just like the new one (*ya*) would be named after the same family head.

### **2.3.3.2 Mode of migration**

Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:55) identify three movements of the Tiv migration modes, and for easy analogy and reference purpose, they are as follow:

#### **2.3.3.2.1 Steamroller migration**

In this migration type, the same people remain in the same association but in a different place and maintain the same relative position to other lineages. According to the author, this type of migration does not necessarily stem from a search for more land but at the same time, it cannot be completely disassociated from land issues. The Tiv tradition in terms of land acquisition was fashioned in a way that each person had the right to sufficient land to farm and feed his

dependants.<sup>20</sup> One in need of land could acquire it from either a full or half brother of his provided that brother had enough land to spare after reserving some for his immediate family.

### **2.3.3.2 Leapfrog migration**

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:56-57), the leapfrog migration is most commonly associated with the need to escape from political tyranny (a cruel or an unfair use of political powers on people) rather than the reason of land shortage. In this type of migration, people move through other segments and out of relative position to get outside the range of influence of the people they deem tyrannical. The migrants though away from their home of origin continue to maintain their lineage and relative positions as they were at home. For instance if some Tiv people moved from Mkar to take refuge in Lagos, a Yoruba territory, they would maintain the memory of the tradition of their group and lineage as Tiv people from Mkar and not as Yoruba in Lagos (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:56-57).

Specifically, the Tiv people irrespective of where they are hold on to their tradition even amidst the threat of foreign influence. This helps them to maintain their lineage identity and culture and transmit it to their children through historical preservation and collective memory (Inciardi 1977:19). The leapfrog migration often began with a small nucleus, which enlarged as more members of the home group joined their kinsmen on the new site. If the space becomes crowded, some of the people would then move by leapfrog migration to other places (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:56).

### **2.3.3.2.3 Lone-wolf migration**

This type of migration has to do with an individual or elementary family moving to live as a stranger(s) among other secure strangers. Such movement may be prompted by political tyranny, fear of witchcraft, prolonged illness (suspected or foretold by diviners to be an infliction from

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<sup>20</sup> The Tiv people talk more of man as a universal gender thus in this research which is based on the Tiv perspective the word man will be used generically to include women. The Tiv people always say “*Kwase* (a woman) *ngu a ya ga* (has no home)” This means that although a woman lives in a home with her husband she cannot claim the rule or ownership of such a home. Tiv women also subscribe to this saying themselves; for instance, when they are alone at home and a visitor comes asking, “Who is here?” They will simply answer “*Or ngu her ga ka kasev tseegh* (No one is in; it is only women). This means they are not householders. However, the situation has changed in most families but there remains that element of the old tradition or of the mental colonization in some of the Tiv people.

home), personal quarrels, or almost any situation, which make it worthwhile for a man to go off and live alone among strangers (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:56). Migrants in this case will accept a guest status in their new community. Nowadays lone wolf migrants grow up, settle down, intermarry with the host tribe, build homes, and even own lands contrary to what happened in the past. The acceptability of migrants under the lone wolf and even other migration types by their host community is similar to the inclusion of aliens to partake in the biblical Passover and dwell among the ancient Israelites. The act of accepting migrants by the Tiv and aliens by the Israelites reminds them of their migration episode from Congo (Tiv) and Egypt (Israelites) where they once dwelt as foreigners (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:56).

The pace of migration among the Tiv has increased today as Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:57) have remarked. The increased pace of migration is linked chiefly to the demand for more land. Most people move to settle in places with vast farming areas in order to practice their wide range farming. The working class (outside government employment) migrate more in search of farmlands to establish their farms in order to maintain their economic status through sales of farm produce. Others on the one hand migrate in search of job opportunities as mentioned earlier under reasons for migration. Such migrants in search of government jobs and social infrastructure then migrate from rural to urban areas with or without their families to work and or enjoy infrastructure such as electricity, water supply, security, and hospitals (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:57).

Another chief factor that explains the increase in the pace of migration among the Tiv is the ongoing and excessive fragmentation in the Tiv society. Larger groups, larger compounds, and closely clustered segments have lost their main purpose of providing safety against enemies. The security provided by the government, abolition of exchange marriages, introduction of Christianity, which has guaranteed people's security through God in heaven rather than through the *mbatsav* (witches and wizards and witchcraft activities), contributed immensely to the massive migration of the Tiv people these days (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:57).

### 2.3.3.3 Migration experience of the Tiv

According to Rubingh (1969:62), the migration of the Tiv began around 1800 and 1850. The people were present south of the Benue River in large numbers. The Tiv encountered other people both on their way from Congo to the *Swem* hill and in their subsequent migrations for various reasons discussed above. The foreign people the Tiv had contact with profoundly influenced them in aspects such as food and skills. From the *Jukun*, *Udam*, and *Fulani* (referred to as foreigners in this research in the sense that they are non-Tiv people or *Uke*), the Tiv acquired new tools and knowledge. They also had no knowledge of weaving or blacksmithing and they had little warfare skills; thus, were underrated by the *Jukun* and *Hausa* who constantly raided them for slaves. Nevertheless, the determination to survive and flourish fired up the Tiv people. As their momentum grew, they emerged from the non-Tiv tribes (*Uke*) and moved into the rich farmlands they now occupy (Rubingh 1969:63).

The coming of the British in 1900 was another threat encountered by the Tiv in the course of their migration. The Tiv resisted colonization vigorously until in 1907 when the English moved into the Katsina-Ala area and in 1912, British officers toured nearly all of the areas occupied by the Tiv. That migration experience appeared to be a bitter one to the Tiv since they had never had foreigners settle among them and control them. At that point, they had their first encounter with white missionaries and British colonizers who controlled them in almost all aspects of life. Moreover, there was a language barrier, which hindered them from communicating freely with the whites (Rubingh 1969:63; Akiga 1939:23).

During their migration event, the Tiv married women from the neighbouring Bush tribes and had children by them. When their daughters reached puberty, the Bush people demanded that the Tiv give them their daughters to marry in return. The Tiv refused to give their daughters to the Bush people and this spurred a serious quarrel between the two groups. The hostility of the Bush people caused them to abandon their site, leaving the East on the one hand, the South on the other, and travelling down in between until they met the nomadic *Fulani* people who shepherded and escorted them down (Akiga 1939:23; Gbor 1978:7).

The Tiv adopted the practice of piercing the ears, cutting the teeth, circumcision, raising scars on the faces, marking the women on the belly, and making other different kinds of body marks on both men and women. These marks were not in use among the Tiv originally but they were practiced only among the non-Tiv peoples; thus, it is worth mentioning as part of their migration experiences. The marks made Tiv people in those days look different from other tribes. Piercing the ears or participating in cutting those marks was a thing of pride among age groups (Akiga 1939:25-49).

According to Gbor (1978:13), the Tiv discovered salt and ate salt on food for the first time in the house of Mngbakpa, an Etulo man in Katsina Ala. Before then, the Tiv used *mtsem* (limestone solution) to cook, but it had no sweet taste like that of salt.<sup>21</sup> They also got the idea of kingship and of election from the *Mngbakpa (Etulo)* who were the oldest men among their peers who represented them and helped to resolve society conflict (Bohannan 1957:160; Gbor 1978:15; Ker 2002:9).

It can be said that the migration of the Tiv as we have it today is the summary or product of the painful but triumphant experiences of the Tiv migrants garnered orally through collective memories of the community and which has now been developed into a written form. The migration traditions continued as the community of memory continued passing on painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes created deeper identities than those that created triumph (Minow 2002:159). In other words, the painful moments of those who actually partook in the real migration served as a triumphal procession that has ushered the Tiv into a deeper sense of identity of who they are as a people in Nigeria.

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<sup>21</sup> Legend held that salt and its usage got into the Tiv society through a Tiv hunter who got to a nearby stream in Ugbema to drink water and met some Mngbakpa (Etulo) women who were there to fetch water. The Etulo women ran home and reported to their chief that they had met a stranger at the stream. The chief then sent his men to bring the man to him. After the Tiv man tasted salt, he took a sack of it home. This was the beginning of salt eating among the Tiv people. The experience is a memorable one in the history of the Tiv migration episode. Anytime someone enjoyed salt on food, he/she remembered the sufferings of the early Tiv migrants, which brought about the discovery of salt as an edible substance.

### **2.3.4 Relationship between oral and written traditions**

In 1965, there was an invitation from a trained medievalist Jan Vansina to historians to regard oral materials whether poems, songs, lengthy historicized texts, or epics, in much the same way as they had traditionally regarded written documents and as being capable of being exploited for both direct and indirect historical information. In 1985, a number of historians responded to Vansina's invitation and went out in Africa and beyond to collect texts and subject them to analysis. New views as to the historicity of the oral past and new ways/means of collecting and interpreting oral data, irrespective of their nature, were developed (Henige 1988:231).

According to Vansina (1965; 1985), oral tradition comprises of the specialised verbal art forms such as proverbs, riddles, chants, lyric poetry, tales, myths, legends and epics through which African societies have ensured cultural continuity. It is the repository of a community's core values, philosophies, mysteries, rituals and most importantly, memory. It survives by virtue of transmission from one generation to another by word of mouth. Vansina later defined oral tradition as "documents of the present," which "also embody a message from the past, with recognition given to the ineluctably Manichaeic duality that bedevils oral data when treated as historical sources" (Henige 1988:231).

Prompted by Vansina's invitation to consider oral tradition, which has been ignored by biblical interpreters, this study seeks a useful methodology that is oral in nature and suitable for the Tiv people who are from an oral based context but who need to read, understand and interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition among them. The oral pre-history of texts proposed by Gnuse (1999:534) and the oral-scribal approach by Robbins (1996a:1) could be linked with Vansina's oral tradition to form a strong bridge in the search for an oral method that could be used to interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria.

In responding to Vansina's invitation to consider oral tradition, this study will focus only on aspects of poetry, tales, myths, legends and epics as a means through which the Tiv and other African peoples in general could ensure cultural continuity and safeguard the repository of their rituals and memory.

The Tiv traditions existed first in oral form since they were among the last groups in Nigeria, which came under the rule of law imposed by the colonial government. It was only in the 1920s and early 1930s that the colonial government became truly aware of the Tiv. As many other African cultures the Tiv existed without any formal education or westernisation and preserved their traditions orally through story telling as a means of recollection. Sadly, most of the traditions of the Tiv died with knowledgeable people who preserved such useful and authentic memories in their hearts (Downes 1971: viii). Consequently, the history of the Tiv before they settled in the Benue area has almost been erased from living memories (Downes 1933:1).

Downes notes that the only way to recollect these memories from the living whose memories are probably faded was through few allusions in folk stories, myths, songs, proverbs, and cultural dances, etc. To be precise oral tradition was the means of preserving both real and mythological history in the early stage of Tiv history.

According to Edwards (1984:80), as mythical as the idea of folklores as a means of preserving oral traditions seems to be, it is highly significant to the social life of the Tiv. The means of tracing genealogies among the Tiv is by oral preservations. Thus, we can say that there is a good deal of Tiv folklore handed on orally from generation to generation by individuals without any western education but who have what could be considered a scholarly or a speculative turn of mind. There was also no authenticity in cumulative oral knowledge in the absence of formal education or institutions to assess, codify, and transmit it. Sometimes two Tiv elders of about the same age and status, living in the same area may have decidedly different ranges of interests and correspondingly of information.

Written traditions emanate from oral traditions or use oral traditions as their starting point among the Tiv. Authors on Tiv traditions relied on oral memories passed unto them in songs, folklores, and verbal communication. The authors, in most cases, struggle to study a certain tradition by mere observation and analysis of what they saw and heard. In the Tiv context, both oral and written traditions depend on each other for survival and both are polemical in nature. The few books written on Tiv traditions depend so much on earlier works written by white missionaries in



Tivland who relied solely on the information they obtained from Tiv interpreters (Edwards 1984:80).

Consequently, in respect of the Tiv oral traditions under investigation, both the comparative approach of Ukpong (2000:17-18) and the oral and scribal intertexture approach by Robbins (1996a:40) would be considered useful. Interpretation of the Bible and the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv in particular will be more meaningful if interpreters would bear in mind the oral context of the Tiv which is full of stories of origin and migration. Since the oral context of the Tiv is more or less their first text and a building block upon which any literary text of the Bible will build, interpretation of the Passover among the Tiv will only be meaningful if that oral culture is taken into consideration. When that is done, then, the Tiv could make use of their oral stories of origin and migration as well as their life experiences to read and interpret the Passover, by means of analogy, in their own way and/or context.

### **2.3.5 The Tiv Kwaghhir-puppet arts performance or theatre**

Harding (1998:56-67) describes a *Kwaghhir* artist as a skilled Tiv singer, dancer, storyteller, and performer. According to the author, *Kwaghhir* dancers are those who seek recognition through a mysterious display of carved images rather than of witchcraft. The act is carried out by the Tiv to add to their prestige. According to Harding (1998:56-67), the dual possibility of concealing and revealing are utilized in *Kwaghhir* dance to the advantage of the performer without ever compromising the supernatural aspect of the masked figure.

However, *Kwaghhir* is also a dance staged by the Tiv during their leisure time. The people compose songs to record recent experiences and new features of their lives are expressed in rhythms and gestures at a highest level of creativity in the story-telling act known as *Kwaghhir*. *Kwaghhir* is a dance like other dances through which people aim at making a name. *Kwaghhir* is a puppet theatre, a mere drama acted in a tricky manner to confuse viewers and prompt them to think deeply on the act. Often viewers tend to consider the act as magic, but it is not. It has to do with imagination and the manipulation of objects to produce an effect.

Most *Kwaghhir* dances are not at odds with Christian ethics, morals, or practices, and many performers are Christians (Harding 1998:56-67). In some groups, however, certain powerful elders have insisted on being in control. The *Kwaghhir* could also be viewed as a mere dance with no other secret meanings and interpretations attached to it. It all depends on the performance of the *Kwaghhir* actors and the way the message cuts across to the viewers. However, Christian participation is dictated by the doctrine of the Christians who participate in such a dance and what their religion means to them. However, the *Kwaghhir* is discouraged in the Reformed Church tradition since it involves some sort of manipulation of nature to produce effects, which are considered by the Reformed Church as being somewhat satanic.

In the *Kwaghhir* dance, emphasis is placed on the *adzov*, the little non-humans, usually invisible, who inhabit the world alongside the Tiv and who conceptually stand in oblique opposition to the *mbatsav* (men who use their power malevolently). The *adzov* are also instruments for redressing and correcting evil in the society (Harding 1998:56-67; Tseayo 1975:61).

After the riots of 1960, and in response to immediate political pressures and a desire to reconstitute several of their existing forms of expression to meet new needs, the Tiv began using masks in a new *Kwaghhir*, which was different from the usual form of storytelling and dancing to stories with fascinating songs. The use of masks continued and became perceptions of selfhood as well as wider trans-ethnic awareness of masquerades and other cultural practices (Bohannon & Bohannon 1953: 93; Harding 1998:56-67).

Harding (1998:56-67) further adds that the first influence, and the one that provides *Kwaghhir* with its context, its organizational structure, and much of its content, is storytelling or *Kwaghalom*, also known as *kwaghhir*. *Kwaghhir* literally means something wonderful or magical, or a fabulous thing (*kwagh* = thing, *ahir* = magical, mysterious or wonderful). It refers both to storytelling and to the content of the story. *Kwaghalom* is the 'thing of the hare' (*kwagh* = thing, *alom* = hare), *alom* being the trickster character in Tiv folk stories who always survive even a dreadful fate. A story in Tiv in which *alom* is killed is not humorous (*aluer kwagh alom une wua alom yo, mayange una hom ga*).

*Kwagghir*, according to Harding (1998:56-67), was an outgrowth of the storytelling genre, but in the 1960s, it developed into a tool of political opposition to the alleged antisocial secret and the secret behaviour of those elders who were the *mbatsav* (i.e. who practiced witchcraft), and were blamed for some of the unrest that preceded the country's independence. *Kwagghir* was a means of relating Tiv traditions, norms and cultural values to the younger generation (Iyortyom 2002:1). It took place in a story form accompanied by songs and dances or in the form of questions and answers. Such stories were told in the night before bedtime.

Today, however, *Kwagghir* is staged simply for entertainment with no religious or identity motives attached to it (Harding 1998:56-67). It is also often used to act out social ills that pertain to political, religious, injustice, and cultural issues in a similar way to contemporary dramas and movies. *Kwagghir* remains informative, involving, as well as a means for preserving and re-collecting old and new traditions.

Tiv *Kwagghir* to my view is still performed to enact the identity, culture, history, social and religious beliefs of the Tiv people. It is not just a means of entertainment as Harding (1998:56-67) has argued above. It brings the performer and the audience together as the performer selects from the ancestral lore that are familiar to the audience and with good use of language retells the past in the present with a clear understanding of his audience or viewers.

### **2.3.6 Religious life of the Tiv**

Religious ideas always come as an opposition power that cuts through one's ancient tradition to effect a positive change. However, such religious ideas usually come in symbolic forms; they overflow one's history of migration and the union of races and tribes. The same religious ideas cut through the history of great events such as wars, institutions, discoveries, and reforms, which are practices that form part of the history of the origin of the particular society (Halbwachs 1992:84). For a society to appreciate a religious movement or religious progress in totality, the people must recall and mention their point of departure from their primitive time to the time of the advent of religious ideas. What was the value judgement of the people at the time religious ideas came to reside with their traditional beliefs? How were they influenced by religious ideas - did they tune to the changes or resist them to maintain their traditional ideology?

In other words, to show the originality of any religion, its founders and worshippers must expose it to other religions in existence. This is true of the Tiv, an ethnic group with semi-Bantu linguistic affinity whose whole outlook was contained in a religious scheme that permeated their every thought and action. Nevertheless, in terms of originality and distinctiveness, to their religious ideas and practices turn out to be unique and contrary to the beliefs of other Bantu tribes and other religions around them (Casaleggio 1961:15; Edwards 1983: 3-4).

### **2.3.6.1 Belief in the Tiv Sky God (Aondo) and in spirits (*jijingi*)**

In this paragraph, the religious worldview of the Tiv people will be explored.

#### **2.3.6.1.1 Aondo – the Tiv Sky God**

According to Downes (1933:49), the Tiv people recognized a creator, Aondo, who is both a sky and an earth god equal to the supreme God. The earth god of course is the soil, which may yield bountiful of agricultural products or sometimes yield poor crops depending on whether or not he is appeased. The idea of the earth god is common to the people in an early agricultural era when they believed that the powers of the earth god had to be rejuvenated magically by killing healthy young representatives to awaken the spirit of the god. The Tiv, however, acknowledged the sky god (Aondo) as the creator of the world, foodstuff, trees, animals, and man. The Tiv believe that Aondo can be angry, see, give rain and drought; he can send thunder and lightning; he can spit out storms and dews; he can hear (Downes 1933:49; Rubingh 1969:71). According to the Tiv belief, anything that emanates from above is the function of the power of Aondo.<sup>22</sup> Aondo is also the Tiv name for the sky above, the firmament that has been described as heaven's "vault" with its clouds and stars, winds and rain, cold and heat, and thunder and lightning (Downes 1971:17).

The Tiv particularly non-Christians never thought of *Aondo* in personal terms (Rubingh 1969:71-72). Aondo, to the non-Christian Tiv, is addressed in prayers only in moments of intense crisis such as famine, drought, excessive rainfall, untimely deaths, and epidemic, etc., to seek his intervention. The Tiv also belief that Aondo may be indirectly and ceremonially approached

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<sup>22</sup> When thunder strikes or lightning flashes, the Tiv claim that, *Aondo kume or Aondonyiar* (God roars or flashes). If a storm is coming, it means *Aondo ngu van a wura* (God is coming with storm). Moving clouds indicate that, *Aondo ngu moughon twev* (God is migrating to another place) (Downes 1971:17).

through one of the sacred *akombo* (cult emblems) rites since his remoteness from humanity does not permit direct and personal contact and with him. In reverence to the sky god, most aspects of daily life among the Tiv are controlled by special commands or taboos (Rubingh 1969:72). The social well-being revolved round the immediate *akombo* rites more than Aondo, even though he is mentioned in tribal legends and daily talk.

Similar examples of belief in a high God identified with the sky in many African societies can be found among the Yoruba of western Nigeria whose deity *Olorun* means owner of the sky or among the Kikuyu of Kenya, whose high God, *Murungu* is the possessor of whiteness, which is the sky. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, the supreme deity, *Nyame*, rules over the sky while the Zulu of South Africa believe in *Inkosi-yezulu*, the chief of the sky and the Igbo of Nigeria in *Chukwu*, the most high God in the sky. The *Chichewa* of Mali believe in *Chiuta*, the one who covers the sky or the one in heaven and the people of Uganda have *Katonda ali wagulu* as the God in heaven or the sky. Aondo, the sky God, is for the Tiv the final answer to the entire sky and the inscrutable phenomena of the universe (Rubingh 1969:72).

#### **2.3.6.1.2 Jijingi (shade)**

Akiga (1939:176) notes that the Tiv have no specific word for spirits except *jijingi* (shadow, shade or spirit). The spirit or shade, according to Tiv belief, resides with every living being and can only depart from him/her at death (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:82). Bohannan and Bohannan state that the Tiv believe that when exercised by the *mbatsav* (wizards) on a living being, the force of *tsav* (witch) can temporarily separate his *jijingi* to re-install it at night after use. The Tiv people strongly believe that only the God of the sky can separate a person totally from his/her *jijingi* (spirit, shadow, shade). This implies that, in a sense, the *jijingi* is considered as life, which once it is out of a person, results in the person's death.

#### **2.3.6.2 Magical power- *tsav* and *akombo***

The discussion below will centre on the Tiv idea and participation in magical powers called *tsav* – witchcraft, that is, the Tiv believe in unseen powers that cause things to happen in favour of the performer but at the detriment of the victim.

### **2.3.6.2.1 Tsav**

According to Edwards, (1983:3-4) the meaning of the Tiv word *tsav* ranges broadly from knowledge or wisdom to witchcraft and its substance supposedly found in the chest of the possessor. Such words as witchcraft substance, power, talent, and ability jointly help to explain *tsav* as a concept (Bohannon & Bohannon 1953:84). One can regard *tsav* as a witchcraft substance, since it has to do with a physical attribute of the human body that endows its possessor with certain potential. It could also mean talent since it has to do with being good with one's hands, or being able to perform any technological process better than the average person. However, Akiga (1939:236) argues that *tsav* is not witchcraft but the power to possess that, which is beyond one's normal faculty. For him, witchcraft is the manifestation of *tsav* through the activities of the *mbatsav* (witches and wizards).

Downes (1939:39-40; 1971:28-29), on the other hand, sees *tsav* as life and energy, the power that exists in nature, the unseen force which is necessary for the good generation and development of all living things and also for any interference with life and the ordinary functions of nature. According to the Tiv belief, life cannot function at its very best or not function at all without the intervention of *tsav*. Excellence in artisanship, brass work, artistic design, hunting, midwifery, and farming, etc., is manifest when *tsav* plays a part. The Tiv attribute all happenings to the *mbatsav*, which is a society of those who have *tsav*. Bohannon and Bohannon (1953:85) have rightly observed that *tsav* is mystically dangerous and that the Tiv have always considered the sky God higher than *tsav* and *akombo*.

### **2.3.6.2.2 Akombo**

According to Bohannon and Bohannon (1953:85) *akombo* are magical emblems and forces. They are not shrines, for a shrine assumes a spirit of some sort, and *akombo* have no spirits associated with them in any way. In appearance, *akombo* resemble the fetishes and juju described in most West African cultures. They are composed of plants, stones, corncocks, pots, and carvings, etc; anything can find its way into an *akombo*. The idea of *akombo* is old among the Tiv and only few *akombo* such as *ilyum*, *ihyambe*, and *twel*, concerned with childbearing, hunting, and crop production were used most often. Most of the protective *akombo* dealing with charms are foreign

emblems were introduced into Tiv society by their neighbours especially *Udam*, *Chamber*, and *Ugee*. Furthermore, only few old men imbued with *tsav* and held in great respect are accepted or initiated into the *akombo* rites (Akiga 1939:183).

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:85) and Rubingh (1969:77), *akombo* are non-human forces established by Aondo in the sky to regulate the cosmos (*tar*) and to protect it from malfunctioning. Initiators of *akombo* can manipulate its forces using blood, beer, and grains for sacrificial rites to restore order to a situation in the human realm in which brokenness and calamity are present. Edwards (1983:3-4) notes that *akombo* are both conditions of illness or misfortune and the emblems associated with them, their treatment being similar to the objects referred to as “medicine” in some parts of West Africa. The common place to find an *akombo* emblem in a Tiv compound is in the “*ate*” (hut for resting) of an elder. There a large number of *akombo* in form of pots, corncobs, sticks, skulls and bones of animals hang on the roof and they are easy to identify through their emblems.

Edwards (1984:77-78)’s observation that *akombo* is a condition of illness and medicine at the same time is correct. In addition, *akombo* and *tsav* are two separate concepts that work together but *akombo* are external and not an internalised object in the human chest like *tsav*. It is also that both *tsav* and *akombo* are dangerous in moral terms. However, Rubingh (1969:80) has offered a positive view of *akombo* as that which provides a basic means of social control against harmful action in order to secure the prosperity of the Tiv group for the enjoyment of its members. The same *akombo* can also seize someone in various ways if violated.<sup>23</sup> It appears that *akombo* function in a similar way to *Swem* pot since both are in a way dealing with curtailing social ills in the society. If they were to be compared to the Exodus tradition, they would function like the commandments in Exodus 20:1-17.

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<sup>23</sup> Some of the different scenarios are described thus: 1. An enemy may leave the emblems of a certain *akombo* in a place where it will be stepped on, touched, or unintentionally violated. 2. Any man who engages in sexual intercourse with a virgin or with an old woman wearing the *mceram* emblems will be seized by *akombo*. 2. If an area or person covered by an *akombo* taboo is not recognized and it is touched, the person may be seized by *akombo*. 4. Sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman could subject the offender to an *akombo* seizure (Rubingh 1969:80).

### **2.3.6.3 Religious ceremonies – Akombo, curing, and healing**

Rituals and ceremonies give content and meaning to religious life among many peoples in Africa. Life crisis and developmental rituals are transformative and stabilizing. To rebuff a spirit that causes illness, misfortune, failure, barrenness, and affliction, rituals may be required. Rituals of rebellion offer opportunities for transformation and the creation of alternative social alliances. Religious ceremonies/rituals are for the propitiation of the ancestors and of gods who have the power to remove afflictions. The situation is different among the Tiv of Nigeria who have little interest in rituals and do not believe in ancestral worship (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:81). The Tiv religion is not an ancestral cult, earth cult, a pantheon of gods, fetishism, animism, pre-animism, and so forth as found among other peoples in Africa. The Tiv religious belief and mystical ideals are rather complex and rest in the performance of *akombo* rites, which require cleansing (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:81).

#### **2.3.6.3.1 Akombo ceremony**

According to Akiga (1933:186) and Downes (1971:71), the Tiv believe that every life contingency, every aspect of human concern has behind it a non-human power called *akombo*. If a person transgresses against an *akombo* and it seizes him, he has to set things right in order to regain his/her normal health. The *akombo* rituals or ceremonies are referred to as (*soron akombo*), i.e. 'setting right'. To set right an *akombo* in the case of a hunting expedition or of childbirth, for example, requires killing a chicken and pouring its blood on the emblem of the *akombo*. This helps to restore good health and the wellbeing of the offender. Sometimes, a goat or sheep may be required to set things right between the offender and a violated *akombo*. The prescription of *akombo* rituals depends on the type and gravity of the offence and on the *akombo* violated. In this case, the qualified initiator who performs the ceremony goes home with a great deal of meat. Only those initiated into *akombo* rituals may eat of its meat (Akiga 1939:188).

According to Downes (1971:76), an *akombo* ceremony sometimes takes place in the stream where the ritual man washes the *akombo* off the violator. The ritual man may carry out *akombo* rituals either in the day or in the night depending on his judgement or prescriptions. Initiation of new members into *akombo* also requires killing of animals and payment of a small amount of



money as decided by the ritual man. This practice is still ongoing among the Tiv especially among traditional worshippers.

In our understanding, *akombo* is a family ritual done to appease God regarding a particular problem confronting a member or members of a family whether nuclear or extended. The Tiv are rather exclusive when it comes to performing *akombo* ritual. They are afraid to involve outsiders in their family matters lest the news spread to their enemies who could then take advantage of the situation and further afflict the victim and the community spiritually. In the case of sickness in the family, the sick person could be taken to a specialist in curing or setting things right for an *akombo* ritual performance. However, this does not mean that the problem was caused by people outside of the victim's family.

#### **2.3.6.3.2 Curing/healing *akombo***

As earlier noted, it is a common belief among non-Christian Tiv that the *mbatsav* are the brains behind sicknesses. Based on this notion, nearly all diseases and the medicines for curing them are linked with *akombo*. Small pox, measles, cough, yaws, gonorrhoea, and yellow fever, etc., are inflictions of the *mbatsav* through *akombo* (Akiga 1933:353). Treatment of diseases among the Tiv was in three forms viz., killing an animal to pour out its blood to appease *mbatsav*, administering medicine to the victim, and washing the sufferer using ritual means. In any of the treatment types, a diviner carried out the prescription especially in severe ailments (Akiga 1939:348).

Akiga notes that only the ritual man or one who has survived a similar disease are qualified to treat air-borne diseases since victims were isolated from their homes. Today the treatment of ailments with herbal drugs continues among the Tiv irrespective of their religious beliefs and ages.

#### **2.3.6.4. Religious practitioners**

In the paragraphs below, the focus will be on the agents or consultants of the Tiv religious worldview. Among the Tiv, men and women alike are believed to participate actively in witchcraft activities.

#### **2.3.6.4.1 Mbatsav – witches/wizard**

The *mbatsav* (witches and wizards) are a society of those who are possessed with *tsav* (witchcraft). They are the organized forces in the society, which operate in conjunction with their helpers in the spirit world. They are also in constant conflict between the forces of good and evil. They hold meetings in the night due to the ambivalent attitude of those who are not possessed by *tsav* towards them and their activities. The *Mbatsav* are a secret society due to their secret methods, which have to do with the fundamental rites of magic necessary for the welfare of the family. They also have certain things that women and men who do not possess *tsav* (witch) powers cannot understand (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:90; Downes 1933:39).

According to Tiv beliefs, the *mbatsav* have the power to protect the society against epidemics, disasters, deaths, and other social ills. They can equally inflict a person with evil at anytime. The *Mbatsav* are responsible for appeasing *akombo* when violated or things are out of order. Similarly, they can cause *akombo* to seize people so that they may eat of the sacrificial meals prepared at their request in order to put the victim right.

The *mbatsav* are said to be prescient and are credited with power over all destructive insects, birds, and animals. They can operate anytime provided they are strongly charged by *tsav*. After that, they can organize a night dance, which they attend en masse on night horses, canoes, airplanes, and ‘human donkeys’ to feast on their special meals said to be prepared with human flesh. The belief in *tsav* (witchcraft/evil forces) and *mbatsav* (witches - possessors or practitioners of *tsav*) was common among the Tiv people of old and even, presently, it remains prevalent despite the shaded light of Christianity and westernisation (Downes 1933:40). In our view, there is no truth in the belief that the *mbatsav* are ordinary like any other member of the community. Those who have subscribed to the secret activities called *tsav* appear to be frustrated with life and have no bright future; therefore, they turn to frustrate others using evil forces.

#### **2.3.6.4.2 Diviners**

Diviners are fortune-tellers who reveal the secrets behind evil causes (or their agents) in the society and aim to put things right (Akiga 1939:336-338; Downes 1971:68-69). In the divine

hierarchy, the *mbatsav* are ranked below the sky God but are regarded as God's messengers and the intermediaries between the Tiv and God. Similar beliefs exist among other Nigerian peoples. For instance, the Yoruba divinities are called Orishas, e.g. Obatala and Oduduwa, who according to Yoruba legend were sent by God to create the world and all in it. Divination has been emphasized in the Tiv society as the determining factor in omens, deaths, and other calamities emanating from either one's paternal (*ityo* = father's kinsmen) or maternal (*igba* = mother's kinsmen) side.

Many elderly people consulted diviners or their representatives in the family and clan; but nowadays even young people do the same particularly those of non-Christian faith traditions. Diviners have the ability to administer treatment to one seized by *akombo* and recommend further preventive measures. However, Akiga (1939:338) claims that diviners tell lies more than truth. For instance, when one consults a diviner, often, one would have to tell them all about oneself, home, and place of work. In the end, the diviner would guess the cause of the trouble from the story and collect his fee. Some diviners do claim some sort of magical powers that enable them to reveal people's problems without being told but it may not be out of line to regard them as liars since magic is also nothing more than the manipulation of creation in tricky ways to produce desired effects.

### **2.3.7 Death, afterlife and burials**

The Tiv belief in death and life after death is considered in this subsection.

#### **2.3.7.1 Death/ afterlife**

The Tiv consider death as the result of human intention through witchcraft (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:79). They believe that human agencies are responsible for every death in the society whether it is of a young or old person. There are two common sources of death among the Tiv; immediate deaths are caused by illnesses (*angev*) and violent or accidental deaths involve bloodshed (*ku swendegh*). In both forms of death, the Tiv would always seek to know the person(s) responsible through divination or through their local courts (*ijir i tyo*), but they would finally attribute death to the sky God. According to Yakubu (s.a.:58), the Tiv do not believe in

life after death. When one dies, they would say witches have killed such a person to prepare a meal. However, among the Tiv Christians today, the belief in life after death is widespread.

### **2.3.7.2 Burial among the Tiv**

In most Tiv communities, members prefer to bury their dead relatives at their birthplace. In other parts of Tivland, where one dies there he/she is buried. In the earlier times when there were no vehicles, strong men would carry a corpse on a locally made stretcher with women crying behind them until they got to the place of burial. The dead were buried within twenty-four hours corpses could be preserved for as long as a year in mortuaries or even in homes when they have been embalmed. In some parts of Tivland, people are buried where they died and not necessary in their birthplace. However, this is not the norm as elders were and are buried in the yard of their compound, mostly, outside their hut (*ate*). The elders of the people often had a small hut (*ate*) erected above their graves to prevent direct penetration of heat from the sun (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:79).

Before burials, sympathizers and family members of the deceased sang dirges. In the past, women were forbidden from looking inside the grave to avoid barrenness but this taboo is no longer enforced. After the burial, elders from both the family of the deceased and among his mother's relatives stay behind to determine the cause of death. The mourning period and mode vary according to family or clan. The family elders convene after few days of mourning to distribute the property of the deceased among deserving relatives. These days, however, most people do write wills or share out their things while alive or on their sickbeds.

### **2.3.8 Conclusion - Tiv worldview, identity and collective memory**

In conclusion, one could argue that a people's worldview typically explains who they are as human beings, what the world is ultimately like, and what people should do to live a satisfying life. Worldview gives direction and meaning to life and provides people with values and beliefs. The worldviews of many peoples remain simply sets of background assumptions of which they are not fully aware. The primary function of such a worldview is to help people to deal with their essential concerns - questions about who they are, why they exist, what meaning is there in life, and what stance they should take toward the experience of death, suffering, guilt, love,

forgiveness, and so forth. Thus, a worldview is the constellation of beliefs and values that consciously or unconsciously guide people in their attempt to deal with their existential concerns. From a sociological point of view, a worldview is a general way of looking at the universe and our relation to it. It is a general set of assumptions about the meaning of life, about what is important, and about how things work. For example, in comparing traditional and modern communities, the worldview of the traditionalists being less receptive to change and new ideas, more reliant on religious faith, and generally suspicious of technology and science, detached rationality is identified (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:81, Zulu 1998:6).

However, a worldview is typically associated with a group or society, which means that, as with all aspects of culture, there are usually variations among individuals to the degree in which they share the same worldview. Radicals and revolutionaries, for example, by definition, would be at odds with the prevailing worldview of their society. Religious people, on the other hand, will stick to a religious worldview, which affirms that people could only adequately deal with their existential concerns if they let their lives be transformed or enlightened by God or a divine reality (Zulu 1998:6-8).

Zulu (1998:6) adds that no single definition is adequate to explain the term worldview, which includes a multiplicity of models, perspectives, and contexts. He claims that a worldview entails a complex set of meanings and belief systems operating in a specific context. It is the view of reality and the reactions to it, the view that affects one's daily life. On the other hand, a worldview is experienced within a specific context through symbols and projecting systems such as metaphors, folklore, and religious rites, which are peculiar to that context. In other words, anyone who is not a part of the worldview may have problems in trying to make sense out of some of the elements of that worldview. Analysing such a worldview has to be within a specific context.

From the above definitions of the notion of worldview, it can be assumed that Tiv people also operate within the realm of a formulated and acceptable worldview that helps them to identify themselves as a people distinct from other groups in Nigeria. They have a worldview that comprises their religious, culture, and political beliefs. Such a worldview, though accepted

among the Tiv, operates differently based on individual or group variations. Some researchers claim that the Tiv worldview is difficult to appreciate since a Tiv does not separate the actual physical, spiritual, and immaterial into separate compartments in his mind (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:81; Downes 1971:31). The Tiv do not regard the supernatural and unseen as being different from the actual and visible. Again, the Tiv do not differentiate between magical and religious ideas. Rather, all the elements in their worldview are mixed together.

It appears to us however that the Tiv do make certain distinctions between the magical/spiritual and the material/physical in their religious worldview. Nevertheless, to understand the distinction one has to understand first the culture and background of the Tiv particularly of those who are involved in the religious practices. A Tiv man will never reveal the secret of his/her religious practices to people who are non-initiators of that religion. Thus, when the missionaries, from their own western culture and Christian context, got in contact with the Tiv, they were immediately considered as threats to the people and the Tiv decided to confuse them to avoid being deprived of their religious practices in the name of Christianity.

Another problem was the language barrier between the Tiv and the missionaries. The Tiv did not understand the language of the missionaries neither did the missionaries understand Tiv. Thus, in most cases, the missionaries misunderstood the Tiv's explanations of their customs and practices. Therefore, it can be determined that the Tiv do separate the spiritual and magical from the physical and material. For instance, to the Tiv, anything that is endowed with *tsav* (witchcraft) and associated with the rituals of *akombo* (cult emblems) prescribed by the diviners could be termed spiritual. Conversely, anything that is not closely connected to the *mbatsav* (witches/wizards) is immaterial. However, since a worldview is not static but dynamic just as the society is also dynamic, it keeps expressing unique characteristics of a society in complex ways. Consequently, the belief in the sky God as the supreme God, the *mbatsav* as his representatives on earth due to his remoteness to man, and the diviners as God's messengers shows that the people had a worldview of sorts but it was not just clearly stated or presented in a way that it could be commonly understood.

The Tiv, like other Bantu peoples, believe that Aondo the sky God was the direct bodily progenitor of their people. They generally traced their origin from Takurukuku whom they believed was the younger brother of Aondo and the first ancestor of man in the world. According to legend, Aondo is greater than Takurukuku and he is the giver of rain and all foods. Aondo was the one who introduced Takurukuku to other foods than fish, which was Takurukuku's only staple food at that time (Abraham 1933:36-37). This legend embodies clearly the Tiv conception of God and shows that in their minds, the deity is the force behind nature and he is immanent throughout the universe. The sky in particular is God and God is the sky, for the word, Aondo, carries both meanings, and there is no other term for God.

As stated earlier, the Tiv believe that the God in the sky is supreme but owing to his remoteness to humanity, he can only be approached through the *mbatsav* (witches and wizards), *akombo* (emblems), and diviners who are mediators between the sky God and man. They also believe that all reproductions emanate from the supreme God in the sky; he causes reproduction in humans and animals and causes seeds to germinate. The chastisement of men for evil doing is not one of the attributes of the sky God, for nature herself avenges outrages against her laws. Therefore, various offerings and rituals are given to the *mbatsav* and *akombo* on behalf of the sky God to appease him for forgiveness, rain, good farm yields and childbearing, as well as to reduce deaths/diseases and other disasters, and to restore the *tar* (cosmos) whenever evil is detected.

The Tiv worldview concerning death is that only the supreme God in the sky can permanently separate a person from his *jjingi* (spirit). The *mbatsav* are also capable of temporarily taking hold of one's spirit in the night for certain functions. This view and the belief that every occurrence has a hidden cause always prompted the Tiv to seek through divination the cause of evils, diseases, and deaths in the society. Today however, the common religious worldview attributes all deaths or calamities to God in heaven who is also the giver of life. This is not to deny the presence of a number of religious practitioners among the Tiv who continue to uphold the traditional perspective of death. This observation confirms the view noted above that degrees of variations usually exist even among individuals who share the same worldview.

On the issue of good neighbourliness, the Tiv worldview is that any evil done against another fellow Tiv will be redressed, if not now by the *mbatsav*, then by the supreme God in the sky. To strengthen unity and love among fellow Tiv, local courts were operated by elders in the families or clans to settle cases among their members using the *swem* pot for oath taking to ascertain truths and restore harmony between conflicting parties.

In conclusion, we can say that, altogether, the Tiv worldview and symbols, expressed in their religious ideas and of those who received and understood them, help to transform such indigenous religious practices into their present knowledge of God (Niditch 1993:50-51). There is also an inseparable relationship between the Tiv worldview, religion, and culture since religion is an expression of cultural symbols and ideals in a particular society, and in a real life situation (Dearman 1992:2-3). In addition, the social memory of the Tiv, the role of their social context and their power as a group in the shaping of their collective memories are highly appreciated. These all function as instruments of Tiv tradition as the Bible does to Israel's tradition<sup>24</sup>.

Tiv traditions are kept alive from generation to generation by a community of memory, which is composed of social groups that do not forget their past but continue to tell and retell their narratives of becoming a community.<sup>25</sup> As Halbwachs (1992:52) notes, memory is what a culture collectively carries forward about its past. Collective memory represents the collective pool of memory shared by individuals. It also consists of further memory passed down to subsequent generations. In other words, the origin and migration, social organization, religious life, identity, and historical traditions of the Tiv discussed in this chapter manifest through collective memory.<sup>26</sup> These Tiv traditions, in turn, could play a significant role in the interpretation of the Exodus.

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<sup>24</sup> The influence of an idea is relative to the cultural power of the tradition within which it is located (Smith 2004:133).

<sup>25</sup> A community of memory is a perspective of collective memory drawn on the memory of the past as a critique of the present (Minow 2002:155). The community of memory also passes on narratives, which are painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes create deeper identities than narratives that illustrate triumph (Minow 2002:159).

<sup>26</sup> Collective memory helps in historic preservation and in understanding historical interpretations. It is comprised of stories that a society tells about momentous events in its history - the events that most profoundly affect the lives of its members and most arouse their passion for long periods (Osiel 1997:18-19; Halbwachs 2006:65).



Additional information on the survey of Tiv researchers and existing trends in Tiv study is provided in Appendix 1 (A1) at the end of this study.

## **2.4 Empirical Research - Pilot Study**

The empirical study involves a field research that will afford the researcher the opportunity to engage with the Tiv audience in a face-to-face discussion that is guided by pre-formulated questions. This research is a qualitative type of research and does not necessarily require a numerical data sampling of responses from the respondents. However, a description of the process and the respondents will be provided as a clue to the category of persons that are involved in the research. First, a structured interview will be done followed by a focus group discussion. A detailed description is provided in Chapter one and below.

### **2.4.1 Introduction**

This research engages with two different narratives namely that of the Tiv of Nigeria and that of the Israelites/early Jews of the biblical Exodus. The Tiv tradition is oral in nature and contains stories of the Tiv origin and migration, as well as of their personal life experiences and circumstances, which are characterized by poverty, famine, political, religious and economic crises, festivals, land dispute, epidemic of HIV/AIDS, and so forth. The Exodus tradition, on the other hand, is documented on paper and one can find books on the subject matter in libraries, bookshops and on the internet.

As indicated earlier in chapter one, doing justice to the two different traditions will necessitate both empirical and theological research. The empirical research methodology will focus on the oral nature of the Tiv tradition. Empirical research is that part of the research process that involves going into the field whether it is a laboratory, a natural setting, an archive, or whatever is dictated by the research design (Mouton 2001:98-110). This method will help us to engage the Tiv respondents who are from an oral tradition in a face-to-face interaction that is guided by some pre-formulated questions. This type of research will help to ascertain the level of respondents' understanding of their origin, migration and identity narratives.

Since the Exodus tradition, on the other hand, is available in written form, a theological

methodology will be used for its investigation. A survey of available written literature on the Exodus tradition will help to establish the degree to which oral and written traditions function together in the appropriation of the two different but similar traditions in question.

The research itself is a qualitative type that entails actual field observation, listening, and individual involvement that would enable a more active inquiry by means of asking questions and recording answers on tapes and taking down notes on paper (Babbie 2007:305). Qualitative research is preferred here because the Tiv target audience or readers have an oral tradition background. Thus, an interactive research method of this kind is more suitable to probe into their knowledge of their origin and migration narratives.

Furthermore, the researcher also comes from the same oral background as the audience and it is much easier to engage with them through an oral method since most of them are not formally educated or theologically trained. The research will comprise one structured interview and one focus group for each of the selected clans. The structured interview will be conducted using the chain referral approach. Ten people will be interviewed from each of the selected clans, their responses will be recorded on tape, and written notes will be taken for further transcription and analysis.

Two focus group discussions were held comprising of eight members from each of the selected clans. The Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 among other selected texts in Exodus such as Exodus 14:21-29 = Crossing the Reed Sea); Exodus 19:10-20 = on Mount Sinai; and Exodus 20:1-17 = the Ten Commandments) were read during the focus group discussion. The researcher and his respondents will read the texts together aloud using the Tiv translation of the Bible (*Bibilo*). After the reading, respondents will be asked some guided questions to help them to interpret the texts read in their own way and their own oral context using their vast experiences in life and their history of origin and migration. In this way, different interpretations will be derived from the respondents as each interacts with the text in his/her context. This research, in a sense, is a socio-rhetorical type (Robbins 1996a:1).

### 2.4.2 Aim of empirical research<sup>27</sup>

The first phase of the research is the “pilot project” and it was conducted with two selected Tiv clans. The aim of the pilot project is to ascertain the extent to which the Tiv people remember their narratives of origin and migration. Men and women of varying age groups, educational background, settlement schemes, lineage areas, church affiliations, employment schemes, and so forth, were selected using chain referral approach. However, the study will not provide a numerical data analysis that shows the number of responses per group represented in the research. Rather a description of participants will be given to enable readers to have a feel of people who played active parts in the research process.

**Table 1: Indices of participants in 2007 pilot project**

Age	Under 40		40-50		51-60			61-70	71+
Gender	Male			Female					
Area	Ichongo (Circumcised)			Ipusu (Uncircumcised)					
Settlement scheme	Urban			Rural					
Education	No formal education			Primary		Secondary			Tertiary
Employment	Unemployed			Self-employed		Farmer	Traders	Teacher	Medical In private sector
Church/Rel Affiliation	African Initiative Churches	Protestant	Catholic	Pentecostal	African Traditional Religion			Others	
Church Involvement	Worship Service			Wedding	Funeral Service				
Attendance per month									

### 2.4.3 Pilot project

The researcher conducted an initial pilot research in 2007 with two clans namely the Ityuluv-Nyiev-Ya and the Turan clan both in Kwande Local Government Area (LGA) of Benue State.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For a more elaborate discussion of the aim of the empirical research, refer to Chapter One under methodology.

The aim of the pilot research was to provide preliminary information on the Tiv understanding of their narratives of origin and migration. The pilot project was also designed to help the researcher to identify any loophole in the research in order to improve the main study.

One chain referral interview for each of the two selected clans was conducted on different dates in 2007. Each interview involved 10 male and female respondents from different age groups, religious affiliations, settlement schemes, educational backgrounds, etc., using snowball sampling. Questions asked in the interviews were related to the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv and the answers generated indicate that the Tiv are knowledgeable of their origin and identity.

#### **2.4.4 Study area and subjects**

The study area was Benue State where there are two tribes, the Ityuluv and Turan representing the Ipusu (uncircumcised) and the Ichongo (circumcised) - the two Tiv lineage groups. The lineages are the descendants of Tiv, Ipusu being the first and Ichongo the second son of Tiv. The issue of which of the two sons of Tiv was the older is controversial. According to legend, the people to whom Tiv belonged did not circumcise their children at one point. At some later stage, they had contact with the Uke people who taught them to circumcise their children. It is therefore believed that Ipusu (uncircumcised) was the first son and Ichongo (circumcised) the second son of Tiv.

The lineage grouping has created a sense of identity within the Tiv culture and has influenced both the settlement schemes and the political organisation of the Tiv. It was decided that interviews be conducted with representatives from both the Ityuluv (Ipusu=uncircumcised) and Turan (Ichongo=circumcised) because of possible differences in the way they understand of their origin.

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<sup>28</sup> A pilot study has to do with the pre-testing of a measuring instrument, which entails 'trying out on a small number of persons having characteristics similar to those of the target group of respondents. Probability does not normally play a role here because the researcher does not plan to generalise the findings. Nevertheless, varied factors are taken into consideration (De Vos ed. 1998:178).

The map in Fig. 1 above shows the location of Kwande Local Government Area (LGA) within which Ityuluv-Nyiev-ya and Turan are situated. These two clans were sampled in the pilot project of 2007. The map also shows Gboko LGA within which the Ipav clan is situated and Gwer LGA where the Masev clan is situated. Both the Ipav and Masev clans were sampled for the main project.

#### **2.4.5 Structured interviews**

Structured interviews were conducted with members of the concerned communities. The interview guide can be found in Addendum “B” of this study. The interview was recorded on tape and written notes were taken for subsequent transcription and analysis. This method of interview was necessary because only few written documents on the Tiv tradition of their migration are available. The best information could therefore be gathered from elderly respondents who have learnt the stories via oral tradition.

Respondents were selected through the snowball or chain referral method. Elderly Tiv people, who, presumably, are better informed of the Tiv oral narratives of origin, migration and identity, were interviewed. The respondents were then asked to refer the researcher to some other people who also knew of the Tiv narratives. The interviews were to help ascertain the extent of the Tiv people’s knowledge of their origin and migration narratives and the way such knowledge can help in the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv people.

Respondents between 25 and 100 years old were selected from the Ityuluv and Turan clans in Kwande LGA of Benue State. The idea is to determine the way Tiv people of different ages understand and interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition in their own context.

#### **2.4.6 Focus group discussions**

Focus group discussions were conducted among members of the Ityuluv and Turan clans in Kwande LGA of Benue State. The focus group discussion for the Ityuluv clan was conducted on 7 January 2007 in the area with eight male and female participants. On 10 January 2007, another focus group discussion was conducted with eight male and female participants from the Turan clan with in attendance. The aim of the focus group discussions was to ascertain the extent to

which Tiv people in their different clans understand the Exodus tradition and are able to identify the possible similarities between the Exodus and Tiv traditions.

Questions that were asked during the focus group discussions centred on possible similarities between the Exodus narratives and the migration story of the Tiv as well as on issues that relate to the people's knowledge of God (Ex. 14:21-29 = Crossing the Reed Sea). Other striking issues that were considered in the focus group discussion include the relevance of the commandments to the Israelites on Mount Sinai after they crossed the Reed Sea and the cleansing ritual carried out before meeting God on Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:10-20 = on Mount Sinai). The discussion also probed the question of whether or not the Tiv performed rituals that were similar to those found in the Exodus tradition. Lastly, the discussion considered whether the Tiv had central laws that guided their socio-cultural and religious lives; and which among the laws, if any, is considered the most important by the Tiv people (Ex. 20:1-17 = the Ten Commandments).

Respondents were brought together at a neutral venue for the discussion in order to ensure freedom of speech among the respondents and to derive useful information required for the study. Before the discussion, the researcher briefly reminded the respondents of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration to awaken their memory and tune their minds to possible allusions of Tiv narratives to Exodus traditions. The selected texts from Exodus were then clearly read aloud one after the other in the hearing of the respondents using the Tiv Bible (*Bibilo*). After the reading, the interviewees were asked to interpret the passages with the help of some pre-formulated questions.

The researcher also spontaneously asked other probing questions that were not formally prepared to arouse interest and encourage the respondents to share their insight during the interview while he took notes and recorded the discussion on tape for easy transcription. The analyses of the structured interviews with both the Ityuluv and the Turan clans are presented in Appendix 3.1 (A3.1) at the end of this study.

#### **2.4.7 Synthesis of structured interviews of the Ityuluv and the Turan clans**

The answers obtained during the structured interviews conducted among selected members of both the Ityuluv and the Turan clans show that both groups shared common views on their origin and migration. The two clans traced the origin of the Tiv from Takurukuku an African from Congo where many other Bantu tribes also originated or migrated. Respondents from both clans also shared similar views on how the Tiv gained entrance into the Benue province and settled as permanent occupants of the place. According to them, the Tiv fought and defeated the original occupants of Benue before they finally settled there as their home place. Although respondents were unsure of the dates of both the migration of the Tiv and their arrival or settlement in the Benue province since the Tiv origin and migration narratives were orally documented and not written, some participants from both clans claimed the Tiv arrived in Nigeria around 1540.

The respondents also mentioned Congo as the place Tiv patriarchs first lived and from where they and other Bantu tribes migrated, Cameroon as neighbour to Tivland and Swem as the place the Tiv settled and farmed for a long time before migrating down to the Benue province around 1540. All the places are considered vital to the history of the Tiv. Furthermore, respondents acknowledged that the Tiv did not all migrate to Benue but some remained in Swem in the present Cameroon area while some settled on the way due to one reason or the other.

Respondents from both clans also knew of the Zulu of South Africa as well as stories about Chaka the Zulu, war songs mentioning Zulu people, and the link between the Tiv and Zulu in terms of place of origin and blood lineage even though they were not fully confident about the details. This was a problem because the patriarchs who had full knowledge of the Zulu people died with the knowledge. This shows the danger of oral documentation.

When asked whether the non-Tiv tribes that settled in Benue alongside the Tiv people migrated with them from Swem, both groups of respondents stated that the non-Tiv did not migrate with the Tiv but both dwell together due to government's land allocation scheme and the decree on freedom of movement and settlement for all citizens provided by the Nigerian constitution. Regarding the question of whether other tribes share a similar history of migration with the Tiv,

respondents point to the Etulo and the Jukun who migrated from the northern part of Nigeria to settle in Benue and Taraba states, respectively.

The researcher was able to ascertain from the views expressed above how the both groups of respondents understood their origin and migration narratives and how that could help them to read and understand the Exodus and other Old Testament texts.

#### **2.4.8 Analysis of the focus group interview with Ityuluv Clan (“Area 1”)**

A focus group discussion was conducted among members of the Ityuluv clan on 7 January 2007 with eight participants selected from the designated clan. The focus group discussion lasted approximately an hour. The discussion was recorded and then transcribed. The transcripts were analyzed in order to compile a report that will constitute part of Chapter Three of this study. Pre-formulated questions were used to foster the accuracy of the anticipated results from the focus group discussion and to keep the discussion within the frame of the topic in question.

Three selected texts from Exodus were read and interpreted by the respondents in their own way and based on their own understanding. The texts were Exodus 14:21-29 = Crossing the Reed Sea; Exodus 19:10-20 = at Mount Sinai and Exodus 20:1-17 = the Ten Commandments). First, the respondents were reminded of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration and then the Exodus texts were read in the hearing of the group using the Tiv Bible (*Bibilo I ken zwa Tiv*). After the reading, the respondents were asked some guided questions to enable them interpret the texts in their own understanding. In other words, as the respondents answered the guided questions, they were in a sense interpreting and expressing their understanding of the text. The questions and responses to the texts of Exodus 14:21-29; 19:10-20 and 20:1-17 with the Ityuluv clan are presented at the end of the study in Appendix 3.2 (A3.2).

#### **2.4.9 Analysis of focus group interview with Turan clan (“Area 2”)**

**Introduction** - A focus group interview was conducted among the Turan people on 10 January 2007 with eight elderly people selected from different extended families and of different genders. Preference was given to older people because the older people are more knowledgeable of Tiv narratives than the younger generation. The Tiv tradition of origin and narrative is documented



orally rather than in written form especially the old version of it. Thus, the older people are more likely to recollect the original story than the young people.

For the reason stated above, more of the older people than younger ones were made to participate in this research in order to arrive at precise data required for the hypothesis. The young people however were not left out in any way. The selected text from Exodus was read and interpreted by the respondents based on their previous knowledge of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration. The passage was first read from the Tiv Bible version by the researcher; thereafter the respondents were reminded of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration before being asked some guided questions that would enable them to interpret the text.

The process was repeated for all the selected texts while the researcher recorded the discussion on tape for transcription and analysis as shown below. The questions and responses to the texts of Exodus 14:21-29= Crossing the Reed Sea; 19:10-20= on Mount Sinai and 20:1-17= the Ten Commandments in the focus group interview with the Turan clan are presented at the end of the study in Appendix 3.2. (A3.2.).

#### **2.4.10 Synthesis of focus group interviews with the Ityuluv and the Turan clans**

The researcher conducted focus group interviews with the above clans on separate dates and in separate places. A few Exodus texts were read and participants from each clan were asked guided questions. The analyzed results show some similarities in responses of participants from both clans. For instance, participants from both clans pointed out that in the Exodus tradition Moses was the leader of Israel during their migration episode just as Karagbe of Masev was the leader of the Tiv during their migration. The Israelites crossed the Red Sea on dry ground and their enemies all drowned just as the Tiv also crossed the River Mkoomon at the back of a green snake (*ikyarem*) while their enemies also drowned in an attempt to cross over to attack them.

The Israelites were given the Ten Commandments through Moses on Mount Sinai just as Karagbe collected the Swem pot on Swem Mountain, which was meant to guide the Tiv. The two groups also pointed out that God is holy and he expects his people to approach him in holiness;

that was why they were asked to consecrate themselves before meeting him on Mount Sinai. The Tiv also approached their idols, which represented God on earth in a similar way. Before entering a shrine, the Tiv would remove their shoes, in most cases, to maintain holiness. Menstruating women were also not allowed to visit shrines or go near their husbands while preparing to go to war. This shows that, in their own way, Tiv people also had an idea of God's holiness just as the Israelites in Exodus.

Only Moses was allowed to meet God on Mount Sinai just as Karagbe was alone when he met a sprite or destiny changer (*adzov*) on Mount Swem to collect the Swem pot. Both focus groups also pointed out that Tiv people consider as weighty the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments in Exodus 20:1-17 but do not neglect the others. They also note that the Tiv do not have central laws guiding them formally like the Israelites' Ten Commandments but they use the Swem pot in law courts to ascertain the truth.

From the result of the empirical research above, the study argues that the two clans which are situated in different geographical regions and belong to different lineage settlements within the Tiv community, share similar understanding and interpretation of the Passover text of Exodus 12. It is also interesting to note however that the two clans used their personal life experiences and their narratives of origin and migration to understand and interpret the Passover text in their own way by means of analogy. The responses from both groups of participants confirm the hypothesis and the aim of this study, which is that the narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv and their life experiences can serve as an indigenous interpretive resource for the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria.

## **2.5 Empirical Research<sup>29</sup> - Main Project**

In the previous pilot project discussed in section 2.4 above, an attempt was made to ascertain the extent to which the Tiv understand their narratives of origin and migration. Structured and focus group interviews were conducted with two different clans within one Local Government Area of Benue State. At the end of the pilot research, it was established that the Tiv of Nigeria are familiar with their narratives of origin and migration. Secondly, the Tiv narratives of origin and migration can be unpacked through oral profession by means of storytelling, songs, rituals, cultural dances and festivals. Additionally, the collective memories of the knowledgeable people among the Tiv could be a good tool of recollecting their past narratives of origin and migration, which have informed their identity and influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition.

The main project is a follow-up of the pilot project that is described in section 2.1 above. However, emphasis will be laid on the Tiv narratives that deal with rituals, festivals, and sacrifices. The possible links between these practices and the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv will be explored. The aim of the main project is to probe deeper into the Tiv understanding of their origin and migration in relation to ritual performances. The main project also aims to ascertain to what extent the Tiv remembers their ritual tradition and how such knowledge could serve as an indigenous interpretive resource for the appropriation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among them.

Consequently, structured interviews will be conducted first with selected members of two Tiv clans to ascertain their understanding of rituals in relation to their identity. Second, focus group discussions will be conducted with the people to test their understanding of the Passover ritual in Exodus 12. Selection of people for the structured interview will be random but preference will be

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<sup>29</sup> Empirical research is that part of the research process that involves going into the field, whether it is a laboratory, a natural setting, an archive, or whatever is dictated by the research design for findings (Mouton 2001:98-110). Empirical research is necessary in this study because it will help the researcher to obtain the precise information needed for the re-establishment of the hypothesis and aims of the study particularly on the Tiv tradition, which is mostly preserved through oral documentation.

given to elderly people as it is presupposed that they are more knowledgeable about Tiv history and ritual traditions than the younger generation. The chain referral approach will be used in this research because oral tradition is given priority over written tradition in this section of study. Therefore, knowledgeable Tiv men and women interviewed by the researcher will be asked to refer him to others who shared similar views on the subject matter or who are more knowledgeable than they are. The main research will also aim at digging deeper into the Tiv's knowledge of their traditions in order to gather valuable resources for subsequent comparison and analysis.

In the main research, twelve people will be selected randomly from each of the selected clans (Masev and Ipav). The researcher will visit them in their homes or other designated places that are conducive for effective communication and safety. The interview will be conducted in one day to prevent the respondents who have already been interviewed from discussing the interview with others who are yet to be interviewed. One focus group comprising of ten participants from various age groups, educational backgrounds, settlement schemes, church affiliations and so forth set up with each of clans, i.e. the Masev and Ipav. The task of the focus group is to re-read and to interpret the text of Exodus 12:1-28 = Passover in the light of the Tiv culture and tradition.

The researcher will read the text of Exodus 12:1-28 = Passover aloud where applicable in the hearing of the respondents. He will then remind them of their identity and of their narratives of origin and migration. The respondents will then attempt to interpret the Passover narrative in Exodus using their life experiences as an interpretive resource. The researcher will finally give the actual interpretation of the passage for the people to hear and then close the session with much appreciation given to his respondents. The interviews will be recorded on tape and written notes will be taken with the respondents' consent.

### **2.5.1 Study area and subjects**

The study area will be Benue State, which is situated in the north central part of Nigeria. Benue is home to many Tiv clans but only two are chosen for sampling in this main study namely the Masev and Ipav clans, which belong to the lineage of Ichongo (circumcised) and of Ipusu

(uncircumcised), respectively. The choice of the Masev and Ipav, which belong to two different lineages (Ipusu and Ichongo), is important in this study because it will help to ascertain the extent to which Tiv people who live in one province but belong to different lineages understand and interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition. The selection of the clans from two different lineage placements is also important because it would shed light on the structure of the identity formation of Tiv people. The way each lineage understands the Passover could indicate the extent to which the identity of the Tiv influence their understanding of their narratives of origin and migration. Furthermore, the above lineage categorization is important to the Tiv when it comes to issues such as politics, leadership selection, sharing incentives, marriage, and so forth.

The fact that the selection covers the two lineage groups could motivate respondents to share their vast knowledge of their origin and migration with the researcher. The researcher, on the other hand, will ascertain to what extent this identity grouping/recognition influenced the Tiv understanding of their origin and migration narratives. The following variables were considered during the main empirical project in 2008/2009.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 2: Variables used in the 2008/2009 main project with the Masev and Ipan clans**

<b>Age</b>		40-50	51-60	61-70	71+	
<b>Gender</b>		Male	Female			
<b>Settlement scheme</b>		Urban	Rural			
<b>Education</b>	No Formal Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary		
<b>Employment</b>	Self-employed	Farmer	In private sector	Medical	Teacher	Unemployed
<b>Church/Religious</b>	African	Protestant	Catholic	Pentecostal	African	Traditional

<sup>30</sup> The research does not aim at evaluating individual results but at engaging in group or individual oral interviews to determine the different ways people of the same group but from different clans understand and interpret the Passover narratives. Subsequently, the statistical or numerical data of evaluation showing the number of different responses collected from the respondents will not be tabulated. Instead, attempt will be made to describe the responses in a way that would clarify the different categories of persons that participated in the research. The research however takes into account age variation, education, gender, religious affiliation, work status, and so forth, as shown in the table above.

<b>affiliation</b>	Initiative Churches				Religion
<b>Church Involvement (events/attendance per month)</b>	Worship services	Wedding	Funeral service	Others	

### 2.5.2 Structured interviews – Main project

Structured interviews were conducted with members of the Masev clan (*Ichongo*=circumcised) and of the Ipav clan (*Ipusu*=uncircumcised). The interview guide can be found in Addendum C. The interview was recorded on tape for subsequent transcription and written notes were taken. This method of interview was necessary because there are few written documents on the Tiv tradition after their migration episode. The best source material in this case therefore would be oral collections generated through the collective memories of respondents on the Tiv origin, identity, ritual, and migration traditions.

Respondents with good knowledge of the Tiv narratives of origin, migration, and ritual traditions were selected through the snowball or chain referral method from their respective lineage groups and clans. They were interviewed individually in their homes or at neutral places that were deemed appropriate by the researcher. These respondents then referred the researcher at his request to others who seem to have more knowledge of Tiv narratives traditions or who share similar views with them on the subject matter. Where respondents felt reluctant to refer the researcher to someone else, he proceeded to a home or school within the vicinity to choose people randomly for the exercise. The interviews helped to ascertain the extent of the Tiv's knowledge of their origin, migration, and ritual narratives and the way such knowledge could be used to appropriate the Exodus tradition particularly the Passover, among the Tiv people.

### 2.5.3 Focus group discussions – Main project

The researcher conducted two focus group discussions with the Masev and Ipav clans of Gwer West and Gboko Local Government Areas of Benue State. The focus group discussion with the Masev people was conducted on 16 December 2008 at Apir with eight male and female participants. On 8 January 2009, another focus group discussion was conducted with the Ipav

clan at Mkar with eight male and female participants in attendance. The aim of conducting the focus groups with two different clans was to ascertain the degree to which Tiv people in different clans understand the Exodus tradition particularly the Passover and are able to identify the links that exist between the Exodus Passover and the Tiv traditions. The Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 was read in the hearing of the respondents who in turn engaged with the text in their context and understanding.

First, questions asked in those focus groups were centred on the Tiv's understanding of the Passover celebration under the leadership of Moses. Second, respondents were asked to relate the impact that the Passover have on their identity as Tiv Christians or Christian Tiv men and women. Third, respondents were asked to re-imagine or interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition in the light of Tiv rituals and festivals. Four, respondents were asked whether there is any similarity between the Exodus Passover and the Tiv rituals and festivals.

Respondents were brought together at a neutral venue for the discussion to ensure freedom of speech among them and to balance the distance covered by each participant since the venue for the interview was central in all cases. The researcher first introduced himself and his motive for the research after which he allowed members to introduce themselves also. After the introductions, respondents were assured of confidentiality and the researcher promised never to include people's names in his final work but to provide mere descriptions of people and their actions.

Before the discussion, respondents were reminded briefly of the Tiv narratives of origin and of their festivals to awaken their memories. The researcher then read the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 aloud and clearly in the hearing of his respondents using the Tiv Bible (*Bibilo*). After the reading, interviewees were asked to interpret the passages guided by the pre-formulated questions that were put forward. The researcher used other probing questions that were not formally prepared to arouse interest and encourage the respondents to share their insight while he took down notes and recorded the discussion on tape for easy transcription and analysis afterwards.

#### **2.5.4 Analysis of structured interview with the Masev clan (Main Project)**

*Masev* is a clan in the Gwer Local Government Area of Benue State. It is tagged “Area 1” in this research and it represents the lineage of Ichongo, one of the Tiv children. The members of the clan are spread across Makurdi, the capital of Benue State, and Aliade a big town with residents from different tribes and clans who have settled there for jobs, schooling and business. The *Masev* clan is significant in this study because legend holds that its members are descendants of Karagbe who led the Tiv out of Swem and brought the Swem pot that is used presently in Tiv law courts. The members of the *Masev* clan consider themselves the original sons of Tiv and that they have the original information on the Tiv origin and migration episode. Moreover, the *Masev* still hold on to their rituals and traditional practices despite the advent of Christianity in the area and the past and present activities of missionaries. One oral interview was held among the members of this clan in the middle of January 2008 with ten participants, who were guided by the pre-formulated questions shown below. The questions and answers in the structured interview with the *Masev* clan are presented in Appendix 3.3 (A3.3) at the end of this study.

#### **2.5.5 Analysis of structured interview with Ipav clan (main project)**

The *Ipav* clan is in the Gboko Local Government Area of Benue State, 90 kilometres away from the *Masev* clan. The selection of this clan is crucial to this research because it is situated in Gboko, which is the headquarters of the Tiv people from the time of the British administration until now. The Tiv traditional council and secretariat are at Gboko. The Tor-Tiv, the Tiv monarch, resides in Gboko. The Tiv chamber that hosts the annual *ijir-tamen* (the great judgement) according to traditional proceedings in order to settle land disputes and carry out update on the Tiv social, cultural and political wellbeing is found in Gboko. The Swem pot is kept in the Tiv traditional chamber in Gboko. All national festivals and meetings of the Tiv council of chiefs are held in Gboko. In addition, *Ipav* belongs to Mkar, which is a prominent place in Tivland and in Benue province as a whole. Mkar was the first mission station in 1911. Christianity started at Mkar before spreading to other parts of Tivland and of Benue province. Choosing this clan, which shares in many important history of the Tiv, is important because it helps to ascertain the level of understanding of such a unique clan on issues regarding the Tiv origin and migration narratives.



Two oral interviews were conducted in the clan in the second week of January 2009. The first interview was a structured one conducted on 10 January 2009 with twelve male and female respondents selected randomly from the designated clan. The interview lasted for about ten hours. The responses were written down and recorded on tape for further transcription and analysis. The second interview was a focus group discussion that was held on the 11 January 2009 with ten people selected from the designated area. They were guided by pre-formulated questions.

The Passover text of Exodus 12 was read by the researcher in the hearing of the interviewees who were then allowed to engage with the text in their own context and understanding to generate new insight or interpretation from the text. The interview lasted for approximately an hour and it was recorded on both tape and paper for subsequent transcription and analysis. Below is the analysis of the two oral interviews conducted among members of the Ipav clan.

The questions and answers in the structured interview with the Ipav clan are presented in Appendix 3.3 (A3.3) at the end of this study.

### **2.5.6 Synthesis of structured interviews with the Masev clan and the Ipav clan**

The structured interviews with the two clans show that both traced their blood and place of origin from Congo and from Takurukuku, an African. They also shared common views on Tiv culture and identity reflected in a common language, festivals and ritual celebrations in the midst of many surrounding cultures with differing values. It is also observed that members of the two clans attend the Tiv Day Celebration more than other celebrations. This, in a sense, seems to be due to the religious influence particularly of Christianity, on the Tiv people. The Tiv *Kwaghhir* (puppet show) is attended by most Tiv people but not openly by Christians due to sanctions by the church.

Another common view shared by the two clans is that the Tiv people developed their own idea of festivals rather than borrowing from neighbouring tribes. In a sense, this shows a good demonstration of their ability to preserve their culture and pass it on to subsequent generations through creative ways sustained by their collective memories. Both groups also acknowledge

that most of the Tiv rituals and festivals are similar to those of ancient Israelites particularly to the Passover of Exodus 12. The synthesis of the structured interviews with the Masev and the Ipav members shows that their understanding of their origin and migration narratives, participation in Tiv rituals and festivals, and the cultural context of the Tiv people in general, could help them to read and understand Exodus and other Old Testament texts.

### **2.5.7 Analysis of focus group interview with Masev clan (Main Project)**

A focus group discussion, which lasted for approximately an hour, was conducted with members of the Masev clan in Apir-Ikpayongo on 16 January 2008 with ten selected participants. The discussion was written down and recorded on tape for subsequent transcription. The transcripts were then analyzed as part of Chapter Three of this study. Guided questions were used to foster accuracy of the results and to keep the discussion within the frame of the topic in question.

A selected text from Exodus was read and interpreted by the respondents in their own way and understanding. The researcher first reminded the respondents of the Tiv narratives on rituals before reading the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28, which deals with the instructions concerning the Passover and the Feast of the Unleavened Bread instituted by God through Moses. The Tiv translation of the Bible (*Bibilo*) was preferred in this case. After the reading, the researcher asked the respondents guided questions to enable them interpret the texts in their own understanding and context. The understanding of the respondents was then assessed based on their engagement with the text and their interpretations, which emanated from their own worldview. The researcher then did a brief exegetical analysis of the text and closed the session with a vote of thanks while reassuring respondents of the confidentiality of all information given. The questions and answers in the focus group interview with the Masev clan are presented in Appendix 3.4 (A3.4) at the end of this study.

### **2.5.8 Analysis of focus group interview with the Ipav clan (main project)**

**Introduction:** A focus group interview was conducted among members of the Ipav clan on 8 August 2009 with eight men and women selected from different extended families and with different educational and religious backgrounds. The same process that was carried out among the Masev above was repeated in this case.

### **2.5.9 Synthesis of focus group interview of the Masev and of the Ipav**

Focus group interviews were conducted with the abovementioned clans on separate dates and places and male and female participants in the groups were selected randomly. The researcher read the Passover text of Exodus 12 with guided questions, and the respondents answered the questions in the light of their ritual traditions of New Yam festival, *Kwaghhir* festival, Tiv Day Celebration, *adzov* worship, and traditional marriage ceremonies. Members of the groups were motivated by probing questions, which enabled them to contribute during the interview sessions. All interviews were held at neutral venues to encourage freedom of speech and security. From the results analyzed, some similarities could be noticed in responses of participants from both clans.

For instance, members of both clans pointed out that the Exodus Passover was associated with liberation in the same way that the marriage ceremonies, *adzov* (sprites), *swende* (remedy for miscarriage and barrenness), *verkombo* (remedy for malnutrition), and *nongor* (remedy for stomachache in newborn babies) were meant to liberate victims from their ailments in the Tiv tradition. The liberated Israelites celebrate the Passover annually to maintain their identity as a saved nation and to preserve the memories of their salvific history from generation to generation. This is similar to the Tiv *Kwaghhir* (puppet art performance) and Tiv Day Celebration in commemoration of the salvific acts of the supreme God in the sky in preserving their history and maintaining their identity as a distinct people from other numerous peoples in Nigeria.

### **2.5.10 Summary of empirical research**

The researcher having completed his empirical research with the four different clans of the Tiv situated at different places with the Benue province observed that clan members have good knowledge of their origin and migration narratives particularly elderly people in the age group of 60-100 years. Moreover, it could be noted that though the clans speak one language, they are conscious of their lineage grouping into *Ichongo* (circumcised) and *Ipusu* (uncircumcised). This has shaped the identity of the clans in question, in a sense, and has influenced their knowledge of origin and migration narratives in a different way.

On issues relating to the Christian faith, more responses came from middle-aged respondents between 40 and 61 years, and fewer from many elderly people who were trained by white missionaries. As noted in the interviews, the Ipav clan is influenced by its identity as a first mission station or headquarters. Thus, most of the responses on matters relating to cultic performances and *Kwaghhir*, which involve physical manipulation of nature for an effect, were cold. This shows that Christianity has influenced the ideological thoughts of the respondents in such a way that their thoughts and interpretation of the Passover were guided by their faith in the Supreme God in the sky. The origin and migration narratives of the Tiv have influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Passover text of Exodus 12.

The four clans (Ityuluv-ya-ya, Turan, Masev and Ipav) referring to their origin and migration narrative, which in a sense has formed part of their distinct identity from other groups in Nigeria, understood and interpreted the Passover in the Exodus tradition as a salvific and liberation feast that is based not only on eating but on the commemoration of the people's history and identity. The Passover, which is based on the personal experiences of the Tiv, is to enhance unity just like the Tiv Day Celebration. The feast enacts the power of the Supreme Being for saving his people from the hands of their enemies. In their interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition, the Tiv liken their Tiv Day Celebration and *Kwaghhir* to the Exodus Passover since both were and are done to re-enact God's saving work in history of his people (i.e. Israel and, later, Tiv). Other Tiv rituals such as traditional marriage ceremonies, the New Yam festival, *adzov*, and so forth, are also considered as the Passover based on certain similarities or parallels that are found in them.

Consequently, one would conclude that though they are situated in different geographical regions and belong to different lineages, the two clans understood the Passover in Exodus tradition in the light of their rituals and festivals. This then helps one to ascertain that the Tiv narratives of origin and migration, rituals and festivals can be used as an indigenous interpretive resource for the interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus among the Tiv. In other words, the Tiv understanding of their identity in terms of origin and migration as well as their life experiences help them to understand the Passover in the Exodus tradition as a salvific feast for them as it was for the biblical Israelites.

## **2.6 Conclusion of Chapter**

In this chapter, a survey of Tiv researchers and the trends in Tiv traditions have been conducted. The observation is that there are few written literatures on Tiv traditions and even the existing ones were written mostly by the white missionaries who evangelised the area from 1911. That implies that Tiv traditions are predominantly oral in nature. It is also established from the research above that the Tiv have a worldview, which is centred on their knowledge of the Supreme Being called Aondo (the sky God). Since the Aondo is far from human reach, the Tiv have other means of reaching him in times of need through witches/wizards, *adzov*, and other graven idols or images. From the research above, it was gathered that the Tiv are familiar with their identity, that they are migrants from Congo through Swem to Benue in Nigeria, and that they are children of Takuruku Anayamazenga from Africa.

In order to ascertain the knowledge of the Tiv regarding their identity, origin and migration, the researcher conducted structured interviews and focus group discussions with four clans. From the empirical research, it was established that the elderly Tiv men/women know more of their origin and migration narratives than the young and middle-aged Tiv. The reason for this is that Tiv narratives are oral in nature and the older people obtained firsthand information from their forefathers, which are more original than the report by the young and middle-aged generations. Moreover, the knowledge of the identity of the Tiv and their life experiences has influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Bible particularly of the Passover of Exodus 12:1-28. It is observed from the pilot and main studies reported in this chapter that for any meaningful biblical interpretation to occur among the Tiv, their oral context has to be considered before they are able to understand new things from the written text.

The present chapter particularly the empirical research conducted among selected clans of the Tiv has answered the first part of the research question: “*How does one interpret and/or establish the theological relevance of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria?*” The answer is that, “*The theological relevance of the Passover can be established among the Tiv by reading it as a narrative of origin and migration*”. From the empirical research conducted with the selected clans, it is established that the Tiv understand the Exodus better

when they read it as narrative of origin and migration as they do their own narratives. In other words, it is established from the empirical research that among the Tiv of Nigeria, the book of Exodus is not only read as a liberating text in oppressive socio-political and economic contexts, but also as a constructive influence in the ongoing process of negotiating identity in different cultural contexts.

The researcher discovered during structured interviews with the individual members and focus groups of the two most important Tiv clans (the Ityuluv and Turan) that they both traced the origin of the Tiv back to Takuruku an African who originated from Congo, the place from which the Tiv and many other Bantu groups originated or migrated. The clans also share a similar view on how the Tiv gained entrance into the Benue province and settled as permanent occupants of that area. Both clans claim that the Tiv fought and conquered the original residents of Benue before they finally settled there. The exact time of both the migration of the Tiv and their arrival and/or settlement in the Benue province (Nigeria) cannot be determined with any certainty because prevailing oral traditions seem to transmit different points. However, members of both clans seem to agree on the time of origin as sometime in the sixteenth century (1540 was mentioned by several respondents).

The two clans also claimed that the Tiv patriarchs first lived in the Congo and migrated from there with other Bantu groups. A second place of common origin is Cameroon, a neighboring country and home to the Tiv who live across the border in Nigeria. The clans also acknowledge that the Tiv did not all migrate to Benue as some continued to live near the Swem Mountain in the present Cameroon.

Both clans also had knowledge of the Zulu people living in South Africa. These memories about the Zulu are embedded in sayings about Shaka, the famous Zulu king, as well as in war songs which mention the Zulu people. How the Tiv's origin is linked to the Zulu in terms of both place and blood lineage, no one could say with any certainty – respondents said those who knew about the Zulu “passed away long ago”!

A focus group discussion was conducted with eight participants selected from the designated clan to take part in the group discussion. Each focus group discussion lasted approximately an hour during which the discussion was recorded for transcription and interpretation at a later stage. Three Exodus texts were selected for reading and interpretation by the respondents based on their own tradition and understanding. The researcher first reminded the respondents of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration and then read the texts (Ex. 14:21-29; 19:10-20; 20:1-17 which deal with Crossing of the Reed Sea, Wilderness Wandering, and the Commandments), using the Tiv version of the Bible (*Bibilo I ken zwa Tiv*). After the reading, the researcher asked the respondents probing questions to establish how they interpreted those texts in their own way.

**Exodus 14:21-29:** *This passage describes how the Israelites crossed the Reed Sea on dry ground and how the Egyptians perished due to the intervention of God.*

The researcher asked his respondents whether they found any similarities between the Exodus narrative and the migration experience or story of the Tiv people. Many respondents laughed and said that the story of the Tiv people is exactly the same as the story that was read from the Bible. The Tiv also crossed the Mkoomon River at the back of a green snake that stretched itself like the stick of Moses to enable the Tiv people to crossover to the other side. The enemies of the Tiv such as the Chamber, Ugenyi, Ukwese, and Ndir who were pursuing them from behind also followed on the same back of the snake and the snake withdrew itself and let them all fall into the river and they drowned. They claimed that the green snake acted in the place of God to save the Tiv people. They also said their Moses in those days was Karagbe from Masev who was a God-fearing man and leader of the Tiv people.

The researcher also asked the respondents to state what Exodus 14:21- 29 communicates about God. They all said in a chorus that God loves his people and he hates those who seek to maltreat others due to the power they had. Some added that God does side with the oppressed against the oppressors. God supported the Israelites in the Bible and supported the Tiv people throughout their migration episode until they secured the Benue area and settled down.

**Exodus 19:10-20:** *The Lord asked Moses to consecrate the Israelites before they would meet him on Mount Sinai for the commandments. Only Moses was permitted to go to the top of the Mountain to meet God.*

The respondents were asked about the reasons behind the ritual of cleansing which the Israelites were asked to perform before meeting God on Mount Sinai. The first respondent who was a traditionalist and one of the older men in the group said God wanted to initiate people into his holiness before they would meet him. He further commented that it seemed quite similar to what the Tiv practitioners of *akombo* rituals do. When an uninitiated person came near an *akombo* festival, he/she had to remove their shoes to avoid defiling the place of the *akombo* that was considered holy ground by the practitioners.

Other respondents simply said God is holy; therefore, He wants his people to approach him with clean hearts before He would accept them. An older male respondent commented that God is clean and hates anything dirty such as adultery, murder, stealing, disrespect, disobedience and hatred. He looked up in the sky and said to prove that God likes cleanliness where he is dwelling is also colourful and that he does not want his feet to touch the ground like ordinary people that is why he is staying high in the sky above human beings.

The researcher reminded his respondents that the Israelites according to the text were given the commandments on Mount Sinai after they had crossed the River Jordan. They were then asked to state the relevance of such commandments to the Israelites. The respondents' contributions on this matter shows that rules are to guide people since human beings have different views and act differently. They also said if there are no laws there will be no order which implies that no one would fear God. Some further claimed that God wanted to tell the Israelites his likes and dislikes and the consequences of their obedience or disobedience. In other words, there are blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience just like parents and children in a family where obedient children are hardly beaten but disobedient children are subject to hard discipline in the home. Some of the respondents added that even among the Tiv people every home has rules guiding its members and visitors for the sake of discipline and safety.



**Exodus 20:1-17:** This passage deals with the issuing of the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai to the people of Israel by God through Moses.

The respondents said Tiv people do not have laws which are written down formally as in the modern law courts or the Bible. However, some laws are formulated by each head of a family for the maintenance of order. The same way, laws are formulated by the Tiv main court of appeal called *ijir tamen* chaired by the overall chief of the Tiv people, the *Tor-Tiv* in the present day Tivland. In the olden days, they said the voice of elders was taken serious more than lay down laws and people were more obedient to elders than now. Thus, the Tiv were guided by prescribed laws of the elders at the nuclear family, extended family, and clan levels.

The researcher asked his respondents which commandment they considered most relevant to the Tiv tradition. Female respondents first mentioned adultery since virginity is held with pride among Tiv mothers. At this point, the men supported their wives saying, adultery could create hatred and eliminate love which is the greatest of all the commandments. Among the Tiv, a man is not allowed to go to the battlefield for his enemy will kill him in revenge if he committed adultery.

Other commandments considered important were that of murder and bearing false witness against a neighbour. The Tiv people believe that any death has a cause; thus, when a person kills another person, the elders would curse him saying the blood of the deceased would follow him from generation to generation. Other respondents said the Tiv people hate lies, and that is the reason they have a Swem divination pot for oath taking. They claim that when one tells a lie after swearing by the Swem divination pot, then the person's legs and abdomen would swell up and he/she would subsequently die. Very similar responses came from the focus group interviews with members of the Turan Clan, which are not reflected in the conclusion of this chapter but are found under Appendix A3.2 and A3.3.

From the results of the focus group interviews with Ityuluv and Turan Clans, there were some similarities in the responses of participants representing both clans. For instance, the clans both pointed out that in the Exodus tradition, Moses was the leader of Israel during their migration

episode just as Karagbe of Masev was a leader of the Tiv during their migration. The Israelites crossed the Reed Sea on dry ground while their enemies all drowned as in the case of the Tiv who also crossed River *Mkoomon* at the back of a green snake (*ikyarem*) while their enemies also drowned in the attempt to cross over to attack them.

The Israelites were given the Ten Commandments as a guide on Mount Sinai through Moses just as the Tiv had the Swem pot which was collected by Karagbe on the Swem Mountain to guide the Tiv then and now. The clan members also pointed out that God is holy and expects his people to approach him in holiness that was why he asked the people to consecrate themselves before meeting him on the Mount Sinai. The Tiv people also did same with their idols that represented God on the earth. Before entering a shrine, one has to remove his/her shoes, in most cases, to maintain holiness. Menstruating women were also not allowed to visit shrines of idols or go near their husbands while preparing to go to war. This shows that the Tiv people also had an idea of the holiness of God in their own way just as the Israelites in Exodus.

Only Moses was allowed to meet with God on Mount Sinai just as Karagbe alone met a sprite or destiny changer (*adzov*) on Mount Swem to collect the Swem pot. The two clans also pointed out that Tiv people consider the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments found in Exodus 20:1-17 rather important but do not neglect the rest. The people do not have central laws guiding them formally in the way the Ten Commandments did the Exodus people though Swem pot is used in law courts to ascertain the truth when a case is judged.

From the above, one would conclude that though the two clans are situated in different geographical regions and belong to different lineages of the Tiv, they understood the Exodus texts read to them and interpreted them in their own context based on their experiences. That therefore helps the researcher to ascertain the research hypothesis and aim that: “The theological relevance of the Passover can be established among the Tiv by reading the text as a narrative of origin and migration”. In this way, the Tiv readers and interpreters of Exodus will concern themselves with the past as they remember it, and it becomes a meaningful frame for the present with particular attention to the products of tradition and not primarily to the reconstruction of critical history (Hendel 2001:603; Assmann 1997:8-9).



## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH SURVEY OF THE EXODUS TRADITION

This chapter examines the possibility of reading Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration. It provides a research survey of the Exodus tradition and of the text of the Passover feast especially of various scholarly works on the oral and written Exodus traditions.

#### **3.1 Background of the Book of Exodus**

We shall begin with Brevard Childs (1974)'s study on Exodus. Even though the study seems to be old in terms of the publication date, it is important because it is regarded as one of the best commentaries on Exodus. Childs notes that source divisions exist in the book of Exodus and that there is reasonable agreement among critical scholars given to source traditions (Childs 1974:184). Regarding Exodus 12, the divisions include:

- (i) The 'P' (Priestly) source, which is easily distinguished and is exemplified by Exodus 12:1-20, 28, 40-51 and 13:1-2.
- (ii) The 'J' (Jahwist) source, which is analyzed as a parallel strand to the Priestly tradition. Scholars who are advocates of this source tradition have assigned to it Exodus 12: 12-23, 27b, 29-34, 37-39 as well as other verses that did not belong to the 'P' source but indicate the presence of some Deuteronomic terminologies in the 'J' material.
- (iii) The 'D' (Deuteronomic) source namely Exodus 12:24-27a; 13:3-16 and;
- (iv) The 'E' (Elohist) source, which is identified with Exodus 12:35-36 (Childs 1974:184).

However, the abovementioned source traditions in the book of Exodus (specifically, in 12:1-28) do not help to resolve the inner discrepancies in the book (Childs 1974:185). Childs (1979:164) notes that studies of the book of Exodus are beset with enormous interpretive problems. Notable is that of the source critical approach, which embraced the idea of separating the 'J' from the 'E' source. Scholars have tried to offer a more representative analysis bearing in mind the classic

division of the “JEDP” hypothesis but fail to distinguish between the early strands (Childs 1979:165).

Next, we have the problem of the Priestly source, which seems to be more complex. The “P” source is closely intertwined with earlier sources in many more chapters of Exodus such as Exodus 11 (the Plagues), Exodus 14 (the Crossing), and Exodus 16 (the Manna). Again, there is the question of the possibility of a Deuteronomic redaction in some passages of Exodus such as 12:24-27a; 13:3-16 and 19:3b-8 (Childs 1979:166).

The other problem associated with the book of Exodus was that of relating source criticism to form criticism and tradition criticism as introduced by Rendtorff (1985:77). On this issue, Gressmann assumed that independent sagas extended from the oral stage directly to the literary stage (Childs 1979:166-167). The issue of cult is also not left out. Scholars such as J Pedersen have proposed a cultic theory to explain the history of the tradition. Pedersen’s argument is that the whole complex of Exodus 1-15 came into being through cultic legends, which had historicised the various elements that constituted the original ceremony into a narrative form (Childs 1979:167). Von Rad elaborating on the cultic theory suggests that a festival at Gilgal was the locus of the Exodus tradition, while Shechem was that of the Sinai tradition (Childs 1979:167).

In summary, one can say that, like other books of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Bible in general, the book of Exodus has gone through several phases of scholarship over the centuries. It has undergone source criticism and the supposition is that the legal rules of “P” in its oral stage established a link with the cultic celebration of the Passover, which is presupposed to have developed first from an oral stage to its present literary stage. The Passover, as argued in this chapter, forms a major part of God’s mighty acts of salvation on behalf of Israel. The celebration marks the commemoration of God’s salvific acts for Israel, which represents the present human race and is not just a mere festivity.

The background history of Exodus presented above therefore prepares the ground for recent studies of the interpretation of the Passover as a salvific feast that put an end to the slavery of the

Israelites and ushered them into the Promised Land (Childs 1974:185; 1979:167). The next part of this survey will consider the most recent commentaries on Exodus and the Exodus tradition chronologically, beginning from the newest.

As Dozeman (2009:1) has pointed out, the term Exodus refers to the departure of Israel from Egypt and their salvation from slavery, both of which form the central event in the first half of the book but do not cover other events that are part and parcel of the book. These include stories of Israel's initial wilderness journey, the revelation of the law and the tabernacle at Mount Sinai. In other words, emphasising the theme of liberation as the central theme of the book, based on the title of the book, does not do justice to the content of the entire book. To Dozeman (2009:1), the book of Exodus is not only concerned with the liberation of Israel from slavery but it includes the theophany at Sinai, the wilderness wandering, and so forth. On this issue, one could agree with Dozeman as Exodus means different things to different people based on their context and need.

Johnstone (2007:371), on the other hand, considers the book of Exodus as that which tells the story of the origins of the people of Israel through the power of Yahweh their God. This perspective appears to blend with the theme of identity. Johnstone (2007:371) adds that the Exodus also includes stories of how God heard and responded positively to the cries of the Israelites in Egypt and delivered them with his mighty hand. For him, Exodus is a book of identity, which materialized through God's gracious act of salvation of Israel. The name Exodus therefore gives a clear indication of the content of the book, that is, "going out" or "release from slavery" (Myers 2005:1; Johnstone 2007:371; and Dozeman 2009:1).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, scholars adopted the Documentary Hypothesis to identify and distinguish different source traditions in the Pentateuch using the so-called 'higher criticism.' Despite these efforts, only the D source was easy to identify and it was associated with the book of Deuteronomy. They also distinguished the P source, which was concerned with legal/priestly materials. The rest of the Pentateuchal books were then assigned to J, which covered the historical narratives while E took care of additional materials in the Pentateuch (Gmirkin 2006:22).

However, the J source was assigned a date of 850-800 BCE and held as the primitive source in the Jewish religion, which regarded the oral and not the written source as priority (Gmirkin 2006:22). Reference was made to the Decalogue, the Tablets of Moses, and the Book of the Covenant, but only in verbal terms. The oral Torah was used rather than written regulations. It seems that the Documentary Hypothesis did not receive much attention in the past and, at present, it is considered outdated. However, a closer review of the hypothesis may provide some clues on the development of the book of Exodus from the oral stage of the J source to the written stage of the D, P, and E sources (Gmirkin 2006:22, 23).<sup>31</sup> It may provide a clue to the development of the cultic rituals including the Passover from an oral stage to a written stage. Based on this assumption, we would like to argue that, although they are currently considered outdated, the documentary sources remain the core of source information on the development of the books and cultic activities in the Pentateuch, and in the Old Testament, in general. From the above source information also, one can establish some interplay between oral and written sources in the world of the Old Testament.

For Myers (2005:1), the Exodus is seen as a part of the larger literary unit called the Pentateuch or the Torah. The book of Exodus has some connections to the book of Genesis that is established through the phrase, וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, “*and these are the names.*” The phrase refers to the descendents of Jacob who are mentioned at the end of Genesis and whose story of slavery and liberation in Egypt is then told in the book of Exodus. Myers notes also that Exodus starts with the story of the Israelites being subjected to enforced service to a human ruler but ends with their willing service to God, the divine ruler (Myers 2005:1).

The story of Israel’s sojourn in and liberation from Egypt as found in the book of Exodus is resounded in other books of the Hebrew Bible such as the Psalms, the Prophets, and the historical narratives. The sojourn and liberation story then form the first part of the Exodus story and the foundation on which the second part, the covenant and the tabernacle, is built. The

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<sup>31</sup> The J source was dated 850-800 BCE, the E source was dated eighth century, the D source was dated 621 BCE in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, while the P source was dated 444 BCE, according to the Documentary Hypothesis (Gmirkin 2006:23).

Exodus story also integrates major Israelite rituals into the story of departure and is a major focus of scholarly concern especially as regards the question of historicity (Myers 2005:1).

Carpenter (1999:606) presents the central theme of the entire book of Exodus as “God’s preservation and creation of his people in Egypt.” The descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were the people through whom God would renew his “creation community.” The recreation of God’s “creation community” as a dynamic, holy, righteous, loving, and knowledgeable community is the centrepiece of the theology of Exodus. The references to Israel, people, and Moses, and the suffixal references to Israel exceed the references to Yahweh or God who is the leading figure in the book of Exodus. The book records a key epoch in God’s renewal of his relationship with his people. The author evaluates the book of Exodus in terms of identity formation and not just of liberation from slavery.

According to Propp (1999:33-34), Exodus is a book that relates the beginning of Israel as God’s people and the triumph of Yahweh their God (see also Weor 2006:41). Sarna (1991: xii), contributing on the subject matter, supports Propp (1999:33-34) thus:

The events of Exodus informed and shaped the future development of the culture and religion of Israel. It also influenced the ethical and social consciousness of Israel such that it is considered in the Torah as a motivational tool for protecting and promoting the interests and rights of the stranger and the disadvantaged of society (Sarna 1991: xii).

The drama of Exodus is considered a source of inspiration for the “theologies of liberation” movement in recent times (Sarna 1991: xii).

Furthermore, Ashby (1998:32), sharing his insight from the African perspective and context, argues that, “the book of Exodus is a cry for help arising from a situation of brutal oppression, desperation, political, social, religious, land, economic, and health crises in life.” He regards the movement of the Afrikaner settlers into the hinterland (now South Africa) to escape the British rule as a new book of Exodus of their time, while the British monarchy, in this case, was viewed as the contemporary Pharaoh and the Afrikaners as the oppressed Israelites (Ashby 1998:32).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ashby equally notes that Bob Marley, one of the popular musicians from an oppressed group had produced lyrics such as “Exodus, movement of the people” and “Then there is another brother, Moses, gone across the Reed Sea. You’ve got to break oppression, rule equality, wipe away transgression, set the captives free.” This, in a sense, is a



As in other fields of biblical interpretation, there is a lack of consensus in the past century in the interpretation of the book of Exodus. The book was examined using the historical approach from the early nineteenth century through the third quarter of the twentieth century. It was also attracted the interest of the literary approach or social criticism from the mid-1970s to date. That was not all, The interpretation of Exodus, in recent times, is faced with an increase in cultural studies that began in the late 1980s and early 1990s and culminated recently in postcolonial interpretations that embrace liberation theology and feminist interpretation (Segovia 2000:121). However, all these trends in the interpretation of the book of Exodus paid little attention to a theological approach that appreciates the reader and his/her interpretation, based on the reader's context, life experiences, cultural, ideological and pre-religious ideas, identity, circumstances, and stories of origin and migration.<sup>33</sup>

However, if the book of Exodus is considered a text for liberation particularly in the African context, how then could Africans (and the Tiv in particular) read, understand and interpret the book in their oral context that is associated with stories of origin and migration, poverty, famine, HIV/AIDS epidemic, and so forth? How possible is it to interpret the Passover in the book of Exodus among the Tiv when the reader-centred or theological approach is scantily employed? Even exegetes of Exodus that have adapted the theological approach maintain the theme of liberation, which has been considered by many scholars and exegetes as the most suitable method of interpreting Exodus in Africa (Bosman 2002:1491; Ashby 1998: xi).

This dissertation argues that more attention needs to be paid to the oral treatment reflected in the book of Exodus in relation to the Tiv people, and to Africa in general. The 'first text' of the Tiv is their life experiences, culture, socio-religious life, and stories of origin and migration, and so forth, and it is not the same as the book of Exodus. Nevertheless, similarities that are visible

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global recognition and profession that the Exodus tradition is a model of liberation from all manner of oppression (Ashby 1998:32).

<sup>33</sup> In the Masters research conducted in 2006 by this researcher, several trends in the interpretation of Exodus in Africa were detected and described (see also Chapter One of this study for details). It was observed that the trends in and modern commentaries on Exodus in Africa pay more attention to historical and literary approaches to interpretation<sup>33</sup> with scant attention given to the theological approach, which considers the reader in his/her context, and the reader's life experiences and stories.

enough exist, which could facilitate the interpretation of the book of Exodus among the Tiv by using analogy as an analytic tool. In other words, this study will engage in a social rhetorical analysis using a multidimensional approach to interpret Exodus. However, one would discover somehow that if orality is given a fair treatment in the interpretation of the book of Exodus among the Tiv, then a definite shift would occur from a simple interpretation of Exodus 12 as a liberation text to the appreciation of the book as a text for identity recognition (Robbins 1996a:1; Park 2010:43).

The survey of the interpretation of the book of Exodus in this chapter provides a structure that would indicate our present location in biblical interpretation. That being the case, we can talk of the continuity that exists between the book of Exodus and of Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch (Ska 2006:146-147). A three-part division has been distinguished by exegetes of the book of Exodus namely:

1. The departure from Egypt (Ex.1:1-15:21);
2. The journey from Egypt to Sinai (15:22-18:27);
3. Israel in Sinai: the covenant and the laws (19-40). This is further distinguished into three parts: (a) the covenant (Ex.19-24); (b) the breach of the covenant, and its renewal (32-34); and (c) the instructions for the building of the sanctuary and their execution (25-31; 35-40) [Ska 2006:26-27].

With the structure of the book of Exodus outlined above as a point of departure, one can argue that the interpretation of the Passover text in Exodus is being developed on the memory of the exit from Egypt through the crossing of the Sea of Reeds and the journey to Sinai. However, the understanding of the Passover tradition in Exodus 12:1-28 in this study will be based on its commemoration which stirs fresh memories of the beginning of the journey from Egypt and in a sense forms part of the identity of the celebrants from one generation to another. Orality as well as its interplay with the literary text of Exodus 12:1-28 is equally emphasised since the two need to work together to produce a contextual exegesis that will be more relevant to Africans especially to the Tiv people (Ska 2006:26-27).

### **3.2 Research of the Passover in Exodus as Tradition**

The Exodus tradition refers to the act of remembering the Exodus event in one's own context, cultural background, time, age and circumstance, and expressing it in the present circumstance to produce a new understanding that is acceptable to others. This can be achieved through oral retelling of the Exodus events in the present in order to draw from such past stories, similarities that are found in the present life situation. The views of a number of scholars on the Exodus tradition will be discussed under this heading.

Fishbane (1979:121) refers to the events of the Exodus as paradigmatic teachings for the present and future where an objective past recurrently gives way to a subjectivized event of the present. This is achievable when allusions to the past Exodus events are made in the present. It seems that Fishbane is also inclined to the popular thematic discussion of the Exodus tradition, like several other scholars examined above.

For his part, Burden (1994:17) presents the Exodus tradition as the rescue from Egypt, the Wilderness Wandering, and the Sinai Theophany. The above definition is also thematic and is in line with the popular discussion of the Exodus tradition among many scholars these days. However, Burden does not specify what exactly the Exodus people accepted, confessed, and passed on from generation to generation.<sup>34</sup>

McConville (1997:601-604) regards the Exodus tradition as the heart of the Old Testament faith. It is the supreme example of Yahweh's saving activity on behalf of Israel, his chosen people. Accordingly, the Exodus is used as a paradigm for all acts of salvation. In Israelite traditions, the Exodus served as a symbol of God's deliverance and played a prominent role in other books of the Hebrew Bible as Tate (2006:128) has also affirmed.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> That is to say, the author fails to state clearly and categorically what has been transmitted as being drawn from the past to the new generation, the means by which such a thing was transmitted, and who transmitted it. The present study, therefore, differs from Burden on this note, since it is assumed that tradition has a history behind it that could be reshaped and retold in the present. It must have transmitters and means of transmitting it from one generation to the other such as stories, songs, folk lore, proverbs, and written documents.

<sup>35</sup> Perdue (1994:45-47) considers tradition as history from three different perspectives:

(a) Tradition history seeks to determine the social group or groups responsible for the formulation and transmission of a tradition. In this case, communities of priests, sages, scribes, and prophets are thought to

Although the abovementioned authors present Exodus as the heart of the Old Testament faith, they fail to explain how such faith is revealed to the believing community in our present generation. Regarding Exodus as the heart of the faith of the believing community in the past and the present comes through oral profession of Yahweh's deeds to humanity. As communities continue to retell the past stories of Exodus in their own time and circumstances and pass them on to subsequent generations, the stories become the Exodus tradition made new in their own context.

In a similar way, Dozeman's (2009:51) recent research sees the Exodus tradition as the events in Exodus that have been the source of ongoing interpretation from the time of the ancient Israelites to the present. It represents an ongoing report of the commemoration of the Israelites' liberation from Egyptian slavery, their trek to Sinai and the revelation that took place at Sinai/Horeb. It includes also the Decalogue, the Passover celebration that continued after the exit from Egypt, the Crossing of the Reed Sea, the Wilderness Wandering in which God provided care for Israel who complained over water and food, and the crossing of the Jordan to inherit Canaan. These all belong to the Exodus tradition (Noth 1962:6-18; Sarna 1991: xii; Kitchen 1992:700; Hahn 1999:364; Keesmaat 1999:16-17).

The Passover is related to and encompasses different other aspects of the Exodus tradition as follows:

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- be responsible for shaping traditions that reflect their own peculiar beliefs, vocabulary, and social functions.
- (b) Tradition history is concerned with localization, that is, the role that geographical and cultural contexts play in the development and transmission of a tradition. It recognizes that traditions were carried by their social groups during their migrations, even while leaving behind a deposit in the earliest locales.
  - (c) Tradition history is the specific social, political, and religious dynamics present in the tradition. Such dynamics are subject to change over the course of a tradition's growth.

Perdue's definition, which refers to the work of Von Rad (1901-1971), indicates that tradition was viewed as tradition history long before the recent acknowledgement. Tradition has behind it, a history, transmitters and a mode of transmission, and it has to do with the retelling of the past in a manner that can be reshaped. Perdue (1994:45-47), however, fails to discuss the mode of transmission in his treatment of tradition. In our view, tradition has to be flexible and not static; but if it cannot be passed on to subsequent generations, then it is incomplete.

- *Coming out of Egypt* - this marks the beginning of the Passover, which was meant to usher the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt. It was commemorated as a liberation feast to mark the salvific act of God on behalf of Israel (Hahn 1999:364).
- *Crossing the Sea of Reeds* - after the people of Israel came out of Egypt, they had to cross the Sea of Reeds, which was another wonder that God performed to prove Himself as Yahweh the God of Israel. The Israelites once again were allowed to cross on the dry ground while their enemies got drowned in the sea with their chariots. In a sense, this was another Passover commemoration; but it was performed only in a different form (Hahn 1999:364; Dozeman 2009:3-4).
- *Sinai/Horeb* - after crossing the Sea of Reeds, the people were asked to purify themselves to meet God on the mountain of Sinai. There, God appeared to them in glory. The people, rather than nature, trembled during the Sinai theophany. That was not all; they were given the “ten words” called the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) and they entered into a covenant relationship with God. One can conclude that, in this case, the Passover in Egypt is connected to the Decalogue since it happened after the Ten Plagues were released and it was followed strictly by instructions that were given by Yahweh. The commandments were similar to Yahweh’s commandments at Sinai, which if the people followed, would enable them to avoid death or punishment (Johnstone 2007:374-378; Dozeman 2009:4).
- *The Wilderness Wandering* - after the Sinai theophany and the introduction of the Decalogue, the people wandered in the desert for forty years. God maintained his act of providence to them in exchange for their obedience as was contained in the covenant package. On his side, God remained faithful but the people failed several times. They complained about food and water and regretted leaving Egypt. They forgot the care and the salvific act of God toward them. The Lord provided for them but later destroyed the whole old generation that came out of Egypt allowing only the new generation born in the wilderness to inherit the Promised Land. In this case also, the act could allude to the Passover as a commemoration of God’s covenant law to his people that stipulated that obedience to God is rewarded with life and disobedience rewarded with the death penalty (Olson 2003:611; Dozeman 2009:2).

- *Crossing the River Jordan* - There was yet another crossing of the Sea of Jordan. This time it was done to usher the people of God into the Promised Land. It was another Passover, which marked the fulfilment of God's promises to their ancestors - Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The different theological traditions outlined above, i.e. early/late Priestly and Deuteronomistic traditions, which evolved over centuries, indicate that the Passover tradition varies with people, time, need, circumstance, place and context. Although the mode of celebration, place, time, and audience may differ, the salvific theme of the Passover and its primary aim of celebration, which is the commemoration of the salvific act of God on behalf of his people Israel, are maintained (Childs 1979:186-187; Myers 2005:104-105).

According to Myers (2005:104-105), the Passover ritualised the past in order to shape and preserve group identity based on the memory of the Exodus. In other words, the Exodus tradition is not mere history but it is a traditional way through which a society remembers its past. The celebration of the Passover linked two different farming practices in ancient Israel together - that of grains and animals or that of peasants and nomads, respectively. Although the two farming systems were carried out in different ways, they shared a common goal of celebrating the fertility of the land and animals for the survival of subsistence farmers (Myers 2005:103).

Furthermore, Myers (2005:103) explains that, "The Passover is not just a commemorative feast but an experiential feast since it engages with the past and brings forward the past memories/happenings and makes it and its values to form part of the experiences of the present generation and/or audience that celebrates it". The experiences of the present celebrants remind them of the Exodus narratives and motif, which in turn shape their identity as the Exodus did to the Israelites during the time of their celebrations (Myers 2005:103).

One may argue therefore that although the Passover stemmed from the pre-history of Israelite cultic practices and Israel adapted it at a later stage to suit her needs, it serves the same or a similar purpose in our time of need and circumstances in Africa. Irrespective of the way and time, the Passover is celebrated or the audience involved, the memories that it brings are fresh in

the minds of the celebrants, as they are reminded of their identity and the salvific motif of its earliest celebration by Israelites.

The celebration could take place at the family level as it did during the period of the 'J' source (Ex. 23) or at a central or public place similar to its earliest celebration in the Deuteronomic (D) reform. Otherwise, the order could be reversed entirely as in the Priestly (P) time particularly in the post-exilic period (Childs 1979:186).

Clearly, Myers understands the Passover as a significant example of the Exodus tradition or narrative of origin and migration, which, in a sense, commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity although different variables are attached to it as regards its contexts in the Old Testament. The variables consist of the following:

**Terminology** - Different terminologies are associated with the Passover text. As a priestly feast, the Passover is regarded as a Passover "of the Lord" or "to the Lord," indicating that it is done in honour of Yahweh who delivered his people from slavery in Egypt (Hyatt 1971:135; Osborn & Hatton 1999:280).

**Place** - The Passover takes place in different locations. At the priestly level, it was celebrated in temples and in holy sanctuaries; while at the non-priestly level, it was celebrated in the family (Levinson 2000:274; Johnstone 2007:374; and Dozeman 2009:6).

**Date** - The Passover took place on different dates or in different periods. It was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month of *Abib* at twilight in the Priestly tradition and on the first day of the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan in the evening in the non-Priestly tradition (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270; and Bruckner 2008:109).

**Sacrifice** - Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover. In the Priestly tradition, a bull, a goat, a sheep, and oil, etc., were required for the Passover sacrifice, while in the non-Priestly tradition, an unblemished lamb was required for the Passover sacrifice (Thompson 1994:382).

**Preparation** - The Passover was performed in different ways. The mode of preparation for the Priestly tradition entailed boiling the Passover animal in water while in the non-Priestly tradition,

it entailed roasting the Passover animal over fire (Levinson 2000:276; Christensen 2001:335; McConville 2002:273; Jonker 2003:52).

**Officials** - The Passover celebration was presided over by different people. While the priests, Levites, kings and princes were the officiating officials in the Priestly tradition, the father or head of the family officiated in the non-Priestly tradition (Wiseman 1993:305; Tigay 1996:155)

**Links with Unleavened Bread** - There are different links between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Priestly tradition. For example, the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were celebrated as combined feasts under one festival calendar to commemorate the exit from Egypt. However, in the non-Priestly tradition, the Feast of Unleavened Bread was distinguished from the Passover. The Feast of Unleavened Bread, in that case, was celebrated as an agricultural festival commemorating the bountiful yield granted by Yahweh to his people whereas the Passover was a pastoral and nomadic festival commemorating the movement of the nomads from one grazing place to the other in search of grazing fields for their cattle (Fretheim 1991a:252; Houtman 1993:154).

### **3.3 Survey of Oral Exodus Tradition**

In this section, the discussion will centre on scholarly views of oral Exodus tradition. The role played by oral tradition in the Passover narrative of Exodus 12 will be considered alongside the interplay between oral and written traditions in the Passover text of Exodus 12. A summary will be attempted of the views of some Scandinavian scholars who draw attention to the neglected role that oral tradition played in Exodus.

According to Davis (2000:991), composers of the materials that now make up the Bible and other materials of the biblical times expected the majority of people who were exposed to their compositions to hear, rather than read, them. In other words, the compositions were structured for the ears, rather than for the eyes, since the literacy rate at that time was less than 10%. Clues to meaning and structure were heard by the audience because they had learned to communicate in a world where those clues were essential to understanding. Davis adds that the epic tales of the oral culture were and remain the basic means of education in an oral culture that is dependent more or less on interpersonal interaction than on an abstract set of values. That means moral norms, trade skills, history, and every aspect of communal life are passed on through oral



poetry.<sup>36</sup> In this case, knowledgeable people who are well versed in tradition would serve as transmitters, and the things they pass on, whether rituals or feasts, songs or dances, serve as themes of their tradition.

To understand the scholarship that appreciates the oral nature of the Old Testament theological traditions, one has to pay attention to the so-called Scandinavian School. The designation, “Scandinavian School,” is a new name given to Scandinavian scholars of both Old and New Testament studies who hold views that are explicitly different from German exegetes. The name, which is more of a nickname, is given to those scholars by their colleagues in North America even though they themselves never thought that they were a school (Helmer 1992:1001).

Scholars from northern Europe (the Scandinavian or Uppsala School) observed the importance of the cult as a creative context for the origin and transmission of oral tradition (Hees 2005:765). Emphasis was placed on the psychological aspects of the people’s life and their culture. Citing the views of Birkeland, one of the Scandinavian scholars, on the oral tradition behind the prophetic books, Nielson (1954:13) stresses that, “Old Testament literature is a product of ancient oriental culture. That means that writing is always secondary, used for the one purpose of preserving the oral message from destruction, whereas oral tradition is primary, creative, sustaining and shaping”. However, he adds to Birkeland’s view by stressing that the prophets were men or women of the spoken word and that their books were compositions, which were based on oral tradition (Nielsen 1954:13, 30).

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<sup>36</sup> In an oral community, as Davis rightly notes, traditional materials are best preserved through the community’s joint efforts rather than individual thoughts. Traditional materials, in this case, deal with matters of high practicality and interest, meaning that, once an idea or procedure loses its validity or usefulness, it is forgotten. The oral societies tend to be very conservative, maintaining equilibrium for generations (Davis 2000:991). Davis’ view of oral tradition above suggests that he is one of those who presuppose the gradual development of oral texts into the present literary text. He also maintains that oral tradition remains a means of education and communication even in this time of literary compositions, which, in a sense, proves the interplay between oral and written texts. In other words, even in high literacy rated centuries, the exegesis of the written text may only be conducted through oral means that helps in recovering the original meaning behind the history of texts. The history behind the text is recovered through oral sayings such as storytelling, singing of songs, performance of rituals, recitation of short sayings and proverbs, which serve as clues that could facilitate understanding by the audience (Davis 2000:991).

### 3.3.1 J Pedersen 1940

Pedersen (1940:85), one of the Scandinavian scholars, was a strong opponent of literary source criticism. That, in a sense, is an indication that he was more inclined to tradition history (the world behind the text) than literary criticism. He analyzed the thought world of the Old Testament by letting the texts speak for themselves without the introduction of modern categories. In his view, the texts must make meaning by themselves, and this can only be achieved through the recollection and retelling of the history behind such texts. He was of the opinion that the Exodus story was the cult legend of the Passover (Helmer 1992:1001).<sup>37</sup>

Pedersen (1940:85) discusses the Passover in terms of a re-living of the old common history of Israel - a history in which there was no political unity but in which fellowship was centred on ancient sacred treasures such as the Ark of the Covenant. The Passover was a common ritual assembly or unifying force that enhanced communal fellowship between all existing smaller units of Israel after their dispersal through Canaan (Pedersen 1940:85).

The community of Israel was acting through the chief who was the leader of the Passover feast and was the only one through whom Yahweh's spirit worked like Moses who played the role of a mediator between God and the entire Israelite community in the first Passover in Egypt (Pedersen 1940:85). The chief, in this case, could be regarded as the transmitters just as Moses, and the redemptive act of God served as the theme of the Passover. The oral instructions of the Passover and its real celebration awakened the memories of the salvific acts of God in history on behalf of his people Israel from generation to generation (Pedersen 1940:85). One may argue therefore that the latter Passover text developed from the former oral text.

### 3.3.2 J Nielsen (1954)

According to Nielsen (1954: 32), there is a possibility of some interplay between oral and written traditions in ancient times and in the Old Testament in particular (see Deut 31, the Song of

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<sup>37</sup> However, if the Exodus story is a cult legend of the Passover instead of the Passover being a cult legend to the Exodus, it means Pedersen acknowledges the Exodus as the main tradition or theme while the Passover, in this case, serves as a ritual done in commemoration of the Exodus (God's deliverance). The above discussion, then, finds a place in the Passover text of Exodus 12.

Moses). The oral Exodus tradition existed in the form of recitation of poems by those who were creators or masters of such traditions, singing of songs, and telling various types of stories by those who have gained mastery of such stories or songs to those who have little or no idea of them. Oral Exodus traditions are inherited or passed down orally from one generation to the other. The inherited traditions were later developed into written texts to serve as a means of control of or an aid to oral recitation (Nielsen 1954:32-33).<sup>38</sup> That does not mean that the oral Exodus tradition was not subject to control without its written form, otherwise, one would misunderstand the assertion. The oral texts developed gradually into a literary text but maintained their significance and strength (Nielsen 1954:37).<sup>39</sup>

Nielsen (1954:58) considers oral Exodus traditions particularly in the area of the transmission of the laws of the Old Testament, which portray the father's oral teaching of his household, especially his sons, as acts of oral transmission. Such laws were normally connected to great and historic festivals such as the Passover feast. In this case, we shall argue that the festivals are, in a sense, the themes of that oral transmission, while the father is the transmitter of the particular tradition (Nielsen 1954:58).

### **3.3.3 | Engnell (1970)<sup>40</sup>**

In terms of chronological sequence, the discussion of Engnell should have followed that of Martin Noth in this section. However, the chronological order will be ignored here to enable us group and discuss Engnell alongside his other Scandinavian colleagues.

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<sup>38</sup> In his discussion of Engnell and Nyberg, Nielsen (1954:33) points out that the reduction to writing is linked with a general crisis of confidence. That is to say, at a point in time, faith in the spoken word began to waver, and it was thought necessary to write down the traditions. The writing was necessary also because of influence from neighbouring cultures, the menace of political disintegration, the dying out of the traditionalists, the wish for safeguards to make the traditions as secure as possible in periods of cultural fusion, and so forth.

<sup>39</sup> Control, as used in the above context, refers to the preservation of acceptable oral norms of the Passover ritual through a written form so that it will be free from internal and external corruption. By corruption or adulteration here is meant the forces that might add to or take out certain facts from those that were orally accepted and documented in the memories of the original celebrants of the Passover ritual. Putting in writing the accepted stipulations of the Passover that were dictated by the original celebrants help subsequent celebrants to review and identify with what was done by their forefathers (Nielsen 1954:37).

<sup>40</sup> Engnell's study is older than 1970 but this study draws on the 1970 publication, which provides a good summary of Engnell's older research.

Engnell is one of the Scandinavian scholars who presuppose that the literary text of the Old Testament has the character of an oral literature and it was only written down at a relatively late period (Engnell 1970:6). The written text, according to the author, is just but a repetition or translation into a readable text of the already existing tradition that had long reached a fixed form orally. That means that oral transmission played a fundamental role in the origin and growth of the Old Testament. Transmitters of the tradition adhered closely to the form of the tradition, which they had inherited so that they could preserve relatively the independence of their tradition from environmental or foreign cultures.

Engnell (1970:8) adds that, to determine the role of oral tradition or factors on which the forms of the tradition depend, one must consider the occurrence of doublets and variants and the application of the so-called epic laws in narrative portions of literature. According to Engnell (1970:65), oral and written traditions should not be understood as antitheses, which mutually exclude one another but rather as two traditions running parallel and complementing each other. The process of writing down an existing tradition does not imply the creation of something absolutely new but only writing down of things that have already existed. Engnell (1970:193) seems to emphasize the interplay between written and oral tradition, which, in a sense, is an acceptable fact as far as the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 is concerned. Engnell (1970:193) further said that the Passover continued to be a cultic drama whose ritual text is preserved in the so-called Exodus legend<sup>41</sup>. The drama was found in the plagues while the Passover of Exodus 12 forms the focal point of the ritual.

Based on Engnell's (1970:8) view above regarding oral Exodus tradition, one would agree that there are traces of oral tradition in the literary text of Exodus 12. Moreover, the calendar of the Passover was set in spring, in the month of *Abib*, which is a memorable month for farmers (Pedersen 1940:385, 444).<sup>42</sup> The suggestion here is that there is some interplay between oral and written phases of the oral Exodus tradition.

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<sup>41</sup> The term legend is used in this case to refer to recitation, that is, a ritual text.

<sup>42</sup> See Pedersen (1940:385, 444) for the Passover calendar and rules.

### 3.3.4 M Noth (1962)

The study by Noth, one of the most important German critical scholars of the twentieth century, concentrates on historical and literary issues from a critical perspective but appreciates the rich narrative in Exodus particularly the first part of the book, which deals with the historical events regarding Israel, God's chosen people (Noth 1962:6-18). Noth regards Exodus, like the rest of the Pentateuchal books, as a saga-tradition<sup>43</sup> that emerged, developed, and was transmitted through the mouths of narrators within the community as they gathered on cultic occasions (Noth 1981:44). That means the Passover also underwent tradition history; it was orally conveyed before being documented in written form. This can be seen in its cultic confession of faith through which, on most occasions, the mighty acts of God in pre-history and early history were celebrated and manifested. Thus, it formed one of the themes of the transmitted text of Exodus (Noth 1962:6-18; Weor 2006:15-18).

Although Noth (1962:6-18) does not concentrate on oral Exodus tradition directly, his discussion suggests that the saga could be regarded as part of the foundation of the development of the oral Exodus tradition into writing. This could be an indication of the continued role of oral Exodus tradition in the Passover tradition from one generation to another. Therefore, the more a person participated in the real celebration of the Passover, the more he/she engages in the oral transmission of its cultic activities such as prayers, singing, and recitation of laws, and so forth.

### 3.3.5 G Von Rad (1965/1972)

Gerhard von Rad was a German Old Testament scholar who developed the "tradition history" approach to the Old Testament as a new appreciation for its message (Knight 1992:635). His study developed from Gunkel's form criticism and he presented the confession of Israel's faith, "*Yahweh is our God,*" as the real tradition (Von Rad 1972). A different but related confession projecting Yahweh as the God of history is found in the Passover text of Exodus 12 (Ex. 12:11). In the two confessions of Israel's faith, Yahweh and the Passover are considered as the main traditions that were passed down orally from one generation to the other (Crenshaw 1998:529).

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<sup>43</sup> Saga-tradition, in the sense used above, refers to the emergence of a tradition without a particular author. Rather, the tradition emerged, developed and was transmitted by word of mouth. In other words, the saga-tradition is usually found in a situation, which the history of a people is born by the tribal community (Noth 1981:44).

Whenever the confession was made in any generation, the people were reminded of the covenant relationship between God and their forefathers as well as the saving act of God in the past and at present (Von Rad 1972:16-17). That means that oral Exodus tradition is kept in the collective memory of the believing community from generation to generation.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.3.6 B S Childs (1977)

Childs has employed a form-critical and tradition-historical method in his interpretation of Exodus, but he does not dwell much on the pre-history of the text. The historical development behind the final form of the biblical text is treated in considerable detail with regard to both the oral and the literary aspects. His approach to the interpretation of Exodus aims to bring to light the forces at work in shaping its oral tradition.<sup>45</sup> Although Childs focuses more on the final form of the text, his study is valuable because it traces the historical development behind the final text.

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<sup>44</sup> In her study on oral tradition, Niditch (1996:69) has emphasized the importance of the “*oral world*” as a cultural period that is important to the Old Testament and its literature. The term oral as used in this context refers to the early or prehistoric period when literary works were not as common as the mouth-to-mouth transmission of the community’s historical realities and experiences (Niditch 1996:69; Hees 2005:766). One could argue that even during that period of civilization, oral tradition played a significant role in the interpretation of literary works. That implies that literary text of the Old Testament has a prehistory behind it, which is best uncovered through oral profession. According to Niditch (1996:69), the oral world behind the Old Testament literature is identified through repetition of words and sayings such as in poetry and other forms of literary narratives. Thus, one may conclude that Niditch’s view applies to the Passover text of Exodus 12, which contains traces of oral repetition in certain verses. However, one must refrain from stressing that repetition is the tool for identifying the oral traditions behind a literary text because it is one of the literary devices used in poetry. Gnuse (1999:384-385) is one of the scholars who have gone beyond a mere presupposition of an oral pre-history behind Pentateuchal narratives. He has done a careful scrutiny of the present literary text and come up with some of the stages of the pre-historic developmental process, which include the original form, message, and social setting. A careful study of the Passover text of Exodus 12 also reveals that it has traces of an oral transmission that emanated from a stage in which oral transmission took pre-eminence over literary works. The Passover tradition was transmitted orally within the community from generation to generation before its literary development. There is no mention or clear evidence from the text of Exodus 12 that God gave Moses a written instruction to guide the people in celebrating the Passover. The entire encounter took place orally, yet the people of Israel were able to understand and carry out correctly what Yahweh expected of them. They, in a similar vein, passed the oral information to their children in later generations. The process continued even in the literary period. As Noth attested, the oral confessions and recitations are still in use whenever the Jews celebrate the Passover. The Passover is the main theme that is celebrated under sub-themes such as Yahweh is our God, the Passover feast is for God, and Rescue from Slavery in Egypt. The Jewish community and the priests are responsible for the transmission (1999:384-385).

<sup>45</sup> Childs (1977:1-4). According to Tate (2006:252), the oral Exodus tradition refers to information passed from one generation to another by word of mouth. With regards to biblical texts particularly Exodus 12, oral tradition relates to both the Old and New Testaments whose materials were orally transmitted during various periods before they were developed into the written form as we have it in the Pentateuch. Themes such as the patriarchal stories, Moses, Aaron, and the Exodus circulated as oral tradition long before they were developed into written documents. It is believed that the sayings of Jesus had been transmitted orally by his followers for some decades before becoming the basis for the Gospel. Just as oral tradition lies behind the biblical text of the Old Testament, the story of the Church in Acts of the Apostles also rely on oral tradition (Tate 2006:252). Tate acknowledges the interplay between oral and written texts, which cannot be separated easily.

He is appreciated mostly for his acknowledgement of the fact that the forces at work in an oral and even a written text can be discovered through tradition history, which deals more or less with oral transmission. Furthermore, since oral transmission forms the core of the Passover text of Exodus 12, one may be right to say that Childs also recognizes that oral traces are found in the Passover text particularly in vv. 1, 3, and 21.

### 3.3.7 C Houtman (1993)

Houtman (1993:18) devotes explicit attention to the history of interpretation of biblical tradition in all its stages, both within and without the Hebrew canon. Nevertheless, he maintains that the only source of information on Israel's arrival and stay in Egypt, as well as the departure from Egypt is the Bible (Bosman 2002:1490). Houtman (1993) is appreciated for his interpretation of biblical traditions at all levels, which, presumably, includes the oral stage.

If the presupposition is true, then, one could add that Houtman (1993:18) also supports the idea of a gradual development of the text from oral to written. The detailed history of Israel, which, he says, can only be found in the Bible, is true but in later centuries, it developed into the written form. However, one could argue further that what we have in the Bible as the so-called detailed history of Israel originated from the oral version. Moreover, in its literary form, its authenticity remains challenged since it continues to undergo further expansion or development.

### 3.3.8 WHC Propp (1999)

Propp's approach to the Bible is basically anthropological, while his goal is to understand Israel's social institutions and perceptions of reality. He uses folktale analysis in his interpretation of the *pesah-massot* as a rite of purification and riddance (comments on Ex. 12:1-13:16). Therefore, one could infer that Propp has also presupposed an oral transmission of the text particularly the Passover text of Exodus 12. This is evident from his choice of storytelling as a method of biblical analysis, which is one of the means of oral transmission. Regarding the Passover text of Exodus 12, v. 27 shows that the parents in the older generation employed orality or verbal words to explain the Passover to their children: "... *you shall say, it is the Passover sacrifice to Yahweh...*" (וְאָמַרְתֶּם זִבְחַ־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה).

In this case, parents were responsible for the oral transmission of the Passover tradition, which was done in remembrance of Yahweh's saving acts to their forefathers in Egypt.

### **3.3.9 T Fretheim (2003)**

Fretheim (2003:257) presents the Exodus tradition as God's activity in the Exodus events, which prepared the grounds for God's present action on behalf of the community (Ps. 74:2; Isa. 63:10-15). In other words, the Exodus tradition is presented as a paradigm for God's acts among human beings. In our view, the Exodus tradition is not just a concept used in our time to refer to God's acts among human beings; it is the recollection of God's acts in the past and at present, in relation to the life experiences of present readers and interpreters of Exodus. It involves the reinterpretation of the original Exodus event at present through the interplay of the oral or written Exodus text and the life experiences of present readers and interpreters.<sup>46</sup>

In summary, the oral Exodus tradition is based on the handing down of a certain heritage or historical reality from one generation to the other through word of mouth. From the engagement with the above scholars, it is clear that oral tradition is the bedrock upon which some literary works are built. In addition, one can say that the oral text is found side-by-side with the written text and that any attempt on the part of the exegete to separate the two will not yield fruitful results. It is worth mentioning also that oral traditions exist as themes as in the case of the Passover, which is a theme in Exodus 12. The traditions are also transmitted by people from one point or era to the other.

### **3.4 Research of the Written Exodus tradition**

This section will review scholarly discussions on the written Exodus tradition. The works of both classical and contemporary scholars on the subject matter will be discussed as well as the link between the written and the oral Exodus tradition.

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<sup>46</sup> According to Schmidt (2001:248), the Exodus tradition, as presented in the Old Testament, is the basic act of election (Hos. 12:9; 13:4; Ex. 20:2; Ps. 114:1-2) as redemption (Ex. 6:6; Deut. 7:8). These events are remembered during the feasts of Passover and Tabernacle but are never changed to suit present needs. The author, therefore, considers relating the past Exodus events to the present or locating them in present realities. For instance, the fellowship meal that God had at Sinai with Israel (Ex. 24:11) is repeated in the present for all peoples (Is. 24:23; 25:6-8). This appears rather to be a thematic discussion or re-construction of the Exodus event to find its parallel at present and is not the real Exodus tradition.



### 3.4.1 M Noth (1962)

Noth (1962:6-18) focuses on the history of literary sources, which to a layperson may seem to be of academic importance. However, his commentary also appreciates the rich narrative in Exodus. According to Noth (1962:6-18), the final form of the book is found to be the result of a complicated process that involves the evolution of traditions as well as literary development. The results of the intensive work on the Pentateuch carried out for many generations show that Moses was not the sole author of all the books of the Pentateuch, as it has been attributed to him previously. When viewed as a whole document, the Pentateuch is seen to be more consistent in its authoritarian and literary character than when it is viewed in terms of separate sections in which different concepts and styles contradict one another.

The present Pentateuch is the result of originally independent written sources, each of which, in a separate literary work, had fixed the material of the Pentateuchal tradition in writing. Exodus comprises the written sources of J, E, and the P writer, with the first two being the older sources and the Priestly writer the later source. The content of Exodus makes its literary relationship more complicated than Genesis. The first part of Exodus, which tells of the exodus from Egypt and the beginning of Israel's wandering in the wilderness, shares the same interchange with the contributions of the different sources as in Genesis (Noth 1962:6-18).

The belief that the Old Testament laws are built on the Sinai covenant made other laws that might have existed outside the Sinai covenant source and literary development to be inserted into the original covenanted laws (Noth 1962:6-18). This is true of books of the covenant and the (ethical) Decalogue, excluding the so-called cultic Decalogue of Exodus 34, which is established in the context of the J narrative. The insertion of different passages with different frameworks into the structure of the three narrative sources identified above considerably disturbed it. We can then say that the central events of the theophany, the making of the covenant, and the giving of the law have attracted so many additions, which make the literary situation of Exodus more complicated. The Priestly source, on the other hand, has provided a summary survey of history as its framework, highlighting in detail only important individual events crucial to its theology, e.g. the creation, the flood and Noah's covenant, and the covenant with Abraham (Noth 1962:6-18).

The literary development of Exodus therefore should be reconstructed on the basis of the instability or non-uniformity in literary source developments existing in the Pentateuch (Noth 1962:14). The summaries of the fundamental acts of God in the pre-history and early history of Israel, including the Sinai theme, help much in construction and arrangements of the whole within the framework of the general Pentateuchal tradition. The narrative material especially the orally handed-down tradition also serves as a descriptive source of the concrete and living form that help one to determine the state of things with certainty at the pre-literary stage. The Jahwist, which is the anonymous author of this particular narrative structure in the Pentateuch, could be dated to the times of David and Solomon. He is the major representative of the older source since he belongs to the beginning of the transformation of the Pentateuchal tradition into written literature (Noth 1962:14).

According to (Noth 1962:14), the work of this anonymous author, which spans the whole of the Pentateuchal narrative material from creation to conquest, has two basic characteristics. One, the author preserved the older narrative material, which had either come to him in the existing framework or which had been preserved fresh and alive and often with its grandeur of conception. He then gave it a definitive form using his great narrative skill. Two, the author presented the great compilation of traditions, which had been produced in this way in the light of a salvation-history theology whose programme is formulated from Genesis 3:1-3, the story of the fall of man. By so doing, he did not throw out the cultic origin of the traditional themes and many of the individual items, but rather, let it fade very much into the background. The older traditions are spiritualised and rationalised in most cases, for example, the description of the making of the covenant (Ex. 34:1-28; Noth 1962:14).

Noth (1962:14) further notes that there is no cultic element here, but the decisive action consists of a revelation of the divine will that is similar to that of Genesis 12:1-3. For the Jahwist, the whole history is the province of divine action and not merely of cultic actions. The foreign policy in David's time did not influence the Jahwist theology, but the necessary conditions there provided the context for developing the Pentateuchal tradition into written literature. The Elohist tradition can also be distinguished in Exodus, although no vivid account of it is given, as is the

case in Genesis. It seems to be a continuous work that runs parallel to the Jahwist, but which is also independent. The Elohist is the less ancient tradition after Jahwist, but stands closer to the pre-literary stage of the Pentateuchal tradition than the Jahwist (Noth 1962:14).<sup>47</sup>

### 3.4.2 B S Childs (1977)

Childs (1977:1-4) argues that the book of Exodus must be separated from the descriptive and constructive elements of exegesis for a better theological understanding. He seeks to interpret Exodus as canonical Scripture within the theological discipline of the Christian church. The historical development behind the final form of the biblical text is treated in considerable detail with regard to both oral and literary aspects. We agree with Childs that Christian theologians should have the upper hand in the interpretation of the Bible, and that scholars should look behind the text in the interpretation of Exodus since most of the background information needed for any meaningful interpretation can be derived behind the text, which is historical and author-centred in character.

Childs (1977:1-4) also employs form-critical and tradition-historical analyzes in the interpretation of Exodus in order to bring to light those forces at work in shaping its oral tradition. The text, in its final form, forms the basis of his exegetical work on Exodus, as well as the historical forces at work in producing such a text. He maintains that interpreters have to approach the text in its canonical shape by using commentaries. The pre-history can only be useful in exegesis to illuminate the final text. The New Testament treatment of the Old Testament has been employed also as a conscious attempt to take seriously the Church's

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<sup>47</sup> The E narrative of the covenant making in Exodus 24:9-11 with its marked cultic presentation, for example, definitely belongs to an earlier stage of the history of tradition than the corresponding J narrative mentioned earlier. E is assumed to have had a special affinity with the prophecy. The Priestly writing P, nevertheless, borrowed from J and E traditions since it has no firsthand information in the narrative tradition. The P devoted his time to divine ordinances and instructions, which for him had eternal validity. Although P says God acts in history as described by J and E, the stress of the events lies on these ordinances and instructions in themselves, and once consent is given, they do not depend on history any more. For example, P describes the call of Moses, his negotiations with Pharaoh, and the plagues of Egypt after a few remarks that serve as transition (Ex. 6-11).

P believes that everything is done according to God's divine plan. Thus, even in the events, he fails to describe the step-by-step history of what happened on Pharaoh's side after each episode. The Passover, which is a divine ordinance, is reported in detail by P after the last plague in Exodus 14, which is followed by the story of the manna (Ex. 16). The Sinai event is important for P since Israel received the all-embracing ordinance by which the people were to live wherever they went. However, P mentions those events of overwhelming encounter between Israel and God (Noth 1962:14).

confession that its Scripture consists of an Old and a New Testament. The New Testament reading of the Old Testament, as included in the historical interpretation of Exodus, functions as the voice of the Apostles, which the Church hears alongside that of the prophets.

### **3.4.3 J Durham (1987)**

Durham (1987: xxiii) asserts that the Exodus tradition, for all its confessional and sometimes stylized language, has to do with the ancient memories of historical events. The historical events were celebrated by the Israelites using different theological expressions such as hymnic poetry and memorization in narrative summary. The poetry and narrative undergo modifications as they crossed one generation or period to the other until they reached the form in which they are preserved in the present Old Testament canon. For Durham, the Exodus tradition is the expression of such ancient memories in our present generation, drawn from the old confession, modified, and accepted by the practicing community.

We agree with Durham's claim that the Exodus tradition has to do with re-collections of the past confession of God's chosen people and its present modification or re-interpretation in a way that is acceptable to the present community of believers.

### **3.4.4 J Van Seters (1992)**

Van Seters (1992:35) is one of the scholars who do not presuppose the gradual development of the Passover text of Exodus 12 from oral to literary. He concentrates on the literary form of the text and its relationship to Deuteronomy–II Kings. However, the literary text of the Old Testament, including the Passover text of Exodus 12, existed orally before being developed into a written text. Therefore, one could begin with a literary consideration of the text before addressing the prehistory of the literary text and how can it be recovered. In Exodus 12, one would observe a trend of oral conversation at the beginning and at the end, specifically in vv. 1, 3 and 21. It can be argued that the present literary text contains the same words that were spoken by the ancient people, preserved orally in their memories, and transmitted from one generation to the other with some changes and expansion.

### **3.4.5 N Sarna (1991)**

Sarna (1991:691-692) discusses the Exodus tradition in thematic terms like several other scholars whose works have been outlined above. Sarna addresses issues such as the Exodus from Egypt, the Crossing of the Reed Sea, the Sinai Theophany (the corpus of legislation), the Wilderness Experience, and the Construction of the Tabernacle. For him, the themes constitute the so-called Exodus tradition since they form the foundation of Israel's faith and custom. The above events are also memorable and are passed from generation to generation. However, Sarna's thematic discussion of the Exodus tradition fails to state how those memorable events of the Exodus are transmitted from the past generation to the present generation.

### **3.4.6 C Houtman (1993)**

Although Houtman (1993) could be appreciated for his interpretation of biblical traditions at all levels, his effort lies in the special attention given to the final text of the Scripture as we have it, which contains the history or narrative of a chosen people of God that can be made real and better understood through oral means. However, Houtman has failed to establish a link between the oral and the written text in his discussion, which centres only on the written tradition. One would presuppose that the written text would be meaningful when it is orally communicated.

## **3.5 Research of Exodus 12**

The pericope of Exodus 12, as Osborn and Hatton (1999:270) point out, stands in contrast to Chapter 11:1-10, which is a narrative account of the actual departure from Egypt. Chapter 12 (particularly vv. 1-28), which forms the pericope of this study, deals with the instructions concerning the observance of the Passover. Osborn and Hatton note that the detailed instructions in 12:1-28 reflect later observance of the Passover after the Israelites settled in the Promised Land. The first part (12:1-20) records Yahweh's instructions to Moses and Aaron, while (12:21-28) records Moses' instructions to the people. The insertion of vv. 1-28 into the narrative at that point is to provide the background for the account of the tenth plague and the sudden departure of the Israelites in 12:29-42 (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270).

### 3.5.1 T Dozeman (2009)

According to Dozeman (2009:260), the interpretation of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the ‘P’ history is divided into three parts: vv.1-2 provides instruction for a new cultic calendar; vv.3-13 outlines the ritual of the Passover; and vv. 14-20 describes the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Furthermore, the Passover was not originally associated with the Exodus. On this point, Dozeman (2009:260) identifies with Bokser (1992:760) who also claims that the Passover was originally connected to a semi-nomadic festival, which took place during migration and which was meant to protect nomads and their flocks throughout the annual spring migration from the desert to arable land. Blood was used during the Passover feast to protect the Israelites from the destroyer in the same way the nomads used blood in their feast to protect them from the dragon. It is presupposed therefore that the Passover’s origin or pre-history is linked to an ancient Near Eastern holiday.

### 3.5.2 J K Bruckner (2008)

Bruckner (2008:108) considers Exodus 12 and 13 as a single literary unit, which describes the *פסח* “*Passover*” especially when one reads the text in a simple linear form. According to the author, we can understand better the different sections of the pericope of 12:1-28 by considering its subtle changing conversations and context and the themes of the pericope when we understand the internal structure and relationship between the paragraphs.<sup>48</sup> The Passover text of Exodus 12 structurally merges the three related themes of protection of the precious firstborn, the Passover Lamb, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in 12:1-13:16. Furthermore, the entire pericope above provides a chiasmic description of the first Passover as well as the institution of the legacy of Passover observance for generations to come as follows:

- A. First Passover instruction to Moses for the protection of the firstborn (12:1-13)
- B. First instruction to Moses on the Feast of Unleavened Bread (vv. 14-20)
- C. First Passover instruction to the people for the protection of firstborn (vv. 21-27)

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<sup>48</sup> The detailed outline for Exodus 12:1-28 is given by Bruckner (2008:100) as follows:

- (a) First Passover instruction to Moses for the protection of the firstborn (12:14-20);
- (b) First instruction regarding Feast of Unleavened Bread to Moses (21:14-20);
- (c) First Passover instruction to the people for protection of firstborn (12:21-27);
- (d) First historic Passover – Unleavened event: The Exodus (12:28-42).

- D. First historical Passover-Unleavened event: the Exodus (vv. 28-42)
- C. Perpetual Passover ordinance to Moses (vv. 43-51)
- B. perpetual Feast of Unleavened Bread ordinance to Moses (13:3-10)
- A. perpetual firstborn ordinance to the people (13:11-16)

The above outline provides information on the Passover Lamb in three distinct places (ACC), while (BDB) forms part of the dialogue between God and Moses or Moses, the leaders and entire people of Israel (Bruckner 2008:108).

### **3.5.3 C Myers (2005)**

Myers (2005:94) considers Exodus 12 as a text that has set forth long term interweaving of present actions with their future meaning regarding the escape from Egypt. For generations, the text of Exodus 12 has been seen as aetiology for the most enduring of Israelite festivals such as the Passover and not just as a vivid text tale for the departure of the Israelites from slavery. The roasted lamb and the unleavened bread, which are the major elements in the Passover of the Exodus 12 narrative, are forever intertwined with the notion of freedom from bondage (Myers 2005:94). Exodus and its freedom festival (the Passover) situated in springtime (12:2) initiates the marking of time in relation to the memory of the past rather than to the seasonal changes of nature (Propp 1999:383-388; Myers 2005:94).

In other words, the Exodus, as a national freedom feast, became the reference point for all mention of dates and understanding of time in Israel. Myers (2005:95-97) considers the text of Exodus 12 and the Passover as an inclusive text or feast for all social classes of people. This assertion seems correct especially when one considers the use of the expression, “the whole congregation” (Ex. 12:3, 47). Exodus 12 is a text that offers protection through the Passover celebration to all the people. In a sense, it strikes readers in different periods and circumstances as an identity and memorial text (Myers 2005:95-97).

### **3.5.4 G Coats (1999)**

Coats (1999:87) claims that the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-20 belongs to what is generally called the Priestly tradition while vv. 21-28 probably contains Jahwist materials. Nevertheless,

both share a common tradition as regards the Unleavened Bread, Passover, and death of the firstborn. The events contained in the two sections of Exodus 12 are embedded in the narrative of the preparation for and the event of the Exodus tradition. Moreover, the narrative of Exodus 12:1-28, from which the origin of and instructions for the Unleavened Bread and the Passover festival are historicized through their connection with the final plague, contains tools for determining the genre of its literary narrative and of the tradition history (Coats 1999:87).

Although the introduction to the second section (vv. 21-28) seems more like a duplication of the first speech in vv. 1-20, it is not. Rather, it is the execution of the commission given to Moses and Aaron in the first speech (Coats 1999:83). Coats notes that the successful execution of the second speech is narrated in vv. 27b-28; that is to say, the Passover and the Exodus event are described in terms of the ritual patterns in speeches or the narrative form of Exodus 12:1-27a, and the concluding statement of the execution in vv. 27b-28.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.5.5 C Houtman (1993)

Exodus 12:21-28 presents yet another different but related ideal to the Passover and Unleavened Bread as feasts. As Houtman (1993:141) has noted, the focus of the instruction is not Pharaoh but Israel. The concern of Moses and Aaron is Israel.<sup>50</sup> The section opens with the phrase, *וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה* (*Then Moses called...*); the verb *וַיִּקְרָא* is a *qal* imperfect, beginning with a *waw* consecutive, third person, masculine singular. Its use in this context indicates an abbreviated report in vv 1-20. On this point, Fretheim (1991a:137) argues that vv. 21-28 has shifted from “God’s instructions to Moses regarding the Passover and unleavened bread celebration to a

<sup>49</sup> The ordinances in Exodus 12:43-51 are a kind of repetition of those in 12:1-11. Verse 49, however, focuses more on the non-natives in the Passover celebration as a distinguishing feature of those who are legible to partake in the celebration. The speech in those verses appears to be a secondary growth in the Passover tradition whose function in the text is to circulate the circumcision stipulations for participation in the Passover (Coats 1999:93). The Passover and Unleavened Bread narratives in vv.1-20 probably contain Priestly material and share certain parallels with what is generally defined as the J (Jahwist) tradition of vv. 21-27, at least through vv. 24, 26-27, which shares the etiology for the name of the Passover festival based on a word play with the verb *פָּסַח* (*to pass over*). That means that certain verses from the second speech in vv. 21-27b are parallel to those of the Passover speech in vv. 1-20. For example, v. 21 parallels vv. 3b-6, v. 22 parallels v. 17, while v. 23 parallels vv. 12-13 (Coats 1999:86-87).

<sup>50</sup> Moses’ task in vv. 21-28 is to deliver to the people of Israel the laid down principles regarding the celebration of the Passover and of the Unleavened Bread. He is made to realize that the two feasts are necessary to the departure from Egypt (Houtman 1996:141). The Passover, according Houtman, is necessary to shield Israel from the impending plague (12:12ff, 23) and the Feast of Unleavened Bread is the necessary bridge to a new existence.



reported speech of Moses to the elders and entire Israelites regarding the Passover and unleavened bread instructions that he has received from God” (Fretheim 1991a:137).

However, imperfections usually express future happenings as definite events or expectations; vv. 21-27 creates a kind of suspense that is broken in v. 28: “*The Israelites went and did just as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron...*” (Coats 1999:86). Verses 2-11 and 14-20 are constructed in parallel, with a formulation that suggests a festival ordinance and a law constructed as speech to institute a festival. For instance, the introduction in vv. 2 and 14 are similar: *הַחֹדֶשׁ לְכֶם הַזֶּה* (*This Month shall be for you ...*)<sup>51</sup>; *הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכֶם* (*This day shall be for you...*) [Coats 1999:86].

Houtman (1996:151) further states that vv. 43-49, like vv. 1-14 and 21-23, forms part of the Passover, one of the precepts of Exodus 12:1-13 that are to be observed as a perpetual ordinance. He claims that the various sections of the chapter are linked with one another to achieve a common goal, that is, God’s rescue of Israel from Egypt. One would argue that both speeches discuss the themes of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread as feasts to the Lord and that they probably constitute what could be termed as a Priestly presentation of the Exodus event itself, the climax of the crises posed by Egyptian oppression in Exodus 1:1-7, 13-14 (Coats 1999:87).

### **3.6 Conclusion of Chapter**

In this section, a research survey of the Exodus tradition has been carried out with the aim of investigating the different stages of development of the text over time especially the Passover text of Exodus 12. From the study, it is established that the book of Exodus has undergone different stages of interpretation over the centuries but more attention has been paid to the historical and literary aspects of interpretation than the theological, which is also called the receptionist approach. The different scholarly views on Exodus have been noted in this section and will be summarized below.

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<sup>51</sup> As Houtman (1996:67) observes, Exodus 12:2 consists of two synonymous nominal clauses; the repetition of the statement in different forms reinforces it.

Wellhausen (1965, cited in Gmirkin 2006:4), pays attention to the JEDP sources in the composition of the Pentateuch in his Documentary Hypothesis. The identified sources (JEPD) represent different phases in the development of the Jewish religion. This research however is not interested in the historiographical dating of the text but rather in its theological interpretation especially in terms of the role of analogy in oral and written texts.

On the other hand, Childs (1977:1-4) focuses on the final form of the text of Exodus but does not ignore the historical forces at work in producing the text. He employs form-critical and tradition-historical analysis in the interpretation of Exodus in order to bring to light those forces at work in shaping its oral tradition. He also maintains that interpreters need to take into account the canonical shape of the text. However, one can argue that although Childs has moved beyond source criticism to a literary analysis, his study is not appropriate to readers in Africa and to the Tiv in particular. It does not make room for the readers to accept the text and engage with it using their rich life experiences and their stories of origin and migration, famine, poverty, and so forth, which are oral in nature.

For his part, Propp (1999:1-18) approaches the book of Exodus historically but includes some literary elements as well. He uses folktale analysis in his interpretation of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which he considers as rites of purification and riddance (see his comments on Ex. 12:1-13:16). He calls for an exegetical interpretation of the book in order to review the historic events of Israel's captivity and to bring to light the power of God in their deliverance as well as its ongoing significance. We have shown that Propp (1999:1-18) is also inclined to source criticism and historical tradition criticism rather than a theological/receptionist method of interpretation, which is more relevant to the Tiv whose culture is oral in nature. Where then is the position of the Tiv people in the interpretation of the Passover and the Exodus in general?

However, Dozeman's (2009:1-4) recent study has moved beyond historical/literary criticism and Documentary Hypothesis to a theological/receptionist tradition analysis of the Passover text of Exodus 12. Although Dozeman (2009:4) subscribes to a theological interpretation of Exodus, he has failed to accommodate oral cultures (e.g. that of the Tiv) in his interpretation of the Passover

in the Exodus tradition. This study however is more interested in a theological tradition or reception, which allows oral production of the text as the readers and interpreters of a biblical text engage with it through analogical dialogues to generate new contextual meanings and interpretations.

Consequently, this study will attend to oral tradition by employing the views of the Scandinavian School which hold that the Exodus story was a cult legend of the Passover, there is interplay between oral and written traditions, and a gradual development of the text of Exodus from an oral to a written tradition (Pedersen 1940:85; Nielsen 1954:32; Engnell 1970:6). Since the Tiv come from an oral context, for them to understand and interpret the Passover text of Exodus 12 in their own way, they have to be exposed to a theological tradition that deals with the oral production of texts in some ways. Such a tradition will enable them to engage with the Passover text of Exodus 12, orally, and to come up with new meanings or interpretations through their stories of poverty, famine, drought, evacuation, HIV/AIDS epidemic, and political, religious and economic crises, as well as other circumstances in life (Schaper 2007:9).<sup>52</sup>

However, this does not mean that historical and literary traditions are ignored or that they are useless; it simply shows that a theological/receptionist tradition is considered more suitable to the needs of readers from an oral culture such as the Tiv of Nigeria. This approach as Schaper (2007:9) rightly observes will allow the nuances of orality that exist in the written text to be explored in a way that readers could engage orally with the text by recollecting their memories of origin and migration as well as their life experiences, by means of analogy to generate new meanings from the text.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> According to Schaper (2007:9), there is no true wisdom or the practice of memory where writing is considered more important than orality. Writing produces external characters that are not a part of the readers. In this way, the readers are discouraged from using the memory that is within them. Writing produces that which Olson (cited in Schaper) refers to as “an autonomous discourse that is not open to immediate criticism and interaction with others.” Therefore, the text and the author will not be challenged since they are not open or reachable to the reader. We would like to add that the Passover text of Exodus 12 would become more meaningful in Africa particularly among the Tiv when the theological or reception approach is used. This approach will allow the nuances of orality that exist in the written text to be explored in a way that readers could engage orally with the text by recollecting their memories of origin and migration as well as their life experiences, by means of analogy to generate new meanings from the text.

<sup>53</sup> According to Schaper (2007:9), there is no true wisdom or the practice of memory where writing is considered more important than orality. Writing produces external characters that are not a part of the readers. In this way, the readers are discouraged from using the memory that is within them. Writing produce “an autonomous discourse”

As regards the text of Exodus, we have acknowledged that the Passover text of Exodus 12 has a structure, which ranges from instructions to narratives in vv. 1-13 and vv. 14-28, respectively. Scholarly work on Exodus is also noted for its long-term discussion of the historical nature of Exodus, which includes its composition, authorship, documentary sources (JEDP) and its events (Gmirkin 2006:4, 22; Bruckner 2008:8). However, this study is not interested merely in the historical nature of the text of Exodus but rather in its interpretation as a theological whole and in its historicity, which deals with issues of the time that the text refers to and of the time the text was written (Dozeman 2009:20-22).

Subsequently, we shall opt for a provisional pre-exilic date for Exodus 12, which places it within the period that the Passover was celebrated at the family level, with fathers or heads of families and priests as officiating ministers (Wellhausen 1965; Gmirkin 2006:22). The emphasis at this time was on an 'oral Torah' that was based on the special knowledge and authority of Yahweh's priests (Wellhausen 1965; Gmirkin 2006:22). It has been acknowledged in this section that though the community of Israel existed historically as a literate society with scribes, the continuing role and the presence of traces of orality in the Old Testament text especially the book of Exodus in the pre-exilic period can also be presupposed (Schaper 2007:20). One could argue that the text of Exodus 12 refers to the pre-monarchical and pre-exilic period as a non-Priestly text in oral form and that it developed gradually into the written form in the exilic and post-exilic period when its literary form fully manifested. However, the use of oral tradition continued in the interpretation of the text to generate new and contextual meanings/interpretations.

It is argued in this section that the Passover text of Exodus 12 consists of both instructions and narratives. Exodus 12:1-14, for example, consists of legislation, which serves as divine instructions to Moses by God regarding the Passover celebration. The community of Israel was instructed to select an unblemished one-year-old male lamb for each family on the tenth day of the first month (Ex.12:3-6). The lamb was to be slaughtered in the evening with its blood smeared on the doorpost and lintels of the house where the Passover meal would be eaten (12:6).

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that is not open to immediate criticism and interaction with others. Therefore, the text and the author will not be challenged since they are not open or reachable to the reader.

The Passover lamb was to be roasted over the fire and eaten with bitter herbs and unleavened bread. None of its bones was to be broken and all the meat was to be eaten in a day with any leftover burnt in the morning of the next day (12:8, 10; Vanderkam 2009:389). From the Passover instructions in Exodus 12, one can presuppose that its date was in the pre-exilic and non-Priestly period when the Passover was celebrated at the family level, at homes and in tents, rather than in centralized places or temples.

Next, the instructions for the Feast of Unleavened Bread were given to the people of Israel through Moses (Ex. 12:14-20). No leaven was to be eaten or found in their houses for seven days. No yeast was to be eaten from the evening of the first and last (fourteenth) days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The first and last days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread were set aside for a holy assembly. On those days, no work was to be done (Bruckner 2008:29; Vanderkam 2009:389). The above instructions show somehow that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is tied to the Passover and that it echoes the hasty exit of Israel from Egypt.

Furthermore, we have shown that the celebration of the Passover passed through different circumstances, and levels of development over time in the biblical world. For instance, Joshua 5:10-11 narrates that the first Passover in the Promised Land was celebrated in the evening and it was followed by the Feast of Unleavened cake the next day (Vanderkam 2009:389). There is no mention of the Feast of Unleavened Bread in that text, which indicates that the Passover had developed over time and had undergone some modifications. One could argue here that since the Passover is presupposed to have an oral beginning, the different modes of celebration that we have at its later stage do not only presuppose its development but a celebration that was based on the way those celebrants understood it in their context, time and circumstance.

Again, the Old Testament narrates the Passover celebration in Josiah's time (2 Kgs. 23:21-23), which was celebrated during the time of the Judges (pre-exilic era) in accordance with the laws of Deuteronomy 16. King Hezekiah's Passover is narrated in 2 Chronicles 30:17-22 where the Levites slaughtered the Passover animal in the place of the priests who were not purified. The Chronicler's Passover at a later period is narrated in 2 Chronicles 35 where the priests were now

purified and involved in the Passover offering followed by the Festival of Unleavened Bread for seven days (Vanderkam 2009:390).

One can conclude that the book of Exodus has undergone different forms of interpretation, which included the historical tradition analysis and the Documentary Hypothesis or fragmentary source interpretation (JEPD). It is believed that the Exodus text falls under the J tradition, that is, the earliest form of tradition, which existed in the pre-exilic and pre-monarchical period in oral form before being developed fully into written form. The views of the Scandinavian scholars and that of Niditch (1996:69) regarding the oral world behind the Old Testament literature will serve as bedrock on which the literary text of Exodus 12 will be interpreted among the Tiv of Nigeria. That oral world is identifiable through repetitions of words and sayings found in poetry and other forms of literary narratives.

In other words, the understanding of the Passover will be achieved, first, in an oral traditional context, which involves symbolic features similar to those of the Exodus in Egypt before the people in that oral context such as the Tiv would derive any meaning from its interpretation. This can be achieved by using analogy (Niditch 1996:69). In other words the literary text of Exodus 12 must be interpreted based on the understanding that “orality” lies deep in its pre-history (Niditch 1996:109). This shows that there is an interplay between the oral and the written text and a secular movement from oral to written and from written to oral. In other words, it is possible to transmit the oral works through writing just as the written text becomes more meaningful when it is orally communicated. This is where the Tiv people and their oral context that is replete with stories of origin and migration, poverty, epidemic of HIV/AIDS, and so forth, belong. As they seek for answers through their vocal cries - in songs, storytelling, cultural dances, festivals, and ritual performances, they are, in a sense, trying to make meaning out of the Passover text in their time and context, using their circumstances as an interpretive resource.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **INTRATEXTURE OF EXODUS 12**

#### ***4.1 Introduction***

The research survey of the Exodus tradition above indicates that historical, literary and theological (though scant) methodologies have been used in the past to interpret Exodus. Thus, it is clear that a socio-rhetorical approach to the interpretation of Exodus, which focuses on not only the text itself but also moves interactively from the world of the people who wrote the text into the present world is breaking new grounds owing to its multidimensionality. The exegetical part of this dissertation is therefore focused on the second hypothesis, which states that, “The Exodus is a theological text that calls for more than a liberation interpretation. In view of the first hypothesis, it will be argued that the Passover is a significant theological part of the Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity at different times and in different literary contexts – an approach that will make theological sense to Tiv readers”.

The above-mentioned Passover variables are identified based on my familiarity with or exposure to the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 and its parallels in other books of the Old Testament. It is worth mentioning that the variables above indicate the development of the Passover tradition as it moves outside of Egypt its original place of celebration to other places, contexts, audiences, and periods and meeting other needs. This in a sense depicts the open-ended and ongoing identity negotiation character of the Passover among present celebrants in their own context.

It is argued therefore that more attention be given to the theological interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition with special attention given to orality in order to enable readers/communities from an oral culture such as the Tiv of Nigeria to read, understand and interpret the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 in their own way and context. This can be achieved when the Tiv by way of analogy use their oral narratives of origin and migration as well as other

life experiences to find similarities between their oral context and that of the literary text of Exodus 12 to generate new meanings or interpretations that are context based.

The emphasis on oral background in this study has several implications. Although the study is based on the written text of Exodus, it also considers earlier oral versions, since written texts functioned in the context of oral contexts. That means that there is an interplay or continuity between written and oral texts.

With the above presuppositions in mind, this chapter will attend to the literary character and possible oral tradition behind Exodus 12 in particular its inner literary elements. The intratexture of Exodus 12 will be discussed under voices in the text, repetition, progression, open, middle and close texture, sensory/aesthetic texture, rhetorical speeches, formulas (introduction/messenger), structure/pattern, narrational and argumentative texture, and so forth. Aspects of the inner texture of the Passover text of Exodus 12 will be discussed based on these elements.

In addition, the form of Exodus 12:1-28 will be identified and discussed, while taking into consideration the different sections that exist in the Passover text. The term, form, in this context exists where one part or section of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 leads a reader to anticipate another part and to appreciate its sequence (Robbins 1992:7). In other words, form is present in the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 where a strategy of communication causes the reader to become an active participant in the process, anticipating sequences, gaining familiarity through repetition, and identifying with certain people and causes (Robbins 1992:7).

For instance, the form of vv. 1-13 will be determined by specifications essential to the celebration of Yahweh's Passover while that of vv. 14-20 lies essentially in the regulations for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The form of vv. 21-28, on the other hand, shows Moses relaying the entire regulations of both the Passover and the Unleavened Bread to the people of Israel as directed by God (Durham 1987:153; Robbins 1992:7).



## 4.2 Demarcation of Exodus 12 and Review of Scholarly Research

This section deals with the demarcation of the Passover pericope in Exodus 12. Determining the Passover pericope in the text is a difficult task filled with problems, which range from source-critical to tradition-historical (Van Seters 1994:113). However, the Passover pericope will be demarcated here based on the literary context of Exodus 12.

In Exodus 11:9-10, the Plague cycle ends with the hardening of Pharaoh's heart by God in order to multiply his wonders. Thus, vv. 9-10 constitutes a principal break between the Sign cycle and the Firstborn scene (Coats 1999:86). Chapter 12, on the other hand, is the Passover scene and it is not simply an extension of the so-called Sign cycle. It opens with a speech that constitutes a cultic ritual text rather than an exposition: *וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אַהֲרֹן בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֵאמֹר (The LORD said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt);<sup>54</sup> הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רֵאשִׁית חֳדָשִׁים רֵאשִׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רֵאשִׁית חֳדָשִׁים רֵאשִׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה: (This month shall mark for you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year for you...)* [Coats 1999:83].<sup>55</sup>

The opening words of Chapter 12, *וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה* (and Yahweh said),<sup>56</sup> could be analyzed, grammatically, in two ways. First, it can be argued that the presence of the *waw* (ו) consecutive with the *qal* imperfect indicates an incomplete action, which has to be completed in the future or at present, and which is often translated with the future or present tense (Kelly 1992:145; Cook & Van der Merwe 2004:133). From this perspective, one may argue that Exodus 12 is an independent chapter that opens a new action, which Yahweh was going to take on Egypt and describes what his chosen people would have to do, which was to celebrate the Passover and the Unleavened Bread. In other words, Yahweh's present or future action in Chapter 12 details the culmination of the ten plagues on Egypt and the beginning of the actual deliverance of Israel from bondage in Egypt (Coats 1999:83; Cook & Van der Merwe 2004:133).

<sup>54</sup> Exodus 12:1 has the rendering "and to Aaron," which is missing completely in the LXX (Propp 1999:358).

<sup>55</sup> The first speech from God to Moses and Aaron commissions instructions to the people to prepare and execute the Passover (vv. 3-11; cf. 12:43-49; 13:3-10), an announcement of the sign (vv. 12-13), and parallel provisions for the Unleavened Bread festival (vv.14//17, 15//19, and 16//18), at least, relating to the first and last days of the festival (Coats 1994:83).

<sup>56</sup>Grammatically, the expression *וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה* is a *qal* imperfect tense, third person masculine singular, with a *waw* (ו) consecutive before the subject Yahweh and the conditional statement in v. 2.

Second, it may be argued also that imperfects prefixed with *waw* (ו) consecutives represent consecutive (repeated) actions, which, from the reader's point of view, took place in the past. Such events may be understood as either sequential (*and then*) or consequential (*and so*) [Kelly 1992:145-47]. Based on the second option, we can say that Chapter 12 is a successive action to Chapter 11 (the Plague cycle). In this case, the translation would read **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה** (*and Yahweh said*), which is the rendering in the Hebrew Bible. Although the BHS renders it **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה**, the rendering of the NRSV that begins with the article "*the*," which seems to be an indication of a direct speech from Yahweh to Moses and Aaron, is preferred here.

Yahweh is the subject in the opening verse of Chapter 12 and the contents of the chapter seem to open a new discourse on feasting, which would serve as a procession towards the actual deliverance of Israel from bondage. As Fretheim (1991a:135) has noted, Yahweh was going to carry out the deliverance of Israel through an extensive ritual material (i.e. of the Passover and Unleavened Bread), which is explained in vv. 1-27.<sup>57</sup> In this way, one can argue that although chapter 12:1-28 in particular establishes a link with 11:9-10, it is not a continuation of the Plague cycle in 11:1-10 but an independent chapter that serves as Yahweh's final step to redeem Israel from bondage (Bruckner 2008:108-109; Dozeman 2009:260). However, since the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 has opened a ritual page that depicts elements of orality, one could presuppose the existence of an oral Passover text before its later development into the literary form.

Consequently, the choice of the pericope here has certain implications. On the one hand, the pericope (Ex. 12:1-18) stands as a complete and independent text that comprises of instructions and narratives. The text deals with the Passover, which is the main theme of this study as a whole. On the other hand, the first part of the chosen pericope contains instructions, which, presumably, were transmitted orally from God, the subject, to Moses. Additionally, the pericope enables us to examine the oral nature of the Passover as a feast in its original stage in Egypt

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<sup>57</sup> Verse 12 - *For I will pass through the land of Egypt that night, and I will strike down every firstborn in the land of Egypt, both human beings and animals; on all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments: I am the LORD. V13 the blood shall be a sign for you on the houses where you live: when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall destroy you when I strike the land of Egypt* (Fretheim 1991a:136).

before its development into the literary stage. Since the emphasis in this study is on the oral text of the Passover as a feast, the pericope provides a clue to the intertwining link between the oral and the literary as far as the Passover text is concerned. Lastly, the pericope will be considered here as an older version of the Passover text. Thus, we choose to explore the Passover text in its original or older form (vv. 1-28) rather than in its latter form (Houtman 1996:151).<sup>58</sup>

### **4.3 Textual Criticism of Exodus 12:1-28**

This section deals with the textual criticism of the Passover pericope of Exodus 12:1-28. Textual criticism, as the name implies, refers to the judgement of the worth of text. It seeks to judge the accuracy with which a text has been passed on or transmitted (Deist 1978:11). Below, different scholarly views and interpretations of the selected pericope will be reviewed with particular attention to possible changes to the MT.

The BHS text will be considered as the authoritative text and the NRSV as the authoritative translation throughout this chapter. An emended copy will be provided in cases of differences from the MT and all subsequent translations will follow the emended copy. However, if the MT has not been emended, then the BHS or NRSV will be applied, accordingly.

**V. 1** – Th verse contains the phrase “*and to Aaron,*”<sup>59</sup> which is missing completely in the LXX. However, since there is no Hebrew evidence corroborating the LXX, the MT rendering will be admitted here (Propp 1999: 363).

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<sup>58</sup> Although vv. 43-49, like vv. 1-14 and 21-23, form part of the Passover, and indicate one of the precepts of Exodus 12:1-13 that is to be observed as a perpetual ordinance (Houtman 1996:151), our pericope is based on Exodus 12:1-28 only. This is because the selected pericope had its themes, context, and literary genres hinged directly on the Passover and the Unleavened Bread as feasts that were celebrated in Egypt. In essence, although the passage of vv. 43-13:16 shares the regulations of vv. 1-28, it seems to exist as a separate section that deals with the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts out of Egypt. In addition, it seems to be a repetition of the regulations given to Moses and Aaron directly by God.

<sup>59</sup> With regards to the Passover text of Exodus 12, the phrase, ‘*and to Aaron,*’ in the MT can be read in terms of the shared responsibility of Levites and priests in keeping the Passover laws and teaching, and enforcing them on the entire population of Israel (Stuart 2006:272). One can also argue for the inclusion of Aaron among the officials of the Passover alongside Moses as a paradigm for the latter/formal officiating clergy in the Temple or a place chosen by Yahweh for the Passover celebration. Although Propp (1999:363) claims that it is possible that Aaron was included in the LXX, one should be cautious to avoid speculations since there is no supportive evidence in the LXX for such a proposal. One may argue further that the inclusion of Aaron in the Passover celebration in Egypt serves as a clue that the text was an early Priestly text pointing forward to later priestly observances of the Passover with institutionalised priests.

V. 2 - The phrase ראש החדשים “*head of months*” in the Sam. and the BHS refers to the months of the year. The Syriac (Syr.) paraphrases it as “*all the year’s months*”<sup>60</sup> and the preferred version here, the MT renders it as החדש הזה “*this month*” (Propp 1999:385). The month being referred to is the first month of the year (אָבִיב – Canaanite rendering for “newly ripen corn,” and נִיסָן is its Babylonian rendering [Neh.2:1]). It corresponds to March-April of the Western calendar. That means the Passover was both a spring festival and a New Year festival (Cole 1973:104) or later a Second Temple festival (Bruckner 2008:109).

V. 3 - This verse opens with the word דַּבְּרוּ “speak, tell, saying”. Whereas the MT has its plural imperative (דַּבְּרוּ), the LXX, Syr., and MSS render the command in the singular דַּבֵּר as if it was addressed to Moses alone (Propp 1999:359). The rendering of the MT that is presented in a plural form is preferred in this study though it seems to be difficult or odd and has only three parallels in the Masoretic Torah (Gen 50:4; Ex. 12:3; Judg 9:2) [Propp 1999:358].

Verse 3 also presents the phrase אֶל-כָּל-עֵדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל “*The whole congregation of Israel*”.<sup>61</sup> The 4QpaleoGen-Exod, LXX, Sam., Syr., Tg. Neofiti I and many versions MSS of MT and of Tg. Onqelos read עֵדַת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל “*the congregation of the sons of Israel*”, a seemingly more common expression (Houtman 1996:168; Propp 1999:358).

<sup>60</sup> The phrase, ‘All the year’s months,’ in the Syriac in a paraphrase form, is an indication that the Passover has occupied a special place in the entire Jewish calendar year or influenced it (Myers 2005:94). It is a month of freedom for all Israelites; therefore, it stands prominently and influentially as a referential month over and against the chronological calendar year of the Jews as far as time, festivals, and other historic events are concerned (Myers 2005:94; Bruckner 2009:106). That is to say, the salvific history of God’s deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt has now come to change or influence the chronological order of months in the Jewish calendar. In terms of prominence or importance, the Passover month was first over and against the first month of the calendar year. It marks the beginning of Israel as a freed people of God (Stuart 2006:272), in this sense, as the people linked their yearly calendar with their divine call out of slavery to sonship in the Promised Land. Furthermore, the expression serves as a point of emphasis and reminder to all Israelites and celebrants of the Passover festival outside of Egypt that their identity as a people of God and the inheritance of the land promised to their forefathers are linked to the salvific episode in Egypt.

<sup>61</sup> ‘*The whole congregation of Israel,*’ in this context, refers to Israel as a community held together by a common bond with Yahweh (Houtman 1996:168). The expression, as Cole (1973:105) has rightly observed, is the first occurrence in the Pentateuch of what was to become a technical term used in describing Israel in its religious sense. The expression ‘*the whole congregation of Israel,*’ in this context, is not an abstraction but implies the physical meeting together of the entire Israelite community for the purpose of the Passover. It emphasizes the implementation of the Passover and its implication for the whole of Israel. The expression unifies Israelites in the past, present, and future, irrespective of age and gender, giving them a corporate identity and linking them to the motif of the past celebration of the Passover, which signifies the salvific act of Yahweh on behalf of Israel (Myers 2005:94).

Again, in v.3, the MT presents the phrase *שֶׁה לְבֵית־אָבֹת* “*a sheep/goat for a father’s house*”, which has posed a problem when comparing different versions of the Bible because of the absence and/or presence of “and” between the parallel phrases (Propp 1999:358-359). However, as Propp (1999:358-359) has noted, the word “and” is lacking in the standard MT, 4QpaleoGen-Exod and LXX but is present in some MT, MSS and Syr. renderings.<sup>62</sup>

**V. 4** – The Samaritan Pentateuch has *בְּמִקְסַת נַפְשֹׁת* “*in proportion to the souls or counting of persons*” as against the MT rendering *הוא* “*he*”, referring to the family head (Childs 1977:182; Durham 1987:151; Propp 1999:359). In both renderings, the idea is that of family size and not of geographical counting.

**V. 5** – The Samaritan Pentateuch, QpaleoGen-Exod, Sam and Kenn 1, 80, 99, 129 have *הַכְּבָשִׁים*, which Durham (1987:151) refers to as the ‘reverse’ form of *הַכְּבָשִׁים* “*the sheep or lambs*”, and is the rendering of the MT (Propp 1999:359). Both renderings refer to sheep despite their variations in terms of word order. The closest to the text of Exodus 12:5, as Propp (1999:359) has stated, is that of the MT *הַכְּבָשִׁים*, and it is the rendering admitted in this study.

**V. 6** - *לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת* “*an observance or obligation*” in the BHS is used in its participle form by the LXX to mean ‘*to watch closely, observe*’ (Dozeman 2009:260). Moreover, the phrase *שָׁחַטוּ אֹתוֹ* (*slaughter it*), which appears in the MT and LXX in the singular form appears in the *QpaleoExod* in a unique form as “*slaughter them*”<sup>63</sup> (Propp 1990:359). In Exodus 12:7, 9, 21 however the

<sup>62</sup> “A lamb” (*שֶׁה*) in v. 3 in the Hebrew rendering is quite a neutral word and should be translated “head of (small) stock”, applying equally to sheep and goats of any age. The differences that exist in the text above can be explained in terms of the development of the Passover from its earliest and non-priestly period when the lamb was strongly recommended to a later priestly period when sheep, goats and cattle were used to celebrate the Passover. Moreover, as the Passover shifted base from a household celebration to a public feast, the changes in its mode of preparation and celebration also became apparent. Thus, the LXX rendering of *שֶׁה* to indicate any type of animal with four legs is appropriate in this context (Dozeman 2009:260).

<sup>63</sup> The expression ‘slaughter them,’ found in the plural form in the QpaleoExod in v. 3 and in the LXX in vv.7, 9, and 21 but in the singular in the MT, has many implications. On the one hand, it presupposes the later celebration of the Passover outside of Egypt where the individual families gathered in open tents rather than in their respective houses as it was the case in Egypt. Since each family was commanded to slaughter a lamb for its household, one can argue in favour of the plural reference made above as indicating that many families were involved in slaughtering their lambs and not necessarily a reference to the lamb (Stuart 2006:274; Bruckner 2008:109). In this sense, the Samaritan’s proposition that there were many people with sheep is not far from being true but we would differ slightly from it based on the consideration that the plural ‘them’ in the expression points to the individual families with lambs rather than to the lambs as plural. On the other hand, one could argue that with the word

LXX refers to the animals in the plural, while the singular occurs in the MT and *QpaleoExod*. The plural in the various MSS renderings and traditions arise from the Samaritan exegetical consideration or proposition that since there were many households, there must have also been many animals (Propp 1990:359). However, there is no proof for the assumption thus the singular of the MT is considered most original since  $\text{שֶׁה}$  “*lamb, sheep, goat*” refers to a single head from the flock, or smaller cattle, which would include both sheep and goats. This last view seems more convincing to us than the Samaritan’s presupposition of plurality above.

**V. 8** - In the BHS, the verse is rendered  $\text{וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מֵרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ}$  – “*and they will eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs,*” while the LXX renders it in a reverse order as “*and unleavened bread with bitter herbs they will eat.*” The translation repeats the phrase in Numbers 9:11 -  $\text{עַל־מִצּוֹת וּמֵרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ}$  - with the preposition  $\text{עַל}$ , “*with unleavened bread and bitter herbs*” (Dozeman 2009:260). This is an indication of textual differences particularly in repeated cases as we have in Numbers 9:11. Here, one could argue that as the Passover text developed, it ushered in some modifications that do not affect the main meaning.

**V. 9** -  $\text{אַל־תֹּאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ נָא}$  “*Do not eat any of it raw*” in the BHS is rendered in the LXX as “*from them*”, referring to the paschal animals of all the Israelites in a plural form (Propp 1999:360). It could be assumed that the rendering points to the later celebration of the Passover as a public festival attended by a huge crowd with many cattle rather than few lambs or sheep as the case was with its earlier celebration at the family level. One may argue that the BHS rendering in the singular form is older than the LXX plural rendering. In addition, we have  $\text{וְעַל־קִרְבּוֹ}$  as the BHS rendering of “*inner organs or inward parts,*” which differs from the LXX’s “*intestines or entrails*” (Dozeman 2009:260). Perhaps the differences also serve as a clue to the different times in history that the Passover was celebrated.

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‘slaughter’ in this text shows that the Passover was still celebrated at the family level and not as a national festival in which a crowd gathered to ‘observe’ the Passover and killed many animals to meet the demand. Thus, one could argue that the singular ‘slaughter it’ as found in the MT represents an older tradition of the Passover at a non-priestly and possibly exilic period while the plural ‘slaughter them’ in the *QpaleoExod* and LXX as presupposes the priestly designation in the post-exilic and Second Temple periods, respectively (Dozeman 2009:265). We would also like to argue that the term ‘slaughter’ is an older non-priestly and ritualistic term used for the Passover in its initial period, while the word ‘observe’ presupposes a later term for the Passover celebration in the postexilic and Second Temple period.

**V. 10** - The LXX adds “*and you shall not break a bone of it,*” which is not reflected in the MT (Durham 1987:151; Propp 1999:360). Dozeman (2009:260) explains this in terms of additions – the rendering possibly reflected the additional instructions in v. 46.

**V. 11** – The verse contains the expression, “*your hips bound.*” The image in the BHS refers to clothing bound for travel, while the LXX has it as “the lower part of your back” embraced/surrounded (Dozeman 2009:260). Again, the MT rendering of וַיִּמְקְלְכֶם בְּיַדְכֶם as “*and your staff in your hand*” is also found in the LXX, Kenn 84, 181 and Syr. but with a prefix “*and*” (*your staff in your hand*). In Jonathan however, we have the plural form, “*your staffs in your hands,*” which is different from the MT and even the LXX. Although each Israelite wore two sandals on two feet, he held only one staff in one hand (Propp 1999:360). The differences then could be explained as a way of clarifying the distinction between Moses’ staff and those of the Israelites (Durham 1987:152). This suggestion however is not free from speculation.

**V. 13** - נִגְף לְמִשְׁחִית (the attack of destruction) in the MT is rendered in the LXX as “*the plague of destruction*” (Bruckner 2008:111; Dozeman 2009:260).<sup>64</sup>

**V. 14** - לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם “*to or for your ages/generations*” in the MT is rendered in many LXX witnesses as “*to all your ages,*” an idiom not attested anywhere in the MT. This, as Propp (1999:360) rightly observes, may be an inner-Greek expansion.

**V. 15** - כִּי “*for*” in the MT is not reflected in the LXX. Either this was ignored by the translator as being a colourless particle that did not necessarily require any rendering or it was forgotten based on the translator’s state of mind and remembrance ability or both (Propp 1999:360). We also have in this verse, “*you will remove leaven from your houses, for anyone eating leaven...;*” the BHS uses וְשָׂאֵר and וְהִמְצֵא, while the LXX combines both terms to obtain one meaning (Dozeman 2009:260).

**V. 16** – The verse contains the phrase וַיְבִיחַם הָרִאשׁוֹן “*on the first day*”. The standard MT, as Propp (1999:360) points out, begins v.16 with a ( וַ ) “*waw,*” while many MSS of the Sam., Syr. and the

<sup>64</sup> The MT rendering, “*the attack of destruction*” or “*sign,*” presupposes the non-priestly ambiguous expression aimed at attributing a more independent power to a personified ‘destroyer,’ which was Yahweh. The LXX, however, in its later stage, preferred the term ‘plagues’ in order to attribute the killing in Egypt to Yahweh, the initiator and executor of the plague (Dozeman 2009:270). In a sense, this represents the younger tradition of the Passover.

MT lack the conjunction.<sup>65</sup> The shorter reading, according to the author, is slightly superior, assuming that the *waw* (ו) is more often added than deleted.

**V. 17** - The MT renders אֶת־הַמִּצְוֹת as “*the unleavened bread,*” while the Samaritan Pentateuch renders אֶת־הַמִּצְוֹת as “*the commandments*” and the LXX renders the same as “*this commandment*” (Propp 1999:361). Despite the differences we would rather opt for the MT rendering taking into consideration that the “*commandment*” is the object of שָׁמַר “*observe;*” thus, הַמִּצְוֹת would be the festival, in this sense.

**V. 18** – The expression בְּרֵאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ, “*in the first [Month], on the fourteenth day of the Month*” in the MT is paraphrased in the LXX as “*beginning on the fourteenth day of the first Month*” for unknown reasons (Propp 1999:362).

**V. 19** – The particle כִּי “*for*” is found in the MT but omitted in the LXX as in v. 15 (Propp 1999:362).

**V. 20** - מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם “*your dwellings*” in the MT is collectively translated in the LXX as “*dwelling*” (Propp 1999:362).

**V. 21** - זְקֵנָי “*Israel’s elders*” is the rendering for the MT and Sam, while the Syr. has “*the elders of Israel’s sons.*” The LXX and MSS are divided between the readings of the MT and Syr. One can argue here that the *Vorlage* agrees with the Syr. and that some MSS were corrected in line with the MT. However, as Propp (1999:362) has rightly pointed out, the MT and Samaritan renderings are almost certainly correct. The LXX and the Vg add the phrase “*of the sons of,*” which is not found in the Hebrew (Durham 1987:161).

**V. 22** - לָא is rendered “*to*” by the MT, while the Samaritan Pentateuch has אֵל (Propp 1999:362).

**V. 26** - מַה הָעֲבֹדָה הַזֹּאת לָכֶם “*what is this service to you*” is the rendering in the MT and differs from the LXX, Kenn III and Syr. that omit לָכֶם “*to you*”, which is a shorter reading and seems to be the original (Propp 1999:363).

<sup>65</sup> See De Rossi (1784-85:57, in Propp 1999:360-361).



V. 28 - וְאַהֲרֹן *“and Aaron”* is found in the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch but it is missing in the LXX. This shorter text, according to Propp (1999:363), is conceived to be the original with other versions expanding 12:28 to match 12:50. However, with the presence of the direct object אֶת before Aaron, one can still argue that the text is not original since it has not dropped the object marker אֶת.

From the textual criticism of Exodus 12:1-28 above, one could conclude that the differences that are noted in the different translations ranging from time specification, selection of the Passover lamb, and mode of celebration, and so forth, represent the different developmental stages of the Passover tradition over time. That implies that the Passover tradition developed from its earliest tradition as a non-priestly and family meal to the priestly and public feast celebrated in central sanctuaries with priests officiating. It then attracted changes ranging from the mode of preparation, terminology, place/time of celebration, officiating persons, and audience, and so forth. The changes, in turn, are responsible for the textual differences and translations that we have, as discussed above. Some of the textual differences in the pericope of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 help to uncover the different periods of composition of the entire pericope in terms of which verse/section is younger or older. In other words, within the same pericope, some sections are older than others. They could also be non-priestly or priestly; pre-exilic, exilic or post-exilic; and pre-Temple, First Temple or Second Temple.

The textual differences examined above could help the reader and interpreter of the Passover pericope of Exodus 12:1-28 to determine the context, audience and period in question. This, in a sense, could influence the understanding and interpretation of the Passover.

#### **4.4 Translation of Exodus 12:1-28<sup>66</sup>**

*12 The LORD said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt: <sup>2</sup> This month shall mark for you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year for you. <sup>3</sup> Tell the whole congregation of Israel that on the tenth of this month they are to take a lamb for each family, a lamb for each household. <sup>4</sup> If a household is too small for a whole lamb, it shall join its closest neighbor in*

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<sup>66</sup> The English translation is taken from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

obtaining one; the lamb shall be divided in proportion to the number of people who eat of it.<sup>5</sup> Your lamb shall be without blemish, a year-old male; you may take it from the sheep or from the goats.<sup>6</sup> You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.<sup>7</sup> They shall take some of the blood and put it on the two doorposts and the lintel of the houses in which they eat it.<sup>8</sup> They shall eat the lamb that (Sam)e night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.<sup>9</sup> Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.<sup>10</sup> You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.<sup>11</sup> This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the LORD.<sup>12</sup> For I will pass through the land of Egypt that night, and I will strike down every firstborn in the land of Egypt, both human beings and animals; on all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments: I am the LORD.<sup>13</sup> The blood shall be a sign for you on the houses where you live: when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall destroy you when I strike the land of Egypt.<sup>14</sup> This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the LORD; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.<sup>15</sup> Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel.<sup>16</sup> On the first day you shall hold a solemn assembly, and on the seventh day a solemn assembly; no work shall be done on those days; only what everyone must eat, that alone may be prepared by you.<sup>17</sup> You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread, for on this very day I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance.<sup>18</sup> In the first month, from the evening of the fourteenth day until the evening of the twenty-first day, you shall eat unleavened bread.<sup>19</sup> For seven days no leaven shall be found in your houses; for whoever eats what is leavened shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether an alien or a native of the land.<sup>20</sup> You shall eat nothing leavened; in all your settlements you shall eat unleavened bread.<sup>21</sup> Then Moses called all the elders of Israel and said to them, “Go, select lambs for your families, and slaughter the Passover lamb.<sup>22</sup> Take a bunch of hyssop, dip it in the blood that is in the basin, and touch the lintel and the two doorposts with the blood in the basin. None of you shall go outside the door of your house until morning.<sup>23</sup> For the LORD will pass through to strike down the Egyptians; when he sees the blood on the lintel and on the two doorposts, the LORD will pass over that door and will not allow the destroyer to enter your houses to strike you down.<sup>24</sup> You shall observe this rite as a perpetual ordinance for you and your children.<sup>25</sup> When you come to the

land that the LORD will give you, as he has promised, you shall keep this observance.<sup>26</sup> And when your children ask you, 'What do you mean by this observance?'<sup>27</sup> you shall say, 'It is the passover sacrifice to the LORD, for he passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, when he struck down the Egyptians but spared our houses.' " And the people bowed down and worshiped.<sup>28</sup> The Israelites went and did just as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron.

### The BHS of Exodus 12

<sup>1</sup> ויאמר יהוה אל-משה ואל-אהרן בארץ מצרים לאמר:  
<sup>2</sup> החודש הזה לכם ראש חודשים ראשון הוא לכם לחודשי השנה:  
<sup>3</sup> דברו אל-כל-עדת ישראל לאמר בעשר לחודש הזה ויקחו להם איש ששה לבייתו:  
<sup>4</sup> ואם-מעט הבית מהית משה ולקח הוא ושכנו הקרב אל-ביתו במכסת נפשית איש לפי אכלו תכסו על-הששה:  
<sup>5</sup> ששה תמים זכר בן-שנה יהיה לכם מן-הכבשים ומן-העזים תקחו:  
<sup>6</sup> והיה לכם למשמרת עד ארבעה עשר יום לחודש הזה ושחטו אתו כל קהל עדת-ישראל בין הערבים:  
<sup>7</sup> ויקחו מן-הדם ונתנו על-שתי המזוזות ועל-המשקוף על הבתים אשר-יאכלו אתו בהם:  
<sup>8</sup> ואכלו את-הבשר בלילה הזה צלי-אש ומצות על-מרים יאכלהו:  
<sup>9</sup> אל-תאכלו ממנו נא ובשל מבשל במים כי אם-צלי-אש ראשו על-פרעיו ועל-קרבו:  
<sup>10</sup> ולא-תותרו ממנו עד-בקר והנותר ממנו עד-בקר באש תשרפו:  
<sup>11</sup> וככה תאכלו אתו מתניכם חגרים נעליכם בגדליכם ומקלכם בידכם ואכלתם אתו בחפזון פסח הוא ליהוה:  
<sup>12</sup> ועברתי בארץ-מצרים בלילה הזה והפיתי כל-בכור בארץ מצרים מאדם ועד-בהמה ובכל-אליהי מצרים אעשה שפטים אני יהוה:  
<sup>13</sup> והיה הדם לכם לאת על הבתים אשר אתם שם וראיתי את-הדם ופסחתי עלכם ולא-יהיה בכם נגף למשחית בהכתי בארץ מצרים:  
<sup>14</sup> והיה היום הזה לכם לזכרון וחסגתם אתו חג ליהוה לדורותיכם חקת עולם תחגגהו:  
<sup>15</sup> שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו אף ביום הראשון תשביתו שאר מבתיכם כי פלי-אכל חמץ ונקרמה הנפש ההוא מישאל מיום הראשון עד-יום השביעי:  
<sup>16</sup> וביום הראשון מקרא-קודש וביום השביעי מקרא-קודש יהיה לכם פלי-מלאכה לא-יעשה בהם אף אשר יאכל לכל-נפש הוא לבדו יעשה לכם:  
<sup>17</sup> ושמרתם את-המצות פי בעצם היום הזה הוצאתי את-צבאותיכם מארץ מצרים ושמרתם את-היום הזה לדורותיכם חקת עולם:  
<sup>18</sup> בראשון בארבעה עשר יום לחודש בערב תאכלו מצת עד יום האחד ועשרים לחודש בערב:  
<sup>19</sup> שבעת ימים שאר לא ימצא בבתיכם כי פלי-אכל מחמצת ונקרמה הנפש ההוא מעדת ישראל בגר ובאזרח הארץ:  
<sup>20</sup> פלי-מחמצת לא תאכלו בכל מושבתיכם תאכלו מצות:  
<sup>21</sup> ויקרא משה לכל-זקני ישראל ויאמר אליהם משכו וקחו לכם צאן למשפחתיכם ושחטו הפסח:  
<sup>22</sup> ולקחתם אגדת אזוב וטבלתם בדם אשר-בסוף והגעעתם אל-המשקוף ואל-שתי המזוזות מן-הדם אשר בסוף ואתם לא תצאו איש מפתח-ביתו עד-בקר:  
<sup>23</sup> ועבר יהוה לנגף את-מצרים וראה את-הדם ועל-המשקוף ועל שתי המזוזות ופסח יהוה על-הפתח ולא יתן המשחית לבא אל-בתיכם לנגף:  
<sup>24</sup> ושמרתם את-הדבר הזה לחק-לך ולבניך עד-עולם:  
<sup>25</sup> והיה כיי-תבאו אל-הארץ אשר יתן יהוה לכם באשר דבר ושמרתם את-העבדה הזאת:  
<sup>26</sup> והיה כיי-אמרו אליכם בניכם מה העבדה הזאת לכם:  
<sup>27</sup> ואמרתם זבח-פסח הוא ליהוה אשר פסח על-בתי בני-ישראל במצרים בנגפו את-מצרים ואת-בתינו הציל ויקד העם וישתחוו:

וַיִּלְכוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן בֶּן עֲשׂוֹ: 8<sup>28</sup>

#### 4.5 Intratextual Analysis of Exodus 12:1-28

The inner texture of a text resides in features in the language of the text itself, like repetition of words and use of dialogue between two persons to communicate the information (Robbins 1996a:7). With written texts, the inner texture especially resides in verbal texture, which is the texture of the language itself. In this section, the research will focus closely on the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 as it works with inner texture as a tool for the analysis. The aim of this analysis is to understand the issues of repetition and progression, word play, voices, structures and content, words patterns, devices, and modes in the text, which are the context for meanings and meaning-effects that the researcher analyzes with other readings of the text (Robbins 1996a:7).

##### 4.5.1 Repetitive texture and pattern

Repetitive texture resides in the occurrence of words and phrases more than once in a unit or text (Robbins 1996a:8). Some repetitions occur in topics, as in pronouns like “I”, “you”, and “we”; some are found in multiple occurrence of many different kinds of grammatical, syntactical, verbal, or topical phenomenon; others appear in negatives like “no”, “not”, “no one”; while others find their place in conjunctions or adverbs like “then”, “but”, “because” and so forth.<sup>67</sup> In the table below, an analysis of the repetition of topics, nouns, pronouns, verbs, phrases, and particles in Exodus 12:1-28 (based on researcher’s own emendation) is shown.

**Table 3: Repetition in Exodus 12:1-28**

Verse	Deity/persons	Verbs used more often	Pronouns	Phrases	Particles	Ritual elements	Others Time/period
12:1	The Lord יהוה	Said אמר		Land of Egypt			

<sup>67</sup> However, repetition does not reveal the precise nature of the boundaries between one unit and another. It does not exhibit inner meanings in the sequences (Robbins 1996a:8). Rather, repetitive texture introduces interpreters to the overall text in broader perspective so they know where they are as they look at the individual elements of the text. Specifically, clusters of repetitive data give initial insight into the overall picture of the discourse.

	Moses מֹשֶׁה Aaron אַהֲרֹן			אַרְצֵי מִצְרַיִם			
2			You אַתָּם	This Month הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה head of Months ראש חֹדָשִׁים first of the months רִאשׁוֹן לַחֹדֶשׁ	For כִּי		Month חֹדֶשׁ Months חֹדָשִׁים
3		Speak דִּבְרוּ saying לֵאמֹר		a lamb for a father's house שֶׁה לְבֵית־אָבִת a lamb for a household לְבֵית־חֹמֶת	For כִּי  For כִּי	Lamb שֶׁה	On the 10 <sup>th</sup> בַּעֲשֹׂר This Month חֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה
4			His He הוּא	According to the number of persons בְּמִקְסַת נֶפְשׁוֹת Each one by the mouth of his eating אִישׁ לְפִי אֲכָלוֹ	For כִּי  For כִּי	Lamb שֶׁה	
5				From the sheep מִן־הַכֹּבָשִׁים from the goats וּמִן־הָעִזִּים	From מִן From מִן	Lamb שֶׁה Sheep כֹּבָשִׁים Goats עִזִּים	A year שָׁנָה
6			You אַתָּם	All assembly of כָּל קְהָל The congregation of עֵדָת	For כִּי		14 <sup>th</sup> day אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם This month חֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה
7			They הֵם,	And put on two ... וַיִּתְּנוּ עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַמְּזוּזוֹת And on the lintel וְעַל־הַמְּשֻׁקָּוֶת		the blood הַדָּם	
8			They הֵם,	And they shall eat the flesh וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר They shall eat it יֹאכְלֶהָ		The flesh אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר Unleavened bread מִצּוֹת Bitter herbs מְרִירִים	
9				Roasted with fire אֶם־צֶלֶי־אֵשׁ Its head with its legs		Do not eat it raw אַל־תֹּאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ נָא	

				ראשו על-כרעיו And with its inner parts ראשו על-כרעיו		but roasted with fire פי אם-צלי-אש	
10			אתם You			Leave none till morning ולא-תותרו ממנו עד-בקר Burn left over with fire ונהתך ממנו עד-בקר באש תשרפו	
11	The Lord יהוה		Your מתניכם	Your loins girded מתניכם חגורים Your sandals on ... נעליכם ברגליכם Your staff in your hand ימקלכם בידכם		Passover פסח Eat it in haste בחפזון	
12	The Lord יהוה		אני I	I will pass through ועברתי I will smite והפיתתי I will execute אעשה		In night בלילה	
13		Pass Smite Execute	אני I אתם You	And I will see the blood וראיתי את-הדם And I will Passover you ופסחתי עלכם When I smite in the land of Egypt בהכתי בארץ מצרים	For פי	The blood הדם	
14	The Lord יהוה		אתם You	You shall celebrate it תתקוהו And you shall celebrate it והגתם אתו	For פי For פי	Feast תג	
15			אתם You	You shall eat		Unleavened	1 <sup>st</sup> day

				unleavened מצות תאכלו You shall put away leavened תשביתו שאר		bread מצות	ראשון יום 7 <sup>th</sup> day יום שבעי
16			You אַתֶּם	A holy assembly מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ			1 <sup>st</sup> day ראשון יום 7 <sup>th</sup> day יום שבעי
17			You אַתֶּם I אֲנִי	And you shall observe the feast of unleavened bread וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַמִּצּוֹת And you shall observe this day וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה		feast חַג  Unleavened bread מצות	This day אֶת־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
18						Unleavened bread מצות At evening בְּעֶרְב	1 <sup>st</sup> month ראשון חֹדֶשׁ 14 <sup>th</sup> day of month עַד עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם חֹדֶשׁ 21 <sup>st</sup> day of month אָקֵד וְעִשְׂרִים לַחֹדֶשׁ
19						No leaven שָׂאֵר לֹא	7 days שִׁבְעַת יָמִים
20		Eat	You אַתֶּם	Eat nothing leavened כִּלְי־מִחֻמֶּצֶת לֹא תֹאכְלוּ Eat unleavened bread תֹּאכְלוּ מִצּוֹת		No leaven שָׂאֵר לֹא Unleavened bread מצות	
21	Moses מֹשֶׁה	Kill שָׁחַטוּ Called קָרָא Said אָמַר			To לְ For כִּי	And kill the Passover וְשָׁחַטוּ הַפֶּסַח	
22				And take a bunch of hyssop וְלָקַחְתֶּם אֲגַדַּת אִזּוֹב		The blood בְּדָם	

				<p>And dip in the blood וטבלתם בדם</p> <p>And apply to the lintel והגעתם אל־המשקוף</p> <p>And to the two doorposts ואל־שתי המזוזות</p>			
23	Lord יהוה		He הוא	<p>The Lord will pass on to smite Egypt ועבר יהוה לנגף את־מצרים</p> <p>He will see the blood on the lintel וראה את־הדם על־המשקוף</p> <p>And the Lord will Passover יהוה על־הפסח</p>		<p>Blood on the lintel את־הדם על־המשקוף</p>	
24		Say אמר	You אתם		For כי	<p>Word (rite)<sup>68</sup> את־הדבר</p>	
25	Lord יהוה		You אתם			<p>This service את־העבודה</p>	
26		Say אמר	You אתם			<p>This service את־העבודה</p>	
27	To the Lord ליהוה	Say אמר	He הוא	<p>And the people bowed ויקדו העם</p> <p>And worshiped וישתחוו</p>		<p>Sacrifice זבח</p> <p>Passover פסח</p> <p>Bowed העם</p> <p>Worshiped וישתחוו</p>	
28	<p>Lord יהוה</p> <p>Moses משה</p> <p>Aaron אהרן</p>						

From the table above, one can infer that Moses stood prominently as a mediator and central character in the entire Passover narrative. He appeared first in the scene with Aaron as they

<sup>68</sup> The Hebrew term את־הדבר, meaning “word,” used in place of “rite” in this context, refers to an event. Durham has “command”, the NIV has “these instructions,” and the TEV has “these rules” (Osborn 1999:288).



received instructions from God regarding the celebration of the Passover in Egypt (12:1-13). God continued to give Moses instructions (vv. 14-20) regarding the Passover and Unleavened Bread celebration as a ritual commemorating Yahweh's salvific deeds on behalf of Israel. The same Passover instructions were to remind Israelites of their covenant relation with Yahweh that required absolute obedience to Yahweh as they journey to inherit Canaan. The repetition of phrases in this passage is an indication of the emphasis placed on the strict observance of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts as well as a clue of an existing oral communication or practice between God and Moses (Bruckner 2008:113).

In vv. 12:21-27, Moses summoned all the elders and gave them imperative directions for the protection of their firstborn (vv. 21-23) and instructions for future remembrance of the event (vv. 24-27). The verbal communication regarding the Passover in its earliest period in Egypt maintains its continuity in its present celebrations. As seen in v. 28, Moses having received from God the instructions regarding the Passover celebration, then, passed it, presumably in oral form, to the elders and entire people of Israel who, in turn, obeyed the instructions given to them by Moses as God-given instructions (Bruckner 2008:113).

One can assume the existence of an oral text and its continuing interplay with the written Passover text of Exodus 12. The people obeyed Moses' oral communication of the Passover instructions or prescription of the mode of celebration. They must have passed on the instructions orally to subsequent generations as well as through the written text, which they must have used oral communication to explain. The point being made here is that the oral goes hand-in-hand with the written text and that within written texts particularly in Exodus 12:1-28 lie oral elements that need to be given more attention.

This point agrees with Niditch's (1996:109) statement that "oral lies deep in the pre-history of Biblical text." That implies that the Passover text, in its original or earlier form (i.e. in the nomadic/pastoral stage), before its association with the Exodus from Egypt, existed in an oral form. It was developed into the written form later in the exilic and postexilic periods. However, oral tradition does not only lie behind many of the written texts of Scripture but maintains an interplay with the written or a circular movement from oral to written and from written to oral.

Thus, one can argue that the oral text of the Passover was transmitted by writing later in the priestly and postexilic period, while orality continues to make such a written text more meaningful.

The elements of repetition in certain verses of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 therefore presuppose the existence of oral tradition in the written text. However, one must be cautious about insisting that repetition is the tool for identifying oral traditions behind a literary text since repetition is one of the literary devices used in poetic literature as well (Niditch 1996:100).

The commonly used verbs in the pericope of Exodus 12 are active but not imperative in strong terms even though they express urgency and necessity by the recipients. The common pronoun “you” expressed in plural form dominates the text and, in most cases, refers to the entire assembly of Israel. Most of the repeated phrases in the pericope are joined by the conjunction “and” that relates the different but related ideas in the units or text as a whole as shown in Table 3 below. Most of the ideas or scenes in the text are linked by the particle “for”. While ritualistic elements are repeated in the text as presented in Table 1 above, the element of time is also not neglected.

“This Month” (הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה), later called the month of *Abib* (March/April) in v. 2, refers to the time when the events of the Passover took place (Sarna 1991:54). The use of the word “month,” in this case, serves as the affirmation of the theological importance of Yahweh’s Passover (Durham 1987:152). It became the first month in the Hebrew calendar that began with the new moon appearing during the second half of March or the first half of April (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270). Beginning the annual sequence of months with the one in which the Exodus occurred meant coordinating the annual cycle with the event of liberation that is construed as the foundational act for the nation (Alter 2004:376). The scholarly views on the subject matter above indicate that they have shared or similar thoughts on the usage of the expression “this Month” and that it was used symbolically rather than in the normal calendar sense.

In v. 2, we have two similar phrases – “the beginning of months” and “the first of month of the year”. The beginning of months is otherwise referred to the head of months, head of the months

or the year’s months, or head of all the year’s months (Propp 1999:358). The “first month of the year” found in the same verse is more or less a repetition of the earlier phrase and it is probably used for emphasis since both expressions refer to the same thing or the same thing is expressed in two different ways (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270). The Hebrew months, like the days of the week, are given in numbers and not by names (Sarna 1991:56). The absence of names is probably due to a desire to avoid any confusion with polytheistic calendars that associate days and months with astral bodies or pagan deities and rituals. In Hebrew, the few months with names are a borrowed idea from the Babylonian calendar during the first exile.

Many scholars agree that the idea behind the mention of “the first month” or “the beginning of the months” is its insistence on Yahweh’s Passover as a commemoration of Israel’s beginning as a people freed by Yahweh (Durham 1987:153; Houtman 1996:167). In other words, the point of beginning the annual sequence of months with the one in which the Exodus occurred is to coordinate the annual cycle with the event of liberation that is construed as the foundational act for the nation (Alter 2004:376).

The repetitive character of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 shown above serves as a clue to the understanding of the Passover, first, in an oral traditional context that involves symbolic witness and iconic features similar to those of the Exodus in Egypt. Again, this explains the parallel existence of oral and written traditions and that the written culture is in various ways framed by assumptions typical of oral words (Niditch 1996:69). Table 4 below shows the repetitive textures and patterns which use personal pronouns in 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person voices and in singular and plural forms in Exodus 12.

**Table 4: Repetitive texture and pattern using pronouns in Exodus 12**

Verse	1 <sup>st</sup> per. Sing. (I, Me, My)	2 <sup>nd</sup> per. Sing. (You, Your)	3 <sup>rd</sup> per. Sing. (He, His, She, her,)	1 <sup>st</sup> per. Plural (We, Our, Us)	2 <sup>nd</sup> per. Plu. (You, all, yours, yourselves)	3 <sup>rd</sup> per. Plu. (They, Their, Them)
2			He אֱלֹהִים			
4			He אֱלֹהִים			
11			He אֱלֹהִים			
12	I אֲנִי (Lord)					

13					You אַתָּם	
15			She הִיא			
19			She הִיא			
22					You אַתָּם	
22					You אַתָּם	

The word for deity, “*Lord*,” is repeated in several places with the pronoun “I” (אֲנִי) referring to Yahweh the central role player and speaker throughout the Passover episode as presented in Table 2 above. He is prominent in the entire Passover text particularly in vv. 1-13 and 14-20, while Moses and Aaron play the roles of the addressees or mediators between God and the community of Israel, and passive listeners in vv. 1-20. In vv. 21-28 however Moses becomes prominent again as the speaker, but not in the first person sense. It is in the sense of a reporter of sorts addressing the entire elders and leaders of Israel who, in turn, would carry the message to the rest of the community. The pronoun אַתָּם “*you*” is frequently used in the text to refer to the entire people of Israel as recipients of the God’s instructions regarding the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts. Table 5 below shows the repetitive texture and pattern in series of 2, 3, 4 using the conjunction “and.”

**Table 5: Repetitive texture and pattern using conjunctions**

Ex. 12	Repetitive form in series of two	Repetitive form in series of three and four
Verse 1	The Lord said to Moses and to Aaron וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אַהֲרֹן	
4	And if the house is too small, a man and his neighbour ... וְאִם־יִמְעַט הַבַּיִת מִהֵיט מִשָּׂה וְלָקַח הוּא וְשִׁכְנוֹ	
6	And it shall be for you to keep and shall kill it וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אֶרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ	
7		And they shall take from the blood and put on the doorposts and lintel וְלָקְחוּ מִיְּהַדְּם וְנָתְנוּ עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַמְּזוּזוֹת וְעַל־הַמַּשְׁקוּף
8		And they shall eat the flesh and they shall eat it with unleavened bread and

		bitter herbs ואכלו את־הבֹּשֶׂר בלילה הַזֶּה צִלִּי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מֵרִים
10	And you shall not leave any of it and you shall burn with fire that left from it וְלֹא־תוֹתִירוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר וְהַגִּתָּר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר בָּאֵשׁ	
11		And you shall eat it with your loins girded,...and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it in haste וְכָכָה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִכֶם חֲגָרִים נֶעְלִיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמִקְלַכֶּם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן
12		And I will pass through the land of Egypt, and I will smite all the firstborn of Egypt, and I will execute judgements on ... וְעָבַרְתִּי בְּאֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם בַּלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה וְהִכִּיתִי כָל־בְּכוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מֵאָדָם וְעַד־בְּהֵמָה וְכָכֵל־אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם אֲעֲשֶׂה שְׁפָטִים
13		And the blood shall be a sign for you, and I will see the blood, and I will Passover you; and no plague shall ...destroy you וְהָיָה הַדָּם לָכֶם לְאֵת עַל הַבָּתִּים אֲשֶׁר אֲתֶם שָׂם וְרָאִיתִי אֶת־הַדָּם וּפָסַחְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם וְלֹא־יְהִיָּה כָכֶם נֹגֵף
14	And the day shall be a memorial day for you; and you shall celebrate it as a feast.. ...וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לָכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן וְתִגְדְּתֶם אֹתוֹ חַג	
16	And on the first day you shall hold a holy assembly, and on the seventh day a holy assembly ... וּבַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה	
17	And you shall observe the unleavened bread and you shall observe this day... וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַמִּצּוֹת	
21		And Moses called all the elders and said to them, select lambs ... and kill the Passover וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לְכָל־זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מִשְׁכוּ

		<p>ויקחו לכם צאן למשפחהתיכם ושחטו הפסח</p>
22		<p>And take a bunch of hyssop and dip in the blood and apply to the upper doorpost and to the two side doorposts and you shall not go out</p> <p>וילקחתם אגדת אזוב וטבלתם בדם אשר־בסף והגעתם אל־המשקוף ואל־שתי המזוזות מן־הדם אשר־בסף ואתם לא תצאו</p>
23		<p>And the Lords will pass through to slay...; and he will see the blood on the lintel and the doorposts and the Lord will pass over the door; and he will not allow the destroyer ... to kill you</p> <p>ועבר יהוה לנגף את־מצרים וראה את־הדם על־המשקוף ועל שתי המזוזות ופסח יהוה על־הפתח ולא יתן המשחית לבא אל־בתיכם לנגף</p>
24	<p>And you shall observe this rite ... and for your sons forever</p> <p>ושמרתם את־הדבר הזה לחק־לד וּלְבְנֵיךָ עַד־עוֹלָם</p>	
27		<p>And he delivered our houses; and the people bowed and worship</p> <p>בנגפו את־מצרים ואת־בתינו הציל ויקד העם וישתחווי</p>
28		<p>And the people of Israel went and did so; as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron ...</p> <p>ויילכו ויעשו בני ישראל כאשר צוה יהוה את־משה ואהרן כן עשו</p>

Table 5 above is an illustration of repetitive texture appearing in series of two, three, and four, joined by the simple conjunction (ו) “and”. Some of the series are like chains expressing the one idea in dual and triple forms, all for the sake of emphasis. The Passover pericope has so many of

such chain-like series since God was the highest person in control of the whole Passover celebration. The people were supposed to be informed of all that the said celebration entails so that they could inform their children. The repetitive progression therefore gives the Passover text a good stylistic outlook that projects the Passover as the main theme of Exodus 12.

A look at the contents of the Passover with all its ritualistic activities suggests that oral tradition has also played a role in the manifestation of the Passover text. Literally speaking, we can see that the ritual involved some sort of physical practices that had to do with verbal directives from God to Moses and from Moses to the entire elders and congregation of Israel. If this is observation is correct, then the view of the Scandinavian scholars regarding the Passover ritual is also plausible.<sup>69</sup>

#### **4.5.2 Progression or progressive texture and pattern**

Progressive texture resides in series (progressions) of words and phrases throughout the unit. Words sometimes alternate with one another throughout the unit, such as “I... you,” “now... then,” “because... therefore,” “good...bad” (Robbins 1996a:9). Sometimes words form a chain as in “hope and righteousness... righteousness and God... and people who believe.” Progression emerges out of repetition. In fact, repetition itself is one kind of progression, since movement from the first occurrence of a word to another occurrence is a forward movement - a progression - in the discourse (Robbins 1996a:10).<sup>70</sup> It seems that repeated items are the building stones for progression. We therefore agree with Robbins that repetition itself is a form of progressive texture.

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<sup>69</sup> Scholars of the northern Europe school (the Scandinavian or Uppsala school) have observed the importance of the cult as a creative context for the origin and transmission of oral tradition (Hees 2005:765). Emphasis here was placed on psychological aspects of the people’s culture. In his discussion of oral tradition behind the prophetic books, Birkeland, one of the Scandinavian scholars, stresses that Old Testament literature is a product of ancient oriental culture (Nielsen 1954:13). Writing was always secondary, used for the one purpose of preserving the oral message from destruction, whereas oral tradition is primary, creative, sustaining and shaping. Mowinckel (in Nielsen 1954:13, 30), in line with Birkeland’s view above, maintains that the prophets were men of the spoken word and that their books were compositions based on oral tradition.

<sup>70</sup> Progression within repetition adds more dimensions to the analysis of a text in the following ways. First, it may lead to observations about progressive texture in the entire work. Second, it may exhibit phenomena that function as stepping-stones to other phenomena in the text. Third, it may exhibit a sequence of sub-units throughout a span of text (Robbins 1996:10).

However, if repetition is a form of progression, then we can consider all the repetitive patterns in Tables 1, 2, and 3 as being progressive and as progression texture. The pronoun אַתָּה “you” occurs in vv. 2, 6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, and 26 while לְ “for” appears in vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 21, and 24. In addition, the phrase “you shall” is commonly used in the Passover text to express a demand of abiding strictly by the instructions regarding the Passover and Unleavened Bread feasts. It also indicates in the passage that a person in authority is passing orders to his/her subjects. In this case, God stands clearly as the one giving the Passover instructions to the entire Israelites through his mediator and messenger Moses.

Fretheim (1991a:135) also presents an example of repetition or progressive texture in his sampling of different expressions, which are related in meaning and, which all point to the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28. Verse 25, for instance, contains the phrases “when in Canaan...”; “promise to fathers” and “keep this service,” all of which refer to the Passover celebration. In vv. 14 and 24, we have “observe forever”, and v. 13 has “sign and mark”, v. 26 has “when children ask...”, while v. 27 crowns it all with “God’s action in Egypt; sacrifice; for/to Yahweh”. All of the above refer to the Passover even though they are repeated in different forms.

The statement, וְהָיָה הַדָּם לְכֶם “The blood is a sign for you” in vv. 7 and 13, was used as a symbol of salvation for the Israelites and of doom for the Egyptians. It also served as a sign of divine promise by God to pass over the houses of the Israelites in the night that the destroyer was out to get their enemies, the Egyptians (Durham 1987:154; Fretheim 1991a:138). The blood was for the Israelites and not for God. It is considered inconceivable that God would need a sign. The sign of the blood was rather a proof that the Israelites had disassociated with the Egyptian idols (Houtman 1996:185). It seems valid that the emphasis placed on the blood was for Israel rather than for God. God is all knowing and perfect in his deeds. He does not need any sign before he acts correctly. He only uses creation as a vehicle in this case to achieve redemption for his chosen people.

In Exodus 12:18-19, there is progression of the lasting ordinance of “no yeast” in the bread that is repeated in different but similar ways as in “eat bread made without yeast; on the first day



*remove the yeast from your houses; whoever eats anything with yeast in it must be cut off from Israel.*” Verse 20 also emphasizes the “no yeast” rule. The penalty for adding yeast to the Passover bread was to have the celebrant “cut off” from the community of Israel (Alter 2004:379). However, the penalty was not legally enforced in the Judaic community in a physical sense. Rather, God was expected to implement it by awarding desirable sanctions to the offenders on behalf of the community, which in turn expected that the offender would be left with no descendants or be struck by early death (Bruckner 2008:112).

On the whole, one could say that repetitive/progressive texture or progression has played a major role in the Passover text. In the Table 3 above, the Passover is projected as the main theme in the text of Exodus 12. Yahweh was the main speaker in the episode while Moses acted as his subsidiary. The strength of the text lies in its repetitive character that has brought to the surface the main aim of the speaker and the response of Moses as his subsidiary and the entire congregation of Israel as recipients.

### **4.5.3 Word play**

Word play is a literary technique in which the words that are used become the main subject of the work, and they are used, primarily, for the purpose of intended effect or amusement. Word play is quite common in oral cultures as a method of reinforcing meaning. Obscure words and meaning, clever rhetorical excursions, oddly formed sentences, and telling character names are examples of word play (Weir 1962:70). In Exodus 12, word play is found in the phrase “to apply some of the blood on the house,” with the word *נָגַף* “plague, strike, hit, assault” being translated in a weak form or sense, as in v. 24. However, it is used in its original sense or translation in Exodus 11:1 as *plague* (*I will bring one more plague [touch/apply] on Pharaoh*).

Word play in v. 24 substitutes the blood “touching” the doorposts and lintel for the “plague” that was coming (Bruckner 2008:113). Applying the blood on the doorpost and lintel was, in a sense, a sign of accepting the lordship of Yahweh and it served as protection for the Israelites but as a plague to the Egyptians who were stricken by God. One could argue that the word play in the Passover text of Exodus 12 depicts the character of orality and serves as a clue to its older and

non-priestly celebration, first in Egypt, and later out of Egypt, before its development from the oral and non-priestly to the written and priestly stage.

#### 4.5.4 Voice

As a literary device used in a text, the term voice refers to the narrator who tells the story or addresses the audience in a written narration. The voice in a narrative discourse characterizes the narrator and the narrating instance, and governs the relationship between narrating and the narrative text as well as between narrating and the narrated (Prince 1987:103; Brichto 1992:9). The narrator or voice in the written line usually speaks in the third person mode using “*he*,” “*she*” and “*they*” especially when s/he stands outside the story with a hidden presence, e.g. authors, God, messengers, mediators. The voice or narrator may choose to speak in a first person mode using the pronoun “*I*” where s/he is prominently featured as the central or major character in the story or s/he may be an unidentified and misty observer/commentator on the characters and actions being reported (Prince 1987:103; Brichto 1992:9).

In the Passover text of Exodus 12, we have voices that depict an oral tradition of the Passover celebration that existed between God and Moses, and between Moses and the rest of the people of Israel.<sup>71</sup> In v. 4, for example, we have a third person voice הָיָא “*he*” and בְּיַתּוֹ “*his house*” referring to the Israelites who were celebrants of the first Passover in Egypt. They were being instructed by God, the hidden speaker in the verse, to share the Passover meal with their close neighbours if a family was too small to finish a lamb in one night (Myers 2005:95; Stuart 2006:272; Dozeman 2009:265). The pronoun הֵם “*they*” in v. 7 also refers to Israelites who were celebrants of the Passover in Egypt. The emphasis here is on displaying the blood on the doorposts and lintels of the houses where they ate the Passover meal. This might include dwellings places like tents and of people who lived alone but who came together to celebrate the Passover (Stuart 2006:276).

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<sup>71</sup> God had an interpersonal relationship with Moses in which oral communication or commission to organise the elders and the other members of the Israelite community for the Passover feast was achieved. A consideration of the trend of the conversations between God and Moses and with the entire Israelite community will show that the conversations took place in oral forms. Moses and the rest of the community members were able to understand the oral conversation and act positively because they were conversant with the trend of instructions from God through their leaders. Thus, they probably kept at heart those oral instructions on the Passover and passed them orally to other generations without doubting that they are God’s words.

In vv. 12, 13 and 17, we have the first person pronoun voice *אני* “I” that is repeated severally and refers to the deity “*Lord*” who was going to pass over and protect those whose houses were painted with the blood of the Passover lamb (Myers 2005:96; Dozeman 2009:269). Again, we have the third person voice *הוא* “he” in vv. 23 and 27 but, this time, it refers to God as the direct cause of the plagues and the final judge of humanity. He was personally going to save his people who placed faith in him and obeyed the Passover instructions given through Moses (Stuart 2006:288-289; Dozeman 2009:272).

The conversation literally entails an oral conversation between God and Moses and between Moses and the Israelites. Moreover, with the series of repetitions found in the conversation/verses, it is possible to assume an oral origin of the Passover instructions at the first stage of the celebration. However, caution must be taken in proposing an oral origin for the Passover celebration since repetition is also a literary element. It is possible to establish some continuity or interplay between the oral and the written texts of the Passover. The written words of a biblical text only become meaningful when passed on to the audience orally while the oral words, on the other hand, are sustained through written documentation. Davis (2000:991) confirms that the composers of the materials that now make up the Bible and of other texts from that period expected the majority of the people who came in contact with their compositions to hear, rather than read, them. In other words, the compositions were structured for the ears rather than for the eyes, since the literacy rate then was less than ten percent. Clues to meaning and structure were heard by the audience because they had learned to communicate in a world where those clues were essential to understanding.

The epic tales of the oral culture were and are the basic means of education in an oral culture that depended more or less on interpersonal interaction than on an abstract set of values (Davis 2000:991). That meant that moral norms, trade skills, history, and every aspect of communal life were passed on in oral poetry.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> In an oral community, traditional materials are best preserved by community joint efforts rather than individual thoughts. Traditional materials, in this case, deal with matters of high practicality and interest. This means that once an idea or procedure loses its validity or usefulness, it is forgotten. Oral societies tend to be very conservative, maintaining equilibrium for generations (Davis 2000:991).

Davis' (2000:991) view of oral tradition above indicates that he is one of those who presuppose the gradual development of oral texts into the present literary text. He also maintains that oral tradition remains a basis for education and means of communication even at this time of literacy, which, in a sense, proves the interplay between orality and writing. That implies that even in high literacy rated centuries, the written text could only be interpreted through oral means, which helps in recovering the original meaning behind the history of texts. The history behind the text is recovered through oral sayings such as story-telling, singing of songs, performance of rituals, recitation of short sayings and proverbs, which serve as clues to easy understanding among the audience. In this case, knowledgeable people who are well versed in tradition would serve as transmitters and the things, which they pass on, whether rituals or feast, songs or dances, would serve as themes of the tradition (Davis 2000:991).

Gunkel (1967) is one of those who have contributed in a most significant and illuminating way to our understanding of the Old and New Testament texts. Although he focuses more on the form critical rather than the tradition history approach, Gunkel insists on the oral reading of a text aloud in order that the reader might better discern its movement, rhythm, assonance, key words, and accents (Gunkel 1967: iv). In a sense, that seems to be an indication of the continuing existence of oral transmission in written texts, which confirms some sort of interplay between oral and written texts and finds a place in the Passover text of Exodus 12. Reading the text of Exodus 12 aloud gives the impression of God standing face to face with Moses, Aaron, and the entire Israelite community to have an oral conversation with them. The rise and fall of tones indicate the areas of emphasis in the text as well. This however does not mean that the Passover was documented orally but it is an indication of the written text manifesting through oral profession.

Noth, one of the most important German critical scholars of the twentieth century, also shared a similar view on the oral development of the text of Exodus. Noth (1962:6-18) concentrates on historical and literary issues from a critical perspective. He claims that Exodus narratives, unlike

the rest of the Pentateuchal books, are all saga-traditions<sup>73</sup> that emerged, developed, and were transmitted through mouths of narrators within the community as they gathered on cultic occasions (Noth 1962:6-18; 1981:44). It meant that the Passover tradition was also conveyed orally before being documented in written form. This can be seen in Israel's cultic confession of faith through which, on most occasions, the mighty acts of God in pre-history and early history were celebrated and manifested; thus, forming part of the themes of the transmitted text of Exodus (Noth 1962:6-18; Weor 2006:15-18).

The views of Noth (1962:6-18) above are true of the Passover of Exodus 12. Here the theme of rescue out of Egypt was and is still celebrated among the Jews. In the first instance of the celebration in Egypt God passed on the oral instructions to Moses who also passed them on to the community of Israel orally as found in vv. 3 and 21. This seems to be an indication of the continued role of oral tradition in the Passover tradition from one generation to another. In other words, the more one is involved in the real celebration of the Passover the more s/he engages in the oral transmission of its cultic activities such as prayers, singing, and recitation of laws, and so forth.

#### **4.5.5 Structure**

Structure is an important interpretive and methodological concept for critics who are interested in the internal dynamic of a literary work rather than its relation to external phenomena, thematic content and genetic origin. Structure allows a literary work to be autonomous and characterised within its literary structure (Preminger & Brogan 1993:1222). Virtually every literary document has a formal structure, that is, a planned framework; and the framework is likely to provide a clue to the interrelation of forms in the document. In modern times, such a framework is usually displayed in an outline that reveals the author's division of the document into chapters and sub-units. The outline helps the reader to comprehend the scope and progression of the document and allows him or her to read portions of the document according to thought units (Robbins 1992:19). The Passover text of Exodus 12 is not an exception to this trend. Thus, an outline is

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<sup>73</sup> Saga-tradition, in the sense used here, refers to the emergence of a tradition without a particular author but, rather, the tradition emerged, developed and was transmitted by word of mouth. In other words, saga-tradition, in this sense, is usually found in a situation where the history of a people is born by the community of its tribe (Noth 1981:44).

provided in this section but it is limited to vv. 1-28, the pericope being examined in this study. The outline is also based on the literary elements found in both the inner-texture and the intertexture of the text in question.

The pericope of Exodus 12 contrasts with 11:1-10, which is a narrative account of the actual departure from Egypt (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270). Chapter 12 in particular vv. 1-28, highlights the instructions on the observance of the Passover. Osborn and Hatton note that the detailed instructions in 12:1-28 reflect the later observance of the Passover after the Israelites had settled in the Promised Land. The first part (12:1-20) records Yahweh's instructions to Moses and Aaron while (12:21-28) records Moses' instructions to the people. The insertion of vv. 1-28 in the narrative at this point provides the background for the actual account in 12:29-42 of the tenth plague and the sudden departure of the Israelites from Egypt (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270).<sup>74</sup> According to Bruckner (2008:109), we can understand the different sections of the pericope of (12:1-28) by considering the subtle changing conversations and context. Nevertheless, the three related themes of protection of the firstborn, the Passover lamb, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread form the structure.

According to Carpenter (1999:606), the central theme of the entire book of Exodus is God's preservation and creation of his people in Egypt. The descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were the people through whom God would renew his "creation community." The recreation of God's "creation community" as a dynamic, holy, righteous, loving, and knowledgeable community is the centrepiece of a theology of Exodus. The references to Israel, people, Moses, and the suffixal references to Israel exceed the references to Yahweh and God combined even though he is the leading figure in Exodus. Carpenter further notes that Exodus records a key epoch in God's renewal of his relationship with his people as represented by different scholars in both structure and themes.

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<sup>74</sup> The detailed outline for Exodus 12:1-28 is given by Bruckner (2008:100) as follows:  
 (a) First Passover instruction to Moses for the protection of firstborn (12:14-20).  
 (b) First instruction regarding the Feast of Unleavened Bread to Moses (21:14-20)  
 (c) First Passover instruction to the people for the protection of firstborn (12:21-27).  
 (d) First historic Passover – unleavened event: The Exodus (12:28-42).

For example, Childs (1979) presents the Exodus from Egypt (1:1-15:21), which includes the Passover of Exodus 12, as the chapter's theme. However, Durham (1987) considers 'Israel in Egypt' as the suitable theme for 1:1-13:16. As Carpenter notes, Durham, at least, keeps the theme of the book as each suggested section – Israel, God's people. Sarna's analysis is similar to Childs; he presents 'oppression and liberation' as the theme of 1:1-15:21. Carpenter (1999:606) turns around Childs' suggestion and presents the theme of Exodus 1-13 as "the revelation of Yahweh's royal power".

Although the abovementioned scholars seem to differ in their approach to the literary structure of the broader Exodus text, they agree, in a much narrower sense, that the Exodus from Egypt, which revolves round the theme of rescue or liberation from slavery, is the theme of the Passover in chapter 12.

#### 4.5.6 Rhetorical speech

Preminger and Brogan (1993:1046) view rhetoric in terms of an art of oratory or public speaking, which has two inseparable ends – persuasion, which is audience directed, and eloquence, which is mostly form and style directed. Rhetoric, in this sense, is used in connection with oratory or speech elements found in the Passover text of Exodus 12. What then are the elements in the text, which exemplify the public speeches that were made orally in the Passover pericope? Rhetorical speeches could manifest through the rhetoric of repetitive forms<sup>75</sup> or it could take the form of progressive forms.<sup>76</sup> In the Passover text of Exodus 12, we have a rhetorical speech in v. 26

מָה הָעֵבֶרֶה הַזֹּאת לָכֶם “...*what is the meaning of this to you?*”

<sup>75</sup> **The rhetoric of repetitive forms in Exodus 12:1-28** - Rhetorical criticism addresses those things, which concern the arousal and fulfilment of expectations, and desires within the reader. Through repetition, things in our world become familiar to us. Those familiar things provide a base for us to accept new ideas. The Passover text of Exodus 12 acquires a repetitive form at the beginning of the narrative as it present God's instructions regarding the Passover celebration to Moses who in the text plays the role of a mediator (Robbins 1992:198-199). We also have the rhetoric of conventional forms in Exodus 12:1-28. While repetitive forms create the familiar, conventional forms presuppose the familiar. The significance of conventional rhetoric arises as expectations from social, cultural, literary milieu are either fulfilled or modified. If we recall, Moses called all the elders and the congregation of Israel to relay to them the Passover instructions given to him by God. It raises expectations that emerge from conventional forms accompanying the act of the elders, leaders, and congregation of Israel gathering around Moses. In other words, as the reader reads along, s/he begins to imagine the picture of the elders and leaders responding to Moses' call in the said convention.

<sup>76</sup> **The rhetoric of progressive forms in Exodus 12** - While repetitive forms establish the familiar and conventional forms presuppose the familiar, progressive forms build upon repetitive and conventional forms to produce rhetorical

The above question was a reaction from the latter generation of Israelites as regards the Passover feast that was conducted in their time as an ongoing tradition. They never took part in the first Passover in Egypt; thus, it became strange to them when they saw their parents performing the act. From the above example, one may presuppose the existence of oral elements or communication, which may not always be the case. One may as well argue for the interplay between oral and literary texts to produce an effect. In other words, literary characters share similar trends and work hand in hand with oral tradition to produce an effect.

The above rhetorical question also evokes the way tradition works within a living community. This is partly in line with Hees' discussion of oral tradition. Hees (2005:764) views oral tradition as that which represents narratives and component parts that emerge through storytelling in what some identify as an oral culture. A good example is in v. 27 - וַאֲמַרְתֶּם זִבְח־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה אֲשֶׁר פֶּסַח - "You shall say, 'It is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD...'"

According to Hees (2005:764), tradition often appears as themes, motifs, and ideas similar to those found in neighbouring societies. In the case of the Passover text of Exodus 12:11, 14 and 27 in particular we have the theme, פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה "the Passover of the Lord" as rescue for the Israelites, while Moses, elders, and parents in ancient times served as transmitters of the Passover tradition instead of priests in modern times (Hees 2005:764).<sup>77</sup>

Tate (2006:252) considers oral tradition as information passed from one generation to the other by word of mouth. With regards to biblical texts, oral tradition relates to both the Old and New Testaments whose materials were orally transmitted over various periods before they became the basis for the written forms we find in the Pentateuch. Themes such as the patriarchal stories, Moses, Aaron, and the Exodus circulated as oral tradition long before they were developed into a

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argumentation. In a discursive essay, progressive forms result from direct statements by the narrator that assert one or more theses, demonstrate the theses, and draw conclusions from the thesis using brief stories, if the narrator wishes, to support or elaborate the theses, demonstrations, or conclusions (Robbins 1992:201).

<sup>77</sup> As Hees has noted, modern analyses of the oral traditions behind the biblical text began with the tradition-historical approach whose genesis lay in the work of Gunkel (1862-1932). Tradition was perceived in the twentieth century as containing a form and content that were orally received from the previous generation and passed on to the next generation (Hees 2005:764).



written document. The sayings of Jesus are believed to have been orally transmitted by his followers for some decades before becoming the basis for the Gospel. Just as oral tradition lies behind the biblical text of the Old Testament, the same applies to the story of the church in Acts (Tate 2006:252).

Although Tate's (2006:252) discussion of oral tradition is based mainly on repetition of oral sayings, it is not a good argument to use in defence of the pericope of Exodus 12:1-28 since literary characters could also contain repetition especially of the inner texture of texts. Even the intertexture of a text deals with the repetition of text in the world outside of the particular text in question.

#### 4.5.7 Formula

When used in the study of poetry or songs, the term formula is a collocation of words that reoccurs identically in form and content and in metrical pattern in line of verse, within a poem or beyond it (Wales 2001:161). Formula is a consummative useful repetition to the composition of oral poets who employ it not necessarily for rhetorical effect but as part of the traditional poetic idiom (Preminger and Brogan 1993:422). The formula takes the form of an introduction and a messenger formula.

**V. 1** - וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אַהֲרֹן בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֵאמֹר “*The LORD said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt*”

The first verse of Exodus 12 introduces instructional material into the narrative (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270). Although the Hebrew rendering of the verse begins with a *waw* (ו) conjunction, the RSV fails to retain it. This, of course, is a matter of translation differences.<sup>78</sup> The phrase, “*in the land of Egypt*” in the verse serves as a sort of emphasis that the following

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<sup>78</sup> Different translations of v.1 are observable such as “The Lord said to Moses and Aaron;” “The Lord’s instructions to Moses and Aaron;” “The Lord gives instructions to Moses and Aaron;” or “Yahweh tells Moses and Aaron what to do.” These renderings are used by translators in various versions of the Bible but the central message is retained (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270). The importance of the verse in question lies in its identification of Moses and Aaron who were Levites and priests, as recipients of the legal instructions, which were a part of their responsibilities (Douglas 2006:272). The first two Levitical priests mentioned in this verse and text prominently serve as a paradigm for all clergy. The legal instructions given to them by God also assume great importance because they were issued already in Egypt even prior to the Mount Sinai event (Stuart 2006:272).

instructions by God are to be understood within the Egyptian setting. The phrase also serves to position the passage in the narrative sequence: as the Israelites prepared for their escape in the penultimate moment of their 430 years sojourn in Egypt (Ex. 12:40), God directed Moses and Aaron to deliver to them these laws that would be binding on all their descendants, while they were still on Egyptian soil (Alter 2004:376).

#### 4.5.8 Syntax

Syntax refers to arrangement or ordering. It is the study of principles or rules for constructing sentences in natural language. It is also used to refer to the rules and principles that govern the sentence structure of any individual language (Freidin & Lasnik 2006:47). Chiasm as part of syntax, on the other hand, is a rhetorical term used to describe a construction involving the repetition of words or elements in reverse order (Wales 2001:53).

According to Bruckner (2008:108), the whole pericope of Exodus 12 and 13 stands together as a single literary unit describing the  $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha$  “Passover” particularly when the verses are read in a simple linear form. The entire pericope structurally braids together the three themes of protecting the precious firstborn, the Passover lamb, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (12:1-13:16), which, in a sense form, the structure of the pericope as well. The entire pericope, when considered in a chiasmic form, gives a description of the first Passover as well as the institution of the legacy of the Passover observance for generations to come. Consider the following example:

- A. First Passover instruction to Moses for the protection of firstborn (12:1-13)
- B. First instruction regarding the Feast of Unleavened Bread to Moses (vv. 14-20)
- C. First Passover instruction to the people for protection of firstborn (vv. 21-27)
- D. First historical Passover-Unleavened event: the Exodus (vv. 28-42)
- C. Perpetual Passover ordinance to Moses (vv. 43-51)
- B. Perpetual Feast of Unleavened Bread ordinance to Moses (13:3-10)
- A. Perpetual firstborn ordinance to the people (13:11-16)

The analogy of the above chiasmic structure presents the historical action of Exodus (Bruckner 2008:108). It presents the narrative of the text in much clearer terms by providing details

concerning the Passover lamb in three distinct places (A CC). The rest, according to the author, is a dialogue between God and Moses or Moses and the people.

Childs (1977:182) has pointed out that, syntactically, *בְּמִקְצֵת נֶפְשׁוֹת* in 12:4 has two renderings with different meanings. If it is used in the context of the MT, it will read, “*the neighbour closest to this household,*” referring to the number of persons. On the other hand, *בְּמִקְצֵת נֶפְשׁוֹת* in the LXX relates the clause to what follows to read, “*the neighbour that lives near to him,*” referring to geographical location. The two syntactical possibilities are correct, according to Childs, but concerning the Passover text, the meaning that relates to the number of persons is more appropriate than that referring to geographic location. The selection was based on the size of the family and not on geographical proximity as confirmed in the last part of the verse - “*according to what each can eat*” (Osborn & Hatton 1999:271). The ambiguity of the phrase, “*his neighbour next to his house,*” is removed with the last phrase that gives a clue that the neighbourhood being referred to in the text was restricted to Israel and Egypt. Thus, the explanations by Childs and Osborn and Hatton are correct.

Responding to the act of celebrating the Passover in a family setting or community with one common goal and interest, Pedersen says it was a re-living of the old common history of Israel. It was a history in which there was no political unity, yet fellowship was centred on ancient sacred treasures like the Ark of the Covenant. The Passover was a common ritual assembly or unifying force that enhanced communal fellowship between smaller existing units of Israel after their dispersal through Canaan (Pedersen 1940:85). The ceremony was rooted in the Passover text of Exodus 12 especially in the first four verses.<sup>79</sup>

The community of Israel was acting through the chief who was the leader of the Passover feast and the only one through whom Yahweh’s Spirit worked just as Moses in the first Passover in Egypt who played the role of mediator between God and the entire Israelite community

<sup>79</sup> V. 1 - וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אַהֲרֹן בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֵאמֹר “*The LORD said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt saying...*”

V. 3 - דַּבְּרוּ אֶל־כָּל־עֵדוּת יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר “*Tell the whole congregation of Israel saying...*”

וְאִם־יִמְעַט הַבַּיִת מִשֶּׁה וְלֶקַח הוּא וְשִׁכְנוֹ הַקָּרֵב אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ בְּמִקְצֵת נֶפְשׁוֹת “*If a household is too small for a whole lamb, it shall join its closest neighbour in obtaining one... The above verses show that the Passover was celebrated as a community*”.

(Pedersen 1940:85). That means, unlike Moses and Aaron, the Israelite chiefs were the transmitters of the Passover tradition, and the redemptive act of God served as the theme of the Passover. The oral instructions and the celebration of the Passover served as the living memory of God's acts of deliverance on behalf of his chosen ones from bondage in Egypt. This assumption agrees with Engnell's view that the literary text of the Old Testament has the character of oral literature and that it was only written down at a relatively late period (Engnell 1970:6).

Engnell (1970:8) regards the written text as mere repetition or translation into a readable text of an already existing tradition that had long reached a fixed form orally. Furthermore, to determine the role of oral tradition and factors on which the forms of the tradition depend, one must consider the occurrence of doublets and variants and the application of the so-called epic laws for the narrative portions of literature (Engnell 1970:8).

If Engnell's (1970:8) view above is applied to the Passover text of Exodus 12, one could argue that there are traces of oral tradition in the literary text of Exodus 12, which could prove that the written text developed from the oral text of the community and maintained continuity and interplay with orality after its written documentation. That implies that oral transmission has played a fundamental role in the origin and growth of the Old Testament. Transmitters of tradition, in this case, adhered closely to the form of the tradition, which they had inherited so that they could ensure a relatively great independence of their tradition from environmental or foreign cultures. Oral and written traditions should not be understood as antitheses, which mutually exclude one another but rather as two traditions running parallel and complementing each other (Engnell 1970:65).

According to Engnell (1970:193), the process of writing down an existing tradition does not imply the creation of something absolutely new but only writing down of things that have already existed. Engnell seems to emphasize the interplay between written and oral traditions, which is acceptable as far as the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 is concerned.<sup>80</sup> Engnell's

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<sup>80</sup> Engnell (1970:193) further notes that the Passover continued to be a cultic drama whose ritual text is preserved in the so-called Exodus legend (legend as used in this case refers to recitation, that is, a ritual text). The drama was

(1970:193) view is in line with Nielsen's (1961:32) suggestion that there is the possibility of interplay between oral and written traditions in ancient times and in the Old Testament, in particular (Deut. 31 = the Song of Moses). For Nielsen (1961:32), oral tradition existed in the form of recitation of poems by those who were creators and masters of such oral traditions, singing songs, and various types of storytelling as well as those who had little or no idea of such stories or songs.<sup>81</sup>

#### **4.6 Opening, Middle and Closing Textures and Pattern**

The opening, middle and closing textures reside in the nature of the beginning, body, and conclusion of a section of discourse (Robbins 1996a:19). Repetition, progression and narration work together regularly to create the opening, middle, and closing of a unit of text. However, in

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found in the plagues while the Passover of Exodus 12 forms the focal point of the ritual. The continuity of oral profession of the Passover tradition among celebrants despite the written text is found in the instructions, which guide the celebration and the celebrants from one generation to another. It is certain, in our view, that as people continue to celebrate the Passover feast, they would engage in some oral confession of their faith and recitation of prayers as did ancient Israelites in the first Passover celebration in Egypt. Moreover, the calendar of the Passover was set in the month of *Abib*, in spring, which is a memorable month for farmers. That means that even though there is a written document of the Passover tradition, oral recollection and the counting of seasons continue to work in the minds of celebrants alongside the written tradition.

<sup>81</sup>Nielsen adds that the oral traditions are inherited or orally passed down from one generation to the other. This is true of the Passover tradition as seeing in v. 27 below:

וְאָמַרְתֶּם זִבְח־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה אֲשֶׁר פָּסַח עַל־בְּתֵי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמִצְרָיִם “*You shall say, ‘It is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD, for he passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt...’*”

Those parents or householders who told their children the meaning and relevance of the Passover were certainly recollecting and reproducing the memory of what they inherited orally from their ancestors to the younger generation. The inherited traditions were later developed into a written text for the purpose of what Nielsen (1954:32-33) refers to as control of and aid to oral recitation.<sup>81</sup> That does not mean that the oral tradition was subject to no control without the written form; it was, otherwise, one would misunderstand the assertion <sup>81</sup>(Nielsen 1954:37). It just means that the oral texts underwent a gradual growth into a literary text while maintaining its significance and strength. Nielsen (1954:58), in his discussion of oral tradition particularly in the area of the transmission of the law in the Old Testament, mentions the father's oral teaching of his household, and especially of his sons, as an act of oral transmission. Such laws are normally connected to great and historic festivals such as the Passover feast. In this case, we would assume that the festivals are the themes of that oral transmission while the father is the transmitter of such a tradition. The assumption, therefore, finds a place in the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 where Moses was instructed by God to tell the people all that were required of them concerning the Passover celebration. In this case, Moses was responsible for the transmission of the Passover tradition to the entire leaders and community of Israel as shown in v. 21: וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לְכָל־זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם “*Then Moses called all the elders of Israel and said to them...*” The entire Israelite elders and community who received oral instructions from God through Moses regarding the Passover, in turn, served as teachers and transmitters of the said Passover tradition to their children in subsequent generations, telling them the meaning and relevance of the Passover in their own generation and what it meant to the past generation. Verse 27 - וְאָמַרְתֶּם זִבְח־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה אֲשֶׁר פָּסַח עַל־בְּתֵי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל - בְּמִצְרָיִם “*... you shall say, ‘It is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD, for he passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt...*”

most cases, interpreters differ over the exact place where the opening ends, where the middle begins, and where the conclusion begins and ends. In such a situation, the interpreter must identify the phenomena that support a view of units in the narrative that are different from the view of another interpreter. The variation shows the complexities involved in the opening-middle-closing texture.

#### 4.6.1 Opening texture of Exodus 12: 1-13

An open text refers to a kind of interpretive interaction between the text and the reader. It is not aimed at a specific reader in a specific social context. It is open in the sense that its theme, structure and language are more complex, less explicit and more open-ended (Wales 2001:278). In our view, Exodus 12:1-13 forms part of the opening of the text since it does not only address specifically the people of Israel whose social context, at the time God was addressing them through Moses, was that of slaves in a foreign land but also the subsequent generations. The instructions that were given to them also have an open-ended character. Although the people would use the instructions at that time in Egypt, not every minute detail would be relevant to subsequent celebrants. For instance, celebrants of the first Passover were to sprinkle blood on their doorposts based on their context (v.12), whereas subsequent celebrants would no longer need to put blood on their doorposts since that symbolized the culmination of the Lord's judgement on the gods of Egypt (Bruckner 2008:109). Even though this section of the passage is Priestly and literary in character, it shares some characteristics of an open text, which we consider as the characteristics of an older oral text.

The section opens with וַיֹּאמֶר “*and said*” from the root word אָמַר, which is a verb, *qal*, active, prefixed (imperfect) sequential, singular, masculine, third person (i.e. say, tell, claim, speak or talk, usually with a focus on the content to follow). However, אָמַר as a verb, *qal*, active, could mean a command that the speaker in the third person speaking as a first person in his divine nature would like the people to carry out. As used in this context, it refers to the word of God to Moses on the Passover ritual, which was to be carried out before the deathly event of the killing of the Egyptian firstborn could occur (Fretheim 1991a:137; Sarna 1991:55; Bruckner 2008:109).

That instruction was directed to Moses who stood prominently in the text as a messenger of God in this regard.<sup>82</sup>

The word אָמַר in the opening also indicates a sequence that God wanted the Israelites to follow in the course of celebrating the Passover ritual. The sequence ranges from date, place, preparation mode, officials, and so forth. The entire Exodus, in this regard, is visualized as the start of a wholly new order of life that would be dominated by the consciousness of God's active presence in history. Next is the “community of Israel” (עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל), the pre-monarchic technical term for the people of Israel acting as a corporate political entity, a kind of people's assembly (Sarna 1991:56).

It comes after דִּבְרֵי from דָּבַר, which is a verb, *piel*, imperative, masculine, plural (i.e. speak, tell, say, speak or talk in verbal communication, with a possible focus on the vocal sounds and content of verbalization). The term דָּבַר in this context indicates that oral tradition also played a positive role in the literary work of the Passover text.

In 12:4, one would find yet another pattern of open, middle, and closing texture following the rules governing the eating of the Passover פֶּסַח “lamb”. The opening of the verse starts with אֲךָ “but”, a *particle* and *conjunction* marker of a coordinate relationship followed by יִמְעַט, verb, *qal*, imperfect, third person, masculine, singular (i.e. *become few*), which indicates the continuation of the speech in the rest of the verse. The middle of the verse then continues the speech with the expression, “let him share” referring to a household that is few in number and to the slaughtered Passover animal. The last part of the verse then concludes with “...make your count for the lamb according to what each can eat.” In other words, the slaughtering and eating of the lamb was done in proportion to the number of people required to finish the whole meat at a time. Based on the above analysis, one could argue that there are elements of progression of narrative in the speech, which are elements of opening, middle, and closing pattern or texture.

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<sup>82</sup> The revelation, however, came not only to Moses but also to Aaron in the land of Egypt (Houtman 1996:166). The localization in the opening of the first verse of the section above means that from the outset the regulations that follow, the first to be given by YHWH through Moses to Israel, are emphatically linked with Israel's sojourn in and out of Egypt.

#### 4.6.2 Middle texture of Exodus 12:14-20

Middle texture refers to the set of incidents in a plot or action between the beginning and the end. The middle follows and is followed by other incidents. It is doubly oriented that either prospectively from the beginning to the end and retrospectively from the end to the beginning, it progresses towards the end and at the same time postpones the reaching of the end (Prince 1981:52). Verses 14-20 form part of the middle texture and present the first instructions regarding the Feast of the Unleavened Bread given by God through Moses to the Israelites. It opens with  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  “*shall be or fall out, come to pass, become*” a verb, *qal*, perfect, third person, masculine, singular, consecutive. It then continues with an adjective  $\text{הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה}$  *this day*, which then points to the Memorial Day, a day of liberation from the Egyptian slavery that was meant for an ongoing celebration from generation to generation -  $\text{זִכְרוֹן}$  “*memorial, remembrance*”. The focus in this middle part of the Passover text is on the festival of the Unleavened Bread. Without doubt, it remained, throughout the biblical period, a distinct celebration separate from the one-day paschal rite (Sarna 1991:83).

Considering the sequence of the verse and the way it reads like a concluding sentence, one could assume therefore that the ending is just but provincial (Houtman 1996:185). The middle part or verse links with the opening verse or section in that in the former, an ordinance was given concerning the ritual that would take place on the nights of the fourteenth and fifteenth while the latter concludes the message from Moses to the people that Yahweh would protect them from the catastrophe that would come upon Egypt. There is a kind of progression from open to middle with both being bound together as a series of instructions on the keeping of the Passover of Yahweh. The instructions of vv. 1-13 and 14-20 and the series of repetitions that they contain make it clear that two separate sets of instructions, representing two originally separate sets of ritual, have been brought together in a sequence linked by v. 14 that refers to the Passover and Unleavened Bread feasts (Durham 1987:157). Moreover, it was important for the Israelites to observe the Passover and Unleavened Bread as a single feast in order not to lose their citizenship (Bruckner 2008:113).



Consequently, vv. 14-20 exhibit the characteristics of open texture reminding celebrants of the Exodus from Egypt as they received the instructions for and celebrated the festival of the Unleavened Bread. The section regulates the Passover instructions and those of the Unleavened Bread (Dozeman 2009:270). It moves towards a conclusion but does not conclude until the actual action of celebrating the Passover and Unleavened Bread is carried out in vv. 21-27. It is possible to consider the section above as a part of the priestly tradition but as in section 1-13 above, there are elements of oral interplay in each case. However, since text is proposed as an oral tradition, one would argue that middle regulates between older to younger and back to older.

#### **4.6.3 The closing texture of Exodus 12:21-27**

The closing texture in a text aims at a specific reader in a specific social context in a different way from an open text (Wales 2001:39). The closing of the entire Passover pericope presents Moses relaying or describing in vv. 21-23 the rite of the Passover or the entire divinely given instructions of vv. 1-20 to the people of Israel with additional teachings on the Passover in vv. 24-27a in particular for clarification purposes (Sarna 1991:56; Dozeman 2009:272). It may be recalled that all the instructions in vv. 1-20 were for the Israelites but, so far, God had announced them only to Moses and Aaron (12:1). Moses therefore related the instructions to the entire Israelite community by telling them to אֱלֵדָרִי *“the elders,”* who would then pass them on to the family heads through the various clan leaders, until everyone knew them and followed them (Stuart 2006:287). Following that sequence, there was no cause for a verbatim kind of repetition since Moses had to add some words for clarity and the elders, leaders, and family heads would have done the same. That process brings to mind the interplay between oral tradition and literary criticism.

Verse 27 is the summation of the entire Passover pericope. It addresses the task of teaching the children in subsequent generations the meaning of the Passover tradition, which brings to remembrance the deliverance of their forefathers from Egypt (Bruckner 2008:113-114; Dozeman 2009:274-275). The Passover pericope however exhibits the features of the open, middle, and close textures. God stands in the opening section passing instructions on the Passover celebration through Moses to the entire people of Israel. Moses and Aaron played passive roles in the opening scene since, in practical terms, they were only listeners but not actors. In the middle

section as well, God was the one passing instructions on the celebration of the Unleavened Bread feast through Moses who only listened attentively but never acted. In the closing texture, Moses had to relay all the instructions on the celebration of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feast to the entire Israelites through elders and leaders. Although it is presupposed that the opening, middle and the closing belong to different source traditions, they are linked by orality.

#### **4.7 Narrational Texture and Pattern in Exodus 12**

According to Robbins (1996a:72; 1996b:15), narrational texture resides in voices often not identified with a specific character through which the words in texts speak. The voices may exist in form of narrative voice, narrating voice, narrator's voice, and the voice of the written text (cf. Chatman 1978:125; Robbins 1996a:72).<sup>83</sup> Further, the opening words in a text automatically presuppose a narrator speaking the words. The narrator may begin and continue simply with the narration or he may introduce characters who act while the narrator describes their actions. The narrator may introduce people who speak and they themselves become narrators or speaking actors. The narrator, in a similar way, may introduce written texts from the Old Testament Scripture. In the pericope of the Passover text (Ex. 12:1-28), we shall base our analysis of narrational texture on the opening words in the text and on the pronouns that are repeated in the text in the midst of other devices that are related to narrational texture as mentioned by Robbins above.

Verse 12 opens with the verb *עָבַר* from the Hebrew root *עָבַר*, which is a verb, *qal*, perfect, first person, common, singular, consecutive. It is followed by another verb *וְהִבִּיתִי* from the Hebrew root *נָכַח*, which is a verb, *hiphil*, perfect, first person, common, singular, consecutive. The verbs,

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<sup>83</sup> Narrational texture appears in the work of Rhoads and Michie on the Gospel of Mark (1982), followed by that of Alan Culpepper on the Gospel of John (1983). Both of these studies used Seymour Chatman (1978)'s *Story and Discourse* to identify the real author, implied author, narrator, characters, narratee, implied reader and real reader. (Robbins 1996b:15). Both authors as Robbins (1996b:15) rightly observed move beyond poetics to discuss the narrator, point of view, style, narrative patterns and other features such as riddles, quotations, prophecies, and irony as rhetorical techniques in the text. Culpepper for instance continues the trend by describing the narrator as the rhetorical device of the voice that tells the story and speaks to the reader (Robbins 1996b:15). Literary interpreters analyze narrational aspects of opening, middle, and closing texture of texts and discuss the reliability of narrators and characters in a written text. Usually, the narrational texture reveals some kind of pattern that moves the discourse forward programmatically. However, sometimes a pattern emerges when narration and attributed speech alternate with each other or when a particular speech in form of a question or command occurs frequently in a discourse (Robbins 1996b:15).

as first person voices, indicate that Yahweh, represented by the voice “I” used repeatedly in the verse (*“I” will pass through the land of Egypt... and “I” will strike down every firstborn... of Egypt... “I” will execute judgments... I am the LORD*), is the speaker and/or narrator of the discourse. In other words, the voices in Exodus 12:12 belong to the narrator.

Verse 13 opens with the verb  $\text{וַיִּקְרָא}$  from the Hebrew root  $\text{קרא}$ , which is a verb, *qal*, perfect, third person, masculine, singular, consecutive. The verb, as a perfect conjugation, refers to time, in totality being present, past and future. In this text, it refers to the blood as a sign of purification and salvation for Israel in Egypt and out of Egypt from generation to generation. The narrator of the discourse is later introduced through the repetition of the pronoun “I” in first person voice, referring to Yahweh the speaker and the performer of the actions “see”, “pass over”, and “strike” “... when “I” see the blood, “I” will pass over you... “I” will strike the land of Egypt”. The pronoun “you” in the verse refers to the addressee who is no other person but Israel in collective or plural terms. The narrator then continues the narration in form of instructions, which were not given in the imperative form even though they were necessary for the recipients. He used the pronoun “you” severally in vv. 12-20, each time to refer to Israel.

Verse 21 then introduces Moses as a speaker or narrator reporting what Yahweh the main speaker in the text has instructed him to tell the entire Israelites. The verse opens with  $\text{וַיִּקְרָא}$  from the Hebrew root  $\text{קרא}$  “call, summon”, a verb, *qal*, imperfect *waw* (ו) consecutive, third person, masculine singular, which describes the action that is required of the recipients. Moses, as the second speaker, mediating between Yahweh and the people of Israel continues with the reported narrative using the pronoun “you” repeatedly in place of Israel. Based on the above analysis, one can conclude that a narrative pattern exists in the Passover text of Exodus 12. The repeated pronouns used in the above verses and in the entire Passover text of Exodus 12 therefore establish the narrational pattern in the discourse.

#### **4.8 Argumentative Texture and Pattern**

Argumentative texture is used in a text to persuade the reader or audience through a logical progression to think and act in one way rather than another (Robbins 1996b:21; cf. Gitay 1996:218-229). According to Robbins (1996a:92), argumentative texture deals with inner

reasoning in the repetition and progression in a text and not just with the sign and voice of the text. It investigates multiple kinds of inner reasoning in the discourse some of which may be logical. In other words, the discourse presents assertions and supports them with reasons, clarifies them through opposites and contraries, and possibly presents short or elaborate counter-arguments. Other kinds of reasoning may be described as qualitative since they occur when the quality of the images and descriptions encourages the reader to accept the portrayal as true or real. This occurs when analogies, examples, and citations of ancient and modern texts, present extensive analytical tools for analyzing the argumentative texture of texts (Robbins 1996b:21). However, there is no parallel example of this texture in the Passover pericope of Exodus 12:1-28, which is more or less a narrative/instructional text rather than argumentative.

#### ***4.9 Sensory-Aesthetic Texture and Pattern***

According to Robbins (1996a:29), the sensory-aesthetic texture of a text resides prominently in the range of the senses the text evokes or embodies (thought, emotion, sight, sound, touch, smell) and the manner in which the text evokes or embodies them (reason, intuition, imagination, humour, and so forth). The ability of an interpreter to identify different “types” of literature (overall texts) and different forms in literature (shorter forms like proverbs, parable, or riddle) is an initial insight into different sensory-aesthetic textures. One way to search for sensory aesthetic texture and pattern could be to identify and group every aspect of a text that refers to actions or perceptions related to a part of the body (e.g. eyes, ears, legs, waist, nose, etc) and to actions or perceptions related to a part of the body (e.g. seeing , hearing, smelling, etc.).

In the Passover text, we have elements of the sensory-aesthetic texture portrayed in the form of body parts. A good example is found in v. 9 where mention is made of legs, head, and entrails. In v. 11, feet and hand are mentioned also in relation to the manner in which the Passover feast was to be conducted by the people of Israel as prescribed by Yahweh. The body parts fall under the zone of purposeful action based on Malina’s categorization of sensory- aesthetic texture (Malina 1993:73-77; Robbins 1996a:30-31).

#### **4.10 Conclusion of Chapter**

In conclusion, one could say that the literary character of the Passover text reflects elements of prose and poetry. The prose occurs in most of the sections that deal with the Passover instructions and the poetry in the actual celebration of the Passover in which the cultic ritual entails most certainly the profession of faith or recitation of prayers and singing of songs. Moreover, the literary character of the Passover text does not exist in isolation of the oral tradition. Oral tradition, as used in this chapter, does not presuppose the history of a world behind the text but the vocal engagement of the text in its literary character or sense. From the repetitive, progressive, open, middle, and closing texture, syntax, word plays, and so forth, it could be established, based on certain verbs and voices particularly that most of the conversations were orally transmitted either by God to a subject like Moses or from a subject like Moses, elders, leaders, and family heads to their respective children.

It is argued in this chapter that the various repetitions of verbs (active and passive), pronouns (personal), phrases (in series or single), particles, and conjunctions that occur in the Passover text of Exodus 12 depict elements of orality, which interplay with the written text of Exodus 12. Furthermore, the various repetitions found in the literary text of Exodus 12 that are used for emphasis show how important the Passover text was to the people of Israel who were required by Yahweh to keep its memories alive through celebrations and pass them on to subsequent generations.

Reviving the Passover yearly as prescribed by God, in a sense, creates the power of collective memory and the identity of the celebrants as a people who were once enslaved but later set free by Yahweh, the God of the oppressed. That means that the deliverance from Egypt is the basic historical guarantee for the religious bond between Yahweh and Israel – the gracious act of the great Lord towards his people on which rests the superstructure of Israelite belief and practice (Hendel 2001:601). As the people partake in the Passover celebration on a yearly basis, they commemorate the beginning of the journey of migration from Egypt and not the end of the journey. In a sense, this is an ongoing identity negotiation that is embedded in Israelite rituals, laws, and ethics, grounded in the memory and paradigm of the Exodus (Hendel 2001:601).

However, the celebration of Exodus as a foundational event virtually covers every kind of religious literature in the Hebrew Bible – prose narrative, liturgical poetry, didactic prose, and prophecy (Hendel 2001:601). In this sense, it is presupposed in this chapter that there are traces of orality in the Passover text of Exodus 12 and that the oral interplays with the written in the text. Although the different sections of the Passover text of Exodus 12 seem to belong to different source traditions and time, they have maintained aspects of an open-ended character, which somehow shows that there is continuity or unity in the text. Verses 1-13 show elements of open, middle and close textures just as vv. 14-20 but they are priestly in nature.

It is shown that vv. 21-28 is a closing texture, which shares also in the open and middle texture. Moreover, there is an interplay between oral and written in more or less a circular dimension from oral to written and from written back to oral and so on. Verses 21-27 are regarded as a non-priestly and ordered text that deals with the real celebration of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread. The various forms of repetition that are found in the pericope of vv.1-28 point to the orality of the text and serve as a means of emphasizing the Passover as an open-ended and ongoing identity formation festival that commemorates the beginning of the journey and not the end.

The Passover text of Exodus 12 has a form in the sense that one part of it leads a reader to anticipate another part, and to appreciate the sequence. The passage of vv. 1-14, for example, describes the Passover instructions given to Moses by Yahweh. As the reader reads this section, s/he anticipates what happened next, as vv. 14-20 contains the instructions of the Unleavened Bread feast given to Moses also by Yahweh. In vv. 21-28, Moses relayed the instructions of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts given to him by Yahweh to the elders, leaders and entire congregation of Israel who then accepted and did as Yahweh commanded them to do through Moses (Robbins 1992:7). In this case, one sequence leads to another; thus, creating or arousing anticipation in the reader until the final discourse is discovered.

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This present chapter also shows that the different translations or the textual differences we have of the Passover pericope of Exodus 12:1-28 in particular are due to textual growth or development of the Passover from one period and tradition to another. It is presupposed that the Passover celebration moved from its original stage where it was celebrated at the family level to the national level in public sanctuaries. The textual differences we have of the Passover pericope of Exodus 12:1-28 can be explained in terms of the varying abilities, needs and recollective abilities of translators over centuries. This argument is based on interplay of orality with the literary text of Exodus 12:1-28.

Again, the Passover, in its earliest tradition, is not free from oral collection and even at its literary stage, in later times, orality worked hand in hand with the written text to bring the hidden meaning to the surface. Thus, as translators gathered different sources that were handed down orally from one generation to the other, they modified them to come up with a meaningful text that is modelled to the context and culture of their audience, resulting in the various textual renderings of the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28.

Although other textual traditions and translations exist, for our purpose, the MT tradition (the most widely used Hebrew text) and the NRSV translation are preferred and used throughout the study.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **INTERTEXTURE OF EXODUS 12 AND PARALLEL TEXTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

As the title implies, this chapter will discuss the intertexture of Exodus 12 and related texts in the Old Testament. Attention will be given to the textures and texts to discover how the Passover was represented at different periods in biblical literature. The texts that will be examined in this chapter include Exodus 23:14-19; 34:18-26; Leviticus 23:5-8; Numbers 9:1-14; 28:16-25; Deuteronomy 16:1-8; Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 and Ezekiel 45:21-24. The historical events customs, values, roles, institutions, systems, time, and cultural background that informed the understanding of the above parallel texts will be considered. These would provide useful information on how the interpretation of the texts were influenced over centuries of varying contexts, circumstances, needs, audiences, cultures and times. This in turn will serve as background knowledge for biblical interpreters of how the Passover texts ought to be understood and interpreted in this present century, context and time.

Furthermore, this section will argue that though biblical texts have a literary context, they may best be understood and interpreted with due regard to their historical context, which in a sense has the potential to unveil the history behind such texts. When the historical context of a text is uncovered, then one will be able to make judgements on how and why the text was interpreted in the past context and to the past audience and on how the historical interpretation can influence today's understanding or interpretation. With respect to the abovementioned texts, one should consider the different interpretations of the Passover text in the past and the way the same text could be interpreted in the present context. One must keep in mind that the present context is



marked by needs, values, cultures, and audiences that are different from those of the biblical context. A historical interpretation of the Passover tradition may therefore help the interpreter to turn to the personal life experiences of the indigenous audience as an indigenous interpretive resource to appropriate the Passover tradition theologically.

## **5.1 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 23:14-19**

In this section, we shall identify and discuss the intertextual links between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 23:14-19. Different scholarly opinions on the book of Exodus 23 will be considered as well as the scholarly consensus on vv. 14-19. The translation and textual criticism of vv.14-19 will be carried out before analyzing the intertextual character of Exodus 12:1-28 and 23:14-19. This will be followed by a discussion of the socio-cultural and ideological-theological character of Exodus 23:14-19 and the preliminary conclusion of the chapter. The aim of this chapter is to determine the interaction of language between the ritual narrative/priestly text (Ex. 12:1-28) and the covenant text (Ex. 23:14-19). In other words, the chapter is concerned with the way the Passover text is being represented in the covenant text of Exodus 23:14-19.

### **5.1.1 Research survey of Exodus 23 (The Covenant Code)**

This section will review research trends in Exodus, the book of the covenant. As Myers (2005:199)<sup>84</sup> has observed, Exodus 23 forms part of the two main sections of legal materials in Exodus. The stipulations in those sections are expressed as covenant materials and they contain direct utterances of God to the Israelites, either as individuals or sometimes as a people (Myers 2005:199). The chapter stipulates rules for just and humane treatment of all (v. 1-9); observances relating to the agricultural calendar (vv. 10-19); and divine promises and admonitions (vv. 20-33). Although divided into different parts, the entire section seems to enjoin Israel to remember

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<sup>84</sup> Myers is currently the Mary Grace Wilson Professor at the Department of Religion, Duke University. Myers' commentary views Exodus as a cultural document, preserving the collective memories of the Israelites and relating them to the major institutions and beliefs that emerged at the end of the period. Myers is interested in the socio-cultural context, literary, major themes and values of the text of Exodus. Among other books, Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 and 9-18 are authored or co-authored by Myers (Myers 2005, cover notes).

God and be obedient to him. One will argue for the presence of orality in this case, since the direct addresses from God to his people would have certainly involved oral transmission.<sup>85</sup>

Based on the two major divisions of the entire book of Exodus by Stuart (2006:19),<sup>86</sup> Exodus 23 falls under the Covenant Code section which describes God's covenant with the people of Israel after their exit from Egypt and during their encampment at Mount Sinai. The Covenant Code, which comes after the "Ten Words (Commandments)", in the structure of Exodus, provides much details and dozens of examples of how the law was to be carried out and enforced (Stuart 2006:45, 47). Stuart's outline of Exodus into two major divisions is useful in an oral culture since it is easy for people to remember events by associating certain groups with them (Stuart 2006:19).

Bruckner (2008:3)<sup>87</sup> on the other hand considers Exodus 23 as "the book of covenant" and a part of the legal text which deals with a variety of legal materials including case law, prohibitions, and commands. The covenant laws were given to the people of Israel at Sinai to create a new set of social responsibilities and standards. The laws in a sense serve as an aid for the covenant people of God to protect, remind them of and sustain the freedom that was initiated through the Exodus; that is to say the salvific act of God was the basis of the covenant laws (Bruckner 2008:181). However, "the book of covenant", also known as the "Covenant Code",<sup>88</sup> is regarded as older than the rest of the biblical codes (Coogan 2006:122; Bruckner 2008:3). In that case, one

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<sup>85</sup> The structure of Exodus by Myers (2005: ix) is as follows - Commentary Part i- Israel in Egypt- Exodus (1-15:21); Commentary Part ii- Sinai and covenant-Exodus (15:22-24:18); Commentary Part iii - Sanctuary and New Covenant (Ex. 25:1-40:38).

<sup>86</sup> Stuart is Professor of Old Testament at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He is an expert on the cultures of the ancient Middle East but also an international scholar who works in many ancient languages including Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Egyptian, Ugaritic, Akkadian, Syriac, and Arabic (Stuart 2006, cover notes).

<sup>87</sup> James Bruckner is a Professor of Old Testament at North Park Theological Seminary in Chicago and an ordained minister of the Evangelical Covenant Church. He is the author of *Implied Law in the Abraham Narrative*; a commentary on the Minor Prophets Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah; and numerous scholarly articles (Bruckner 2008, cover note).

<sup>88</sup> The Covenant Code derives its name from the reference to the "book of covenant" following the narrative of the confirmation ceremony that follows Exodus 24:7 (Coogan 2006:122). The laws are set in a religious context with the deity as the ultimate authority of such laws. There was a human intermediary as such the distinction between human and divine is not always clear. On this point, one may argue that the Covenant Code existed first in oral form in which the Divine narrated the laws orally to his subject through a human leader acting as an intermediary between the Divine and the audience (Coogan 2006:124). Based on this observation and the fact that the Covenant Code was rooted in the values of the society, one may again argue that the Covenant Code is older than other codes since 23:14-19 is rooted in the agricultural life of the recipients, that is, if the agricultural phase is considered as part of the primitive stage of Israelite life.

could argue that Exodus 23:14-19 in particular is older than the other verses in the same chapter and book as a whole.

For Patric (2008:605), the Covenant Code (Ex. 23) comprises of three annual festivals prescribed by Yahweh namely the unleavened bread, firstfruits, and ingathering at which all men were required to attend (possibly at the national shrine). The Covenant Code is governed by a set of laws, which defined the celebrants as a single religious community with a common cultic practice that communicate both the authority and the gracious acts of Yahweh to them. However, if the Covenant Code had certain rituals that were governed by laws but were geared towards expressing thankfulness to Yahweh for his gracious acts to his people, then one can presume that the code and its ritualistic feasts were part of the people's culture, values, and norms, and form part of their religious beliefs in their own context. Right from the time of the judges and the early days of the monarchy, the people observed their ritual feasts and sacrificial rites in local and national sanctuaries. High places were recognised as institutions yet as a federation of tribes the people had to go to Shechem, Bethel, Mamre, and/or Beersheba to observe their religious bonds which was the Festival of the Unleavened Bread in this case (Patric 2008:605; De Vaux 1961:331).

### **5.1.2 Scholarly views of Exodus 23:14-17**

The above section presents the three agricultural festivals that form the heart of Israel's sacred calendar as prescribed by Yahweh. Yahweh asked the Israelites to observe three different feasts in a year in his honour and as a sign of the covenant bond between him and his chosen people (Sarna 1991:144; Houtman 2000:259-261). Although the feasts were celebrated at different seasons of the year for different agricultural purposes, they all have a common goal, which is to celebrate Yahweh's act of providence through his salvific act on behalf of his chosen people, which in a sense echoed the Passover and Exodus from Egypt.

The Covenant Code or book of the covenant as different authors may name it is surrounded by differing views by different scholars. The "Book of the Covenant" and the "Covenant Code" are two different but related issues (McConville 2003:94). The former refers to the entire pericope of Exodus 20:22-23:33 while the latter contains an independent 'law code' that was incorporated

into the biblical narrative. The Covenant Code seems to have existed long before it was incorporated into the biblical legal code. If that is the case, then the designation “Covenant Code” will be preferred here since its focus is on the Feast of Unleavened Bread presupposed in this study to be one of the earliest feasts that formed part of the life and culture of Israelites before its incorporation into the Passover narrative and ritual.

According to Stuart (2006:529), vv. 14-19 deal with the laws of the three annual religious festivals, which are placed around the special overarching command of exclusive covenant obedience to and to have faith in Yahweh. The covenant laws of vv. 14-19 are apodictic in nature meaning that they apply to all Israelites without any exception (Stuart 2006:533). Furthermore, vv. 14-19 introduce three festivals commonly known in the Old Testament in legal form as the Feast of Harvest, the Feast of Ingathering and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Bruckner 2008:218). The feasts are also noted in Exodus 34:18-23; Leviticus 23:1-44; Deuteronomy 16:1-17.

For Dozeman (2009:549), Exodus 23:14-17 provides regulations on worship and cultic seasons. De Vaux (1961:471) on the other hand refers to the Covenant Code as the “Elohistic code of the covenant”, which he describes as the shortest calendar recorded in Exodus 23:14-17. Wagenaar (2004:250) refers to Exodus 23:14-19 and 34:18-26 as the pre-priestly festival calendars. These authors share a common view that unlike the Unleavened Bread feast, the Passover is absent in the Covenant Code (De Vaux 1961:471; Wagenaar 2004:250). Patric (2008:605), like De Vaux (1961:471), notes that the ritual calendar in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) has three feasts that were celebrated three times a year to Yahweh.

One may argue that the absence of the Passover in the so-called pre-priestly calendar (Wagenaar 2004:250), the “Elohistic Code” (De Vaux 1961:471) or the “Covenant Code” (Patric 2008:605) occurred in terms of the historical processes in which the two were merged, distinguished and subsequently merged again. In other words, the Passover was a later ritual that was combined with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which had already formed part of the community’s cultural and religious life. Moreover, the Passover was not agricultural but pastoral or nomadic in origin. Thus, its exclusion from the Covenant Code which seems to be the older biblical legal code, at

least with regards to the ritual covenant law, is not a big surprise. There is also no mention of the monarchy in the covenant document and the covenant document predates the composition of Deuteronomy by several centuries. This is yet another clue that it is an older legal code than other biblical codes (McConville 2003:100).

In line with the view of these authors, Otto (2007:180-181) affirms that in its earliest form in the ritual laws and calendar, the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) forms the basis on which other humanitarian codes of civil legislation were later built. Based on that view, it is assumed that the calendar in Exodus 23:14-19 is older than the later calendars of Deuteronomy 16; Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28 (Childs 1977:483; Erling 1986:470).

Nevertheless, a closer look at the ritual laws of the Covenant Code indicates that it possibly influenced the later laws governing the Passover celebration since they shared certain characteristics. For instance, leaven was prohibited in the Covenant Code particularly in the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The same law is found repeatedly in the Passover ritual celebration but with stricter penalties - one who was found eating or even keeping leaven during the seven days of the Passover would be cut off from the community of Israel (Ex. 12:19, 20). "This month" and "the month of *Abib*" are common symbolisms that are used in both the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts. They both point to the time or season of ritual celebration, which is the month of *Abib* (Prosic 2004:83). The occurrence of the two could be explained in terms of textual development which embraces additions or modifications of the original form as it crosses one stage to another.

Based on the arguments that the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) is older than the Passover text, Otto (2007:180) dates it to the middle/late pre-monarchical period while McConville (2003:100) dates it to the late pre-monarchical period. One could agree with dating of the Covenant Code to the late pre-monarchical period since there is no mention of the monarchy or of the Passover which is of priestly origin in the Covenant Code (McConville 2003:100; Wagenaar 2004:250; Patric 2008:605). Moreover, the structure of the Covenant Code is instructional in nature with its historicity rather than historical context being highlighted. The author of the Covenant Code was

possibly a priest even though it seems that scribes already existed even at the earliest stage of Israelite life.

To sum up this section, several authors have argued convincingly that the Covenant Code is older than other biblical codes. This is evident in its exclusion of significant Israelite festivals such as the Passover which took place in the spring, and the *Rosh Hashanah* (New Year) and *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement), which both took place in the fall (Dozeman 2009:550). The code existed before the exile and formed part of the life, custom, culture and identity of the community of Israel during the period of the monarchy. The entire community was united by the cultic laws and practices, which were probably passed unto them orally by elders and leaders of the community.

Although the Feast of Unleavened Bread combined with the Passover, it maintained its old status and characteristics since it was grounded in the lives of the Israelites and accepted as a cultural and religious practice long before the Exodus tradition took place. The request by Moses to Pharaoh to allow the people to go out and worship Yahweh with sacrifices in a place where Yahweh would prescribe suggests that even before the Exodus the people had already cultivated the idea of the Feast of Unleavened Bread as part of their religious obligation. Moreover, since the unleavened bread feast in conjunction with the feasts of harvest and ingathering form the basis of the Covenant Code, then one would agree that it is older than the Passover tradition and rest of the biblical legal codes.

### **5.1.3 Text critical analysis of Exodus 23:14-19**

In this section, textual criticism of the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) will be carried out.<sup>89</sup> The study will engage with different scholarly views, analyzes, and interpretations of the Covenant Code paying special attention to possible changes that may be unique to the MT text. Textual traditions to be considered in this section include the Masoretic Text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.), the Septuagint (LXX), and the (4QpaleoExod) (Sarna 1992:691). The BHS text will be considered as the authoritative text throughout this chapter while the NRSV

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<sup>89</sup> Textual criticism as the name implies refers to judgement of the worth of text. It seeks to judge the accuracy with which a text has been handed down, passed on and transmitted (Deist 1978:11).

will be the preferred English translation. Where the text differs from the MT, it will be noted and reflected in our adaptation of the NRSV translation.

**V.17** - the MT renders יהוה as “*the Lord*,” while the LXX has “*the Lord your God*.” That means there is an addition in the LXX (Durham 1987:314).

**V. 18** - The MT has the rendering לֹא־תִזְבַּח עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ “*You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened*,” while the LXX has the additional words הַמִּזְבֵּחַ “*on that which is leavened*.” This addition in the LXX is however the same with the MT rendering of Exodus 34:23 (Durham 1987:314). Here one can assume that both the LXX rendering and the text of Exodus 34:23 are later than the text and MT rendering of Exodus 23:18.

#### 5.1.4 Translation of Exodus 23:14-19

<sup>14</sup> *Three times in the year you shall hold a festival for me.*

<sup>15</sup> *You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread; as I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt. No one shall appear before me empty-handed.*

<sup>16</sup> *You shall observe the festival of harvest, of the firstfruits of your labour, of what you sow in the field. You shall observe the festival of ingathering at the end of the year, when you gather in from the field the fruit of your labour.*

<sup>17</sup> *Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the Lord God.*

<sup>18</sup> *You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened, or let the fat of my festival remain until the morning.*

<sup>19</sup> *The choicest of the firstfruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the Lord your God. You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.*

<sup>14</sup> נְשַׁלשׁ רַגְלִים תִּחַג לִי בַשָּׁנָה:

<sup>15</sup> אֶת־חַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שְׁבַעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת פֶּאֶשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךְ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי־בו יֵצְאָתָּ מִמִּצְרָיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פָנַי רִיקִם:

<sup>16</sup> וְחַג הַקְּצִיר בַּכּוֹרֵי מַעֲשֵׂיךָ אֲשֶׁר תִּזְרַע בַּשָּׂדֶה וְחַג הָאֶסֶף בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה בְּאֶסְפָּךָ אֶת־מַעֲשֵׂיךָ מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה:

<sup>17</sup> נְשַׁלשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאָה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ אֶל־פָּנַי הָאֵדָן יְהוָה:

<sup>18</sup> לֹא־תִזְבַּח עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ דָּם־זִבְחֵי וְלֹא־יִלִּין חֶלֶב־חֲגִי עַד־בֹּקֶר:

<sup>19</sup> רֵאשִׁית בַּכּוֹרֵי אֲדָמָתְךָ תָּבִיא בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא־תִבְשַׁל גְּדֵי בַחֲלָב אִמּוֹ:

It appears that few textual differences are found in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19). It is possible that less attention was given to the literary composition of the Covenant Code because it was an older biblical legal code which probably existed orally. Thus, fewer textual problems are associated with it.

### 5.1.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and 23:14-19

In what follows, the parallel connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 23:14-19 will be examined.

#### (a) Exodus 12:2 and Exodus 23:15c

##### Exodus 12:2 -

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רֵאשׁ חֹדְשֵׁים רֵאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה:

*“This month is to be for you the first month, the first month of your year”.*

##### V. 15c

אֶת־חֶג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת בְּאֶשׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי־בֹ יֵצְאָתָּ מִמִּצְרָיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פָנֶי רִיקָם

*“You shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib”*

The expression *“at the appointed time in the month of Abib”*<sup>90</sup> in this text indicates that the Feast of Unleavened Bread has coincided with the earlier harvest time. It also indicates that in v. 15 the calendar of festivals began with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The direction of time and place of observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread however is geared towards preparing the Israelites for their future celebration in the Promised Land (Queen-Sutherland 1991:77; Stuart 2006:535). In this sense, one would agree with Dozeman (2009:550) that the absence of the mention of a specific time for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread is an indication of the festival’s existence in its agricultural and original stage. It also indicates a possible connection between the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the agricultural year (Dozeman 2009:550).

<sup>90</sup> The term *אָבִיב* originally refers to “fresh, young ears” of barley (Ex. 9:31) or month of “ear” forming/growing green but in the above context/text, it refers to the month of Exodus and Passover (Ex. 13:4; 23:15; 34:18) [Bruckner 2008:109].



The absence of a specific time for celebrating the unleavened bread outside the mention of the month אָבִיב “green grains” in Exodus 23:15 may be a clue that the Covenant Code is an older Israelite calendar, which was probably borrowed from the Canaanites (Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1).

During the post-exilic period, the אָבִיב was called נִיטָן. Propp (1999:358) refers to it as “*the head of the months*” while Durham (1987:153; 1999:358) named it the “*lead Month*.” The reappearance or repetition of the Passover month in different forms in the above parallel texts (Ex. 12:2 // Ex. 23:15) grants it prominence over and other civil or religious months in the Jewish calendar (Houtman 1996:167; Bruckner 2008:109).<sup>91</sup> In other words, beginning the annual sequence of months with the Exodus calendar would in a sense influence the civil annual cycle as the event of liberation was regarded as fundamental for the nation of Israel and entire humanity (Alter 2004:376). The Passover event marked the new beginning and turning point in the life of Israel, i.e. from slaves to a liberated and covenanted people of God. This event alone is enough to elevate the month of the Passover to a memorable status as the first month in the life and history of Israel (Childs 1977:197).<sup>92</sup>

The reappearance of the Passover month in different forms in the above parallel texts which represents different periods of composition and biblical legal codes suggests that the Covenant Code is older in terms of biblical legal codes but younger than the Passover text of Exodus 12:2 in terms of composition. Consequently, this study would argue that the Covenant Code has re-contextualised the Passover text of Exodus 12:2 without giving any indication that what is found in Exodus 23:15 is written elsewhere in the Bible (Robbins 1996a:41).

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<sup>91</sup> Chronologically, the אָבִיב was the seventh month of the Jewish calendar and *Tishri* was the first month (Bruckner 2008:109).

<sup>92</sup> It seems to us that in order to keep the memory of the Exodus from Egypt, as a new order dominated by the consciousness of God’s active presence in history on behalf of his chosen ones, the entire religious calendar of Israel had to reflect the salvific reality. Thus, numbering the months of the year from the Exodus month called אָבִיב. The memory of the salvific month coupled with the annual celebration of the Passover in that month creates some sort of identity among the Israelites as a people chosen by Yahweh and freed from the Egyptian slavery by God. One could see that the Passover was not celebrated just to eat together as a family and group, it was a mark of identity formation and preservation since the people had to explain the celebration to the younger generation who in turn would do the same to subsequent generations.

**(b) Exodus 12:10a and Exodus 23:18****Exodus 12:10a -**

וְהַנֶּחֱרָתָם מִמֶּנּוּ עַד-בֹּקֶר בְּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרְפוּ:	וְהַנֶּחֱרָתָם מִמֶּנּוּ עַד-בֹּקֶר
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*“You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.”*

**Exodus 23:18 -**

לֹא-תִבָּחַ עַל-חֲמִצָּה דָם-זִבְחִי וְלֹא-יִלֵּין חֶלֶב-חֲמִי עַד-בֹּקֶר:
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*“You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened, or let the fat of my festival remain until the morning.”*

The above parallel verses present yet another instruction governing the celebration of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread commemorating the Exodus in Egypt. In Exodus 12:10, there is no mention of the Paschal lamb, that which had to be consumed or remnants burnt before the next morning. However, in the Covenant Code, we have the “*fat of my festival*” as that which was to be consumed in one night, the remnants of which would be burnt (Sarna 1991:136). This therefore evokes the idea of the Paschal lamb/law of the original Passover in Egypt. Although there is no exegetical attention paid to that part of the verse that refers to the “*fat*” (Ex. 23:18b), this study would argue without prejudice that “*fat*” in the Covenant Code points back to the historic Exodus Passover lamb/tradition in Egypt (Stuart 2006:536; Dozeman 2009:552). Its reappearance in the covenant text but in a different form is just but a depiction of textual growth and development.

Why burn the remnants of the “*fat of my Passover*”? The reason for the burning, though not stated categorically in the text, is to prevent profanation of the meal which was considered sacred to Yahweh (Bruckner 2008:110). The meal was sacred and dedicated to Yahweh; thus, leaving its remnants behind for dogs to eat, would be disrespectful and a violation of its sacredness. The rabbinic and Samaritan interpreters on the other hand consider the burning of the left over Paschal meal as a normal thing that was done along with the inedible parts. To others, the burning of leftovers from the Paschal meat was an imagery of a nomadic custom of breaking camp at night without leaving anything behind (Houtman 1996:181).

Despite the diversity in scholarly opinions on the interpretation of the above assertion, one can still see a common ground in their recognition of the elements of ritualistic sacredness in the text. Therefore, their views particularly may be seen here as not being far from the truth (cf. Bruckner 2008:110).

### (c) Exodus 12:14 and Exodus 23:14

#### Exodus 12:14 -

וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לָכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן וְחַגְתֶּם אֹתוֹ חַג לַיהוָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם תְּחַגְּגוּהוּ:

*“This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the LORD; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.”*

#### Exodus 23:14 -

שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים תִּחַג לִי בַשָּׁנָה:

*“Three times in the year you shall hold a festival for me.”*

Exodus 23:14 opens with the word רְגָלִים from the root רָגַל meaning “foot”<sup>93</sup> (Sarna 1991:146). However, Propp (2006:282) has pointed out that the same noun can be used for “time”, “instance”, or “lifetime”. In this context, especially with its occurrence after the word תִּחַג,<sup>94</sup> that is, “hold a festival,” “celebrate a festival” or “make a pilgrimage to a holy place to worship,” רְגָלִים may be interpreted as a journey by foot to either a shrine or temple to celebrate a feast in honour of Yahweh (Hyatt 1971:135; Osborn & Hatton 1999:280). Three special annual festivals, all of which focused on Yahweh and not on the people, were required by the nation. That means that the festivals were meant for the worship of Yahweh and not for mere celebration (Stuart 2006:534).

The pilgrimage also represented three annual agricultural feast that required travelling probably by foot to a local shrine, tent or tabernacle in older times before the building of Solomon’s temple for the worship of Yahweh (Bruckner 2008:219). In this sense, the use of רגל - “foot” is applicable in the above context and text in the literal sense that celebrants had to travel out of

<sup>93</sup> The word רְגָלִים is a noun, common, feminine, plural, absolute (Sarna 1991:146).

<sup>94</sup> תִּחַג is a verb, *qal*, imperfect, second person, masculine singular.

their homes by foot to worship and fulfil their religious obligations to Yahweh in a tent or shrine. The use of **הקת עולם** as a combination of ordinance, stipulation, rule, and obligation which points to the festival of the Passover and of the Unleavened Bread as a necessary act to honour Yahweh is then applicable in this regard (Houtman 1996:187).

The term **שְׁלֹשׁ** “*three times*” in v. 14 and v. 17 refers to the Festival of Unleavened Bread celebrating green grains, the Festival of Harvest celebrating bounty yield and the Feast of Ingathering commemorating the storage of harvested grains (Stuart 2006:534; Dozeman 2009:550). Those three festivals were held at different times of the year to honour Yahweh for his provision of life and for the bountiful yields. The emphasis placed on three as a number in the above verse therefore points to the religious obligation that each Israelite owed God to make a pilgrimage three times in a year to worship Yahweh in either a local or national shrine (De Vaux 1961:471; Stuart 2006:535). However, the purpose of commemorating the three festivals in honour of Yahweh also points to an existing link with or allusion to the Passover in the above parallel texts, and the act of honouring Yahweh is portrayed as the main motive.

The parallel texts examined above suggest that re-contextualisation has taken place in an attributive form in that the Covenant Code text (Ex. 23:14) has re-contextualised the older Passover text (Ex. 12:14) without showing any recognition that what is found in the covenant text is written elsewhere in the Bible. The two texts however are linked by **הַחַג** “festival” which is the centre-focus in each case. It appears that the covenant text (Ex. 23:14) which is from a different institution, value and cultural context has manifested in a new form as the Passover feast commemorating the deliverance from Egypt which is different from the celebration of Yahweh’s provision of bountiful harvest in its covenant background. In this sense, one will agree with Robbins’ definition that intertexture concerns a “text’s reconfiguration of phenomena that lie outside the text” (Robbins 1996a:3, 40).

#### **(d) Exodus 12:15a and Exodus 23:15c**

##### **Exodus 12:15a -**

אֶשְׁבַּעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ	אֶדְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבְּיֶתוּ שְׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי כָל־אֶכֶל הַמִּיץ וְנִכְרַתְתֶּה תִּגְפָּשׁ הֵוָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם
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הָרֵאשׁוֹן עַד-יּוֹם הַשִּׁבְעִי:

*“Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel.”*

**Exodus 23:15c -**

אֶת-חַג המִצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתְךָ לְמוֹעֵד הַקֹּדֶשׁ הָאֵבִיב כִּי-בָּאוּ יִצְאָתָּ מִמִּצְרַיִם וְלֹא-יֵרָאוּ פָנֶי רִיקָם:

*“You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread; as I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt. No one shall appear before me empty-handed.”*

The above parallel texts form a recitation type that produces almost the same phrases but with slight differences in the word order. The emphasis however is not changed; the prohibition of leaven in the Passover meal for seven days stands, as found in the older text of the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:15c), which is parallel to the Passover text of Exodus 12:15a.

Unleavened bread was the original food eaten during the Exodus in Egypt and even before the Exodus. It would appear therefore that it was used during the celebration of the three feasts of green grains. Its incorporation into the religious calendar particularly as part of the Passover celebration suggests that it was meant to remind the celebrants of the hasty event of the Exodus from Egypt. In addition, the appropriation of the people’s indigenous food that was considered pleasant, tasty and filling into the interpretation of the Passover ritual narratives would help the people to understand how pleasant it was for Israel to gain her liberation from slavery by God (McBride 1999:282-283).

**(e) Exodus 12:17a and Exodus 23:15a**

**Exodus 12:17a -**

וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת-הַמִּצּוֹת לִּי בְעֶצְמֵן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת-צְבָאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת-הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם:

*“You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread, for on this very day I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance.”*

#### Exodus 23:15a -

אֶת־חַג־הַמַּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מַצּוֹת כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתְךָ לְמוֹעֵד הַקֹּדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב כִּי־בֹ יֵצְאֶת מִמִּצְרַיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פָנֶי רִיקִים:
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*“You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread; as I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt. No one shall appear before me empty-handed”*

**V15a** – The verse opens with תִּשְׁמֹר from the root שָׁמַר<sup>95</sup> meaning to “keep” in this context. Although the verb is translated “keep” in the BHS, it could also mean “observe” or “celebrate,” all of which point back to the celebration of the unleavened bread in the older text of the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:15) and in the Passover narrative (Ex. 12:17a) and period when the two feasts were combined as one feast. Although the celebration of the unleavened bread was of a secular origin and agriculturally oriented, it was not separated from the sacral point. Thus, it was now celebrated not just to honour God for bounty harvest but to acknowledge his presence and acts in all aspects of life (Fretheim 1991a:252).<sup>96</sup> However, celebrants were required to offer some of the food in dedication to Yahweh instead of coming empty-handed (Stuart 2006:535).

It is amazing how the Feast of Unleavened Bread of a different historical origin and context is now associated with the remembrance of the deliverance from Egypt. As one celebrated the feast

<sup>95</sup> The word תִּשְׁמֹר is a verb, *qal*, imperfect, second person, masculine, singular (Fretheim 1991a:252).

<sup>96</sup> The Feast of Unleavened Bread also served some sort of identity function for the celebrants who were acknowledged by God as his chosen ones. The fact that Israel was delivered by God through the Exodus episode also helped them to belief that God is righteous, gracious, and loving and that God alone had the power to liberate the oppressed from the hands of the oppressors any time anywhere. However, as Houtman (1996:154) has rightly observed, there is no mention of blood rite in the unleavened bread celebration (Ex 23:15) as in the case of the Passover feast of Exodus12. Nonetheless, the blood rite is represented in a new form by the unleavened bread and the use of the nomadic attire both of which symbolize hasty exist of the liberated Israelites from Egypt (Ex.12:11, 39; 23:15). The blood rite in my opinion was not part of the agricultural feast in its earliest period and now that the agricultural Feast of Unleavened Bread was combined with that of the spring, it had to assume a new status as indicated by Houtman above.

of unleavened bread, he/she commemorated the spring lambing festival using the Passover ritual. This, in a sense, marks the union of the two feasts as one with a common motif, that is, appreciating Yahweh's acts in history (Dozeman 2009:551). This scenario confirms that the historical setting or context of a text is necessary in the exegesis of a biblical text if the interpreter wishes to convey the message to his/her audience in a meaningful way.

The unity of the Feast of Unleavened Bread with the Passover also shows that history can be retold and reshaped to fit a particular context and audience at hand. From the celebration of the unleavened bread to appreciate Yahweh in an agricultural context to the celebration of the Passover and unleavened bread as a combined festival commemorating Yahweh's act of salvation, we see a textual development from an initial oral stage to a later written stage.

On the combined celebration of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, Armerding (2003:310) comments that, "It remains the celebration of Yahweh's redemption par excellence." The Passover as presented in the covenant text and context had shifted from mere remembrance of deliverance from Egypt to the celebration of Yahweh as creator and provider of land, fertility, and food (Armerding 2003:310). The unleavened bread, in this case, rhetorically formed the new Passover which commemorated the escape from Egyptian slavery.

The covenant ritual text of Exodus 23: 15a is recited in a replicated form in the Passover text of Exodus 12:17a producing a similar combination of words particularly in the first part of each of the verses. However, there is a change in word order in the Hebrew text. For instance, we have וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם *"observe"* in Exodus 12:17a but תִּשְׁמֵר *"keep"* found in the older covenant text of Exodus 23:15a. Nonetheless, the meaning remains the same and it is geared towards the fulfilment of the Passover ritual as part of Israel's religious obligation to honour Yahweh for his saving grace.

Furthermore, it appears that verse 15 of Exodus 23 has attracted more discussion in biblical interpretation than other verses around it. It is also recited in later texts and biblical legal codes more often than the other verses in the Covenant Code pericope. The reason could be that the unleavened bread feast formed the basis for the interpretation of the Passover since it is well rooted in the people's culture, tradition, history, values, and context. It is, in a sense, the first

Passover that was celebrated in an indigenous way to honour Yahweh before the Exodus event. Thus, incorporating it into the later Exodus Passover makes it stand out as a light pointing to the second text of the Passover as a new Passover. The table below contains parallel verses showing intertexture between Exodus 12 and Exodus 23.

**Table 6: Intertexture between Exodus 12 and Exodus 23**

Ex. 12:1-28	Ex. 23:14-19
<p>12:2 This month is to be for you the first month, <i>the first month</i> of your year.</p> <p>הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לְכֶם רֵאשִׁית חֹדְשִׁים רֵאשִׁוֹן הוּא לְכֶם לְחֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה</p>	<p>23:15c you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days <i>at the appointed time in the month of Abib</i></p> <p>אֶת־חֶג המצות תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצֹּת פֶּאֶשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאַבִּיב כִּי־בֹ יֵצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פְנֵי רִיבֹנִים</p>
<p>V. 10a - <i>You shall let none of it remain until the morning</i>; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.</p> <p>וְלֹא־תֹתִירוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר וְהַנֶּתֶר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר בָּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרֹפוּ</p>	<p>V. 18 - You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened, or let the fat of my festival <i>remain until the morning</i>.</p> <p>לֹא־תִזְבַּח עַל־חַמֶּזֶק דָּם־זִבְחִי וְלֹא־יִלְוֶן חֶלְב־חֶגִי עַד־בֹּקֶר</p>
<p>V. 14 - This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. <i>You shall celebrate it as a festival to the LORD</i>; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.</p> <p>וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן וְחִגְגְתֶם אֹתוֹ חֶג לְיִהוָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם תִּחְגַּגְהוּ</p>	<p>V. 14- Three times in the year <i>you shall hold a festival for me</i>.</p> <p>שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים תִּחְגַּג לִי בַשָּׁנָה</p>
<p>V. 15a - <i>Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread</i>; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel.</p> <p>שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת תֹּאכַלְוּ אַךְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שָׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי־לֹא־יֹאכַל חַמֶּזֶק וְנִכְרַתְהָ הַגֹּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרֵאשִׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשִּׁבְעִי</p>	<p>V. 15c - You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread; as I commanded you, <i>you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days</i> at the appointed time in the month of <i>Abib</i>, for in it you came out of Egypt.</p> <p>No one shall appear before me empty-handed.</p> <p>אֶת־חֶג המצות תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצֹּת פֶּאֶשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאַבִּיב כִּי־בֹ יֵצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פְנֵי רִיבֹנִים</p>



	פְּנִי רִיקָם:
V. 17a - <i>You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread</i> , for on this very day I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance.	V. 15a - <i>You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread</i> ; as I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of <i>Abib</i> , for in it you came out of Egypt...
וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַמִּצְוֹת לְכִי בְּעֶצְמֹ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבָאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקֹּת עוֹלָם:	אֶת־חֹדֶשׁ הַמִּצְוֹת תִּשְׁמְרוּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכְלֵם מִצֹּת כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתֶךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב כִּי־בָּו יֵצְאֶת מִמִּצְרַיִם וְלֹא־יֵרָאוּ פְּנֵי רִיקָם:

### 5.1.6 Summary and conclusion of section

This chapter deals with the intertextual discussion of the Covenant Code based on various scholarly interpretations of the text. It is argued in the chapter that the Covenant Code is the oldest of all the biblical legal codes and that the text of the Covenant Code has shown some elements of re-contextualisation, repetition and reconfiguration of the Passover text of Exodus 12, which is presumed to be older than the Covenant Code. Although the Covenant Code did not mention the Passover but the unleavened bread festival, it alluded to the Passover since the two festivals were combined to commemorate the salvific acts of Yahweh on behalf of Israel.

Furthermore, the rendering in the Covenant Code differs from that of the Passover text of Exodus 12 due to textual development. The differences in the terminologies found in the Covenant Code from the Passover text of Exodus 12 suggest that composition of the texts took place at different times. The Covenant Code is seen as a unit that presents the laws governing the annual festivals to Israelites in order to honour Yahweh. The date of the Covenant Code is assumed to fall under the priestly period although it also exhibits some non-priestly traits.

### 5.2 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 34:18-26

A quick look reading of Exodus 34:18-26 shows its immediate connection to Exodus 23:14-19 based on the repetition of parallel sayings. The connection between the two texts and Exodus 12:1-28 is also worth exploring especially to determine which of the texts is dependent on the

other (s). In other words, is Exodus 34:18-26 younger than 23:14-19 and 12:1-28 or do they belong to the same tradition and composition? At what level is the relationship between the two parallel texts suspended? Do they share any connection based on oral tradition or only written? These are some of the questions that come to mind when reading the text of Exodus 34:18-26. However, as Queen-Sutherland (1991:76-87) has rightly observed, the answers to the questions on the so-called priestly nature of the text of Exodus 34:18-26 remain a matter of speculation. Nonetheless, this section will focus on the intertextures that exist outside the priestly text of Exodus 34:18-26 as well as on the relative age of each of the texts in question namely Exodus 34, 23, and 12.

According to some critical scholars, Exodus 34:18-26 is probably of priestly origin owing to its small but separate collection of ritual laws and “*the ritual Decalogue*” (Armerding 2003:305; Coogan 2006:134). It contains the second ritual calendar and renewed covenant laws, which enjoin the people of Israel to be faithful to Yahweh their God and avoid the mistake of the golden calf incident. The golden calf incident led to the breach of the first covenant Yahweh had with his chosen people Israel (Armerding 2003:305). Coogan (2006:134) argues that the ritual Decalogue is probably later than the Covenant Code of Exodus 23:14-19. Scholars also assume that the setting of Exodus 34:18-26 was outside of Egypt, at Sinai, probably during the exilic period and in the process of Israelites’ wilderness march.

The ritual Decalogue placed high emphasis on the sacred worship of Yahweh that was not supposed to be corrupted by the ungodly or secular practices of the Canaanites. It also emphasized the establishment of regular holy days; thus, we find in the Decalogue a repetition of the three festivals that were already mentioned in the Covenant Code of Exodus 23:14-19 (Von Rad 1962:230; Coogan 2006:134). For instance, the early spring observance connected with the barley harvest, which is called “the Festival of Unleavened Bread,” seemed to exist first in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:15) and it is only repeated in the ritual Decalogue (Ex. 34:18).

Now if Exodus 34:18-26 is a second ritual calendar and a renewal of the covenant laws, then this study will argue in support of Armerding (2003:305) and Coogan (2006:134) that it is later than the covenant text of Exodus 23:14-19. This can be supported by the additions or expansions of

ritual laws that are found in Exodus 34:18-26 but not in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19). For example, the Covenant Code mentioned the month of *Abib* which is repeated in 34:18 as *בְּחֹדֶשׁ הַבִּיב* – “*in the month of the green grain*” (Durham 1987:457).<sup>97</sup> The additions in 34:18-26 may indicate that the ritual Decalogue (Ex. 34:18-26) is younger and contains, almost verbatim, a recitation of the Covenant Code (23:14-19) (Queen-Sutherland 1991:76-87).

### 5.2.1 Research survey of Exodus 34 (the Covenant Renewal)

This section will take off with the research development relating to the covenant renewal text. Source critics have attributed Exodus 34 to the “E” tradition (Bruckner 2008:312). That would imply that Exodus 34 could be dated to the exilic or monarchical period when God was communicating personally with leaders or the entire Israelite community presumably in oral terms. Bruckner (2008:300) describes Exodus 34 as the centre of the book of Exodus. He claims that the resolutions of tension in Exodus 34 couple with its richly layered narrative result in several themes such as the confrontation of sin as sin, God’s provision of detailed instructions, the combination of God’s transcendence and inseparable friendship, and the persistence of God’s intention to be present in the world in a specific way. In addition to these themes however one should also bear in mind the golden calf incident and its resolution in Exodus 34:1-35 (Stuart 2006:712).

### 5.2.2 Views on Exodus 34:18-26

Exodus 34:18-26 is not an easy text to interpret since most of the scholarly discussions focus either on the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) that is older or on much later texts such as Numbers

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<sup>97</sup> The Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) presents the logical sequence of the three pilgrimage feasts that is altered in the ritual Decalogue texts (Ex. 34:18-26). The first part of the pericope (Ex. 34:18-26), for example, opens with the Feast of Unleavened Bread but somewhere along the line, it jumped to the issue of the dedication of the firstborn and only later mentioned the unleavened bread feast in v. 25 but as the Passover (Armerding 2004:305). In addition, Exodus 34:18 recites 23:15 except the last phrase of v. 15, “*no one must appear before me empty handed.*” Similarly, Exodus 34:25-26 repeats 23:18-19 almost verbatim and particularly in substance (Queen-Sutherland 1991:76-87). Furthermore, both Exodus 23:15-19 and 34:18-26 contain a law (in 23:19 and 34:25) that prohibits boiling a kid in its mother’s milk which seems to be a ritual law than a mere dietary law (Klein 2005:196). This law might have originated from a pagan cult in one of the ancient gentile tribes. I agree with Klein that the prohibition of boiling a kid in its mother’s milk was necessary for the people of Israel since they were a chosen people of Yahweh who had to do all things to honour him rather than foreign gods. Since the Passover and unleavened bread feasts were in Yahweh’s honour therefore, the people had to stay clear of pagan practices of boiling the kid in its mother’s milk to sprinkle on trees and crops for their fertility.

28; Deuteronomy 16 and other parallels in the Old Testament outside the Pentateuch. There is no direct mention of the composition date of Exodus 34:18-26 and its setting but as suggested earlier, the text could be regarded as an exilic text of the monarchical period. This however is based on presuppositions particularly as it repeats verbatim the covenant text (23:14-19) which is of the same period of composition. The issue of the unleavened bread and Passover feasts is given more attention in the ritual Decalogue text of Exodus 34:18-26 and its parallel text (Ex. 12:1-28). Several repetitions and few instances of re-contextualization and reconfiguration are found in the above parallels.

It could be argued that the text has gone through certain stages of development; thus, it should be interpreted based on its new context and culture before a more meaningful and acceptable interpretation could be attained. That means that tradition history has to work hand-in-hand with the literary form of the text at hand to produce a meaningful and appropriate interpretation particularly when the context and type of audience are taken into account.

Childs' (1977:605) position on the nature of Exodus 34:18-26 is that it has been altered by a redactor to give it the form of covenant renewal; otherwise, it was a parallel account to Exodus 23 and 20. Although the author did not state clearly which of the texts is older or younger, one could suppose that Exodus 23:14-19 is older than 34:18-26 since what we have in Exodus 34:18-26 is more of a duplication or reformulation of the original contents of Exodus 23:14-19. Houtman (2000:267) has rightly posited that Exodus 34 is an interpretation of the older covenant text of Exodus 23. Goldingay (2006:771) regards it as a reformulation of the original covenant law of Exodus 23:14-19.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Goldingay (2006:771) has traced the origin of Exodus 34:17-26 to the golden calf incident of Exodus 32-33 that led to the destruction or adulteration of the original covenant, which Yahweh had with the people of Israel through their forefather Abraham. In other words, Exodus 34:17-26 is an expansion or renewal of the earlier covenant law code of Exodus 23:14-19. However, since it is an edited and expanded version of the original covenant that was faulted because of the unfaithfulness of the covenant people to Yahweh in the older covenant version, it seems that additional expectations and responsibilities were included in the renewed version of Exodus 34:17-26 which somehow overlaps with the book of the covenant (Ex. 23:14-19). The reformulation of the covenant requirements in Exodus 34:17-26, as Goldingay (2006:771) has rightly observed, is totally an act of grace since more explanation is given on what God expects his people to do and not to do.

The mention of the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the earliest documents of (Ex. 23:14-19; 34:18-26) is an indication that it was originally a ritual, which occurred at the time of the barley harvest in the early spring. Unleavened bread was offered to the deity just as the newly born lamb offered by shepherds to express gratitude to the deity or to petition him for the fertility of the soil and the flocks (Coogan 2006:92). Although is sometimes placed under the Covenant Code under non-source materials and the ritual Decalogue under Yahwistic source, one could also argue that the covenant legal code of 23:14-19 originated before the priestly material named the ritual Decalogue (34:18-26). This study therefore differs from the view of these authors as regards the placement of the Covenant Code and priestly material.

In his discussion of Israel's cults in the Old Testament period, Beate (2007:602) shows that the dates can only be reconstructed tentatively. Two periods are suggested namely the pre-monarchical period and the monarchical period up to the time of Josiah. If we consider that, the Unleavened Bread and the Passover cult rituals appeared in the older covenant document of Exodus 23:15, then the monarchical period would be a more probable setting for the text's composition. On the other hand, the ritual Decalogue of Exodus 34:18-26 which seems to be later than 23:14-19 probably fell within the time of Josiah.

Myers (2005:265) has noted that Exodus 34:18-26 pays attention to the religious life of Israelites, which is evident in the series of directives given by God to guide the celebration of the Sabbath and the three major festivals (Weeks, Ingathering and Passover) as well as the redemption of the firstborn (cf. Ex. 13:12-13). The fact that the regulations for the festivals in Exodus 34:18-26 appear similar to those of the Covenant Code (23:14-19) make the dating of its composition difficult (Coggins 2000:126; Myers 2005:266). For instance, Exodus 34:18 is a verbatim parallel of 23:15 except for the final phrase in 23:15 "*none shall appear before me empty handed.*"

Similarly, Exodus 34:25-26 is parallel with 23:18-19. The two are almost verbatim in substance except for the addition of the Passover in Exodus 34:25, which is not mentioned in 23:18-19 (Queen-Sutherland 1991:80; Stuart 2006:727). The additions in Exodus 34:18-26 serve as a clue that the text is a later version of 23:14-19. The additions in Exodus 34:18-26 may also serve as a

clue that the commandments are freshly given possibly orally rather than a mere literary copying of Exodus 23:14-19.

A consideration of the similar but also slightly different renderings of the parallels in Exodus 34 and 23 suggests that Exodus 34 has recited the older covenant text of Exodus 23 using chapter 12 as its point of departure. Though most scholars have argued that both texts (Ex. 23:15-19 and 34:18-26) are older texts, Houtman (2000:267) has argued persuasively that Exodus 34:18-25 is an interpretation of the original laws regarding the Passover that are found in the Covenant Code text of Exodus 23:15.

### 5.2.3 Text critical analysis of Exodus 34:18-26

In this section, different scholarly views of the pericope of Exodus 34:18-26 will be carried. However, the BHS will remain for us the authoritative text and the NRSV the chosen English translation in the verse-by-verse analysis of the pericope. If there are any changes from the MT, they will be reflected in our adapted NRSV translation.

**V. 18** – In the phrase, “*the month of Abib*,” the Hebrew word אָבִיב “*ears*” is translated in the LXX as *ton neon*, i.e. “new grains.” The two different translations of אָבִיב refer to matured or new grains and, in a way, point to the Jewish agricultural calendar and season.

It seems that Exodus 34:18-26 was copied from Exodus 23:15 verbatim, except for the repetition of the phrase בְּחֹדֶשׁ הַיֵּצִיט “*in the month of the green grain*”. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads “*in it*” without mentioning explicitly that “*it*” refers to the month of *Abib* (Durham 1987:457). The additions and repetitions in 34:18 suggest not only that Exodus 34 borrowed from Exodus 23, which is older but also evidence of textual development – in this case, from the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) to the covenant renewal (Ex. 34:28-25).

**V. 21b** – The LXX contains the phrase, “*seed sowing time*,” which the MT renders, “*plowing time*” (Durham 1987:457).

**V. 22** – The Hebrew term קָצִיר, as used in this verse, refers to harvest or reaping and it is translated in the LXX as “*therismou*,” which also means harvest or reaping, while the Hebrew חַג “*feast, festival, holy festival, festal procession*” is translated as “*pilgrimage festival*” in Exodus 23:16. The Festival of Ingathering translated in the Hebrew as אָסַף, from “*asap*” meaning “*to*

gather,” is translated in the LXX as “*synteleasia*,” meaning “consummation, completion” (Dozeman 2009:523).

V. 23 - The MT has an unusual rendering יהוה יהוה, “the Lord, Yahweh” while the LXX translate it as “*kyriou tou theon sou*,” “*The Lord, your God*” (Durham 1987:522; Dozeman 2009:523).

V. 25 - The expression על־המִזְמַן found in “*You shall not sacrifice with leaven the blood of my sacrifice*” in the MT can be translated as “*in conjunction with leaven.*” However, the use of “*epi zyme*” in the LXX may indicate location in terms of not sacrificing the blood of Yahweh’s sacrifice in the presence of or near anything leaven (Dozeman 2009:523). That implies that leaven has to be removed from the houses of the Passover celebrants before the sacrifice could take place.

#### 5.2.4 Translation of Exodus 34:18-26

<sup>18</sup> *You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.*

<sup>19</sup> *All that first opens the womb is mine, all your male livestock, the firstborn of cow and sheep.*

<sup>20</sup> *The firstborn of a donkey you shall redeem with a lamb, or if you will not redeem it you shall break its neck. All the firstborn of your sons you shall redeem.*

*No one shall appear before me empty-handed.*

<sup>21</sup> *Six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest; even in plowing time and in harvest time you shall rest.*

<sup>22</sup> *You shall observe the festival of weeks, the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the festival of ingathering at the turn of the year.*

<sup>23</sup> *Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel.*

<sup>24</sup> *For I will cast out nations before you, and enlarge your borders; no one shall covet your land when you go up to appear before the Lord your God three times in the year.*

<sup>25</sup> *You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning.*

<sup>26</sup> *The best of the firstfruits of your ground you shall bring to the house of the Lord your God.*

*You shall not boil a kid in its mother’s milk.*

<sup>18</sup> אֶת־חַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יֵצְאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:  
<sup>19</sup> כָּל־פֶּטֶר רְחֵם לִי וְכָל־מִקְנֶךָ תִּזְכֹּר פֶּטֶר שׁוֹר וְשֵׂה:

<sup>20</sup> וּפְטָרָה חֲמֹר תִּפְדֶּה בְּשֵׁה וְאִם-לֹא תִפְדֶּה וְעֵרְפָתוֹ כֹּל בְּכֹר בְּנֵי תִפְדֶּה וְלֹא-יֵרָאוּ פָנָי רִיקָם:  
<sup>21</sup> שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי תִשְׁבַּת בְּקִרְיֶיךָ וּבְקִצִיר תִּשְׁבַּת:  
<sup>22</sup> וְחַג שְׁבַעַת תַּעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ בַּכּוֹרִי קִצִיר חֲטִיִּם וְחַג הָאָסִיף תִּקּוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה:  
<sup>23</sup> שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעֻמִּים בַּשָּׁנָה יִרְאֶה כָּל-זְכוּרָךְ אֶת-פָּנָי הָאֵדֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
<sup>24</sup> כִּי-אוֹרֵיֶשׁ גּוֹיִם מִפְּנֵיךָ וְהִרְחַבְתִּי אֶת-גְּבוּלְךָ וְלֹא-יִחַמַּד אִישׁ אֶת-אַרְצְךָ בַּעֲלֹתְךָ לְרֵאוֹת אֶת-פָּנָי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעֻמִּים בַּשָּׁנָה:  
<sup>25</sup> לֹא-תִשְׁחַט עַל-חַמִּץ דָּם-זֹבְחִי וְלֹא-יִלִּין לְבַקֵּר זָבַח חַג הַפֶּסַח:  
<sup>26</sup> רֵאשִׁית בַּכּוֹרִי אֲדַמְתָּךְ תָּבִיא בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא-תִבְשֵׁל גְּדִי בַחֲלֵב אִמּוֹ:

The MT and NRSV texts above remain in their original form since no major changes are made to alter their originality.

### 5.2.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and 34:18-26

Here Exodus 12:1-28 will be used as a point of departure to explore the parallels between it and Exodus 34:18-26.

#### (a) Exodus 12:2 and Exodus 34:18

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רֵאשׁ חֹדְשִׁים רֵאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה:

#### Exodus 12:2 -

“*This month* is to be for you *the first month, the first month of your year.*”

#### Exodus 34:18 -

אֶת-חַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךְ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יֵצְאת מִמִּצְרָיִם:

“*You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.*”

Verse 2 of Exodus 12 opens with the phrase הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה “*this month*” which is repeated in the same verse but in a more defined way as רֵאשׁ חֹדְשִׁים “*the first month.*” Both point to a time that corresponds to March-April (Noth 1962:95; Hyatt 1971:131; and Sarna 1991:55).<sup>99</sup> Although

<sup>99</sup> Propp (1999:358) refers to the said month as “the head of the Months” while Durham (1987:153; 1999:358) calls it the “lead Month.” The naming or reappearance of the Passover month in different forms was to elevate it to its highest degree of prominence over other civil or religious months of the Jewish calendar (Houtman 1996:167; Bruckner 2008:109). That is to say, the Passover as a salvific historical event having been merged with Israel’s agricultural, religious and cultural event outshone and dominated other civil and religious events in the Jewish



that month is not named in the Passover text of Exodus 12:2, it is mentioned in the priestly material of Exodus 34:18 as the *בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב* “*the month of Abib*.”<sup>100</sup>

It is worth noting here that the first appearance of the said month is found in the Covenant Code text of Exodus 23:14-19 specifically, in verse 15 where the people of ancient Israel celebrated the feasts of Unleavened Bread, Harvest and Ingathering to commemorate new life brought by bounty harvest. The appearance of that first month in Exodus 34:18 therefore seems to be a later rendering of it, indicating that Exodus 34:18-26 is younger than 23:14-19 (Houtman 2000:26; Stuart 2006:727; Dozeman 2009:527). Exodus 12:2 identifies the Exodus or the Passover month as the first in the year during which each Israelite family had to select a lamb for the Passover celebration (12:3) and slaughter it at twilight (12:6).

The said month is that which is named *Abib* in both the Covenant Code text of Exodus 23:15 and the ritual Decalogue or covenant renewal text of Exodus 34:18. However, as Vanderkam (2006:522) observes, *Abib* on its own is never called the first month in an explicit form but its association with the Exodus from Egypt and the Passover placed it in the spring. It is the first out of the four Canaanite months mentioned in the Bible (Vanderkam 1992:815; 2006:522). Though *Abib* is not mentioned in 1 Kings 6, it is the only month that is related to a single feast – the Unleavened Bread. In both secular and biblical traditions in ancient Israel, months were used to designate agricultural seasons.<sup>101</sup>

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calendar. It stood prominent as the first Month in terms of importance and not the chronological sequence of Jewish numbering of months (Alter 2004:376). The purpose of the month of *Abib* has shifted from a mere celebration of new life through bountiful yields to the celebration of new life through God’s salvific acts demonstrated in the Passover episode in Egypt (see Childs 1977:197). In this first Month, the entire people of Israel were expected to observe the Passover and Unleavened Bread feasts from generation to generation. The terms *מִצּוֹת* and *שֶׁמֶר* are found in the parallel texts of Exodus 12:8, 23:15, and 34:18 but in slightly different forms. For instance, Exodus 23:15 has *שֶׁמֶר*, which is rendered in plural form, while Exodus 34:18 renders the word in the singular form. The phrase “*seven days*” found also in the three parallel texts is an accusative of time indicating the time frame for eating the Unleavened Bread festival. The word “*eat*” is also found in a plural form in Exodus 23:15 (*בָּאֶשֶׁר*) but in singular in Exodus 34:18 (*אֶשֶׁר*). The expression, “*this month*,” “*first month*,” or “*the month of ears*” in Exodus 12:2 and 23:15 is rendered in Exodus 34:18 as *בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב* “*the month of Abib*” (see Houtman 2000:264).

<sup>100</sup> The parallel texts of Exodus 12:8 and 34:18 share a common time design, which is one of the notable elements of the Passover. “*The first month*” and “*the month of Abib*” in the parallel texts both serve as symbols of the Passover and help to merge the two different feasts of Passover (of pilgrimage origin) and Unleavened Bread (of agricultural origin) as one salvific feast (see Prosic 2004:83). The time design in these parallel texts also serves as a connecting link between the Covenant Code text of Exodus 23:14-19 and the priestly material of Exodus 34:18-26.

<sup>101</sup> The tenth century Gezer Calendar, for example, has an agricultural designation of seasons that reads thus: two months of ingathering, two months of sowing cereals, two months of late planting, two months of planting legumes

Months also served as a basic unit for defining the lunar cycle (Vanderkam 2006:522). The month was defined as the interval between successive appearances of the moon in its cyclical phases. Therefore, the term חֹדֶשׁ “month” in Exodus 12:2 could also mean moon especially in its etymological sense (Vanderkam 1992). “*This Month,*” i.e. *Abib* in Exodus 12:2 and in the Covenant Code of Exodus 23:15-18 supports a definite ruling that the year begins in the spring instead of in autumn. Although the use of *Abib* is originally tied to an agricultural event, that is, celebrating good harvest, it has now been elevated to in the Israelite religious calendar as the month for commemorating God’s act of deliverance in Egypt.

Judging from the above parallel texts, one could argue that the text of Exodus 12:2 re-contextualised that of Exodus 34:18 attributively, i.e. without any indication that what is found in Exodus 12:2 is written elsewhere in the biblical text. In other words, the text of Exodus 34:18 is older than Exodus 12:2 but younger than Exodus 23:15 which is presupposed here to be the oldest text that existed orally and formed part of the cultural and religious life of Israel.

#### (b) Exodus 12:8 and Exodus 34:25

##### Exodus 12:8 -

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָהּ הַזֶּה צְלִי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מֶרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהּוּ:

*“They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.”*

##### Exodus 34:25 -

לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־חַמֶּזֶץ דָּם־זִבְחִי וְלֹא־יִלִּין לְבַקֵּר זִבְחַי חַג הַפֶּסַח

*“You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning”* (cf. Ex. 23:18).

Exodus 12:8, unlike its parallel text of Exodus 34:25, opens with God’s instruction concerning the eating of the Passover lamb with unleavened bread rather than with leaven. That opening

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and vegetables, a month of harvesting barley, a month of harvesting wheat and measuring grain, two months of summer pruning, and a month of ingathering summer fruit (Vanderkam 2006:522). The appearance of a similar language in the festive calendar of Exodus 23:15 and 34:18 enumerating the three pilgrimage feasts is therefore an indication of an existing tradition in both the secular and biblical world of ancient Israelites.

instruction has generated different interpretations from different scholars. For instance, Hyatt (1971:133) considers the use of unleavened bread in the parallel texts as a known custom among ancient Israelites who considered unleavened bread food for nomads or travellers. Although Hyatt (1971:133) does not explain why nomads used unleavened bread, one could presuppose that the unleavened bread was favoured by nomads and travellers because it was easy to consume and to preserve since it contained no yeast or other ingredients that might cause it to spoil quickly. If that is the case, then Vannoy (1995:102) and Alter (2004:377) all agree with Hyatt (1971:133) that the unleavened bread was a “hasty food” (cf. Gen. 19).

To Durham (1987:154), one of the reasons for using the unleavened bread was that it could be consumed in haste but the unleavened bread was also meant to remind the celebrants of the sufferings in Egypt. However, if unleavened bread was recommended to remind celebrants of the sufferings in Egypt, then one could presuppose that leaving leaven out of the Passover bread made it hard to chew (Osborn & Hatton 1999:274). In Houtman’s (1996:178) view, unleavened bread was mentioned in the parallel texts in connection with maintaining purity since leaven was considered impure when it came to holy celebrations to honour Yahweh.

All in all, Exodus 34:18-26 is a reformulation of Exodus 23:18 to include the Passover as a religious festival celebrated to honour Yahweh. Exodus 12:8 is also a re-contextualization of Exodus 34:25 just as Exodus 34:25a has recited, almost verbatim, the content of the oldest biblical legal code (Ex. 23:18a).<sup>102</sup>

### **(c) Exodus 12:10 and Exodus 34:25**

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<sup>102</sup> The command to *שָׁחַתְּ* “*roast it over fire*” in Exodus 12:8 was made to the Passover celebrants. Roasting was probably the quickest way of cooking a meal in ancient Israel particularly when haste was required. Otherwise, it could be one of the ways of eliminating blood from consumption as a mark of remembrance or dedication of the life offered to the Israelites by God in Egypt which was marked by the sign of blood on their doorposts (Sarna 1991:55). Blood in this case may be interpreted as life; thus, there was no need to eat “*life*,” rather, it should be spared just as all doors marked with blood in Egypt were spared in the night the destroyer came. On the other hand, one may consider the sparing or elimination of blood from the meat as a symbol of purity just as the unleavened bread (Alter 2004:377). Thus, although roasting seemed to be the oldest form of cooking meat, the tradition was to continue to remind celebrants of their personal purity before Yahweh who delivered them from bondage in Egypt. Roasting the meat therefore literally eliminated impurities that might be present in the blood or water of the animal. The blood of the sacrificial animal was a mark of protection rather than an apotropaic charm while the unleavened bread and bitter herbs served as reminders of haste and suffering of bondage rather than symbols of purity and protection against demonic spirits (Durham 1987:154).

**Exodus 12:10a -**

וְהַנֹּתֵר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד-בֹּקֶר וְהַנֹּתֵר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד-בֹּקֶר בָּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרֹפוּ:

*“You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.”*

**Exodus 34:25 -**

לֹא-תִשְׁחַט עַל-חֶמֶץ דָּם-זִבְחִי וְלֹא-יָלִין לְבַקֵּר זֶבַח חַג הַפֶּסַח

*“You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning.”*

The above parallels also present a kind of re-contextualization that is attributive in nature. The text of Exodus 12:10a is a re-contextualization of 34:25 without any indication that it derived its information from any text already written elsewhere in the Bible. As indicated above, Exodus 34:18-26 is supposedly older in terms of composition than 12:1-28, the same arguments also hold here. However, the dating of the priestly material, unlike that of the Covenant Code texts, has not been given due attention by scholars; thus, it is not concluded in this section of the study either.

The regulation in this verse is meant to counter the act of mistrust in the providence of God on the part of whoever would keep the remaining food to eat the next morning. The Passover and Unleavened Bread feasts were more meals of religious observance than mere meals to sustain hunger. It was provided by God who had in his hand the fertility of the soil and powers to grant bountiful yield, that is, going by its earliest context. The God who delivered his people from slavery was the same God that would feed them from generation to generation. Hence, there was no cause to worry but to honour and trust him for his care and act of providence.

Clements (1972:72) claims that the prohibition from keeping the Passover meat and unleavened bread until the following morning was necessary since festival seemed to be a nocturnal celebration with the moon standing as a symbol of a deity. Thus messing the meal up would be seen as an act of disregard for the deity who could then choose to punish the victims. Both

Bruckner (2008:110) asserts that leaving the festival meal until the next morning could result in disrespect or profanation which would contradict the aim of the sacred flesh that was sacrificed to honour Yahweh<sup>103</sup> (cf. Hyatt 1971:133). It is worth mentioning also that since Exodus 34:25 has recited almost verbatim the content of the older Covenant Code text of Exodus 23:18, most of the references here will be made to the section on the Covenant Code earlier discussed above.

#### (d) Exodus 12:15 and Exodus 34:18

##### Exodus 12:15 -

<p>שְׁבַע יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ אֵד בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי כָל־אֲכַל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרַתְהָ תִּגָּפֵשׁ הֵהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי:</p>
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*“Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel.”*

##### Exodus 34:18 -

<p>אֶת־חַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שְׁבַע יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתְךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב כִּי בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב יָצָאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>
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*“You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.”*

The parallel verses above present yet another festival requirement – to eat unleavened bread for seven days, the seven days being the period for the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals. Leavened bread was the normal bread eaten when on a normal diet but now the people of Israel were banned from eating this tasteful and soft bread. Rather, they had to eat the unleavened bread which was strong and hard to chew.

<sup>103</sup> The prohibition from keeping the festival meal until the following morning, if taken as an act of protecting its sacred nature, then, resembles the laws governing the “new *yam*” festival celebrated by the Tiv of Central Nigeria. In a similar way, the New Yam feast is celebrated in the evening with the blood of the slaughtered animal sprinkled on a clay pot buried halfway on one of the heaps on the farm as a symbol of appeal to the god of fertility to grant more produce at harvest time. It is normally celebrated at family levels and non-members of the family are not welcome to participate in this meal. All the food that was prepared must be eaten; for the Tiv people believe that if it is left till the following morning, then the yam seeds might not multiply as expected. This shows that they consider the feast sacred, being celebrated in honour of the fertility god [the researcher’s personal view as a Tiv man]. This Tiv festival seems to echo the celebration of unleavened bread and Passover feasts even though in a different context.

The appearance of a similar instruction in Exodus 23:15, 18, which is regarded as older than Exodus 34:18, 25 is an indication that right from the Covenant Code before the Egyptian episode, leaven was forbidden for offerings of sacrifices to Yahweh (Osborn & Hatton 1999:274). Thus, the old tradition in the Covenant Code has reappeared in a fresh form in the priestly text of Exodus 34:18 to symbolize purity and dedication to Yahweh the holy One and the God of providence. The parallel text of Exodus 12:15 is a reconfigured version of Exodus 34:18 that almost outshines the older Exodus 34 and the oldest Covenant Code in 23:15 and 18. Again, the unleavened bread has occupied an important place in the history and life of the people of Israel and in the historic event in Egypt; hence it is mentioned repeatedly in several biblical legal codes to keep its tradition alive and fresh to subsequent generations that experience liberation from one form of oppressive rule or another.

#### (e) Exodus 12:17 and 34:18

##### Exodus 12:17 –

וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַמִּצּוֹת כִּי בְעֶצְם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבָאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם:

*“You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread, for on this very day I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance.”*

##### Exodus 34:18 -

אֶת־חֹג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יָצָאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:

*“You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.”*

Exodus 34:18 contains the formula “observe,” “keep” or “celebrate” which refers to the actual observance of the festival and not just the mere substance – the unleavened bread (Stuart 2006:286). The clause about the feast of unleavened bread in verse 18 is almost identical or similar to Exodus 23:15a, orally (Noth 1962:263). That implies that Exodus 34:18 recited the older text of 23:15a which seems to be the original text of the Feast of Unleavened Bread

(Houtman 2000:258). The mention of the Feast of Weeks in Exodus 34:22 rather than the Feast of Ingathering in Exodus 23:16 also suggests that Exodus 34:18-26 is a latter text than Exodus 23:14-19; it has reshaped its present contents to suit its context, time and possibly audience.

Placing the three parallel texts of Exodus 12:17, Exodus 34:18 and 23:15 side-by-side particularly the first part of each text, one would notice that they all mention celebration of unleavened bread. However, the recitation does not reproduce exact words but similar words with just minor changes in the word order. Thus, the texts of 12:17 and 34:18 both recite the older text of 23:15 as noted earlier. The central message of celebrating the feasts to honour Yahweh is however maintained in both texts any way.

On the other hand, Exodus 12:17 opens with the phrase “and you shall keep” which could also mean to “observe” or “celebrate” (Osborn & Hatton 1999:283). The feast of unleavened bread appears in the Hebrew text as a single word אֶת־הַמִּצּוֹת which could be translated to mean flat bread or cakes. However, in this context, it refers to the seven days of festivity to commemorate the Passover in Egypt and not just bread for nomads or travellers made when in haste (Alter 2004:378).

**Table 7: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and Exodus 34:18-36**

Exodus 12:1-28	Exodus 34:18-26
<p><b>Ex. 12:2</b> - “<i>This month</i> is to be for you <i>the first month</i>, the first month of your year.</p> <p>הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לְכֶם רֵאשִׁון חֹדְשִׁים רֵאשִׁון הוּא לְכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה:</p>	<p><b>Ex. 34:18</b> - You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed <i>in the month of Abib</i>; for <i>in the month of Abib</i> you came out from Egypt.</p> <p>הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֵר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יָצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:8</b> - <i>They shall eat the lamb that same night</i>; they shall eat it roasted over the fire <i>with unleavened bread</i> and bitter herbs.</p> <p>וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלֵּילָה הַזֶּה צֶלִי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מֵרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:</p>	<p><b>Ex. 34:25</b> - <i>You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven</i>, and the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning.</p> <p>וְלֹא־יָלִין לְבַקֵּר זָבַח חַג הַפֶּסַח לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־חֶמֶץ דָּם־זִבְחִי.</p>

<p><b>Ex.12:10</b> - <i>You shall let none of it remain until the morning</i>; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.</p> <p>וְלֹא־תֹתִירוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר וְהִנְתֵּר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר בְּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרְפוּ:</p>	<p><b>Ex.34:25</b> - You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning.</p> <p>לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־חֶמֶץ דָּם־זִבְחִי וְלֹא־יִלִּין לְבִקֶּר זֶבַח חַג הַפֶּסַח</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:15-</b> <i>Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread</i>; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel</p> <p>שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת תֹּאכְלוּ אַךְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי כֹל־אֹכֵל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרְתָהּ הַגֹּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשִּׁבְעִי:</p>	<p><b>Ex. 34:18</b> - You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. <i>Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you</i>, at the time appointed in the month of <i>Abib</i>; for in the month of <i>Abib</i> you came out from Egypt.</p> <p>אֶת־חַג הַמִּצֹּת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצֹּת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יָצָאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:17</b> – <i>You shall observe the festival of unleavened bread</i>, for on this very day I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance.</p> <p>וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַמִּצֹּת כִּי בַעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבָאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם:</p>	<p><b>Ex. 34:18</b> - <i>You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread</i>. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of <i>Abib</i>; for in the month of <i>Abib</i> you came out from Egypt.</p> <p>אֶת־חַג הַמִּצֹּת תִּשְׁמֹר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצֹּת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב יָצָאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>

### 5.2.6 Summary and conclusion of section

It is argued in this section of study that Exodus 34:18-26, the covenant renewal also called the ritual Decalogue is later than Exodus 23:14-19 and that it has recited 23:14-19 almost verbatim. This indicates that it is a reinterpretation or expansion of what is already found in the older biblical legal code of 23:14-19. The appearance of the Passover in the ritual Decalogue and its absence in the covenant text of 23:14-19 point to its priestly nature rather than the agricultural



origin that is embedded in the Covenant Code text which deals mainly with the unleavened bread (Ex. 23:14-19).

In terms of dating, the ritual Decalogue is difficult to date being parallel with Exodus 12:1-28 and 23:14-19 which belong to different traditions. Dozeman (2009:742) identifies ten laws from Exodus 34:16-26 namely prohibition of idols (v. 17), which links the larger golden calf context (Meyer 2005:265; Stuart 2006:727); firstfruits (v. 19a); redemption of firstborn sons (v. 20b); Sabbath (v. 21); three yearly festivals (Weeks, Ingathering, and Passover) that already appeared in Exodus but mentioned here probably as their first iteration except for the addition of the redemption of firstborn (Myers 2005:266) (v. 23); no blood sacrifice with leaven (v. 25b); and firstfruits (v. 26). Exodus 34:18-26 is a priestly and pre-exilic code, which is older than Exodus 12:1-28 but younger than 23:14-19.

### **5.3 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Leviticus 23:5-8**

This section will examine the text of Leviticus 23:5-8 using the Exodus 12:1-28 as a point of departure.

#### **5.3.1 Research survey of Leviticus 23 (The Holiness Code)**

The research development with regards to the Holiness Code will be discussed first. According to Kiuchi (2003:522), Leviticus is not an easy book to understand because much of the rationale for the rules and regulations that dominate the book are rarely spelled out. The meanings of some Hebrew terms, rituals, offerings and prescriptions are also not clear. Gorman (2008:645) also confirms that Leviticus is not so easy to date but he tried to categorize it under the priestly tradition and date it to exilic period.

Balentine (2002:175) considers Leviticus 23:4-22 in particular as a liturgical calendar that fitted into the agricultural year and in turn punctuated the regular work cycles of planting and harvesting with intentional stops to re-centre reflection on God's design for the world. The year according was divided into two halves –the first six months of spring and summer and the second

six months of fall and winter. Three festivals occurred in the first six months namely the Passover and Unleavened Bread, Firstfruits, and Weeks. Balentine (2002: xi) presents the following lengthy and detailed but easy to understand outline:

Part One: Leviticus 1-7 – The gift of Sacrifice; Part Two: Leviticus 8-10 – Ordination, holy worship, and unholy behaviour; Part Three: Leviticus 11-15- Instructions on purity and impurity; Part Four: Leviticus 16:1-34 – The day of purification; Part Five: Leviticus 17-27 – The Holiness Code (23:1-44 – the holy calendar).

The term “Holiness Code” is generally assigned to Leviticus 17-26, which presumably contains the original independent legal corpus that was later edited by the Priestly school. The issue of the independence of the Holiness Code is however debatable (Rendtorff 1985:145; Sun 1992:254).

For example, Sun (1992:255), using the form-critical and tradition-historical approach, shows that the Holiness Code is a legal document the setting of which was based on ancient Israelite’s covenant festival renewal. Much of the document of the Holiness Code could be traced to the beginning of Israel’s historical existence that was more or less pre- or non-Israelite in origin. Sun (1992:255) claims that the Holiness Code of Leviticus 23 is not an independent document since most of its themes are treated in other books of the Old Testament. For instance, the festival calendar in Leviticus 23:5-8 is also found in Exodus 23:14-19 (the Covenant Code); Exodus 34:22-26 (Priestly material); Numbers 28-29; Deuteronomy 16:1-16 and Ezekiel 45:21-25.

Despite the recitation of the Holiness Code in other parts of the Old Testament, one may still argue that it is an independent work that has borrowed from older traditions by means of repetition of what seem to be Yahweh’s major concern regarding Israel’s relationship with him (i.e. that the people be holy as Yahweh is holy). Thus, the Holiness Code is more of a revisited or renewed version of Exodus 23:14-19 and possibly of 34:18-26 (Sun 1992:255; Milgrom 2001:1966).

Leviticus 23 is part of the pericope (17-27) that deals with the requirements for holiness. It represents the priestly laws directed to the people of Israel and that commanded them to pursue holiness as a collective goal of their religious life (Levine 1989:313). Although the pericope has

an unusual coherence of themes, the content was to help Israelites realize the divine program which followed the covenantal charge of Exodus 19:5-6;<sup>104</sup> hence, the label, Holiness Code (Levine 1989: xi).

The emphasis placed on holiness in Leviticus particularly in chapter 23 could be as a result of later development of the idea of holy living that is already raised in the Covenant Code of Exodus 23:14-19. However, since in this study the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19) is assumed to be the older biblical legal code, then Leviticus 23 is younger than the Covenant Code and it must have recited most of what is found in the Covenant Code as well. That being the case, it can be placed under the priestly/pre-exilic period as Levine (1989:317) and Sun (1992:255) have suggested.

On the subject of dating, Gorman (1997:2) observes that the materials in Leviticus 23 belong to the priestly traditions of the Pentateuch. According to the author, such materials contain duplication of priestly laws such as the festival calendar especially in Leviticus 23:4-8. The Holiness Code emphasizes the holiness that is required of Israel the people of God. This seems to be the origin of its name “the Holiness Code.” Holiness is emphasized here so much such that it embraces all the people and not just the priest as in Exodus 12 where holiness is depicted in terms of the quality of the altar, the sanctuary, and the priesthood (Ska 2006:153).

Milgrom (2004:1) considers Leviticus 23 as a book of value despite its predominance of rituals/sacrifices and laws. The rituals, according to the author, are just a web of values that purports to model how one should relate to God and to one another.<sup>105</sup> The Holiness Code being a web and being linked to other books of the Old Testament could not have developed to its latter priestly stage as we have it now in Leviticus 23 without orality (Gorman 1997:2). It is most likely that the Holiness Code developed out of the people’s culture, ideas, custom, religion, and

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<sup>104</sup> Exodus 19:5-6- “Now therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, <sup>6</sup> but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation. These are the words that you shall speak to the Israelites” (NRSV).

<sup>105</sup> Rituals help a society to express and preserve its basic values. Rituals endure with repetition; they are visual and participatory, embedded in memory at a young age and reinforced with each enactment. In other words, the act of ritual is the poetry of religion that leads us to a moment of transcendence (Milgrom 2004:1).

values and it was preserved through oral or verbal means. In this sense, its reappearance in a festival form only served as a means of recollection of the past values already preserved in oral form or nature, both on individual and on group level.<sup>106</sup>

### 5.3.2 Scholarly views of Leviticus 23:5-8

Leviticus 23:5-8 deals with the Paschal offering/unleavened bread. It gives the description of the celebration of the Passover and unleavened bread unto Yahweh (Milgrom 2004:6; Bailey 2005:278). According to Bailey (2005:278), Leviticus 23:5-8 falls under the annual convocation that occurs in spring (Lev. 23:5-22), and it is priestly in nature. Although scholars have not dealt much with this portion of the Holiness Code as a separate entity, the general assumption is that it forms a part of the festival calendar that contains the Sabbath (vv. 1-3), Paschal offering (vv. 4-8), firstfruits of grains (vv. 9-22) alarm blast (vv. 23-25), Day of purgation (vv. 26-32) and booths (33-48) [Levine 1989: xv; Milgrom 2004:275].

### 5.3.3 Text critical analysis of Leviticus 23:5-8

At this point, a brief text critical analysis of Leviticus 23:5-8 will be attempted.

**V. 5** - The Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX and Vulgate add יוֹ “*day*” which is not found in the MT of this verse except in verse 6 (Hartley 1992:367). The additions may be explained in terms of the development of the Passover from the pre-exilic/monarchical to the exilic/monarchic and later the post-exilic period. The word יוֹ in Leviticus 23:5 suggests that the verse is a priestly material, as day and time specifications were prominently seen in priestly texts.

**V. 7a** - The LXX adds a *waw* which is not found in the MT.

**V. 8a** - The MT contains תְּשִׁיבָה “*gifts*” as collective, while the LXX renders it as “*a whole offering,*” which MT usually renders עֲלֵה (wickedness, violence) as in v. 12 (Hartley 1992:367).

<sup>106</sup> Milgrom (2004: v-vii) presents the structure of Leviticus as follows:

Leviticus 1-7 (The sacrificial system); 8-10 (The inauguration of the Tabernacle service); 11-16 (The impurity system); 17-27 (The holiness source), which is further divided into:

a. prohibition of secular slaughter and eating blood (ch.17); b. Illicit sexual Practices (ch.18); c. Ritual and moral holiness: ethics (ch. 19); d. Penalties for Molek worship, necromancy, and sexual violations (ch. 20); e. Instructions for the Priests (ch. 21); f. Instruction for the priests and lay persons (ch. 22); g. The festival calendar (ch. 23); h. Tabernacle oil and Bread; blasphemy; Talion laws (ch. 24); i. Jubilee, the Priestly response to economic injustice (ch. 25); j. Blessings, curses, and the recall of the covenant (ch. 26) and; k. Consecrations and their redemption (ch. 27). Based on the above structure, Leviticus 23:5-8 falls under the “the holiness source” (ch. 17-27) and comes before the section on the “impurity system” (ch. 11-16).

These textual differences in the text could be attributed to textual growth or development. The differences also hint at the different compositions of the individual verses of the same text. In other words, although the text exists as a unit, it possibly passed through different stages of editorial work in which changes accrued.

### 5.3.4 Translation of Leviticus 23:5-8

<sup>5</sup> *In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord,*

<sup>6</sup> *and on the fifteenth day of the same month is the festival of unleavened bread to the Lord; seven days you shall eat unleavened bread.*

<sup>7</sup> *On the first day, you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations. 8 For seven days you shall present the Lord's offerings by fire; on the seventh day there shall be a holy convocation: you shall not work at your occupations.*

<sup>5</sup> בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:  
<sup>6</sup> וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה חַג הַמַּצוֹת לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מַצוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ:  
<sup>7</sup> בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:  
<sup>8</sup> וְהַקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

### 5.3.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and Leviticus 23:5-8

In this section, Exodus 12:1-28 will be used as a point of departure to explore the parallels between it and Exodus 34:18-26.

#### (a) Exodus 12:2 and Leviticus 23:5

##### Exodus 12:2 -

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רִאשׁוֹן חֹדֶשׁ יָמֵי רִאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה:

*“This month shall mark for you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year for you.”*

##### Leviticus 23:5 -

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:

*“In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord”*

The above parallel verses present different phrases that are used for a specific month that was significant in the life and history of Israel. In Exodus 12:2, the month is not named but only referred to as “*this month*,” “*head of months*” (Propp 1999:358) and “*lead month*” (Durham 1987:153; 1999:358). That month *Abib* in Exodus 23:15; 34:18 corresponded with the spring month (March-April) (Noth 1961:95; Hyatt 1971:131; Sarna 1991:55). It is a prominent month in the life and history of Israelites - a month that marked a turning point of their lives from slavery in Egypt to a liberated life out of Egypt.

The different names attributed to the month in question, as Vannoy (1995:173) remarks, is in conformity with the with Israelite custom of referring to months either by number or by names using Canaanite or Babylonian name (*Abib* or *Nisan*, respectively). In the above parallels, however the month appears in an ordinal form, which is, using number. Milgrom (2001:1967) argues that the naming of the Passover month as *Abib* or using numerical forms might have been to differentiate between the sacredness of that month and the secular naming of months which was a common polytheistic practice of the time.

Although the above view seems so convincing, the ordinal naming could also suggest that the pericope is part of the late priestly tradition in which numbers were used for months rather than names (Levine 1989:155; Bailey 2005:278). Levine (1989:155) further adds that the ordinal formula was a dating system that was in use during much of the biblical period particularly in the formulation of official records and laws.

### (b) Exodus 12:6 and Leviticus 23:5

#### Exodus 12:6 -

וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כֹּל קִנְיַן יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם:

“*You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.*”

#### Leviticus 23:5 -

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם פֶּסַח לִיהוָה:

*“In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord.”*

The above parallels depict elements of recitation particularly with the use of בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם “*at twilight*,” the exact words are recited in both Exodus 12:6 and Leviticus 23:5. The fourteenth day of the first month in the parallel texts refers to the first full moon of the year (March-April), which was dedicated to the Passover celebration (Soggin 1972:74). Even though the month is not named in these parallel texts, it refers presumably to the fourteenth of *Abib* when future celebrations of the Passover were to begin (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273). Since *Abib* is only mentioned in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:15) which is regarded as the older biblical legal code, it can again be established here that Leviticus 23:5-8 is later than the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:5-8).

The expressions בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם “*at twilight*” (Ex. 12:6b and Lev. 23:5b), referring to “the evening” or “between the evenings” and בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ “*on the fourteenth day of the first month*” in the above parallel texts, indicate the specific time allocated for the the Passover celebration to commence (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273; Balentine 2002:176). The time specification here again hints at the late priestly custom of allocating time to rituals (Bailey 2005:278).

### (c) Exodus 12:11 and Leviticus 23:5

#### Exodus 12:11 -

וְכָכָה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מְתַנִּיכִם חֲגָרִים גְּעֵלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמְקַלְכֶם בְּיַדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחֶפְזוֹן פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה:

*“This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the Lord.”*

#### Leviticus 23:5 -

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:

*“In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord.”*

The statement *הוא ליהוה פסח* “*it is the Passover of the Lord*” in the above parallel texts particularly in Exodus 12:11 could mean either the Passover animal or the Passover observance (Osborn & Hatton 1999:276). Nonetheless, the very *פסח* feast or meal is in honour of Yahweh or for Yahweh (Houtman 1996:182), and as Otto (2003:8) has pointed out, the at that time, the Passover and unleavened bread were already united as one feast commemorating the salvific act of God in history on behalf of Israel. Based on the terminologies used in these parallel texts which focus attention at on Yahweh, we can argue here that the texts are of priestly tradition.

#### (d) Exodus 12:14 and Leviticus 23:4, 5

##### Exodus 12:14 -

*וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לָכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן וְחַגְתֶּם אֹתוֹ חַג לַיהוָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם תִּתְקַדֶּה:*

*“This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the Lord; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.”*

##### Leviticus 23:5 -

*בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:*

*“In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a **Passover offering to the Lord.**”*

Leviticus 23:5 as noted above evokes the specification of time and date for the Passover celebration that seems to be a common characteristic of the priestly tradition. Again, in terms of dating, the parallel verse is of a priestly origin, as the lunar month was used along with ordinal numbers rather than names and months and weeks (Levine 1989:156). The parallels both contain the phrase, “*the festival to the Lord*” which is already recited again and again in Exodus narratives and other biblical legal codes. It was a feast in honour of Yahweh which had to be carried out annually at the appointed time from generation to generation (Osborn & Hatton 1999:280). Levine (1989: xi) considers this to be the main purpose of Leviticus, that is, helping the people of Israel to remember their divine obligations to be in sacred union with Yahweh their God.



The use of *“festival”* in the parallel texts above indicates that celebrants had to undergo a pilgrimage to a local or central shrine or temple for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Balentine 2002:176).

**Table 8: Intertexture between Exodus 28:1-28 and Leviticus 23:5-8**

Exodus 12:1-28	Leviticus 23:5-8
<p><b>Ex. 12:2</b> - This month shall mark for you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year for you</p> <p>הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רֵאשׁ חֳדָשִׁים רִאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה:</p>	<p><b>Lev. 23:5</b> - In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord</p> <p>בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.</p> <p>וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחַטְוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעַרְבִים:</p>	<p><b>Lev. 23:5</b> - In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord</p> <p>בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:11</b> - This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the Lord.</p> <p>וְכַכֵּהוּ תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִכֶם חֲגָרִים גְּעֵלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמַקְלֵיכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה:</p>	<p><b>Lev. 23:5</b> - In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord</p> <p>בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעַרְבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:14</b> - This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the Lord; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.</p> <p>וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לָכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן וְחַגְגְתֶּם אֹתוֹ חֹג לַיהוָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם תִּחְגַּגְהוּ:</p>	<p><b>Lev. 23:4</b> - These are the appointed festivals of the Lord, the holy convocations, which you shall celebrate at the time appointed for them.</p> <p>אֵלֶּה מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־תִּקְרְאוּ אֹתָם בְּמוֹעֲדָם:</p>

### 5.3.6 Summary and conclusion of section

In this section, we have tried to show that even though the pericope of Leviticus 23:5-8 is widely known as the Holiness Code due to its emphasis on holy living or laws, it is priestly in nature. Its

use of a numerical or ordinal order of months rather than the older system of naming indicates that it is a later text, probably of the priestly and exilic period (Milgrom 2004:278; Gorman 2008:648).

The different terminologies in the two parallel texts which emphasized “*the Passover offering to the Lord*” (Lev. 23:5-8) indicate that Passover was in honour of Yahweh who delivered his people from slavery in Egypt (Hyatt 1971:135; Osborn & Hatton 1999:280), and hint at its priestly origin.

Even though the actual place for the celebration of the Passover offering in Leviticus 23:5-8 is not mentioned, it is supposed here that holy sanctuary and temple was the designated place for the celebration (Levinson 2000:274; Dozeman 2009:6; Johnstone 2007:374). If that is the case, then the officiating ministers as prescribed by the priestly tradition were no other persons than priests, kings, and princes (Tigay 1996:155).

It has been noted also that since the sacrifice in Leviticus 23 took place in the priestly period, a bull, a goat, a sheep, and oil, etc. were probably used as prerequisites for the said sacrifice in honour of Yahweh and in fulfilment of the priestly requirements/tradition for sacrifices dedicated to Yahweh (Thompson 1994:382).

The above parallel texts indicate that the date set for the sacrifice of the Passover was the fourteenth day of the first month at twilight (Lev. 23:5) which is in line with the time and date for sacrifices in the priestly tradition. Subsequently, the study supports the view that Leviticus 23:5-8 and its offering belong to the priestly tradition (Osborn & Hatton 1999:270; Bruckner 2008:109). However, if Leviticus 23:5-8 falls under the priestly tradition, then its mode of preparation which was not specified in the text would follow that of boiling the Paschal animal in water and not roasting with fire which would presuppose a Deuteronomistic setting (McConville 2002:273; Jonker 2003:52).

The study also supports the view that the Passover offering of Leviticus 23:5-8 forms part of other sacrificial rites that were performed in the same year (Milgrom 2004:275). That being the

case, Leviticus 23:5-8 could be regarded as priestly and exilic in nature since it has established a link with the Exodus 12:1-28; 23:14-19; 34:16-25 and Numbers 28:14-25. Moreover, since Leviticus 23:5-8 seems to be later than the older texts and it has recited or contextualized other texts in the Pentateuch, orality must have played a role in its composition. The oral character of such re-contextualized texts is what scholars refer to as oral-scribal intertexture (Robbins 1996a:40; 1996b:97; Watson 2002:187), that is, the interaction of oral and written elements in a text to produce meaning to readers from various contexts.

#### **5.4 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Numbers 9:1-14**

As the heading implies, this section will focus on Numbers 9:1-14 but use Exodus 12:1-28 as a point of departure. However, a brief overview of scholarly interpretations of the book of Numbers will be carried out first, as part of the introduction covering Numbers 9 and 28. Thereafter, the individual pericopes of 9:1-14 and 28:16-25 will be examined separately.

There are different scholarly perspectives to the book of Numbers, which range from its structure, dating, theology/themes to its source tradition (Priestly or Deuteronomistic), and so forth (Olson 2003:611).<sup>107</sup> Many scholars, for instance, have agreed that Numbers 28 in particular is late priestly material based on its detailed description of the sacrifices of the Passover festival for Yahweh (Budd 1984:312).

There is yet another striking issue regarding Numbers, that is, the lack of a specific structure that could be widely accepted by scholars. Numbers has a complex and alternating structure which

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<sup>107</sup>Numbers is the fourth book of the Pentateuch following the canonical order of books in the Hebrew Bible. Based on the Hebrew tradition of naming canonical books using their first words or phrases, Numbers is titled *בְּמִדְבָּר* “*in the wilderness*,” a phrase that is mentioned 149 times in the Hebrew canon. (9 times out of 149, we have the expression: “*in the wilderness of Sinai*” - Lev. 7:38; Num. 1:1, 19; 3:4, 14; 9:1, 5; 26:64; 33:15, while 4 times, we have yet another expression that relates to festival, worship, sacrifice and offering of Yahweh such as Ex. 5:1 – festival; Ex. 7:16- worship; 8:28- sacrifice; Lev. 7:38 – offering to the Lord). The Hebrew title of Numbers in a sense re-echoes the 40 years of desert wandering by the community of Israel after their liberation from slavery in Egypt (see Olson 2003:611; Levine 2000:283). “Numbers” is just the English title and translation of the Latin *Numeri* and the earliest Greek Septuagint *ριθμός* “*Number, sum total*.” This title is probably based on the head count of the twelve tribes and/or community of Israel (Num. 1, 26) [see Wenham 1981:13; Milgrom 1992:1147; Olson 2003:611].

veers from law to narrative (Milgrom 1989: xv).<sup>108</sup> Based on the complex structure of Numbers, it is referred to as “the junk room of the Bible” (Olson 2003:612). ‘Junk’ in this context used in terms of the different traditions that are put together in Numbers without any meaningful flow (laws, narrative, lists, and so forth). The complex and alternating character of Numbers has formed part of the differing scholarly opinions of the book. Many of the scholars even doubt that Numbers has a structure, while others nickname the existing structure as “*a meaningless structure*” (Noth 1980:222; Ashley 1993:2; Olson 1996:3-4; 2003:6, 612).

The various views regarding the structure of Numbers are attributable to tradition history and its different stages of development over time, based on context, culture, needs, form and theological viewpoints (Tate 2006:375). Tradition history is a method of analysing biblical literature based on tradition and its growth. These traditions circulated in communities during the “*oral period*” as *sagas* (Noth 1981:44) before developing into traditions which were then passed on from generation to generation (Gnuse 1999:583; Tate 2006:375).

The book of Numbers including the Passover pericope (Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-25) is not exempted from the so-called “*saga*” tradition.<sup>109</sup> Noth considers all the books of the Pentateuch as saga traditions that emerged, and developed, and were transmitted through the mouths of narrators within the community as they gathered on cultic occasions (Noth 1981:44). Thus, it will be assumed here that the diverse structure of the book resulted from the diverse works of transmitters over time. Accordingly, the Passover texts of Numbers 9:1-14 and 28:16-25 belong to the saga tradition which first evolved through oral transmission before the literary documentation. Therefore, orality should be given attention in the interpretation of the Passover texts of Numbers 9:1-14 and 28:16-25 (Noth 1962:6-18; Weor 2006:15-18).

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<sup>108</sup> For example, Numbers:1-10:10 (Law); 10:11-14:45 (Narrative); 15 (Law); 16-17 (Narrative); 18-19 (Law); 20-25 (Narrative); 26-27:11 (Law); 27:12-23 (Narrative); 28-30 (Law); 31-33:49 (Narrative); 33:50-56 and 34-36 (Law) [Milgrom 1989: xv]. Milgrom’s (1989: xv) classification of Numbers into law and narrative is particularly instructive here as it has rightly placed Numbers 9:1-14 which is our focus under the category of law. This is not surprising since the text in question is replete with laws governing the second Passover festival.

<sup>109</sup> A saga tradition in the above sense refers to the emergence of a tradition without a particular author; rather the tradition emerged, developed and it was transmitted orally. In other words, the saga tradition is usually found in a situation where the history of a people is born by the community of its tribe (Noth 1981:44).

### 5.4.1 Research survey of Numbers 9

According to Leveen (2008:45),<sup>110</sup> Numbers 9 is a detailed description of the first Passover observance after the exit of the Israelites from Egypt. The chapter provides details of who should partake in the Passover observance, when to partake in the Passover observance, exceptions to the Passover observance and accommodation of late observance of the Passover. The detailed rules of the Passover observance in Numbers and the repeated mention of Egypt echo God's great care for the people of Israel which is the main purpose of the Passover in general (Leveen 2008:45).

Budd (1984: xviii) on the other hand considers Numbers 9 and 28 as part of the priestly revision (Num. 1-9; 15; 17-19; 26-31; 33-36) of the exilic and post-exilic period. Like Olson (1996:3), Budd has dated Numbers 9 and 28 to a period between the sixth and the fifth century BCE. He also compares the Passover narrative of Numbers 9:1-14 to that of Exodus 12:1-28. Further, Numbers 28:16-28 is seen as a recitation of Leviticus 23:5-8 and parallel of Exodus 12:1-28 (Budd 1984: xviii). Budd's observations support the argument that Numbers 9 and 28 are late priestly, exilic/post-exilic Passover texts.

In addition, the two Passover texts in question establish a link with Exodus, Deuteronomy and Joshua that seem to be more concerned with priestly issues in the exilic and post-exilic times. On that note, this study assumes that Numbers 9 and 28 are priestly texts that give an account of the young would-be nation of Israel's wanderings in the Wilderness after the magnificent event at Sinai, where Moses was said to have spoken with God face-to-face and received the Ten Commandments (Levine 1993:47-48).<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Andrian Leveen was a senior lecturer in Hebrew Bible at the Department of Religious Studies, Stanford University before she left to join the faculty of Hebrew Union College in 2007. She has contributed to the following publications: *Women Remaking American Judaism* (2007), *Healing in the Jewish Imagination* (2007), and *The Torah: Women's Commentary* (2007). The publications are found in the Journal for the Study of the Old Testament and Proof texts (Leveen 2008, cover note).

<sup>111</sup> Baruch A. Levine is the Professor of Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at New York University. Ordained early in his career, eventually he moved from the synagogue to the classroom, shaping a generation of future rabbis, clergy, and scholars. In his long and distinguished career, he has published widely on the books and themes of the Torah. He has written a masterful study of the first half of the book of Numbers for the Anchor Bible Commentaries.

Milgrom (1989: xi)<sup>112</sup> further demonstrates that there is a difference in the dating of the Passover texts by locating Numbers 9 within a period of nineteen days of the second month of the second year and Numbers 28 within five months of the fortieth year. That shows that the two Passover texts were not composed at the same time. Numbers 9 seem to be younger than Numbers 28 following the placement by Milgrom (1989: xi). The differences in the composition of the Passover texts in Numbers may therefore be an indication of their growth and development over time and in various contexts and circumstances.

According to Noth (1980:4), Numbers 9:1-14 forms part of the section that deals with laws (1-10) and belongs to the Sinai theophany already mentioned in Exodus 12:14-20. He claims that the pericope in question lacks unity but it is an unsystematic collection of innumerable pieces of traditions of varying content, ages and characters that originated probably from the older, original, and orally transmitted narrative source tradition of the entire book of Numbers. However, since tradition is a bit-by-bit collection over a long period of a community's oral data with the aid of collective memory rather than a single author, one should expect a non-unified pattern that veers from law to narrative and late to early traditions in Numbers as a book and in chapter 9, specifically (Tate 2006:375).

In the structure of Numbers outlined by Levine (2009:283-284), chapter 9:1-14 comes after the dedication of the Levites and the tabernacle<sup>113</sup> calls to mind priestly and sacred functions. The fact that a tabernacle rather than a temple is mentioned points to the unstable condition of the people of Israel who were without a temple at the time they received the laws of the Passover in

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<sup>112</sup> Jacob Milgrom was a conservative rabbi, a well-known biblical scholar and the professor emeritus of Near Eastern studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Milgrom's major contribution was to make us aware that the ancient sacrifices have contemporary significance to our understanding of the Bible and Judaism in general. He was widely recognized as the leading authority on Leviticus and especially for his understanding of the complicated laws of ritual purity. He was also known for his commentary on the book of Numbers and his work on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>113</sup> Levine (2009:283-284) outlines Numbers into three major sections. The first section, Establishing a Holy Community (Num.1:1-10:28), is subdivided into (a) 1:1-2:25 – Census and encampment; (b) 3:1-4:49 - Levite and Kohathite priesthood established; (c) 5:1-31- Purity laws; (d) 6:1-21- Nazirites; (e) 7:1-8:26 – Dedication of Levites and tabernacle; (f) **9:1-14 - Passover at Sinai**; and (g) 9:15-10:28 – Wilderness journey preparations. The second section, in the wilderness (Num.11:1-20:28), is also subdivided into parts, which are not mentioned here since they do not contain any of the Passover texts above. Levine (2009:283-284) and Olson (1996:5) both point out the laws of purity and the priestly functions in the Passover texts of Numbers 9 and 28 indicating that they are of priestly character or tradition.

Numbers 9:1-14. Here one can argue again that Numbers 9:1-14 is priestly and exilic text. The structure of Numbers outlined by Levine (2009:283, 284) supports the views of Milgrom (1989: xi) and Budd (1984: xviii) that Numbers 9 is priestly and exilic in nature.

#### **5.4.2 Scholarly views of Numbers 9:1-14**

Numbers 9:1-14 contains the laws of the Passover which in a sense form part of the additional references to the events of the first Passover in Egypt (Leveen 2008:42). The mention of the Passover in Numbers establishes its connection to the first Passover in Egypt.

According to Ashley (1993:177),<sup>114</sup> Numbers 9:1-14 is all about the celebration of the second Passover for those who could not partake in the first probably due to impurity or distance. The Passover text begins with regulations in (vv. 1-5) that seem to be a summary of the ordinances of the first Passover in Egypt (Ex. 12:2-11, 21-27, 43-49; Lev. 23:5-8), which are now reshaped and implemented in the second Passover at Sinai. Verses 6-14 on the other hand contain the new legislation that deal with exceptional cases which do not fit the context of the Sinai Passover. The legislations were implemented in the post-exilic period when there was a settled life and a standing Temple where the Passover tradition was centralized.

One may agree with Ashley (1993:177) on post-exilic dating of the Passover text in Numbers 9:1-14 for two reasons. One, the people on a long journey could not return early to partake in the first Passover; thus, had to partake in the second one. That meant a long pilgrimage to a centralized place was required (Levine 1993:293; Bokser 1992:758; Borowski 2006:523), which is a feature of the post-exilic period. Two, celebrants could have been prevented from participation in the first Passover due to impurities. This also presupposes the presence of a holy temple meant for worship of Yahweh through ritual performances. As a matter of fact, the elements of purity emphasized in Numbers 9:1-14 serve as a link between Exodus 12:1-18 and Leviticus 23:5-8 (Levine 1993:293). It is worth noting also that the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 was a second Passover celebrated in the second year after the first one of Numbers 28:16-25, which implies therefore that Numbers 9:1-14 is younger than Numbers 28:16-25.

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<sup>114</sup>Timothy Ashley is a professor of Biblical Studies and vice-chair of the Faculty of Theology at Acadia Divinity College, Acadia University.

Levine (1993:293), like Ashley (1993:177), also considers that Numbers 9:1-14 refers to the second Passover sacrifice that was conducted in the first month of the second year during the time of the Deuteronomic reforms even though it possible that elements of pre-Deuteronomic tradition were also involved (Otto 2003:19; Prosic 2004:46). Although Levine (1993:293) stresses that, the second Passover was observed during the period of the Deuteronomic reform, he also shares the view that Numbers 9:1-14 was a late composition (Ashley 1993:177). Since the Deuteronomic reform falls within the post-exilic period, one could argue that Numbers 9:1-14 is a priestly text of the post-exilic period when the Passover was no longer celebrated at the family level but in a centralized place (Chavel 2009:1, 3).

Thus, striking similarities between Numbers 9:1-14 and Exodus 12:1ff in terms of language and content (Noth 1980:70-71)<sup>115</sup> suggest a close affinity between the two although Numbers 9:1-14 contains some additions that are missing in Exodus 12 (Levine 1993:296; Chavel 2009:1). The additions in Numbers 9:1-14 may be explained in terms of textual development of the Passover over time. It is also a clue to a late composition and expansion of the text, which in turn explain the dynamic character of the Passover tradition.

Bailey (2005:437) on the other hand confirms that Numbers 9:1-14 reaffirms the celebration of the Passover as a memorial of the departure from Egypt with additional regulations governing its observance. The fact that the events of the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 took place in the first month of the second year shows that it was after the Exodus from Egypt (cf. Ex. 40:17). Thus, this text is younger and later the Exodus text (Budd 1984:96; Bailey 2005:438).

On the whole, scholars agree that Exodus 9:1-14 is a priestly, exilic and post-exilic text. For instance, the language used in the text depicts that of the priestly tradition, the specification of time and place for the Passover and the mention of the tabernacle that presupposed cult

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<sup>115</sup>Ritual cleanness was required in offering the Passover sacrifice in Numbers 9:6ff. Unclean people and those who were unavoidably absent from the first Passover had the opportunity to partake in the second Passover to avoid being cut off or excommunicated from the assembly of Israel (see Segal 1963:199).



centralization are all indications of a priestly and exilic/post-exilic tradition. The study therefore agrees with the argument of a late composition of Numbers 9:1-14.

Numbers 9:12 relates the divine character of the Passover animal that is evident in the prohibition against breaking any of its bones (Prosic 2004:124). The ban was a precautionary measure against inadequate rain in autumn and an attempt to ensure that the god dies well, so that he/she will not be hindered from coming back to the world of the living (Prosic 2004:125).

### 5.4.3 Text critical analysis of Numbers 9:1-14

Since this study is text based, then the text of Numbers 9:1-14 should be subjected to relevant text critical analysis.

In Numbers 9:2b, as well as in vv. 3, 7, 13, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads “*times*,” while the BHS reads מוֹעֵדוֹ “appointed time or place” which is in a singular construct form. Since there is no indication of the plural form of “time” in Hebrew, the Hebrew singular form which seems to be more specific about the time and place of the Passover celebration will be preferred here. It is good to note that the above text has received less attention from scholars in terms of text critical issues.

### 5.4.4 Translation of Numbers 9:1-14

<sup>1</sup>*The LORD spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the first month of the second year after they had come out of the land of Egypt saying:*

<sup>2</sup>*Let the Israelites keep the Passover at its appointed time.*

<sup>3</sup>*On the fourteenth day of this month, at twilight, you shall keep it at its appointed time; according to all its statutes and all its regulations you shall keep it.*

<sup>4</sup>*So Moses told the Israelites that they should keep the Passover.*

<sup>5</sup>*They kept the Passover in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, in the wilderness of Sinai. Just as the LORD had commanded Moses, so the Israelites did.*

<sup>6</sup>*Now there were certain people who were unclean through touching a corpse, so that they could not keep the Passover on that day. They came before Moses and Aaron on that day,*

<sup>7</sup> and said to him, “Although we are unclean through touching a corpse, why must we be kept from presenting the LORD’s offering at its appointed time among the Israelites?”

<sup>8</sup> Moses spoke to them “Wait, so that I may hear what the LORD will command concerning you.”

<sup>9</sup> The LORD spoke to Moses, saying:

<sup>10</sup> Speak to the Israelites, saying: Anyone of you or your descendants who is unclean through touching a corpse, or is away on a journey, shall still keep the Passover to the LORD.

<sup>11</sup> In the second month on the fourteenth day, at twilight, they shall keep it; they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.

<sup>12</sup> They shall leave none of it until morning, nor break a bone of it; according to all the statute for the Passover they shall keep it.

<sup>13</sup> But anyone who is clean and is not on a journey, and yet refrains from keeping the Passover, shall be cut off from the people for not presenting the LORD’s offering at its appointed time; such a one shall bear the consequences for the sin.

<sup>14</sup> Any alien residing among you who wishes to keep the Passover to the LORD shall do so according to the statute of the Passover and according to its regulation; you shall have one statute for both the resident alien and the native.

<sup>1</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה בְּמִדְבַר־סִינַי בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁנַיִת לְצֵאתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן לֵאמֹר:

<sup>2</sup> וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ:

<sup>3</sup> בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה בֵּין הָעֲרַבִּים תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ כְּכֹל־חֻקֹּתָיו וְכְכֹל־מִשְׁפָּטָיו תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ:

<sup>4</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הַפֶּסַח:

<sup>5</sup> וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֲרַבִּים בְּמִדְבַר סִינַי כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה כִּן עָשׂוּ בְנֵי

יִשְׂרָאֵל:

<sup>6</sup> וַיְהִי אֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ טְמֵאִים לְגִפְשׁ אָדָם וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת־הַפֶּסַח בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וַיִּקְרָבוּ לְפָנָי מֹשֶׁה וְלִפְנֵי אֶהֱרֹן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:

<sup>7</sup> וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים הַהֵלֵמָּה אֵלָיו אֲנַחְנוּ טְמֵאִים לְגִפְשׁ אָדָם לָמָּה נִגְרַע לְבַלְתִּי הַקָּרֹב אֶת־קִרְבְּנוּ יְהוָה בְּמַעַדוֹ בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי

יִשְׂרָאֵל:

<sup>8</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מֹשֶׁה עֲמְדוּ וְאַשְׁמְעֵה מֵהִי־צִוָּה יְהוָה לָכֶם: פ

<sup>9</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר:

<sup>10</sup> דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אִישׁ אִישׁ כִּי־יְהִי־טֵמֵא לְגִפְשׁ אוֹ בְּדַרְדַּר רַחֲקָה לָכֶם אוֹ לְדַרְתֵּיכֶם וַעֲשֵׂה פֶסַח לַיהוָה:

<sup>11</sup> בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנַיִ בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם בֵּין הָעֲרַבִּים יַעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ עַל־מִצּוֹת וּמִרְרִים יֹאכְלֵהוּ:

<sup>12</sup> לֹא־יִשְׁאֲרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר וְעַצְמָם לֹא יִשְׁבְּרוּ־בּוֹ כְּכֹל־חֻקֵּי הַפֶּסַח יַעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ:

<sup>13</sup>וְהָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־הוּא טָהוֹר וּבְדָרְדָר לֹא־הָיָה וְחָדְלָה לַעֲשׂוֹת הַפֶּסַח וּנְכַרְתָּהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מֵעַמּוּיָהּ כִּי־וּקְרָבָהּ יְהוָה לֹא הִקְרִיב בְּמַעֲדוֹ חֲטָאוֹ יִשָּׂא הָאִישׁ הַהוּא:  
<sup>14</sup>וְכִי־יִגְדֹר אֶתְכֶם גֹּר וְעָשָׂה פֶסַח לַיהוָה כְּחֻקֹּת הַפֶּסַח וּכְמִשְׁפָּטָיו כִּן יַעֲשֶׂה חֻקָּה אַחַת יִהְיֶה לָכֶם וְלֹגֵר וְלֹאֲזַרְחֵי הָאָרֶץ: פ

### 5.4.5 Intertexture of Numbers 9:1-14

This section compares the Passover text in Numbers 9:1-14 with Exodus 12:1-28, which is taken as a point of departure.

#### (a) Exodus 12:6 and Numbers 9:3

Exodus 12:6 –

וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל־קְהַל עֵדוּת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם

*“You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”*

Numbers 9:3 -

בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר־יּוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ כְּכָל־חֻקֹּתָיו וּכְכָל־מִשְׁפָּטָיו תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ:

*“On the fourteenth day of this month, at twilight, you shall keep it at its appointed time,<sup>116</sup> according to all its statutes and all its regulations you shall keep it.”<sup>117</sup>*

Exodus 12:6 opens with a perfect verb *היה* “*come to pass*,” followed by *לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת* “*requirement, responsibility, guard; post or keep*,” indicating that the Passover text of Exodus 12:6 is more interested in obligation that required obedience before it could be fulfilled than in time

<sup>116</sup> The first part of Numbers 9:3 contains stipulations regarding the time and place of the Passover. My argument is strengthened by the use of *בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ* from *מוֹעֵד* (noun, common, masculine, singular, construct, with third person, masculine, singular suffix), i.e. “*appointed time, designated time*”, i.e., a particular point of time related to other points of time, with the emphasis that that time has a purpose designated by an authority (Lev 23:4). It could also refer to seasons.

<sup>117</sup> The second part of the verse deals more or less with the regulations of the Passover sacrifice. The use of *תַּעֲשׂוּ* (verb, *qal*, imperfect, second person, masculine, plural) meaning, “*to do*” indicates a command, that is, what has been commanded must be done. Why is there such a reverse order in Numbers 9:3? Here the assumption is that Numbers 9, the text of the second Passover, is conscious of the rules of the first Passover in Exodus 12:1-28 and 34:18-26 which is presumably older. Since the text itself is of the post-exilic period, Numbers 9 also lays emphasis on the time and the place (presupposed to be the temple) as well as on the fact that celebrants must take serious and observe all the ordinances of that Passover, just as those of the first Passover in Exodus 12.

specification. Emphasis on obedience in the verse could be in terms of social code of the people of Israel which formed part and parcel of their older tradition to remain obedience to Yahweh their God (Robbins 1996:62). In the Exodus context, the command was given by God to the people of Israel who were required to carry it out in order to be saved from the angel of destruction.

Numbers 9:3 on the other hand opens with אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה “*the fourteenth day of this month*,”<sup>118</sup> followed by בֵּין הָעֶרְבַיִם “*at twilight*” (Ex. 12:6, 18; Num. 9:5, 11; Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:4, 8) and בְּמוֹעֵדוֹ “*appointed time*.” Why is there so much emphasis on time in Numbers 9? Numbers 9:3 is more detailed and is concerned with time specification and less urgency than its parallel text of Exodus 12:6. One can argue that Numbers 9:3 is a later text of the post-exilic period since it is in line with the post-exilic practice of observing the rules of the Passover tradition and of numbering specific date and time of the month and year (Noth 1980:71; Trent 1983:60).

Furthermore, a settled life might have been attained during the time of the second Passover celebration of Numbers 9:3. However, the specification of time is also a feature of the priestly tradition especially in the post-exilic period. Here it will be assumed that Numbers 9:3 is younger than Exodus 12:6 and it has reconfigured that older Passover text without showing any hint that its content is found elsewhere in the Bible (Robbins 1996b:50).<sup>119</sup> Although the Passover month is not mentioned categorically in the Numbers pericope, Numbers 9:1-14 is a post-exilic text and based on post-exilic terminologies, the Passover month was probably *Nisan*, a term associated with the post-exilic era and a spring month of the year (Budd 1984:98).

## (b) Exodus 12:8 and Numbers 9:11

### Exodus 12:8 -

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בְּלֵילָה הַזֶּה צְלִי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מַרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:

<sup>118</sup> אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה “*the fourteenth day of this month*” in Numbers 9:3 e forms a word string in other biblical texts (Ex. 12:6, 18; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:5, 11; 28:16; Josh. 5:10; 2 Chr. 35:1).

<sup>119</sup> Reconfiguration has to do with recounting a situation in a manner that makes the second event ‘new’ in relation to the previous event. However, since the new event is similar to the previous event, it then beats the previous event and makes it a pre-figure of the most recent one (Robbins 1996b:50).

*“They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.”*

#### Numbers 9:11a -

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים יַעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ עַל־מִצּוֹת וּמַרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:
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*“In the second Month on the fourteenth day, at twilight,<sup>120</sup> they shall keep it; they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.”*

The instruction: על־מִצּוֹת וּמַרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ: *“they shall keep it; they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs”* in Numbers 9:11 is similar to that of the Exodus Passover in Exodus 12:8 and Deuteronomy 16:3 (Levine 1993:297). The similarities again show how texts reappeared at different times and levels of biblical codes, with different audiences, needs, cultures and histories. The reoccurrence of the Passover in different texts of the Pentateuch and of the Old Testament is aided by tradition history which helps in the development of texts from their oral to the written form over time.

Although tradition history has the potential to reproduce and reshape texts to suit the audience at hand, it should also do justice to the different cultural, social and ideological contexts that surround the text and the reader. It is when readers find their socio-cultural and ideological parallels in a text that such a text becomes appropriate for them.<sup>121</sup>The type of intertexture used

<sup>120</sup>The phrase בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים *“at twilight”* in the text is rendered differently by scholars. Childs (1977:182), for example, prefers *“between the evenings,”* while Sarna (1991:55); Alter (2004) and Bruckner (2008:110) translate the phrase as *“at twilight,”* and *“in the evening”* is the preferred rendering by Hyatt (1971:132) and Osborn and Hatton (1999:273). The differences in the translation of בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים seem to be textual. When translated literally, the same phrase בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים could mean *“between the two settings,”* that is, between sunset and darkness or between the two suns, which is explained by the Talmud as the time between sunset and the time the stars become visible. The same is rendered as the cool evening when the sun is about to set and darkness is about to fall (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273).

<sup>121</sup>For example, שָׂאֵלָה *“roasted over fire”* is part of the basic instruction in the Exodus Passover (Ex.12:8) which is not mentioned in the second Passover instruction of Numbers 9:11. The absence of שָׂאֵלָה in Numbers is probably due to context. By context, here we mean the circumstances and needs that called for the roasting of the Passover lamb in Exodus 12:8 where celebrants were in a hasty mood and had no settled homes, time and probably cooking utensils at their disposal to boil the meat properly, which differs from the situation in Numbers 9:11. Numbers 9:11 on the other hand relates the celebration of the Passover after the return of the people from exile, which in a sense indicates a more settled and stable environment which called for cooking the Passover lamb rather than roasting it over fire as at the wandering stage in Exodus 12. Thus, the priestly character of the Passover tradition has been reshaped in Numbers 9:11, reversing the old formula of roasting the Passover lamb of the early nomadic time in

in the above parallel texts is reconfiguration, whereby the younger Passover text of Numbers 9:11 has reconfigured the older text of Exodus 12:8.

**(c) Exodus 12:19 and Numbers 9:13**

**Exodus 12:19 –**

שְׁבַעַת יָמִים שָׂאֵר לֹא יִמָּצֵא בְּבֵתֵיכֶם כִּי כָל־אֶכֶל מִחֻמְצָת וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִוא מֵעַדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּגֵּר וּבְאֶזְרַח הָאָרֶץ:

*“For seven days no yeast is to be found in your houses. And whoever eats anything with yeast in it must be cut off from the community of Israel, whether he is an alien or native-born.”*

**Numbers 9:13 -**

וְהָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־הוּא טָהוֹר וּבִדְרוֹד לֹא־הָיָה וְחָדַל לַעֲשׂוֹת הַפֶּסַח וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִוא מֵעַמּוּיָהּ כִּי־וְקָרְבָנוּ יִהְיֶה לֹא הִקְרִיב בְּמַעְדוֹ חֻטְאוֹ יִשָּׂא הָאִישׁ הַהוּא:

*“But anyone who is clean and is not on a journey, and yet refrains from keeping the Passover, shall be cut off from the people for not presenting the LORD’s offering at its appointed time; such a one shall bear the consequences for the sin.”*

The above parallel texts exhibit yet another form of re-contextualisation. In Numbers 9:13 the phrase *“shall be cut off from the people”*<sup>122</sup> is similar to that in Exodus 12:19. The difference is that the word *“people”* in Numbers 9:13 replaces *“community of Israel”* in Exodus 12:19. The two renderings however aim at emphasizing purity in the Passover celebrants (Durham 1987:159).

The question here is why does Numbers 9:13 use the term *“people”* and Exodus 12:19 the *“community of Israel”*? The answer could be that the Passover in Numbers 9:13 was already made public and centralized in a chosen place possibly the Second Temple; as such, a larger

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Exodus 12 that allowed a modern form of cooking in the post-exilic time. It is clear in this case that tradition history is reshapeable but the original source of information must be retained, even though in a new form as found in the above parallels in which the original instruction of not eating the Passover meat raw is maintained and a different mode of cooking the meat is adopted (Hyatt 1971:132-133; Durham 1987:154).

<sup>122</sup> The expression *“shall be cut off from the people”* in this text has different renderings such as excommunication, elimination by divine provision, death penalty, and so forth (Levine 1993:293). However, in this text and context, excommunication seems to be a more appropriate meaning. A more vivid discussion of the phrase has been given in chapter 4 under the discussion of the intertexture of Exodus 12.

crowd than a mere community of families was in attendance. That would also suggest that Numbers 9:13 is later than Exodus 12:19 and belonged to the post-exilic period in which the Second Temple was a central place of worship and observance of sacrificial rites including the Passover.

The use of דָּרָךְ “way, road, distance, journey, manner” in Numbers 9:13 could be a clue that travelling to a place for the Passover celebration was necessary, compared to the context of the Exodus Passover which was celebrated in homes, at the family level, as indicated by the word בַּיִת “house, temple, room, family, clan, tribe, lineage, possession and place” in Exodus 12:19.

**Table 9: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and Numbers 9:1-14**

<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - <i>You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month</i>; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it <i>at twilight</i>.</p> <p>וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה          וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֲרָבִים</p>	<p><b>Num. 9:3</b> - <i>On the fourteenth day of this month, at twilight, you shall keep it at its appointed time</i>; according to all its statutes and all its regulations you shall keep it.</p> <p>בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה בֵּין הָעֲרָבִים תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ          כְּכָל-חֻקֹּתָיו וְכְכָל-מִשְׁפָּטָיו תַּעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:8</b> - They shall eat the lamb that same night; <i>they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs</i>.</p> <p>וְאָכְלוּ אֹת-הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה צֹלִי-אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת-עֵלֶּי-מֵרָרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:</p>	<p><b>Num. 9:11a</b> - In the second Month on the fourteenth day, at twilight, they shall keep it; <i>they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs</i>.</p> <p>בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם בֵּין הָעֲרָבִים יַעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ          עַל-מִצּוֹת וּמֵרָרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:</p>

<p><b>Ex. 12:19</b> - For seven days no yeast is to be found in your <i>houses</i>. And whoever eats anything with yeast in it <i>must be cut off from the community of Israel</i>, whether he is an alien or native-born.</p> <p>שִׁבְעַת יָמִים שָׂאֵר לֹא יִמְצָא בְּבֵתְכֶם כִּי כָּל־אֶכֶל מִחֻמֶּצֶת          וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מֵעַדְת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגֵר וּבְאֶזְרַח הָאָרֶץ:</p>	<p><b>Num. 9:13</b> - But anyone who is clean and is not on a <i>journey</i>, and yet refrains from keeping the Passover, <i>shall be cut off from the people</i> for not presenting the LORD's offering at its appointed time; such a one shall bear the consequences for the sin.</p> <p>וְהָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־הוּא טָהוֹר וּבְגֵרָה לֹא־הָיָה וְחָדַל לַעֲשׂוֹת הַפֶּסַח          וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מֵעַמִּיהָ כִּי קָרְבָנוֹ יִהְיֶה לֹא הִקְרִיב          בְּמֻעְדוֹ חֻטְאוֹ יִשָּׂא הָאִישׁ הַהוּא:</p>
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The above table shows the parallel representation of the Passover text of Numbers 9:1-14 as a later priestly text with its narrated time as the post-exilic period with the older Passover text being Exodus 12:1-28. A broader table will be compiled at a later stage to see the frequency of repetition of parallels between Exodus 12 and Numbers 9. The present table shows that Numbers 9:1-14 has placed more emphasis on time specification than Exodus 12 indicating that Numbers 9:1-14 is younger than Exodus 12:1ff and probably borrowed from and modified it to suit its later context. The mode of preparation of the Passover in Exodus 12:8 where the Paschal lamb was roasted echoes the earliest form and pre-exilic stage of celebrating the Passover in homes. Numbers 9:1-14 on the other hand did not pay any serious attention to the specific mode of preparation of the Passover but on time specification and holiness which are elements of later celebrations in the temple.

#### 5.4.6 Summary and conclusion of section

In this section, we have shown that certain terminologies are used in the Passover text in Numbers 9:1-14 which differ from other parallel texts of the Passover in the Old Testament. For instance the command “*keep the Passover to the Lord at the place that Yahweh will choose*” in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 differs only slightly with the addition of the phrase “*at its appointed time*” in the Numbers text. Numbers 9:1-14 also differs from the parallel text of Exodus 12:1-28 where the Passover was “*observed*” (12:17) instead of being “*kept*” in Numbers. The difference in terminology is a clue to the growth and development of the Passover text as it moved from its original source and context in Egypt to outside of Egypt.



The place of the Passover celebration in the Numbers text was the wilderness of Sinai indicating that there are differences in the locations of the Passover in the Old Testament. Furthermore, the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 took place at two different dates – the fourteenth day of the first month at evening (similar to the twilight in Exodus 12) and the supplementary feast on the fourteenth day of the second month – which differ from the parallel accounts in other books of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament.

Furthermore, there is no specific mention of any sacrifice in Numbers 9:1-14. Numbers 9:1-14 does not also specify any mode of preparation of the Passover as in Exodus 12:1ff where the Paschal lamb was roasted and eaten with bitter herbs in a particular body posture. Again, this indicates a later celebration that had undergone some modifications and reshaping of the earliest and original form in Exodus 12:1-28.

While Moses, the elders of Israel and Aaron the priest were the officiating ministers in the Numbers text, the householders were the officials in Exodus 12:1-28, while kings, princes, priests and Levites ministered in other Passover texts of the Old Testament. Numbers 9:6a in particular uses the third person “*to him*” which introduces Aaron in addition to Moses in the context and shows that a priest was also involved in the Passover celebration of Numbers 9:1-14. In addition, the post-exilic term Nisan is used in Numbers 9:3. Based on these points, it is supposed here that Numbers 9:1-14 is a post-exilic, priestly and Second Temple text (Budd 1984:96-98).

There is no direct link between the Passover and the Festival of the Unleavened Bread in Numbers 9:1-14; nevertheless, the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 is related to other different aspects of the Exodus tradition including the prohibition against leaving the leftover meat till the following morning, among other laws. The similarities between Numbers 9:1-14 and Exodus 12:1-28 suggest that the laws in Numbers 9:1-14 are probably borrowings from or supplements of the regulations in the older Passover text of Exodus 12:1ff having been reshaped to suit the audience, circumstances and context of the time (Rendtorff 1985:147).

The emphasis on purity in Numbers 9:1-14 indicates that the Passover was centralized in the temple possibly in the Second Temple in Jerusalem (Levine 2009:284). The fact that aliens<sup>123</sup> were also allowed to partake in this second Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 indicates that it was an embrative festival pointing backward to the salvific act of God that includes all. It also pointed forward to the union of Jews and gentiles in God's salvation plan (Bailey 2005:438). Thus, Numbers 9:1-14 is shown here as a Passover text that functioned within the Passover tradition and celebration at a different level with a different audience of varying needs, culture, context and ideology from other Passover texts.

### **5.5 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Numbers 28:16-28**

The same methodology used in Numbers 9:1-14 will be applied in this section to probe the intertextual connection between Exodus 12:1-28 and Numbers 28:16-28.

#### **5.5.1 Research survey of Numbers 28**

According to Bailey (2005:561), Numbers 28 deals with a formal calendar for public worship that follows the determination and allocation of land (chs. 26-27). The fact that the calendar in chapter 28 follows the sequence of events that have previously taken place suggests that its date is later than Leviticus 23:5-8 (Armerding 2003:306). The issue of the placement of Numbers 28, that is, whether it is a priestly, pre-exilic, or Deuteronomic text, will become clearer as this study progresses.

Armerding (2003:306) on the one hand considers Numbers 28 as a supplement to Leviticus 23 since both texts share a similar calendar but differ only in the area of the specific sacrifice for each feast and the manner in which it is prepared and delivered. However, Numbers 28 particularly vv. 16-28 may not be seen only as a mere supplement to Leviticus but it has certainly copied from and modified Leviticus 23 that seems to be the older document to suit its late priestly and pre-exilic period context (Noth 1980:222; Budd 1984). The additions in Numbers 28 are due to the growth and expansion of the Passover text and tradition over time.

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<sup>123</sup> In v.14, "*alien*" probably refers to a non-Israelite by birth but one who has resided for a long time in Israel and who was possibly circumcised and eligible to partake in the Passover (Ex.12:46) [Levine 1993:297].

Levine (2000:4) on the other hand considers Numbers 28 as a Deuteronomistic tradition evident in its emphasis on the centralization of cult and the restriction of all sacrificial activities to one central altar (Noth 1980:222). However, there is no detailed description of the Passover in Numbers 28; therefore, Levine (2000:4) categorizes it under the Deuteronomistic tradition, which is later. The absence of a detailed description of the Passover and its celebration in Numbers 28, like in Leviticus 23:5, 8, may indicate an established link between the two texts. The link is centred on the emphasis on burnt offerings, holiness, and sacrificial rites as stipulations for the Passover celebration in the two parallel texts (Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:44).

Again, Numbers 28:16, 18 seems to present the Passover celebration in the post-exilic period as a form of burnt offering to the Lord, probably to appeasing God for forgiveness of sins, to seek his peace, or render unto him thanksgiving. However, the burnt offering was possibly made in the Second Temple by a holy minister. Thus, the central theme and purpose of Leviticus 23 is linked to Numbers 28.

For Budd (1984: xxii), Numbers 28 is a non-priestly material that forms part of a wider complex of narratives and legal traditions that is best traceable in its entire essence to the pre-exilic period. Additionally, Numbers 28 is seen as a late priestly text based on the detailed description of the Passover festival especially in vv. 16-28 as well as the inclusion of other priestly materials that were omitted in Leviticus 23<sup>124</sup> (Budd 1984:312).

### 5.5.2 Scholarly views of Numbers 28:16-28

Prosic (2004:45) regards Numbers 28:16-28 as a text that gives details of the burnt offerings that were made during the Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals. It is more or less an additional

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<sup>124</sup>For example, in Numbers 28, phrases such as *food for my fire offering* (Num. 28:2); *ordained at Mount Sinai* (Num. 28:6); *in the holy place* (Num. 28:7) and *strong drink to Yahweh* (Num. 28:8) were omitted voluntarily the people in Leviticus 23 (Budd 1984:312). Numbers 28:16-28 in particular mentions the “*eight Day of Assembly*,” referring to a specific date that is allocated to such a gathering (Rofé 1999:24, 30, 80). Emphasis on a specific date in this case is more of ideological tradition. Other priestly roles in the text of Numbers 28:16-28 include emphasis on sacrifices, temple, and purity, which gives a clue that the text was composed in the post-exilic and Second Temple period (Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:45; De Vaux 1961:473). However, since the Second Temple appeared in the postexilic period, the Passover sacrifice in Numbers 28 must have been celebrated to mark a new beginning for a people that were returning from exile which was similar to Exodus 28:1-28 which commemorated the return of a people from slavery in Egypt.

material that does not belong to either priestly, Yahwistic, and Elohist traditions (Noth 1972:275). It is not surprising then that Armerding (2003:306) refers to Numbers 28:16-28 as a liturgical commentary that added daily and monthly offerings to the liturgical directions of Leviticus 23 and not a calendar.<sup>125</sup> In other words, Numbers 28:16-28 is a commentary on the liturgical cycle of Leviticus 23.

Numbers 28:16-28 also stipulates a systematized program of sacrifices that Israel ought to offer on daily basis or annually and under given circumstances once in the land of Canaan. The sacrifices included the Passover and Unleavened Bread which were offered to Yahweh (Olson 2003:616). The so-called liturgical text (Numbers 28:16-28) seems to belong to the postexilic and Second Temple period judging by the emphasis on sacrifices, temple, and purity of the participants in Numbers 28:16-28 in particular (Armerding 2003:306).<sup>126</sup>

Moreover, Numbers 28:16-28 deals with annual occasions found in other legislations of the Torah such as Exodus 23, 34 and Leviticus 23 in which work was prohibited to the sacred assembly (Levine 2000:367). On this issue, Bellinger (2001:173) adds that Numbers 28:16-28 emphasizes holiness, which was marked by atoning sacrifices and considered to be part and parcel of the worship of Yahweh. The fact that sacrificial offerings and holiness seem to be the prime concern of the Numbers pericope as in the Passover text of Leviticus 23:5-8 permits one to argue that Numbers 28:16-28 is a priestly text and the position of Aaron in the text is that of a model priest (Bellinger 2001:173).

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<sup>125</sup> Considering the character of Numbers 28 as a full text one, Rendtorff's (1983:96) view of it as a sacrificial calendar that comprised of daily, annual, and situational sacrifices that the Israelites had to offer while in the promise land, rings true. In any case, the term "liturgical directions" given to Numbers 28 by Armerding seems to be more embracing than the attempt to narrow it down to a sacrificial calendar.

<sup>126</sup> Queen-Sutherland (1983:85) on the other hand also argues that Numbers 28:16-28 is part of the priestly tradition that witnessed a great growth in the ritual presentation of the cultic calendar regulation. It emphasizes the sacrificial ordinances that are required for the various special days of the year including the pilgrimage festival of Passover and of the Unleavened Bread (Num. 28:16-28). Numbers 28:16-28 seems to share similar features with Leviticus 23 (the Holiness Code) particularly in respect of the stipulation of the precise calendar dates for the celebration of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread (Queen-Sutherland 1983:85).

### 5.5.3 Text critical analysis of Numbers 28:16-28

The pericope of Numbers 28:16-28 seems to have received little attention from scholars; as such, there are no serious text critical issues to consider under it. Therefore, all translations in this section will be based on the BHS and NRSV translations in their original form as in the rest of this study.

### 5.5.4 Translation of Numbers 28:16-28

<sup>16</sup> *On the fourteenth day of the first month there shall be a Passover offering to the LORD.*

<sup>17</sup> *And on the fifteenth day of this month is a festival; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.*

<sup>18</sup> *On the first day there shall be a holy convocation. You shall not work at your occupations.* <sup>19</sup>

*You shall offer an offering by fire, a burnt offering to the LORD: two young bulls, one ram, and seven male lambs a year old; see that they are without blemish.*

<sup>20</sup> *Their grain offering shall be of choice flour mixed with oil: three-tenths of an ephah shall you offer for a bull, and two-tenths for a ram;*

<sup>21</sup> *one-tenth shall you offer for each of the seven lambs;*

<sup>22</sup> *also one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you.*

<sup>23</sup> *You shall offer these in addition to the burnt offering of the morning, which belongs to the regular burnt offering.*

<sup>24</sup> *In the same way you shall offer daily, for seven days, the food of an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the LORD; it shall be offered in addition to the regular burnt offering and its drink offering.*

<sup>25</sup> *And on the seventh day you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations.*

<sup>26</sup> *On the day of the firstfruits, when you offer a grain offering of new grain to the LORD at your festival of weeks, you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations.*

<sup>27</sup> *You shall offer a burnt offering, a pleasing odor to the LORD: two young bulls, one ram, seven male lambs a year old.*

<sup>28</sup> *Their grain offering shall be of choice flour mixed with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for each bull, two-tenths for one ram.*

16 וּבַהֲדִישׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:

17 וּבַחֲמִישֵׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה חֹג שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצֹּת יֶאֱכַל:

18 בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:

19 והקרבנותם אשה עלה ליהוה פרים בני־בקר שנים ואיל אחד ושבעה כבשים בגי שנה תמימם יהיו לכם:  
 20 ומנחתם סלת בלולה בשמן שלשה עשרנים לפר ושני עשרנים לאיל תעשו:  
 21 עשרון עשרון תעשה לכבש האחד לשבעת הכבשים:  
 22 ושעיר חטאת אחד לכפר עליכם:  
 23 מלבד עלת הבקר אשר לעלת התמיד תעשו את־אלה:  
 24 כאלה תעשו ליום שבעת ימים להם אשה ריח־ניחח ליהוה על־עולת התמיד יעשה ונספו:  
 25 וביום השביעי מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו: ס  
 26 וביום הבכורים בהקריבכם מנחה חדשה ליהוה בשבעת ימים מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו:  
 27 והקרבנותם עולה לריח ניחח ליהוה פרים בני־בקר שנים איל אחד שבעה כבשים בגי שנה:  
 28 ומנחתם סלת בלולה בשמן שלשה עשרנים לפר האחד שני עשרנים לאיל האחד:

### 5.5.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:6 and Numbers 28:16-28

#### (a) Exodus 12:6 and Numbers 28:16, 18

##### Exodus 12:6 -

והיה לכם למשמרת עד	ארבעה עשר יום לתחדש הזה	ושחטו אתו	כל קהל עדת־ישראל	בין הערבים:
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“You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”

##### Num. 28:16, 18 -

ובתחדש הראשון	בארבעה עשר יום לתחדש	פסח ליהוה:
ביום הראשון	מקרא־קדש	כל־מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו:

“And in the first month,<sup>127</sup> on the fourteenth day of the first Month there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord. On the first day there shall be<sup>128</sup> a holy convocation. You shall not work at your occupations.”

<sup>127</sup> Although the phrase *ובתחדש הראשון* “and in the first day” is found in the BHS, it is omitted in most English translations including the NRSV that is used mainly in this study. The inclusion of the English translation of *ובתחדש הראשון* in verse 16 of Numbers 28 is our amendment, following the translation of the JPS Tanakh and the Young’s Literal Translation (YLT).

<sup>128</sup> The Greek rendering of the above phrase is “you shall have,” as in verse 25 of the same text.

The phrase אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה “*on the fourteenth day of this Month*” in Exodus 12:6 and the similar phrase בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ “*on the fourteenth day of the first Month*” in Numbers 28:16 illustrate the use of replication, a type of recitation in which similar words (with possibly a one-word difference) are recited in another text (Robbins 1996b:7). The phrase לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה “*this month*” in Exodus 12:6 is also found in vv. 2 and 3 as well as in Numbers 9:3; 28:17. Similarly, the phrase בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן “*the head*” or “*the first month*” in Numbers 28:16 also appears in Exodus 12:2, 18; Leviticus 23:5; Numbers 9:1, 5; 2 Chronicles 35:1; Ezra 6:19 and Ezekiel 45:21. The above expressions though slightly different following its recitation or word order may be understood as referring to the specific month of the year in which future celebrations of the Passover would be carried out (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273).

How do we reconcile the different renderings in the parallel verses above? As noted earlier, the two phrases “*this month*” and “*the first month*” jointly form part of the replication as a type of recitation. The recitation of the two different but related phrases above is to emphasize the month of the Passover sacrifice (Balentine 2002:176). The phrase “*this month*” in Exodus 12:6 is an indication that Exodus 12:6 is more interested in obligation than in detailed time specification whereas Numbers 28:16 with a similar expression, “*the first month*,” seems to be more interested in detailed time specification of sacrificial offerings including the Passover.

The phrase פָּסַח לַיהוָה “*the Passover to the Lord*” in Numbers 28:16 is also an expression that is commonly found in priestly texts of the post-exilic time. The Passover during this time was no longer celebrated at the family level but in a group in a place chosen by Yahweh, which was the temple. Furthermore, Numbers 28:16 uses the rendering מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ “*holy assembly*”<sup>129</sup> as opposed to קָהָל עֵדוּת “*assembled congregation*” used in Exodus 12:6. That implies that at that time, Israel had been elevated from the social status of a mere family to a holy gathering which worshipped Yahweh through the sacrificial offering of the Passover (Janzen 1997:82).<sup>130</sup>

<sup>129</sup> The expression מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ “*holy assembly*” in Numbers has parallels in Leviticus 23:3, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 35, and 36. It falls under the Holiness Code in Numbers 28:18, 25-26; 29:1, 7, 12, which is a priestly material (Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:44).

<sup>130</sup> Israelites are now addressed as מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ “*holy assembly*” rather than a family or clan (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) after the Exodus. In a sense, the Exodus from Egypt became a new beginning in the life of the Israelites. Their understanding of God was no longer based on individual family’s religious background but they had become a united people of God. Although they used to celebrate the Passover first at a family level, in Numbers 28 they

The fact that there is no detailed description of the Passover and its celebration in Numbers 28:16 as in Leviticus 23:5, 8 suggests a link between the two texts through themes such as burnt offerings, holiness, and sacrificial rites as stipulations for the Passover celebration (Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:44). The Numbers 28:16, 18 text shows that the Passover was celebrated in form of burnt offerings to the Lord possibly in the Second Temple during the post-exilic period and it was probably conducted by a priest and attended by a holy assembly in honour of the holy God.

### (b) Exodus 12:11 and Numbers 28:16

#### Exodus 12:11-

וְכַכֵּה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִיכֶם חֲגָרִים גַּעְלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמַקְלֵכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן פָּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה:

“*This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the LORD.*”

#### Numbers 28:16-

וּבַחֲדָשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ פָּסַח לַיהוָה:

“*On the fourteenth day of the first Month there shall be a Passover offering to the LORD.*”

The above parallel texts are examples of recitation, which occurs when similar words are found in two separate verses but with a slight difference in the addition of one or more words to one of the verses. For instance, the text of Exodus 12:11 contains the phrase פָּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה “*it is the Passover of the Lord,*” with the preposition לְ translated as “*of*” (NRSV) instead of its original Hebrew rendering “*for*”, “*to*”, “*in regard to*” in Numbers 28:16 and its parallel, Leviticus 23:5 (the Holiness Code).

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celebrated as a community in the Second Temple. It gave them a sense of newness as a people from different social structures or families who had become united by the Passover which was celebrated in form of burnt offerings at the same altar (Janzen 1997:82).



The use of יהוה (a personal pronoun, 3<sup>rd</sup> person, masculine singular) in conjunction with לְ “of” in Exodus 12:11 could be seen in terms of the recollection of or echo of the earliest celebration of the Passover probably in the first temple. The statement פֶּסַח יהוה לַיהוה “it is the Passover of the Lord” occurs only in Exodus 12:11 indicating also that it is in its earliest form and that the Passover is dedicated to Yahweh who passed over the houses of Israel and granted them safety from the hand of the Angel of destruction.

The phrase פֶּסַח לַיהוה “a Passover offering to the LORD” in Numbers 28:16 however, finds its allusion or string in Leviticus 23:5 (the Holiness Code). The expression in Numbers 28:16 serves as a clue that the text is a priestly text celebrating the Passover – this time in the Second Temple probably with a gathering of holy people and not just a family, clan or tribe in Israel (Janzen 1997:82; Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:44). Holiness was therefore emphasized as the order of the day during the Second Temple and post-exilic period. It is not surprising therefore, that Numbers 28:16-28 as a whole recites almost verbatim the Holiness Code of Leviticus 23:5-8.

The preposition לְ “to” in Numbers 28:16 also seems to reflect the character of the post-exilic and Second Temple period when the Passover was celebrated mostly in form of burnt offerings and sacrifices to honour Yahweh who saved his people from Egyptian bondage (Osborn & Hatton 1999:277; Bruckner 2008:111), and not any other god like the moon god (Milgrom 1990:242).<sup>131</sup>

### (c) Exodus 12:15 and Numbers 28:17

#### Exodus 12:15 -

<p>שְׁבַע יָמִים מִצֹּת תֹאכְלוּ אֶדְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבְּתוּ שְׁאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי לֹא יֵאָכֵל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרַתָּה הַגֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד-יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי:</p>
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<sup>131</sup>In that sense, the he-goat that was often offered on the New moon and for the moon was now consecrated to God and no longer to the moon. It appears that tradition has been reshaped here. Tradition had moved from offering a he-goat for purification to the moon to offering the same he-goat to God for purification of the heart and forgiveness of sin. The he-goat in this case symbolizes the Passover lamb that was slaughtered in honour of Yahweh. The Passover sacrifice for and to the Lord in the parallel texts above then point back historically to the first Exodus in Egypt (Hyatt 1971:132).

“*Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread*; on the first day<sup>132</sup> you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day *shall be cut off from Israel.*”

**Numbers 28:17 -**

וּבַחֲמִישֵׁהוּ עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם לַתְּדִשׁ הַזֶּה חַג שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת יֵאָכְלוּ:

“*And on the fifteenth day of this Month is a festival;*<sup>133</sup> *seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.*”

Numbers 28:17 contains the phrase *שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ* “*seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten*” which is a recitation from the older Exodus 12:15 text. The phrase is also found in other biblical texts or legal codes such as Exodus 23: 5 (Covenant Code), 34:18 (Covenant Renewal), Leviticus 23:6 (Holiness Code), and Deuteronomy 16:3 (Deuteronomic Code). The avoidance of leaven had to do with the purity of the new grain in terms of the agricultural usage and with Yahweh who was to be honoured in the festival celebration (Durham 1987:158). The specification of time in Numbers 28:17 and the instruction to eat unleavened bread and to remove leaven out of celebrants’ homes also indicated the time and context that the Passover sacrifice was celebrated (Durham 1987:158; Bruckner 2008:112).

Again, the point will be maintained here as in earlier verses that Numbers 28:17 is a priestly text that belongs to the post-exilic period and is therefore younger than Exodus 12:15. Additionally, time specification and emphasis on holiness in Numbers 28:17 confirm its post-exilic and Second Temple characterization. The fact that the word *חַג* “*festival*” is mentioned in Numbers 28:17 but not in Exodus 12:15<sup>134</sup> also prove that Numbers 28:17 is a later text that emerged

<sup>132</sup> The phrase “*on the first day*” in Exodus 12:15 refers to the first day of the seven days set aside for the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the month of *Abib* (Osborn & Hatton 1999:281). That day the celebrants were instructed to remove all yeasts from of their houses.

<sup>133</sup> The word *חַג* “*a festival*” in Numbers probably refers to the Unleavened Bread festival specifically from the earlier source in Exodus 23:15, 9 (the Covenant Code) [Milgrom 1990:243]. According to Milgrom (1990:243), the absence of the use of *Abib* in Numbers is an indication that the text refers to both the Unleavened Bread and Passover festivals. This looks plausible because in other biblical legal codes outside the Covenant Code, it is the Passover that is referred to as *חַג*.

<sup>134</sup> The word *חַג* is mentioned in Exodus 12:14; 13:6; 32:5; 34:18, 28 in relation to the festival to the Lord. While in Leviticus 23:15; 2 Chronicles 30:13, 21; 35:17; and Ezra 6:22, it is mentioned in connection with the Festival of

probably after the merging of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts as one festival celebrated at the central sanctuary possibly in the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

**(d) Exodus 12:16 and Numbers 28:18, 25**

**Exodus 12:16 -**

<p>וּבַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶה לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה בָהֶם אֶדְ אֲשֶׁר יֹאכַל לְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ הוּא לְבַדּוֹ יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם:</p>
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*“On the first day you shall hold a solemn assembly, and on the seventh day a solemn assembly; no work shall be done on those days; only what everyone must eat, that alone may be prepared by you.”*

**Numbers 28:18, 25 -**

<p>בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:</p>
<p>וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:</p>

*“On the first day there shall be a holy convocation. You shall not work at your occupations. And on the seventh day you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations.”*

The parallel texts of Exodus 12:16 and Numbers 28:18, 25 also show features of replication as similar phrases are recited with slight changes in words and word order but with the central theme the same. This replication is a common feature of recitation which shows some alterations or modifications because the texts are products of oral transmission in most cases. The changes may either be in the form of additions or subtractions depending on the context, audience, time, and needs. In these parallel texts one could presuppose without prejudice that the original source is Exodus 12:16, which is regarded here as an older priestly text than Numbers 28:18, 25.

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Unleavened Bread. From the parallel references, one may infer that they are mostly of Deuteronomistic History origin while few belong to the Holiness Code, which are all later texts of the post-exilic and Second Temple period. The Unleavened Bread feast at this time was celebrated not as a mere agricultural feast but as a pilgrimage festival in the central temple in Jerusalem. However, that is not all since we have other references to  $\text{אָזֶּיךָ}$  in Numbers 29:12; Judges 21:19; and Hosea 9:5 as the “*the festival of the Passover.*” The many differences seem to explain the development of the Passover/unleavened bread texts over time and among different audiences.

Once again, we are faced with a translation problem in the above parallels. The English translation renders the phrase מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ as “*a solemn assembly*” in Exodus 12:16, while in Numbers 28:18, 25 the same phrase מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ is rendered as “*a holy convocation*”<sup>135</sup> but as “*a solemn assembly*” in Exodus 12:16a and “*a holy convocation*” in Numbers 28:18, 25. Both expressions refer to a gathering of people at the sanctuary for a religious function (Janzen 1997:81). However, the word “*convocation*” in this context could also refer to calling people together by blowing the trumpet to alert them of danger in accordance with ancient Israelite custom.

The phrase “*a holy convocation*” in Numbers 28:18, 25 shows that the people of Israel had now become עֵדָה “*a congregation*” sanctified by God through the Exodus episode. They are called together to celebrate their liberation as a holy family in God’s holy temple and not to eat alone at individual homes as they did during the first celebration of the Passover in Egypt and its earliest celebrations outside Egypt. The Festival of Unleavened Bread in this context signified new birth and served as a mark of identity for subsequent Israelite generations (Janzen 1997:81).

Again, since מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ “*holy convocation*” finds a parallel in Leviticus 23 (Holiness Code) and no parallel in Exodus 23 (Covenant Code) and Exodus 34 (Priestly/Covenant Renewal) which are older biblical legal codes as well as Passover texts, it will be assumed here that Numbers 28:18, 25 is later than Exodus 23 and 34. Furthermore, the context of Numbers 28:18,25 emphasizes holiness among the celebrants of the Passover who were returning exiles and who had to honour Yahweh in the new and Second Temple through the Passover offerings. The temple in this context was a symbol of God’s presence among his people.

Work was also prohibited during the period of the Passover celebration in Numbers 28:18, 25 because it was a sacred day set aside for Yahweh the holy God of Israel (Armerding 2003:302). It is interesting to note also that the prohibition of work is rendered in stronger terms in Numbers

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<sup>135</sup>The expression “*holy convocation*” is found 8 times in Leviticus 23:3, 7-8, 21, 24, 27, 35, 36, (Holiness Code); Exodus 12:16 (Priestly Code) and other parallels of it are found in Numbers 28:18, 25-26; 29:3, 7, 12. All refer to religious gatherings such as Sabbaths and other sacred gatherings (Janzen 1997:81).

28:18, 25 than in Exodus 12:15.<sup>136</sup> On this issue, it is possible that the prohibition of work in Exodus 12:16 is from a different context where the people were in a nomadic or wandering stage and they had no serious occupation to engage in yet. Thus, provision was made for them to work for something to eat. This is different from the context in Numbers 28:18, 25 where the people had returned from exile and settled down to farm work on a daily basis as part of their occupation (Bruckner 2008:113). This explains how the Passover tradition is received, understood and interpreted in different contexts by different audiences with different needs. The festival of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Numbers 28:18, 25 was celebrated not to commemorate the Exodus from Egypt nor to eat and make merry only but to rest and keep the day holy to honour Yahweh the Holy God (Houtman 1999:187).

**Table 10: Intertexture between Exodus 2 12:1-28 and Numbers 28:16-28**

<p><b>Ex. 12:6-</b> You shall keep it until <i>the fourteenth day of this Month</i>; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.</p> <p>וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עֵד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיַד הָעֲרֵבָיִם:</p>	<p><b>Num. 28:16, 18- On the fourteenth day of the first Month</b> there shall be a Passover offering to the LORD<sup>18</sup> On the first day there shall be <i>a holy convocation</i>. You shall not work at your occupations</p> <p>וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה: בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֳדָשׁ כָּל־מְלָאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:11-</b>This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. <i>It is the Passover of the LORD.</i></p> <p>וְכָכָה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מְתַנִּינִים חֲגָרִים גְּעֵלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמִקְלֵיכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בַּחֲפָזוֹן פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה:</p>	<p><b>Num. 28:16-</b> On the fourteenth day of the first Month there shall be <i>a Passover offering to the LORD</i></p> <p>וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה:</p>

<sup>136</sup> The command לא תעשו עבודה לא תעשו “you shall not work at your occupations” in Numbers 28:18, 25 is also found six times in Leviticus 23:7-8, 25, 35-36 and six times in Numbers 28:18, 25-26; 29:1, 12, 35. Surprisingly, its similar rendering in Exodus 12:16 has no parallel in the Old Testament. It appears then that Numbers 28:18, 25 has borrowed the instruction from Leviticus 23 an older document, strengthened and expanded it to suit its post-exilic and Second Temple context where sacred living and purity were much emphasized as a guide against ungodly living. Thus, there was no room left for any work on sacred days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. However, because Exodus 12:16 is an earlier document that describes the celebration of the Passover in its earliest period in local shrines and family settings rather than at a centralized temple, has softened the rule to allow celebrants to work at least for what to eat ( Bruckner 2008:113; Osborn & Hatton 1999:282; Houtman 1999:187).

<p><b>Ex. 12:15</b> - <i>Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread</i>; on the first day you shall remove leaven from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day shall be cut off from Israel.</p> <p>וּבַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבֹּתוּ שֶׂאֵר  מִבְּחֵיבֵיכֶם כִּי כָל־אִכְלָה חֲמֵץ וְנִכְרַתְהָ הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל  מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי:</p>	<p><b>Num. 28:17</b> - And on the fifteenth day of this Month is a festival; <i>seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten</i>.</p> <p>וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה תִּגַּג שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מַצּוֹת יֵאָכְלוּ:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:16</b> - <i>On the first day you shall hold a solemn assembly</i>, and on the seventh day a solemn assembly; <i>no work shall be done on those days</i>; only what everyone must eat, that alone may be prepared by you.</p> <p>וּבַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ  וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ  יְהִי לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶה לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה כָּהֵם אֵךְ אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכְל  לְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ הוּא לְבַדּוֹ יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם:</p>	<p><b>Num. 28:18, 25</b>- <i>On the first day there shall be a holy convocation. You shall not work at your occupations.</i><sup>25</sup> <i>And on the seventh day you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations.</i></p> <p>וּבַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:  וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יְהִי לָכֶם כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא  תַעֲשׂוּ:</p>

From the above table, one would notice that the specification of time occurs more frequently in Numbers 28 than in Exodus 12. The reason is that Numbers 28:16-28 is presumed here to be a later priestly text of the post-exilic and Second Temple period when time specification was respected more than mere obligations as in the case of Exodus 12.

### 5.5.6 Summary and conclusion of section

In this section, a research survey of Numbers 28 has been conducted with particular attention to vv. 16-28. It is argued that Numbers 28 stands as a unit of its own. In it, the Passover is celebrated as a burnt offering for Yahweh possibly in the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

Conclusions are then drawn based on the variables in the Exodus tradition of the Passover that are found in Numbers 28.

First, it has been noted that different terminologies are associated with the Passover text in Numbers 28:16-28. For example, the expressions “*holy convocation*” and “the Passover offering to the Lord” are used in Numbers 28:16-28, while Exodus 12:1-28 renders these as “*holy assembly*” and “*the Passover for the Lord,*” respectively. There is no specific mention of the place where the Passover in Numbers 28:16-25 took place. Rather, much emphasis placed on purity, sacrifice and offering, which suggests that the feast took place in a central place, possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

Further, Numbers 28:16-28 records that the Passover offering to the Lord took place on the fourteenth day of the first Month, and on the fifteenth day, unleavened bread was eaten for seven days. The date is similar to what we have in Exodus 12:1-28 and suggests a link between the two texts.

We have noted also that different sacrifices were performed during the Passover offering in Numbers 28:16-28. For example, the food of an offering by fire, a pleasing scent to the Lord was offered for seven days in addition to the regular burnt offering, drink offering, grain offering of new grains and offering by fire were made during the Passover celebration in Numbers 28:16-28. The selection of animals for sacrifice also differs in the Passover account in Numbers 28:16-28 and includes unblemished young bulls, one ram, and seven male lambs a year old. One male goat for a sin offering to make atonement for the people was offered in addition to the burnt offering of the morning which was part of the regular burnt offering. These offerings differ from those in the Passover account in Exodus 12:1ff and in most of the parallels in the rest of the Old Testament. Based on the emphasis placed on offerings and sacrifices in Numbers 28:16-28, we have argued here that the text is possibly post-exilic that showing the offerings in the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

The mode of preparation of the Passover in Numbers has also shifted from the mode in Exodus 12:1-28. The offering requirements which included choice flour mixed with oil, three-tenths of

an ephah offered for a bull, and two-tenths for a ram were different from those in previous accounts of similar feasts in the Old Testament. This also indicates that Numbers 28:16-28 belonged to the settled life of the post-exilic that was marked by the new temple for the worship of Yahweh.

The fact that the Passover sacrifice and the unleavened bread were eaten during the Passover celebration in Numbers 28:16-28 indicates that the two different Passover traditions have established a common link despite the differences in the mode of celebration. Moreover, Numbers 28:16-28 has established a link with Leviticus 23:5-8 evident from the emphasis on holiness or holy living in the presence of Yahweh in both texts. Holiness was emphasized in Numbers 28:16-28 in the sense that celebrants were expected to consecrate themselves and abstain from leaven and work before approaching the Holy God with their Passover offerings. The place of sacrifice must have been the Second Temple in Jerusalem which was a symbol of God's presence and purity. The element of purity in Numbers 28:16-28 is related to Exodus 12:1-28 in which lambs for the Passover were unblemished and the leftover from the Paschal meat was to be burnt to avoid defilement.

On the differences between the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Numbers 28:16-28 and in other biblical legal codes, we have noted that they point to different periods in the development and reception of the Passover over time. In other words, the Passover celebration outside Egypt began to develop to suit the socio-cultural, ideological, theological contexts and cultures as well as the needs of various audiences over time. Although it underwent several changes, the feast maintained its core motif of purity among celebrants in honour of Yahweh the initiator of the Passover and the deliverer of Israelites from Egypt. The mode of celebration in Numbers 28:16-28 had been reshaped from the celebration mode of the earlier times.

## ***5.6 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Deuteronomy 16:1-8***

In this section, the intertextual relationship between Exodus 12:1-28 and Deuteronomy 16:1-8 will be considered.



### 5.6.1 Research survey of the book of Deuteronomy

This section deals with the scholarly views on the book of Deuteronomy which occupies a focal position in the history of the Passover celebration in the Old Testament world.

According to McKenzie and Kaltner (2007:139-140), the setting of the book of Deuteronomy is centred on Moses who rehearsed the law given at Mount Sinai (also called Horeb in Deuteronomy). The book is believed to share more commonality with the proceeding books of the Old Testament than the preceding ones; as such, scholars prefer to treat it with the Deuteronomistic books, i.e. Joshua-2 Kings) rather than as Deuteronomic.<sup>137</sup> However, it seems Deuteronomy drew from the old priestly traditions of Genesis-Numbers and utilized it in its present context of the centralization of cults at a place chosen by Yahweh. Here we shall support the view that Deuteronomy is a Deuteronomic code rather than a mere Deuteronomistic text which would limit it to a narrow area of the biblical literature. As regards the structure of the book, the outline provided by McKenzie and Kaltner (2007:140) is short, clear and easy to memorize.<sup>138</sup> In that outline, the Passover pericope of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 falls under the second section which deals with the laws that Moses set before the Israelites (Deut. 4:44-5-28).

The book of Deuteronomy presents the full definition of maturity of the covenanted people of God who were unified by their commitment to live in accordance with a unique legacy of the Mosaic Law (McBride 2007:108). Deuteronomy 12-26 in particular seems to present an extensive code that serves as a form of covenant renewal to subsequent generations following the wandering episode of the covenantal people of God (McKenzie & Kaltner 2007:139-145). The various descriptions of the book suggest that Deuteronomy serves as a tool of identity formation

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<sup>137</sup> Deuteronomic source is a designation by scholars used to identify the core of the book of Deuteronomy also referred to as the “the book of law” that was found in the in 621 BCE during the reign of Josiah (McKenzie 1992:160). Deuteronomistic History on the other hand is the name commonly used to designate the book of Deuteronomy as well as the section of the Hebrew Bible known as the Former Prophets (i.e. Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings).

<sup>138</sup> The structure of the book according to McKenzie and Kaltner (2007:139-140) is as follows:

Section one: - The address of Moses to Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness (1:1-4:43)

Section two - The laws that Moses set before the Israelites (4:44-5-28)

Section three - The second speech/address by Moses to Israel encouraging obedience to the law and warning about the consequences of disobedience (29-30)

Section four - Moses’ farewell address and death (31-34).

that provides an ethical norm through which the chosen people of God live a worthy life to honour Yahweh.

According to Brueggemann (2003:87), Deuteronomy is the voice of the Deuteronomic tradition that is placed back-to-back with the priestly tradition of Genesis-Numbers. Deuteronomy 12-25 in particular constitutes the legal corpus of the book. Although Deuteronomy seems to share certain parallels with the priestly tradition especially on issues pertaining to cultic holiness, the two traditions are still not the same. Deuteronomy is concerned with the enactment of Torah commandments and the practice of covenant regarding the daily life of the community and socio-political and economic issues (Deut. 15:1-18; 16:18-18:22; 24:17-21).

The Deuteronomic tradition however is not confined to the book of Deuteronomy; rather, it is a larger and expansive interpretive tradition. For instance, in the seventh century, Deuteronomy was interpreted in terms of covenantal obedience or disobedience while in the sixth century following the deportation of Judah in 587, the message of Deuteronomy was passed on to a displaced people (Brueggemann 2003:91). This shows that Deuteronomy as a tradition has an open-ended character of interpretation and that it does not exist in isolation of other tradition of the Old Testament.

Merrill (1994:38) describes the addresses of Moses in the book of Deuteronomy as a declaration that Yahweh the creator is also the incomparable God and King of Israel. This is evident in the fact that Moses had successfully led the people of Israel through several victories and had prepared the new nation to inherit the Promised Land. The book emphasizes the grace and faithfulness of the great God who embraced Israel by covenant and required his people to model their lives after and devote their hearts to him (Merrill 1994:38). In other words, the entire Deuteronomy is seen as a covenant model book in which Yahweh the great King and initiator of the covenant and Israel the recipient of the covenant occupied their space. This then forms part of the theology of Deuteronomy (Merrill 1994:48).

Weinfeld (1991:13-14), like some other scholars, considers Deuteronomy as part of the Deuteronomic historiography stretching from Deuteronomy 1:1-2 Kings 25. It depended on older

traditions of the Pentateuch but it was revised according to the religious reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. In particular, chapters 15:1-11 (laws of tithe/year of release of debts); 15:12-19 (release of slaves); 15:19-23 (laws of firstborn animals); 16:1-17 (laws of the three festivals) all of which are ancient regulations have reappeared in fresh forms in Deuteronomy because of the social and human tendency of the book as a secondary text. Although Josiah's religious reforms was politically oriented, it was geared towards the centralization of Yahweh's sanctuary, it seems that Deuteronomy was the first legislative literature in Israel that demanded the centralization of the cult. Therefore, one would agree that Deuteronomy was a model for the religious reforms of Josiah (Weinfeld 1991:16).

According to Rendtorff (1985:150), Deuteronomy is an independent book that was formed from the speech of Moses to the people of Israel. The book however is linked to the previous books of the Pentateuch such as Numbers 22:1, which already registered the scene of Moses' speech in Moab (Deut. 1:1, 5) and the announcement of Joshua as Moses' successor which was already announced in Numbers 27:12ff. That implies that the book of Deuteronomy is later than Numbers and has copied from its source as well Rendtorff (1985:150).

However, Deuteronomy is not only connected to other books of the Pentateuch but also to other Old Testament books outside the Pentateuch (Tigay 1996:1). If Deuteronomy has a link with both Pentateuch and non-Pentateuch books in the Hebrew canon, then it could fit into the category of a Deuteronomistic code, which embraced the old priestly traditions of Genesis-Numbers. It is not just a Deuteronomistic text since it uses the old priestly traditions in a new context (Rendtorff 1985:150; Weinfeld 1991:13-14). The Passover law and celebration in Deuteronomy in this sense would be regarded as a mark of identity on the side of celebrants who were unified as a community based on the saving acts of Yahweh their God.

### **5.6.2 Scholarly views of Deuteronomy 16:1-8**

From the above discussion, particular attention will now be given to the scholarly views of Deuteronomy 16:1-8a which deals specifically with the feasts of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread.

According to McKenzie and Kaltner (2007:139-145), Deuteronomy 16:1-8 is an account of the Passover which was one of the major festivals commemorating the exit from Egypt. The pericope emphasizes the unleavened bread as a means to provide a concrete representation of the original event. This bread was eaten “in great haste” (v. 3), since the Hebrews could not wait for the yeast to rise before making their escape from Egypt (Ex. 12-13). In other words, Deuteronomy 16:1-8 serves as a bridge to link the past event of Exodus with its fresh understanding at present (McKenzie & Kaltner 2007:139-145). The re-enactment of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 made the Exodus fresh in the hearts of celebrants of that time and context.

Biddle (2003:261) on the other hand views the pericope of Deuteronomy 16:1-17 in its ancient form of the Israelite annual calendar for the festivals of the Passover/Unleavened bread, Harvest/Pentecost and Booths/Ingathering. In Deuteronomy, the festivals share common motifs such as rest, celebration and commemoration of blessing with the Sabbath. These are evident from certain verbal allusions to Sabbath commandments such as “*to observe*” (Deut. 16:1), frequent references to periods of seven days or weeks (Deut. 16:3, 4, 8, 9, 13) and the command to avoid work during the festivals (Deut. 16:8) [Olson 2008:6-7, 19]. The shared similarities between Deuteronomy and the Sabbath could be viewed in terms of Deuteronomy’s link to other traditions in the Old Testament and could be a feature of the development of the Passover tradition over time.

Deuteronomy 16:1-17 contains laws governing Israel’s three main pilgrimage feasts namely the feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread (spring’s grain harvest), the Feast of Weeks (early harvest or Pentecost) and the Feast of Booths (fall, late harvest or ingathering) [Tigay 1996:152; Christensen 2001:329; McConville 2002:269]. The primary themes of the festivals were the commemoration of the Exodus and the expression of gratitude to Yahweh for the harvest. Since these themes echo the salvation history of Israel that was ushered in during the Exodus Passover in Egypt, Deuteronomy 16:1-17 could be seen as a text that ritualized the collective memories of God’s salvific act on behalf of his people Israel.

According to (McConville 2000:49), Deuteronomy 16:1-8 in particular presents the unification of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread as one feast that was celebrated in a centralized place – the holy sanctuary chosen by Yahweh, probably the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Deuteronomy 16:1-8 did not only unify and centralize the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feasts, but it has modified the ancient mode of its celebration to suit the new context. For instance, the mode of celebrating at the family level at the local sanctuary changed; the choice of animals for the Passover sacrifice was generalized; the sprinkling of blood on doorposts ceased, and the holy assembly was called on the last day of the week. Thus, Deuteronomy has transformed the old rite into a normal sacrifice (McConville 2000:50). The Passover tradition has been reshaped to suit the Deuteronomic era. The main aim of celebrating the Passover was in commemoration of the salvific acts of God on behalf of Israel; the motive of the first celebration in Egypt however remained fresh in the people's memory being re-echoed and reshaped in a new manner.

For Weinfeld (1991:23), the festival laws of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 are connected to the older laws in Exodus 23:15 (Covenant Code) and Exodus 34:18, 25 but reformulated according to Deuteronomy's approach to suit its context and time. It is possible therefore, that past Passover tradition was reshaped to suit its present day context and time, that is, in accordance with the views of Weinfeld (1991:23) and McConville (2000:50). The reshaped character of the Passover tradition in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 could be a demonstration of the flexible character of traditions in general, and the Passover tradition in particular to suit a new audience, time, need and context (Von Rad 1966:110).

It seems Deuteronomy 16:1-17 served as one of the tools used in the biblical world particularly in the Pentateuch for re-enacting the Exodus event through rituals, celebrations and festivals which sought to sustain the vitality of the Exodus and keep the memories from fading. Sustaining the Exodus memory seems to embrace on the one hand the pattern of life that continued to embody the basic elements of Exodus faith such as caring for vulnerable people, the sick, the homeless, and refugees, practicing liberation, cultivating healthy communal life, etc. On the other hand, the elements of ritual practice present in the celebration of the Unleavened Bread and the Passover were to commemorate the original Exodus event and to teach it to subsequent

generations. However one chooses to commemorate the salvific Exodus tradition in one's context, in our view, it is important to do justice to the original aim of the Exodus which is the deliverance of the oppressed from slavery.

Since the salvific act of God in history is more or less a tradition, it undergoes different interpretations over centuries and generations depending on the context and circumstance of the celebrants at the time of celebration. For example, Exodus 12 celebrated the salvific work in form of a Passover celebration to Yahweh. Exodus 23:15 and 34:18, 25 celebrated it as a covenant bond/renewal but Leviticus 23:5-8 celebrated it as holiness to Yahweh. In Numbers 9: 1-14 and 28:16-28, the feast was a sacrificial offering to Yahweh and in Deuteronomy a renewal of the covenant law (McKenzie & Kaltner 2007:139-145). This shows that the salvific act of God in history has an open-ended character that can be celebrated in renewed form but its central theme of salvation remains from generation to generation.

### 5.6.3 Text critical analysis of Deuteronomy 16:1-8

**V. 1** - The LXX omits the phrase יהוה אלהינו *“the Lord your God”* which is found in the MT and only reads ξλαθες (ξερχομαι) *“you came out”* (Christensen 2001:328). The MT rendering which is supported by a prosodic analysis and reflected in the NRSV is preferred here. The addition of יהוה אלהינו *“the Lord your God”* strengthens the existing relationship between the saving God and his chosen ones.

**V. 2b** - The MSS, SP, LXX, Syria and Vg. contain the expression אלהינו *“your God”* which is not found in the MT (Christensen 2001:329). Here the MT rendering, יהוה אלהינו *“the Lord your God”* which draws celebrants of the Passover more closely to God is preferred.

**V. 6** - The MT uses the phrase אל-הַמָּקוֹם *“to a place”* while the LXX prefers הַמָּקוֹם *“in the place”*. Again, the MT, which employs the preposition *“to”* to bring to the surface the force of motion or command more clearly is preferred (Christensen 2001:329).

**V. 7**- the LXX adds *“and roast”* which is not found in the MT rendering; the MT only reads וּבִשְׁלָתָהּ *“you shall cook it,”* which indicates a later prescriptive mode of preparation of the

Passover animal in the Deuteronomic period than the LXX rendering that reflects the earliest preparation mode of Exodus 12. The MT rendering is also preferred in this case.

### 5.6.4 Translation of Deuteronomy 16:1-8

<sup>1</sup> *Observe the month of Abib by keeping the Passover to the Lord your God, for in the month of Abib the Lord your God brought you out of Egypt by night.*

<sup>2</sup> *You shall offer the Passover sacrifice to the Lord your God, from the flock and the herd, at the place that the Lord will choose as a dwelling for his name.*

<sup>3</sup> *You must not eat with it anything leavened. For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread with it—the bread of affliction—because you came out of the land of Egypt in great haste, so that all the days of your life you may remember the day of your departure from the land of Egypt.*

<sup>4</sup> *No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory for seven days; and none of the meat of what you slaughter on the evening of the first day shall remain until morning.*

<sup>5</sup> *You are not permitted to offer the Passover sacrifice within any of your towns that the Lord your God is giving you.*

<sup>6</sup> *But at the place that the Lord your God will choose as a dwelling for his name, only there shall you offer the Passover sacrifice, in the evening at sunset, the time of day when you departed from Egypt.*

<sup>7</sup> *You shall cook it and eat it at the place that the Lord your God will choose; the next morning you may go back to your tents.*

<sup>8</sup> *For six days you shall continue to eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day there shall be a solemn assembly for the Lord your God, when you shall do no work.*

16 <sup>1</sup> שְׁמוֹר אֶת־חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב וְעִשִׂיתָ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּי בְחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב הוֹצִיאָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם לַיְלָה:  
<sup>2</sup> וְזָבַחְתָּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ צֹאן וּבָקָר בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה לְשִׁבְנוֹ שְׁמוֹ שֵׁם:  
<sup>3</sup> לֹא־תֹאכַל עִלְיוֹ חֶמֶץ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל־עִלְיוֹ מִצּוֹת לֶחֶם עֲנִי כִּי בְחַפְזוֹן יֵצְאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת־יוֹם צֵאתְךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם כָּל יְמֵי תְּיִיךָ:  
<sup>4</sup> וְלֹא־יִרְאֶה לְךָ שְׂאֵר בְּכָל־גִּבְלוֹתָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְלֹא־יִלְוֶינָ מוֹ־הַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בְּעֶרֶב בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן לַבֹּקֶר:  
<sup>5</sup> לֹא תוֹכַל לְזַבַּח אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּאַחַד שְׁעָרֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לְךָ:  
<sup>6</sup> כִּי אִם־אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשִׁבְנוֹ שְׁמוֹ שֵׁם תִּזְבַּח אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּעֶרֶב כִּבּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ מוֹעֵד צֵאתְךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:  
<sup>7</sup> וּבִשְׁלֹתָ וְאָכַלְתָּ בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בּוֹ וּפְגִיטָה בְּבָקָר וְהִלַּכְתָּ לֵאחֲרָיִךְ:  
<sup>8</sup> וְשֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצּוֹת וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי עֲצַרְתָּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה מְלָאכָה: ס

The above Passover text seems to have little or no major textual problems; as such, this study will maintain the original translation (i.e. the BHS and its parallel NRSV English translation) throughout this section without any alteration.

### 5.6.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and Deuteronomy 16:1-8

The section deals with the exegetical analysis of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 using Exodus 12:1-28 as a point of departure.

#### (a) Exodus 12:6 and Deuteronomy 16:4, 6

##### Exodus 12:6 -

וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עֵד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם:

*“You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”*

##### Deuteronomy 16:4, 6 -

<sup>4</sup> וְלֹא־יֵרָאֶה לָּךְ שְׂאֵר בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְלֹא־יָלִין מִן־הַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בָּעֶרֶב בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן לַבֹּקֶר:  
<sup>6</sup> כִּי אִם־אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשִׁכְנוֹ שָׁמוֹ שָׁם תִּזְבַּח אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בָּעֶרֶב כְּבֹאֵ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ מוֹעֵד צֵאתְךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:

*“No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory for seven days; and none of the meat of what you slaughter on the evening of the first day shall remain until morning. 6 But at the place that the Lord your God will choose as a dwelling for his name, only there shall you offer the Passover sacrifice, in the evening at sunset, the time of day when you departed from Egypt.”*

Verse 4 of Deuteronomy 16 opens with the instruction וְלֹא־יֵרָאֶה לָּךְ שְׂאֵר בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְךָ *“No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory.”* The phrase בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְךָ *“in all your territory”* indicates the process of total removal of leaven from the dwellings of celebrants of the pilgrimage festival of Unleavened Bread (Tigay 1996:334). The absence of leaven during the Feast of Unleavened Bread might have been drawn from the context of the tribal celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and Passover at Gilgal, a place which was declared sacred (Tigay 1996:334).



Therefore, Deuteronomy could be seen as a later celebration of the Passover probably in the post-exilic period when purity was stressed as a pre-requisite for worship and sacrificial offerings in the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

Merrill (1994:252) considers the removal of leaven from the homes of the celebrants of the Unleavened Bread and Passover feasts as a symbol of urgency and of immediate departure from bondage that was required of the people of God from Egypt. Yeast takes such a long time to rise and the oppressed had no time to waste when the time of their liberation came. If leaven was considered a waste of time, then it could be presupposed that the same instruction to avoid keeping the Passover meat until the following morning (Deut. 16:4b) was because there was no time to waste on breakfast. The people had to leave the scene of bondage in haste.

Archer (1985:248) on the other hand considers the removal of leaven from the homes of the celebrants as a commemoration of the hardship and hurried flight of the people of Israel from Egypt. In this sense, the absence of leaven symbolized sincere consecration to God. This view corresponds with the observation of Merrill (1994:252) on the issue of time factor and with Tigay's (1996:334) on the issue of purity. In a sense, it also shows the dynamic character of the interpretation of Deuteronomy by different scholars, based on time and context (Levinson 2000:274).

The law in Deuteronomy 16:6 restricting the Passover to a place chosen by Yahweh and the slaughter of the Passover sacrificial animal to a specified time in the evening (בֵּי־עֶרְבָּי) hints at the centralization of the Passover to a central sanctuary. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, one would presuppose that it was in the Promised Land and probably in Jerusalem (Levinson 1997:83; Merrill 1994:253). Levinson (2000:274) claims that the verse stresses the commemoration of the departure from Egypt among celebrants of the Passover and Unleavened Bread. The covenant laws that are re-enacted in Deuteronomy in this case represent a voice calling Israel of its time to respond to God's gracious acts with all sincerity, obedience and love (Block 2005:165). This is one of the theological themes of Deuteronomy.

#### **(b) Exodus 12:8 and Deuteronomy 16:3**

**Exodus 12:8 -**

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַהֵוא צְלִי־אֵשׁ וּמִצֹּת עַל־מַרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:

*“They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.”*

**Deuteronomy 16:3 -**

לֹא־תֹאכַל עִלְיֹה חֲמֵץ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל־עִלְיֹה מִצֹּת לֶחֶם עָנִי כִי בָחַצְוֹן יֵצְאֶה מִמִּצְרַיִם לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת־יוֹם צֵאתְךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ:

*“You must not eat with it anything leavened.<sup>139</sup> For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread with it—the bread of affliction—because you came out of the land of Egypt in great haste, so that all the days of your life you may remember the day of your departure from the land of Egypt.”*

Deuteronomy 16:3 opens with the phrase לֹא־תֹאכַל עִלְיֹה *“do not eat with it anything leavened.”* Although used in a pronominal form, the expression עִלְיֹה with it” in this verse refers to the Passover that is mentioned in Deuteronomy 16:2. As Levinson (1997:83) has rightly pointed out, the law is a Passover law and even though a pronoun is used rather than a noun, one may not hesitate to see the Passover as the noun behind that pronoun. The pronominal suffix refers to the noun, Passover, in v. 2 (Christensen 2001:334).

Equally worth noting in v.3 is the fact that the Deuteronomic law seems to be strict in its prohibition of eating the Passover compared to its parallel in Exodus 12:8 which permits the addition of *“bitter herbs”* to the unleavened bread. Although the two parallels belong to different traditions, they share a common preposition עַל *“with”* and the verbal root מִצֹּת *“unleavened.”* The reason why Deuteronomy is so much stricter than the priestly tradition is the difficult question that one is faced with (see Levinson 1997:83). The law in Deuteronomy is strong probably due to the centralization of the Passover at a sanctuary that requires close monitoring of

<sup>139</sup> The above statement *“You shall not eat anything leaven with it”* refers to the Passover sacrifice. Its artificial appearance in Deuteronomy explains how the text has combined the Passover and the Unleavened Bread as one feast (Weinfeld 1991:23).

the purity laws to honour Yahweh and his presence in the temple in Jerusalem as opposed to the earlier priestly tradition of celebrating the Passover in local sanctuaries and at the family, clan and tribal levels.

**(c) Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7**

**Exodus 12:9 -**

אַל-תֹּאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ גָּאָר וּבִשְׁלַל מִבְּשֵׁל בַּמַּיִם כִּי אִם-צֹלֵי-אֵשׁ רֹאשׁוֹ עַל-כַּרְעֵיו וְעַל-קַרְבּוֹ:

*“Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.”*

**Deuteronomy 16:7 -**

וּבִשְׁלַתְּ וְאָכַלְתָּ בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בּוֹ וּפְגִימָתְּ בַּבֶּקֶר וְהִלַּכְתָּ לְאֹהֲלֶיךָ:

*“You shall cook it and eat it at the place that the Lord your God will choose; the next morning you may go back to your tents.”*<sup>140</sup>

The above parallels are examples of reconfiguration – the text of Deuteronomy reconfigures the older Passover text of Exodus 12:8. It is interesting to note that the instructions regarding the celebration of the Passover in the priestly tradition in the preceding Passover texts of the Pentateuch are reverted in the Deuteronomic code; thus, superimposing it over the original text of Exodus 12:9. The parallels pose yet another literary problem with the use of בִּשְׁלַ “boil” as the prescribed way of preparing the Passover meat, which differs from צֹלֵי-אֵשׁ “roast over fire” in the priestly text of Exodus 12:9. The different modes of preparation show that the Passover in Deuteronomy had undergone some sort of development from its earliest form in Exodus 12 where it was celebrated with a lamb at the family level instead of a large flock as in Deuteronomy.

Another explanation for the differences in the celebration of the Passover in the Deuteronomy and the Exodus 12:9 is the variation in context and audience. In Deuteronomy 16:1-8, the

Passover was probably attended by many people with large herds due to its centrality. Thus, boiling could have been the quickest form of cooking the large quantity of meat as opposed to roasting which would take more time to accomplish considering the great quantity of meat that was involved (Biddle 2003:263). Moreover, the context of the Passover in Deuteronomy was a settled one with all the necessary cooking utensils in place, compared to the Exodus setting that was characterized by haste and an unsettled lifestyle. The contextual interpretation of בִּשְׁלָהּ by Chianeque and Ngewa (2006:232) is more helpful here than the generalised views of Tigay (1996:155); Christensen (2001:335); McConville (2002:273) that בִּשְׁלָהּ applies to both roasting and boiling or to all forms of cooking.<sup>141</sup>

#### (d) Exodus 12:10 and Deuteronomy 16:4

##### Exodus 12:10 -

וְלֹא־תִירֶוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר וְהַנֶּתֶר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר בְּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרְפוּ:

*“You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.”*

##### Deuteronomy 16:4 -

וְלֹא־יִרְאֶה לְךָ שְׂעִיר בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְלֹא־יִלִּין מִזֶּה־הַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בָּעֶרֶב בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן לַבֹּקֶר:

*“No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory for seven days; and none of the meat of what you slaughter on the evening of the first day shall remain until morning.”*

The above parallels present yet another reconfiguration of the older priestly text of Exodus 12:10 in Deuteronomy 16:4. The combined Passover and Unleavened Bread feast was celebrated in the evening at sunset following the original law of Exodus 12:8. It was meant to be eaten a whole night but not in the morning of the following day (Tigay 1996:153). In the priestly text of

<sup>141</sup> In places where בִּשְׁלָהּ is used, it points specifically to cooking in liquid (Ex. 12:9; 23:19; 34: 26; Deut. 14:21). It is used also in Exodus 16:23 and 2 Chronicles 35:13 as a general method of cooking but in a sense that denotes baking. Tamar also cooked/baked for Amnon her brother (2 Sam. 13:8). In Numbers 11:8, the people in the wilderness boiled manna in pots (Biddle 2003:263). In 2 Chronicles 35:13 during King Josiah’s Passover celebration, the sacrifice was boiled or cooked in fire which in a sense indicates that בִּשְׁלָהּ could mean any form of cooking.

Exodus 12:10, the instruction was more vivid and required that remains of the Passover be burnt before the following morning probably to prevent dishonouring the meal that was considered sacred (Bruckner 2008:110). Why then is the instruction to burn the leftovers omitted in Deuteronomy in which it is presupposed that the celebration of the Passover took place in the temple?

Deuteronomy is silent over the aspect of burning possibly because a large number of people participated in the Deuteronomic Passover at a central place and they were able to finish the meat before morning. Another reason could be that since the Passover took place in the central sanctuary and not in homes as in Exodus 12, temple workers such as priests took care of the remains; thus, there was no need to exalt the aspect of burning in Deuteronomy 16. This also shows how changes had crept into the Passover celebration as it developed from one stage and context to another.

**(e) Exodus 12:11 and Deuteronomy 16:2**

**Exodus 12:11 –**

וְכָכָה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִכֶם חֲגָרִים וְעַלֵּיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמִשְׁקַלְכֶם וּמִשְׁקַלְכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה

*“This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the Lord.”*

**Deuteronomy 16:2 –**

וּבַחֵת פֶּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ צֹאן וּבָקָר בְּמִקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה לְשֵׁכֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם:

*“You shall offer the Passover sacrifice to the Lord your God, from the flock and the herd, at the place that the Lord will choose as a dwelling for his name.”*

The above parallel texts are examples of re-contextualization in which the text of Deuteronomy, presupposed to be the later text, has re-contextualized that of Exodus 12:11 without any indication that what we have in Deuteronomy is found elsewhere in the Bible. In Exodus 12:3-5, 21, the Passover offering was restricted to the flock and as shown in Exodus 12:24-25, the act was to continue in the future. In Deuteronomy however, the selection was enlarged to include

flocks and herds, that is, a large number of flocks and herds in this context (Tigay 1996:151). The question is why was this so? The reason could be that the Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 was more of a public pilgrimage feast that was celebrated with any type of animal since it involved many people than its context in Exodus 12 where it was limited to family members (Thompson 1994:193; Biddle 2003:262).

This means that as the Passover moved from the non-priestly stage to the Deuteronomic era where it was centralized, the old tradition was modified to suit the present context. Deuteronomy is said to use less prescriptive terms to allow flocks and herds or all kinds of animals in the celebration of the Passover than its parallel in Exodus 12 (McConville 2002:272). This is in line with the regular paring in Deuteronomy of flocks and herds as symbols of Yahweh's blessing in the context of sacrificial worship (Deut. 17:13; 12:17, 21; 14:23). Since the celebration of the Passover in Deuteronomy implied a context where celebrants were already in the Promised Land, one may assume also that the expansion of the range of Passover animals was done because of the Deuteronomic interest in herds and animals as blessings of the land (Levinson 2000:277).

**Table 11: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and Deuteronomy 16:1-18**

<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.</p> <p>וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשַׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיַם הַיַּבֵּיטִים:</p>	<p><b>Deut. 16:4, 6</b> - No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory for seven days; and none of the meat of what you slaughter on the evening of the first day shall remain until morning. 6 But at the place that the Lord your God will choose as a dwelling for his name, only there shall you offer the Passover sacrifice, in the evening at sunset, the time of day when you departed from Egypt.</p> <p>4 וְלֹא-יֵרָאֶה לְךָ שְׂאֵר בְּכָל-גְּבוּלְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְלֹא-יִלְוֶי מִן-הַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בַּעֲרֵב בַּיּוֹם הַרְאִשׁוֹן לַבֹּקֶר:</p> <p>6 כִּי אִם-אֵל-הַמִּקְוֹם אֲשֶׁר-יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשַׁכֵּן שָׁמָּוָע תִּזְבַּח אֶת-הַפֶּסַח בַּעֲרֵב כִּבּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ מוֹעֵד צִאתְךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>
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<p><b>Ex. 12:8</b> - They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.</p> <p>וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַהִוא צִלִּי־אֵשׁ [מִצֹּת עַל־מַרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:]</p>	<p><b>Deut. 16:3</b> - You must not eat with it anything leavened.<sup>142</sup> For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread with it—the bread of affliction—because you came out of the land of Egypt in great haste, so that all the days of your life you may remember the day of your departure from the land of Egypt.</p> <p>לֹא־תֹאכַל עִלָּיו חֶמֶץ [שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל־עִלָּיו מִצֹּת לֶחֶם עֲנִי כִּי בַחֲפוּזוֹ יָצֵאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת־יוֹם צֵאתְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ:]</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:9</b> - Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.</p> <p>אֶל־תֹּאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ לֵאמֹד וּבִשְׁל מִבְּשֵׁל בַּמַּיִם כִּי [אִם־צִלִּי־אֵשׁ רֹאשׁוֹ עַל־כַּרְעָיו וְעַל־קַרְבּוֹ:]</p>	<p><b>Deut. 16:7</b> - You shall cook it and eat it at the place that the Lord your God will choose; the next morning you may go back to your tents.</p> <p>וּבִשְׁלֹתָ [וְאָכַלְתָּ בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בּוֹ וּפְגִיתָ בַבֶּקֶר וְהִלַּכְתָּ לְאֹהֲלֶיךָ]</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:10</b> - You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn.</p> <p>[וְלֹא־תִירָו מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר] וְהַנֶּתֶר מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר בָּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרֹפוּ:</p>	<p><b>Deut. 16:4</b> - No leaven shall be seen with you in all your territory for seven days; and none of the meat of what you slaughter on the evening of the first day shall remain until morning.</p> <p>וְלֹא־יֵרָאָה לְךָ שְׂעֹר בְּכָל־גְּבוּלְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים [וְלֹא־יִלְוֶה מִדְּבַשֶּׁר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בָּעֶרֶב בַּיּוֹם הַרְאִישׁוֹ לַבֶּקֶר:]</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:11</b> - This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is the Passover of the Lord.</p> <p>וְכַכֵּהוּ תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מְתַנִּיכִם חֲגָרִים גְּעִלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמְקַלְכֶם בְּיַדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בַּחֲפוּזוֹ [פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה]</p>	<p><b>Deut. 16:2</b> -You shall offer the Passover sacrifice to the Lord your God, from the flock and the herd, at the place that the Lord will choose as a dwelling for his name.</p> <p>וְזָבַחְתָּ [פֶּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ] צֹאן וּבָקָר בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה לְשִׁכְנוֹ שְׁמוֹ שָׁם:]</p>

The above table shows that there were more restrictions on leaven during the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Deuteronomy than in Exodus. As noted earlier, the reason

<sup>142</sup> The statement, “You shall not eat anything leaven with it,” in the verse refers to the Passover sacrifice. Its artificial appearance in Deuteronomy explains how the text has combined the Passover and the Unleavened Bread into one feast (Weinfeld 1991:23).

could be that the context in Deuteronomy was that of worship in a central sacred temple possibly in Jerusalem as opposed to the context of Exodus 12 where the Passover was celebrated in homes by families. In addition, much emphasis is placed on אֶם-אֵלֵי-הַמִּקְדָּשׁ “*at the place*” in Deuteronomy. This phrase is repeated 15 times in the Old Testament (Gen. 35:13; Lev. 4:29; Deut. 12:14, 18, 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 31:11; 1 Sam. 10:5; 2 Chr. 3:1; Ezr. 8:17) and the text repeatedly indicates that the Passover was centralized at the sanctuary possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem (McConville 2002:272; Thompson 1974:193).

### 5.6.6 Summary and conclusion of section

Several variables have been noted between the Deuteronomy text and the Exodus tradition as summarized below.

To begin, the Passover text of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 used different terminologies from its parallel accounts in the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament. In Deuteronomy 16:1-8, for instance, the command, “*keep the Passover to the Lord your God,*” is rendered as “*observe the Passover*” in Exodus 12:1-28, or as “*celebrate the Passover to the Lord,*” “*keep the Passover sacrifice to the Lord,*” and so forth, in different parallels of the Passover text noted above. Deuteronomy also gave the name of the Passover month as *Abib*, whereas the month is omitted in Exodus 12 and other parallel texts of the Old Testament.

Based on the differences in the use of terminologies, it is argued that Deuteronomy is a post-exilic and Second Temple text and that the Passover at that time was celebrated at a central place presumably the Second Temple in Jerusalem. This differs from earlier celebrations level in homes in Exodus 12:1-28 and other pre-exilic texts.

The Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 also took place on different dates or in different periods. It was celebrated in the evening in the month of *Abib*. However, the month is unnamed in most of the Passover parallels that we have in the Old Testament, an indication that the text had undergone development over time.



The Passover sacrifice was performed with flocks and herds as opposed to the unblemished lamb of Exodus 12:1-28. The mode of preparation was also different in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 where the animal was cooked or boiled in water from the parallel account in Exodus 12:1-28 in which the lamb was roasted over fire and eaten in one night. The differences in the mode of preparation and the choice of animals for the Passover arose out of differing contexts.

Several other variables were observed including the fact there was no mention of priests or Levites as officials of the Passover celebration in Deuteronomy. This could be due to the post-exilic character of the period in which priests who returned from the Babylonian captivity came were defiled and could not perform sacred duties. Additionally, the combination of the two feasts shows relationship connection between the Exodus tradition in Exodus 12:1-28 and other aspects of the tradition in other Passover parallel texts of the Old Testament.

The Passover and Unleavened Bread feast was also celebrated in Deuteronomy as a mark of the identity of a people who were required to be faithful to Yahweh their God. This is evident in the emphasis that the Passover should be celebrated in a place (temple or tent) chosen by Yahweh.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the avoidance of leaven is stronger in the Deuteronomic account of the Passover than in Exodus 12. Again, though Deuteronomy 16:1-8 falls under the Deuteronomic code and it is regarded as younger than the rest of the biblical legal codes, it has maintained a link with other Passover texts of the Old Testament with the emphasis on the avoidance of leaven in those texts. On the whole, we have attempted to highlight in this section the reshapeable and dynamic character of the Passover tradition as it crossed from one context and period to another.

### ***5.7 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Joshua 5:10-12***

This section will examine the intertextual connections between Joshua 5:10-12 and Exodus 12:1-28, which is the point of departure for the analysis in this study. We shall begin with a brief discussion of trends in the study of the book of Joshua.

### 5.7.1 Research survey of the book of Joshua

Like the books of the Pentateuch, the book of Joshua is also open to diverse scholarly interpretations based on its title, authorship, literary unit, structure, dating, and socio-cultural, ideological or theological contents, as well as its source tradition (Priestly or Deuteronomistic), setting (monarchical, exilic, post-exilic period), and so forth. Pressler (2008:406), for example, considers Joshua as the first in the series of the Deuteronomistic historical books also known as the Former Prophets. The book contains an account of the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread at Gilgal immediately after Israel's entry into the Promised Land. Howard (1998:26)<sup>143</sup> views the book of Joshua from the perspective of the numerous battles fought and won by Israel through divine intervention and not through military skills. He shares a similar view with Pressler (2008:406) that the book of Joshua is part of the Deuteronomistic History.<sup>144</sup>

Howard (1998:52, 53, 56) also notes that the basic theme of the Deuteronomistic writings is the "graciousness of Yahweh's covenant to Israel," which is recollected and celebrated in Joshua in form of a festival to commemorate God's gracious act of providence and of victory as well as his provision of land inheritance, food, shelter, security, salvation, etc. In this sense, the book of Joshua forms part of the Deuteronomistic tradition since it re-echoes the theme of Yahweh's graciousness, which is a core theme not only in the Deuteronomistic tradition but also in the celebration of the Passover tradition (Nelson 1997:6; Howard 1998:26, 52-53, 56; Pressler 2008:406). Joshua as a book is pivotal to the literature and theology of the Old Testament. The

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<sup>144</sup> Deuteronomistic History is considered by scholars such as Howard (1998:52-53) as the work of a single theologian who wrote probably after the fall of Jerusalem to offer a historical-theological explanation of the events of 722 and 587 BC. Books that comprise the Deuteronomistic History share basic themes such as "the graciousness of Yahweh's covenants", "the evils of idolatry", "decentralization of cults" and the notions of "rewards and punishment" based on the people's obedience or disobedience as the case may be. Nelson also identifies the theme of obedience to Yahweh in the Deuteronomistic History but in relation to conquest and occupation (Nelson 1997:6). This is evident from the Deuteronomistic language in sections of Joshua that deal with obedience to the law and the theological significance of the conquest. Joshua's account of the conquest is also linked to the previous account of Moses as military leader and lawgiver and to the story of Israel's future in the land. The book of Joshua, as a Deuteronomistic book, forms part of a major account of Israel's story in the land which stretches from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings (Nelson 1997:6). That is to say, Joshua 1:1-12:24; 21:43-22:6; 23:1-16; and 24:28-31 form part of the Deuteronomistic History. Consequently, Joshua 5:10-12 may be seen as a Deuteronomistic text since it shares with the rest of the Deuteronomistic History similar themes such as obedience to Yahweh's law, God's graciousness demonstrated through his divine battles and conquest (Nelson 1997:6, 7).

Latter Prophets (Isaiah-Malachi) evaluate the Israelite society based on the book which they believe bears the greatest witness to the mighty acts of God on behalf of Israel (Creach 2003:1-2; Pressler 2008:410). It is no surprising therefore that some scholars consider it a book that ends the storyline of the Promised Land, which began in the Pentateuch and in turn opens the new storyline of a people who have inherited and settled in the Promised Land in fulfilment of the long-term promise made by God through Abraham (Howard 1998:27).

Furthermore, the book of Joshua contains theological themes such as land, God's promises, the covenant, obedience, purity of worship, godly leadership, and so forth, which are also themes that are commonly associated with the Deuteronomistic writings (Wenham 1994:233; Hess 1996:23; Howard 1998:56). Similarly, the book of Joshua shares common features with the Pentateuch in terms of language and theological themes such as holy war, festivals, inheritance and covenant (Auld 1999:627). Joshua as a Deuteronomistic book also bears the features of a post-exilic text since the Deuteronomistic traditions are commonly associated with the post-exilic era and tradition.

Woudstra (1981:3) and Nelson (1997:1)<sup>145</sup> view the book of Joshua as the first or head of the prophetic books of the Old Testament namely the former or historical books (Joshua-2 Kings minus Ruth) and the Latter or Writing Prophets (Isaiah-Malachi)[Butler 1983: xx]. The book of Joshua as the head of the Former Prophets presents a prophetic interpretation of God's dealing with his covenant people Israel starting from Moses' death until the Babylonian captivity (Boling 1982:41; cf. Wenham 1994:233; Woudstra 1981:3).

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<sup>145</sup> Nelson (1997:1) divides the book of Joshua into two halves namely Military Conquest (1-12), and Settlement and life in the land (13-24). Joshua 5:10-12, the main pericope of our study here, falls under Military Conquest. The Passover and Unleavened Bread were celebrated in Joshua to commemorate the great victories and miracles wrought by God on behalf of his people who in turn responded to him in obedience and faithfulness (Howard 1998:26; Pressler 2008:406). For instance, five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon were all executed at Gibeon by Joshua (Jos.10:1-15; 21:44). The sun and the moon stood still, the walls of Jericho collapsed, and the victorious march of Israel through southern and northern Canaan are all testimonies of God's divine intervention through warfare on behalf of Israel. The battles were fought and won through God's help particularly through direct divine intervention and not by means of any massive military confrontation between well-trained forces. The Israelites prevailed through a combination of superior force and tactics (Howard 1998:26).

### 5.7.2 Research survey of Joshua 5:10-12

Joshua 5:10-12 deals specifically with the Passover that was celebrated under the leadership of Joshua after the people of Israel have conquered and inherited the Promised Land, and divided it according to their territories (Pressler 2008:411). The Passover in Joshua points back to the parallel command in Exodus 12:25 *“When you come to the land that the LORD will give you, as he has promised, you shall keep this observance.”* The people of Israel now in the Promised Land recollected the sayings of Yahweh and in obedience to his words celebrated the Passover in accordance with its laws but in a reshaped manner and context.

Hubbard (2005:335) agrees that Joshua 5:10-12 presents the celebration of the Passover to mark the end of Israel’s desert wandering. The Passover celebration in Joshua also renewed the identity of Israel as God’s chosen people. The Passover in Joshua was a turning point in the lives of the people of Israel as they changed from desert wanderers to occupants of their own land. (Hubbard 2005:335).

Similarly, Howard (1998:152) considers the pericope as a transitional text that wears two faces – one looking backwards to recount the first Passover in Egypt and the provision of manna and the other looking forward to a new life in the Promised Land where Israel would be sustained by its own produce. Verses 11 and 12 in particular emphasize the end of manna and the beginning of a new diet in their own land which in a sense depicts the transition to the new land.

However, the dietary change is not the focus of the celebration of the Passover in this text but rather the commemoration of God’s gracious gift of land as a fulfilment of his covenant promises to Israel seems to be the main motive of the Passover. God’s gracious gift demonstrated to the new and surviving generation of Israel through the provision of the Promised Land and grains of the land as their staple food established a link between Joshua 5:10-12 and the earlier Passover celebrations in the Pentateuchal texts (Ex. 12:1-28; 23:14-19; 34:16-25; Lev. 23:5-8; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-28; Deut. 16:1-8).

### 5.7.3 Text critical analysis of Joshua 5:10-12

**V. 10** - The name גִּלְגָּל “*Gilgal*” is not found in the LXX but in the MT or the BHS. However, since the location or place constitutes one of the variables of the Passover noted in this study, the MT rendering of Gilgal as the place where the Passover was celebrated in Joshua is preferred here. That explains the reason for Soggin’s (1972:73) usage of only one name, that is, either Gilgal (or the plains of Jericho) as the place of the Passover celebration in Joshua. The Syr. and some Hebrew MSS add the phrase, “*in the first Month*” after the Passover, which is not included in the MT.

In v. 11, the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח “*on the day after the Passover*” is omitted in the LXX but found in the MT. The MT rendering is preferred in this section because it provides a systematic order with respect to the time of celebrating the different ritual meals. The Passover was celebrated with parched grains and unleavened bread at a separate time, afterwards, the produce of the land was eaten to mark the end of manna (Hubbard 2005:335). The omission of the phrase “*on the day after the Passover*” in the LXX renders the text as “*and they ate of the produce of the land unleavened cakes and parched grain on that day*” which is maintained by Auld (1998:144). We would however differ with Auld on this note since the LXX rendering shows too much deduction of the text as Soggin (1972: 73) has rightly observed.

### 5.7.4 Translation of Joshua 5:10-12

<sup>10</sup> *While the Israelites were camped in Gilgal they kept the Passover in the evening on the fourteenth day of the month in the plains of Jericho.*

<sup>11</sup> *On the day after the Passover, on that very day, they ate the produce of the land, unleavened cakes and parched grain.*

<sup>12</sup> *The manna ceased on the day they ate the produce of the land, and the Israelites no longer had manna; they ate the crops of the land of Canaan that year.*

10 וַיִּחַנּוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגִלְגָּל וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּעָרֵב בְּעַרְבֹת יְרִיחוֹ:

11 וַיֹּאכְלוּ מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח מִצֹּת וּקְלָיִי בַעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

12 וַיִּשְׁבַּת הַמָּן מִמָּחֳרַת בְּאֹכְלֵם מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ וְלֹא־הָיָה עוֹד לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן וַיֹּאכְלוּ מִתְּבוּאֹת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא:

### 5.7.5 Intertexture of Joshua 5:10-12

At this point, we shall present a verse-by-verse parallel analysis of Joshua 5:10-12 with Exodus 12:1-28 as a point of departure. The aim is to uncover the intertexture of Joshua 5:10-12.

#### (a) Exodus 12:6 and Joshua 5:10

##### Exodus 12:6 -

וְהִיָּה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחַטוּ אֹתוֹ כֹּל קְהַל עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים:

*“You shall keep it until **the fourteenth day of this Month**; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”*

##### Joshua 5:10 -

וַיִּחַנוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגִלְגָל וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעַת עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּעָרְבֵי בְּעֶרְבוֹת יְרִיחוֹ:

*“While the Israelites were camped in Gilgal they kept the Passover in the evening **on the fourteenth day of the month** in the plains of Jericho.”*

The phrase יום לחודש עשר בארבעה “*the fourteenth day of the first Month*” in the above parallel texts refers to the first full moon of the year (March-April) when the Passover was celebrated (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273). The same date refers to the time of barley harvest and the elevation offering of the barley sheaf (Lev. 23:10-14). It also refers to the presentation of the firstfruits of barley that matured at the same time and served as a staple food of the Canaanites (Hess 1996:29; 2009: 617-661). The date could serve as a clue to why the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 was celebrated with roasted grains, food of the land of Canaan, rather than the roasted Paschal lamb of the first celebration in Egypt (Ex. 12:3).

Although the Passover in Joshua followed the older tradition of celebrating on the fourteenth day of the first Month, it was modified to suit the new context where the indigenous grains were used to convey the meaning of the celebration to the celebrants culturally. The indigenous grains of Canaan served as a means of appropriating the Passover tradition in the context of the new Israelite generation at Gilgal and of marking their victorious entry into the land of Canaan to inherit. The indigenous grains in Joshua 5:10-12 took the place of the Passover lamb of Exodus

12. Thus, the ongoing interpretation of the Passover as a feast of identity negotiation is made manifest here.

Furthermore, the emphasis on time specification in Joshua 5:10-12 is stronger than in the non-priestly Passover text of Exodus 12:6. For example, in Joshua 5:10 the expressions “*the fourteenth day*” and “*the first month*” both refer to a specific time set for the Passover celebration as opposed to its parallel verse in Exodus 12:6. The emphasis on time specification in Joshua 5:10-12 could be a clue to its late priestly and pre-exilic origin. The Passover celebration must have developed by undergoing certain changes or modifications including a different time of celebration to suit the context and need of the celebrants in Joshua 5:10-12 and in other parallel texts in the Pentateuchal tradition and the Old Testament in general (Petersen 1999:608).

Another notable issue in the above parallels is the differences in the place of celebration. The Passover celebration in Joshua 5:10 took place בַּגִּלְגָל (at Gilgal) whereas in Egypt, it took place in individual homes as shown by Exodus 12:6 (Hubbard 2005:335). The name גִּלְגָל generally means to “*roll away*” except when it is prefixed with a particle הַגִּלְגָל, in which case it refers to a place (Hubbard 2005:335). Gilgal in v.10 seems to be a word play on the form to “*roll away*” which was a place of camping during Joshua’s celebration of the Passover. However, the word may be interpreted in its verbal form bearing in mind the context, time, need and audience involved in Joshua 5:10-12 to mean Yahweh has rolled the disgrace of both the Egyptian slavery and the wandering shame off by granting his chosen people entrance into and inheritance of the Promised Land (Boling 1982; Howard 1998:152; Hubbard 2005:334, 335).

Gilgal could also mean a circle, probably of stones (Frick 1996:379). Gilgal near Jericho was an important site during the tribal and early monarchic period (13th-11th BCE). It was the first place the Israelites camped after crossing the Jordan to inherit Canaan. It was also an important political, religious, and military centre for the tribe of Benjamin. Gilgal was a historical place for Israel because Saul was affirmed king over Israel there (1 Sam. 13:4-7) and was also dethroned there (1 Sam. 13:8-15) [Kotter 1992:1022; Levine 2007:573]. Samuel often visited Gilgal annually. It was also a rallying point during Saul’s campaigns against the Philistines (1 Sam.

7:16). Gilgal was a cultic centre and a national sanctuary (Levine 2007:573) for royal patronage with a corrupt sacrificial cult (Hos. 4:15; 9:15; Am. 4:4; 5:5; Mic. 6:5) [Kotter 1992:1022].

Gilgal calls to mind Benjamin which represented the tribe of Israel in the southern part of Judah. The Israelites camped there, set up twelve stones picked from the dried River Jordan to commemorate the miraculous crossing as well as to recollect their identity as the later generation of the tribe of Benjamin who represented the tribe of Israel in the southern part of Judah. The twelve stones also brought to memory the idea of the twelve sons of Jacob representing the twelve tribes Israel. The setting of the twelve memorial stones at Gilgal was used as a witness to the future generation and an altar was also built for reading the law in Shechem according to the laws of Deuteronomy (8:30-35) [Nelson 1997:6]. Circumcision as well as other preparations was carried out at Gilgal before the Israelites inherited and apportioned the Promised Land (Kotter 1992:1022; Hubbard 2005:335).

The location of Gilgal at the east border of Jericho (Hubbard 2005:335) suggests that it could have been an open camp ground or an outdoor memorial shrine for pilgrimage outside the city with less permanent occupants (Hess 1996:29). If that is the case, then the city probably had altars, cultic objects, enough water, and elevated spots for addressing crowds. The fact that such a camping ground was able to host a crowd during the Passover celebration could indicate the presence of a central cultic sanctuary to which celebrants made pilgrimage to celebrate the Passover. Again, one could assume here that the Passover account in Joshua 5:10-12 was a later post-exilic version of the non-priestly and pre-exilic or monarchical account in Exodus 12:6.

Both גִּלְגָּל “*Gilgal*”<sup>146</sup> and בְּעֶרְבוֹת יְרִיחוֹ “*the plains of Jericho*” in the above text show features of the priestly and post-exilic period when the time and place of the Passover celebration were

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<sup>146</sup> Gilgal is mentioned 12x in the book of Joshua (Jos. 4:19- 20; 5:9-10; 9:6; 10:6-7, 9, 15, 43; 14:6; 15:7); 2x in Judges (Judg. 2:1; 3:19); 16x in Samuel (1 Sam. 7:16; 10:8; 11:14, 15\*13:4, 7-8, 12,15\*2; 15:12, 21, 33; 2 Sam. 19:15, 40); 2x in Kings (2 Kg. 2:1; 4:38); 3x in Hosea (Hos. 4:15; 9:15; 12:11); 2x in Amos (Am. 4:4; 5:5\*2); and once in Micha (Mic. 6:5). The “plains of Jericho” is mentioned only in Joshua 4:13; 5:10; 2 Kings 25:5; and Jeremiah 39:5; 52:8 (NIV Study Bible/Bible works). Many battles were fought at Gilgal by Israel and many victories won. Gilgal was also the place where Israelites finally prepared themselves to inherit the Promised Land and renew the covenant made to Abraham by circumcising all their males before the final march into Canaan. The events at Gilgal particularly in Joshua 5:10-12 brought the city into some degree of prominence in the biblical world (see Hess 1996:123).



usually stated. The abovementioned place(s) in a sense represent a significant location which has reaffirmed the climax of Israel's identity as beneficiaries of the covenantal promise of a new land which God made to Abraham. In this sense, Gilgal is a sign of covenant renewal in the plains of Jericho is the fulfilment of the promise of the Promised Land to the covenantal people (Hess 1996:123).

### (b) Exodus 12:15 and Joshua 5:11

#### Exodus 12:15 -

<p>שְׁבַעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ אֹהַב יוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי כָל־אֲכַל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרַתָּה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשְּׁבַעִי:</p>
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*“For seven days you are to eat **bread made without yeast**. On the first day remove the yeast from your houses, for whoever eats anything with yeast in it from the first day through the seventh must be cut off from Israel.”*

#### Joshua 5:11 -

<p>וַיֹּאכְלוּ מִעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ מִמִּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח מִצּוֹת וְקֵלוֹי בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:</p>
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*“On the day after the Passover, on that very day, they ate the produce of the land, **unleavened cakes and parched grain**.”*

Verse 11 begins with the phrase “*on the day after*” which is understood here as the day after the Passover when the Israelites ate the produce of the land (unleavened cakes and parched grains). This verse describes the new diet that was eaten in the new land and by the new covenantal generation of Israel (Hess 1996:124; Howard 1998:154). The Passover was celebrated with the indigenous crops of the land to convey a meaning real to the celebrants of that time signifying the appropriation of the Passover tradition by the audience of Joshua's time.

In v. 11, we also have the phrase בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם “*that very day*” which reflects the character of post-exilic texts in which specific time description was often more pronounced. The time expression here could therefore strengthen the view that Joshua is a later priestly and possibly post-exilic

text. “*That very day*” in this context points to the specific time that parched grains were eaten in Gilgal. Unleavened cakes and parched grains were eaten in Joshua 5:10-12 as opposed to the Passover lamb and unleavened bread in the Exodus 12 account. Once again, although the Passover tradition is observed in Joshua 5:11, it has gone through some modification. This explains the changing character of tradition as it crosses contexts, time, and audience with varying needs and circumstances.

Nelson (1997:78) observes that the eating of unleavened cakes and parched grains in Joshua 5:11 is related to the concept of firstfruits in the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:14). It links the offering of the firstfruits and Israel’s first entrance into the Promised Land to the first Passover celebration with the produce of the land (Nelson 1997:78). Here the memory of the Exodus Passover is once again recollected in Joshua 5:10-12 but in a different way, highlighting the dynamic character of the Passover tradition over time and in different contexts.

### (c) Exodus 12:25 and Joshua 5:12

#### Exodus 12:25 –

וְהָיָה כִּי־תָבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר וְשָׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַעֲבֹדָה הַזֹּאת

“*When you come to the land that the LORD will give you, as he has promised, you shall **keep this observance.***”

#### Joshua 5:12 -

וַיִּשְׁבֹּת הַמָּן מִמַּחֲרַת בְּאֲכֹלָם מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ וְלֹא־הָיָה עוֹד לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן וַיֹּאכְלוּ מִתְּבוֹאֹת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא

“***The manna ceased** on the day **they ate** the produce of the land, and the Israelites no longer had manna; they ate the crops of the land of Canaan that year.*”

Joshua 5:12 contains striking clauses that begin with the conjunction “*and*” followed by a verb וַיֹּאכְלוּ “*and they ate,*” וַיִּשְׁבֹּת הַמָּן “*the manna stopped*”. The conjunction “*and*” (ו) or its Greek (καί) in this context serves as the marker of a sequence of closely related events. It helps to describe the diet in the new land which put an end to the desert food and journey. The memories

of the bitter experiences of Egypt were now turned into a joyful celebration of Passover using the people's indigenous grains in their new land to mark their settled life and freedom (Hess 1996:124-125; Howard 1998:154).

It is difficult to explain how the people got the grains following the massive destruction of the land. This may only be explained in terms of God's miraculous acts in history, which again reminded celebrants in Joshua 5:11 of the previous Passover in Egypt. The memories of Egypt and of the wandering period were now recollected through the eating of produce of the Promised Land. Similarly, the change in the Passover food reminded Israel of the Promised Land as a fulfilment of God's covenant with Abraham their ancestral father (Bokser 1992:759; Hess 1996:125).

The ultimate objective of the Passover which was to free a people from bondage and enable them to enjoy the full blessings of the Promised Land reached its fulfilment in Joshua 5:10-12 following the people's celebration of the Passover with the produce of Canaan – unleavened bread and roasted grain. Celebrating with the produce of Canaan could be a transformation of the Canaanite agricultural festival into commemoration of Israel's liberation from slavery in Egypt. It is significant that all the celebration took place without a military battle. What was important was not so much the military strategy but that the people were in a right relationship with the LORD. The text shows the continuity between the Exodus Passover and its ongoing interpretation in diverse contexts and periods.

In vv. 11-12, the word עֲבוּר *"produce"*, which is mentioned twice in the Old Testament and only in Joshua, is used as opposed to תְּבוּאָה *"harvest/yield"* of the land which is the same as עֲבוּר (Howard 1998:154). This rhymes with the statement in Joshua 3:15 that the people of Israel crossed the Jordan at harvest time.

**Table 12: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and Joshua 5:10-12**

<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - You shall keep it until <i>the fourteenth day of this Month</i>; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at</p>	<p><b>Jos. 5:10</b> - While the Israelites were camped in Gilgal, they kept the Passover in the evening <i>on the fourteenth day of the month</i> in the plains of</p>
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<p>twilight. וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעַת עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כֹּל קֹהֵל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֲרָבִים:</p>	<p>Jericho. וַיַּחֲנוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגִלְגָל וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעַת עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּעָרֵב בְּעַרְבוֹת יְרִיחוֹ:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12: 15</b> - For seven days you are to eat <i>bread made without yeast</i>. On the first day remove the yeast from your houses, for whoever eats anything with yeast in it from the first day through the seventh must be cut off from Israel. שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ אֹךְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שָׂאֵר מִבְּתֵיכֶם כִּי כֹל־אֹכֵל חֶמֶץ וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי:</p>	<p><b>Jos. 5:11</b> - On the day after the Passover, on that very day, they ate the produce of the land, <i>unleavened cakes and parched grain</i>. וַיֹּאכְלוּ מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח מִצּוֹת וְקִלְוִי בַעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:25</b> - When you come to the land that the LORD will give you, as he has promised, you shall <i>keep this observance</i>. וְהָיָה כִּי־תָבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר וַיִּשְׁמְרֶתֶם אֶת־הַעֲבֹדָה הַזֹּאת</p>	<p><b>Jos. 5:12</b> - <i>The manna ceased</i> on the day <i>they ate</i> the produce of the land, and the Israelites no longer had manna; they ate the crops of the land of Canaan that year. וַיִּשְׁבֹּת הַמָּן מִמַּחֲרַת בְּאֹכְלוֹ מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ וְלֹא־הָיָה עוֹד לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מֵיִשְׂרָאֵל מִתְּבוּאֹת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא</p>

The above table also shows emphasis on time specification in Joshua 5:10-12. This serves as a clue that Joshua 5:10-12 is a later text possibly of the pre-exilic period and that it has probably copied from the older Passover texts of the Pentateuch and in turn reshaped it to suit its context, audience, circumstances and time of its celebration. Repetition of phrases in Joshua 5:10-12 points to emphasis but possibly also to traces or elements of orality in the text. However, it should be acknowledged that repetition is also a literary device. Joshua 5:10-12 could be regarded as a Deuteronomistic and pre-exilic text that depicts the interplay of orality with writing in the text.

### 5.7.6 Summary and conclusion of section

So far, in this section, we have examined the celebration of the Passover in Joshua that commemorated the triumphal entry into the Promised Land. Again, it has been noted that the Passover text of Joshua 5:10-12 also uses different terminologies from its parallel text of Exodus

12:1-28. In Joshua 5:10-12, for instance, “*unleavened cakes*” is used instead of “*unleavened bread*” in the Exodus account. In Joshua 5:10-12, the Passover was “*kept*” rather than “*celebrated*” as in Exodus 12:1-28 and other Passover texts of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament. The differences in terminology indicate the development of the Passover celebration over time by different celebrants with different circumstances and needs.

The analysis also shows that the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 was celebrated in a different place (i.e. Gilgal, at the plains of Jericho) as opposed to the place of its original celebration in Egypt (Ex. 12:1-28) and other locations in the other parallel Passover texts. . The differences in the place of celebration of the Passover also indicate the growth of the tradition over time and in different contexts.

Furthermore, the time specification of the Passover in Joshua was also slightly different from that of in Exodus 12:1-28. In Joshua 5:10-12, for instance, it took place in the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month similar but in Exodus 12, the month is not specified as *Abib* or “*first Month*”. Once again, the time difference is considered in terms of the expansion of the Passover celebration from an exclusive family meal to a public festival. Repetitions that seem to dominate the pericope could be clues to its late priestly but pre-exilic composition (Hess 2009). The repetitions are also seen as elements or traces of orality even though repetition is also a literary device.

The mode of celebration of the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 was different from that in Exodus 12:1-28 and other texts of the Old Testament. Unleavened cakes and parched grains were used in place of roasted lambs and unleavened bread in Exodus 12:1-28 or (boiled) lambs, bulls, and goats in other Old Testament accounts, indicating also the development of the Passover celebration.

Additionally, the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 has drawn from older Passover texts and traditions of the Pentateuch but it has been reformulated in a different way and context with different audience in a different time and place. It was celebrated by a new generation of Israel in a new land and with new grains of the land.

The absence of officials and sacrifices in this Passover text and context hints at its pre-exilic character. It was set in a period when there were no formal temples for the worship of Yahweh and no temple officials to carry out sacrificial duties. In this way, one could say that Joshua 5:10-12 is a pre-exilic text with the Passover there taking place at a time when the people of Israel had settled in the new land promised to them by God.

From the discussion of the book of Joshua, it is clear that the Passover celebration in Joshua 5:10-12 was done to commemorate the divine favour granted to Israelites by God evident in the divine victories won in the battles they fought before inheriting the Promised Land. It is also shown that though Joshua 5:10-12 is not a Pentateuchal text, it has established a link with the Passover traditions in the Pentateuch and in other parts of the Hebrew Bible based on the divine act of providence and deliverance.

### ***5.8 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and 2 Kings 23:21-23***

This section will explore the intertextual connections between 2 Kings 23:21-23 and Exodus 12:1-28 which is the point of departure for the analysis. However, it will begin with a brief overview of research of the books of 1 and 2 Kings.

#### **5.8.1 Research survey of the books of 1 and 2 Kings**

The interpretation of the books of 1 and 2 Kings, like other books of the Old Testament is faced with problems relating to style (date and structure; history and theological), the voice of the book (Josianic or exilic), genre or group (prophecy or historical writings or Deuteronomistic History), the audience (exilic or post-exilic), and so forth. However, the different views of commentators and prominent scholars on 1 and 2 Kings will first be discussed.

Provan (2009:7), for example, considers that 1 and 2 Kings were probably composed during the period of late Judean monarchy when the northern kingdom had already gone into exile. Long (1991:3) also affirms that the books of Kings in particular 2 Kings, were composed during the

exilic period probably by scribes in Babylon. The narrative of 2 Kings 23:21-23 (the Passover of the book of the covenant) seems to continue vv. 1-3 (the covenant renewal through the book of the covenant),<sup>147</sup> and in between (vv. 4-20) are the reforms of Josiah that seem to interrupt the Passover narrative in the text (Cogan & Tadmor 1988:290; Long 1991:251). Long (1991:250, 251) offers both a concise structure and a chiasm of 2 Kings 23 as follow:

I. Introduction – 2 Kings 22:1-2

II. Account of events (Josiah’s pious acts) 22:3-23:24

A. The book of Torah – 22:3-23:24; B. Covenant renewal by book of the covenant - 23:1-3; C. Concerning cultic reforms- 23:4-20; D. Passover by book of covenant -21-23; E. Reform by book of Torah - 24

III. Conclusion – 25-30

**A chiasm of 2 Kings 22:2-20 and 23:1-3, 21-23**

A positive evaluation (implicit Torah) 22:2

B ‘book of torah 22:3-20

C ‘book of covenant’ 23:1-3

D ‘acts of reform’ 23:4-20

C ‘book of covenant’ 23:21-23

B ‘book of torah’ 23:24

A positive evaluation (torah of Moses) 23:25

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<sup>147</sup> *Then the king directed that all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem should be gathered to him. <sup>2</sup> The king went up to the house of the LORD, and with him went all the people of Judah, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the priests, the prophets, and all the people, both small and great; he read in their hearing all the words of the book of the covenant that had been found in the house of the LORD.<sup>3</sup> The king stood by the pillar and made a covenant before the LORD, to follow the LORD, keeping his commandments, his decrees, and his statutes, with all his heart and all his soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. All the people joined in the covenant (2 Kgs. 23:1-3).*

The above outline features the Passover between cultic reforms (23:4-20) and the reform of the book of torah (23:24), while the chiasm, in a similar way, features the book of the covenant (Passover) between acts of reform (23:4-20) and the book of torah (23:24) [Long 1991:251]. Here it appears that the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23, though initiated by Josiah's reform, is connected to God's covenant relation with Israel and the book of the Law. The Passover in 2 Kings is modelled after the laws of the Passover initiated by God in Exodus and in the rest of the Pentateuch. Thus, 2 Kings 23 seems to be younger as it copied from older traditions or documents.

Although not a commentator on the books of Kings, McKenzie (2008:523, 531)<sup>148</sup> considers 1 and 2 Kings as two parts of a single book known as the Deuteronomistic theology that emphasizes the doctrine of the centralization of worship of Yahweh the only true God in the temple in Jerusalem (Fritz 2003:1).<sup>149</sup> The books of Kings recount the history of Israel and Judah's monarchies beginning with the reign of Solomon until the time of the Babylonian exile (McKenzie 2008:527).<sup>150</sup> On the historical narratives of 1 and 2 Kings, McKenzie supports the views of Fritz (2003:1); Brueggemann (2003:145) and McConville (2005:623) that the dual contexts of the books indicate that they are both exilic and post-exilic books.

Hess (2005:423) claims that the books of Kings provide a theologically burdened interpretation of the history of the Israelite monarchy from the death of King David up to the end of the monarchy. Although the main genre of the books is narrative, behind such narratives lie major theological themes such as the relationship between God and Israel, divine sovereignty, human

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<sup>149</sup> Volkmar Fritz (1938-2007) was interested in researching the land of the Bible and the material culture of ancient Israel. He studied biblical archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Although he published a lot of articles on various aspects of the archaeology of ancient Israel, his major focus of research was on the architecture of public buildings, temples, palaces and domestic housing. He also published two articles in German and English titled, *The City in Ancient Israel* and *An Introduction to Biblical Archaeology*.

<sup>150</sup> McKenzie (2008:524) in his outline of 2 Kings, places chapter 23 under the section that deals with Judah alone (2 Kgs 23:18-25), indicating that the tribes of Israel were already swept into exile leaving Judah. Chapter 23:21-23 on the other hand falls under Josiah's reign (22:1-23:30), therefore one may assume that the Passover was during the reform and reign of Josiah as king of Judah. It is not surprising that there is much emphasis on Jerusalem as "the place" designated by Yahweh for cultic services in 1 and 2 Kings, which is similar to what we have as in Deuteronomy (McKenzie 2008:531).



responsibility, judgement, covenant, worship of God alone, and the Messiah (House 1995: iii; Hess 2005:423).

The books of 1 and 2 Kings are regarded as the climax of the main history of the Old Testament which begins with the covenantal history of Israel with God especially when viewed from their historical and narrative context based on their application of the Deuteronomistic theology (McConville 2005:623).<sup>151</sup> Despite the historical value of the books in question, they need to be considered as the theological interpretation of the past history of Israel in relation to YHWH and not as mere historical books since the people's history is not separable from God who is the source of that history (Brueggemann 2003:145; McConville 2005:623).<sup>152</sup>

Brueggemann (2000:1)<sup>153</sup> refers to 1 and 2 Kings as the "royal history" of Israel in the Old Testament. Royal history in this sense refers to the policies, actions, history and fortunes of several rulers in the ancient state of Israel. The books of Kings as history refer to the timeline of the monarchy in the ancient state of Israel which is not so accurate in the full sense of a historical account (Brueggemann 2000:1, 2). The emphasis of the books is a theological interpretation of Israel's royal history since it acknowledges Yahweh as the source of Israel's history and it attempts to understand the cult of public life experience in the world of Israel with particular reference to YHWH (Brueggemann 2000:2).

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<sup>151</sup> J. Gordon McConville is a Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and a member of the Faculty of Theology at Oxford University. He is the author of *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy and Judgement and Promise: Interpreting the Book of Jeremiah*.

<sup>152</sup> The books of 1 and 2 Kings as historical narratives tell the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah beginning with the succession of Solomon (970 BCE) to the fall of Judah (587 BCE). That era corresponded to the monarchical period comprising of the time of the United Kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon, the separate kingdoms of (northern) Israel and Judah that ended in 722 BC and the time of Judah alone (722-587 BC) down to the destruction of Judah by Babylon (McConville 2005:623).

<sup>153</sup> Walter Brueggemann (born 1933 in Tilden, Nebraska) is an American Old Testament scholar and Protestant theologian. The son of a German Evangelical minister, he was ordained in the United Church of Christ. V. S. Parrish refers to Brueggemann as an exegete and theologian. As an exegete, he has composed several commentaries (Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, 1 and 2 Samuel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah). His most notable work is on the Psalter. As a theologian, he has worked as an editor of the Fortress Press series, *Overtures to Biblical Theology*. [[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter\\_Brueggemann](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Brueggemann)].

Although Gray's (1964:1) earliest work on 1 and 2 Kings seems to be a little outdated in terms of current scholarly debates, he sees 1 and 2 Kings as parts of the larger division of the Jewish canon known as Former Prophets (Joshua-2 Kings) or Deuteronomistic History. The books of 1 and 2 Kings, as part of the Deuteronomistic writings, are interested in the cultic beliefs and observances. The themes include the laws of the book of Deuteronomy, central worship in the Jerusalem temple as a criterion for faithfulness to God, the fulfilment of God's words in prophecy, divine retribution occasioned by infidelity according to Deuteronomistic principles as indicated in the curses in the sacrament of the renewed covenant (Gray 1964:9). Levinson (2000:269) adds that the books seem to skip almost ten years of plain historical events in the time of Josiah's reign as king and focused mainly on the eighteenth year of his reign when he carried out religious reforms in conformity with Deuteronomy's laws on the centralization of cultic acts in Jerusalem.

### **5.8.2 Research survey of 2 Kings 23:21-23**

The book of 2 Kings 23:21-23 is hardly discussed in isolation but as a joint unit describing the unique Passover celebration in Josiah's days based on the law of cult centralization in Deuteronomy 16:5-7, probably in the post-exilic era (Wiseman 1993:304; Merrill 1994:25; McConville 2002:272). Verses 21-23 are a follow up of the opening verses (1-3) of 2 Kings 23. In some way, vv. 21-23 serve as a single positive report of Josiah's acts of religious reform, which ended with the celebration of the Passover. The Passover in turn marked the defining act of Israelite worship that is found in the liberation account of the older priestly document of Exodus 12:1-28 (Brueggemann 2000:557; Fritz 2003:408).

The above pericope presents a public Passover celebration by the whole community of Israel at a centralized place, possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem. The public celebration then marked a shift from the original celebration of the Passover at the family level in Exodus 12-13 (McConville 2002:272). To scholars such as Long (1991:279) and Brueggemann (2003:155), vv. 21-23 form part of the reports that were probably independent but later combined to form the conclusive part of Josiah's acts of reform that ended with the celebration of a solemn Passover at the central worship place in Jerusalem. The text of 2 Kings 23:21-23 is also considered as a later

addition in the exilic/post-exilic period since it falls under the pericope of chapters 21-25 that is presupposed to belong to the exilic and post-exilic era (De Vaux 1961:337, 363).

In Fritz's view (2003:408), the above pericope is a summary of the move of the Passover to Jerusalem in fulfilment of the demands of Deuteronomy 16:5-6. The author however agrees with DeVaux (1961:337, 363) and Brueggemann (2003:155) that the celebration of the Passover in Jerusalem in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was a positive side of Josiah's reforms that affirm Yahweh as the only true God present in the temple of Jerusalem. Since the Passover in Josiah's time was late, it fitted the post-exilic context with the emphasis on covenant renewal and faithfulness to Yahweh. However, the emphasis on the cultic worship of Yahweh in the Second Temple in Jerusalem also strengthens the argument for its post-exilic character (McConville 2005:632).

The Passover in the above pericope was the first of its kind celebrated in the central place in Jerusalem since Israel's entry into the Promised Land and following the abolition of the rural shrines. Why was so much more emphasis placed on this Passover than those of the Pentateuchal traditions and Joshua? The answer possibly lies in the fact that the Passover in 2 Kings has a connection with that in Deuteronomy since it was celebrated according to the laws of Deuteronomy 16: 5-7 at a central place possibly Jerusalem and not at home or in the villages. The same Passover in Josiah's account also points back to Joshua 5:10-12, which also re-enacted the Passover at a central place in Gilgal (Nelson 1987:258). The emphasis on the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 therefore is based on the fact that it was initiated by a king-reformer who centralized it in Jerusalem and made it a public celebration for all the people as opposed to its celebration in the older context at the family and clan levels (McConville 2002:272).

In vv. 1-3 of chapter 23, Josiah "*sent*" for the elders and he officiated in the covenant observance, while in vv. 21-23 of the same text, he "*commanded*" a Passover observance. This was a royal command but for a sacred purpose (Long 1991:256). Furthermore, during the time of the Passover of Josiah in 2 Kings 23:21-23, the rural shrines had all been abolished leaving only the central one in Jerusalem (Cogan & Tadmor 1988:290; Long 1991:251). In a sense, this was the most amazing Passover ever presided over by people outside the priestly family and with the

good intention to please Yahweh. The event also points to a post-exilic period when the returnees from exile celebrated the Passover and performed other sacred duties without legitimate priests.

The pericope of 2 Kings 23:21-23 relates Josiah's reform of the cult and the reinstatement of the Passover offering in Jerusalem that had not been performed or performed properly for generations (Boxer 1992:759; Brueggemann 2000:558). The Passover was neglected and forgotten due to its later development beyond its original celebration at the family level (Brueggemann 2000:558).

### 5.8.3 Text critical analysis of 2 Kings 23:21-23

No major textual problem is associated with 2 Kings 23:21-23 therefore the original rendition in the BHS and the NRSV translation which is close in meaning to the BHS translation will be employed in this section.

### 5.8.4 Translation of 2 Kings 23:21-23

<sup>21</sup>*The king commanded all the people, "Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant."*

<sup>22</sup>*No such Passover had been kept since the days of the judges who judged Israel, even during all the days of the kings of Israel and of the kings of Judah;*

<sup>23</sup>*But in the eighteenth year of King Josiah this Passover was kept to the LORD in Jerusalem.*

וַיִּצְוֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-כָּל-הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:  
 כִּי לֹא נַעֲשֶׂה כַּפֶּסַח הַזֶּה מִימֵי הַשְּׁפֹטִים אֲשֶׁר שָׁפְטוּ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל יְמֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:  
 כִּי אִם-בְּשִׁמְנֵה עֲשֶׂרֶה שָׁנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ נַעֲשֶׂה הַפֶּסַח הַזֶּה לַיהוָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם:

### 5.8.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:11 and 2 Kings 23:21-23

In this section, a verse-by-verse parallel analysis of the text will be done using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure.

#### (a) Exodus 12:11 and 2 Kings 23:21

Exodus 12:11 -

וְכַכֵּהוּ תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִכֶם חֲגָרִים גַּעְלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמַקְלֵיכֶם בְּיַדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה

“This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. **It is the Passover of the LORD.**”

## 2 Kings 23:21 -

וַיֹּצֵו הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-כָּל-הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכָּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:

“The king commanded all the people, **‘Keep the Passover to the LORD your God’** as prescribed in this book of the covenant.”

The above parallel verses show features of re-contextualization in which case 2 Kings 23:21 is a younger or later text which has re-contextualised the older text of Exodus 12 without any hint that its contents are written elsewhere in the Bible.

Verse 21 contains the expression פֶּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם “keep the Passover to the LORD your God,” which is a royal command given in strong terms by the king-reformer who was carrying out a religious reform. The expression does not seem to point back to the celebration in Joshua’s time and context but rather to the Deuteronomic regulation of Deuteronomy 16:1-17 (Vannoy 1995:562; Brueggemann 2000:558). The use of the phrase “keep the Passover” in 2 Kings 23:21 rather than “celebrate the Passover” in the parallel text of Exodus 12 could be due to the zeal to regulate the festival and cause celebrants to do things in an orderly way. However, another reason could be the indication that the festival had become a public affair organized by a central government and which signified a more ordered or settled life (Brueggemann 2000:558).

The expression “keep the Passover to the LORD your God” in v. 21 could also point to the emphasis that was placed on the Passover celebration in Josiah’s time. The reason for the emphasis, as noted earlier, was possibly because the Passover had been forgotten or neglected by the covenant nation; as such, King Josiah was reminding, reviving, and awakening celebrants to return to their root as the covenant people of God to escape the wrath that could befall them (House 1995:390). In this sense, v. 21 was more of a call to return to God’s word, keep his covenant, and observe ceremonies such as Passover that were vehicles for passing the faith from

one generation to another. Josiah is said to typify Moses because of his courageous act to redeem the remnant and to witness to them that God is worth serving under all circumstances.

However, the Passover in Josiah's time was kept in accordance with the demands of the law book found in the temple. It had shifted from its celebration at the family level to a royal celebration in a public and central place with large crowds of celebrants in attendance who fulfilled the covenantal obligation of the Passover in accordance with the laws of Deuteronomy 16 (Cogan & Tadmor 1988:296; Hobbs 1985: 337; Brueggemann 2000:558).

The above expression in v. 21 could be regarded as a mark of loyalty to God, an establishment of the worship of Yahweh as the only true God in the temple at Jerusalem, and a reminder to carry out consistently the stipulations of the book of the law regarding cultic matters (House 1995:390; Fritz 2003:409). It evokes the original celebration of the Passover in its original form in the Pentateuch (Hobbs 1985:337).

However, the phrase “*to the Lord*,” as noted in other sections of this chapter, is a feature of post-exilic, Second Temple and priestly traditions suggesting also that 2 Kings 23:21 was set in the post-exilic context and the Passover carried out in the Second Temple in Jerusalem. This is a difficult stance because that assumption has not yet gained currency among scholars. Hess (2005:424), for instance, considers 2 Kings 17-25 as a pericope that falls within the time of destruction of Jerusalem; that would posit the text in the exilic context. To strike a balance between the two views therefore it has been suggested that 2 Kings 23:21-23 belongs to the exilic Deuteronomistic tradition as well as the post-exilic tradition (Begg 1999:26).

**(b) Exodus 12:14 and 2 Kings 23:21**

**Exodus 12:14-**

וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לָכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן וְנִצַּחְתֶּם אֹתוֹ יָגֵד לְיִהוָה לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם תִּקַּח עֹלָם תִּמְנְנֶהוּ:
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*“This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the LORD; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.”*

**2 Kings 23:21 -**

וַיִּצַו הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-כָּל-הָעָם לֵאמֹר	עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:
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“The king commanded all the people, “**Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant.**”

The phrase “*the book of the covenant*” in the expression כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית “*as prescribed in this book of the covenant*” in the Passover directives of King Josiah signified the structure that was already in place for the thorough account of reform in 2 Kings 23:1-3. The book of the covenant also recounted the specific reformatory actions that Josiah took in his eighteenth year of his rule (Long 1991:273, 279). It equally referred to the laws of Deuteronomy 16:1-17 (Brueggemann 2000:558; Fritz 2003:408) or the Mosaic Law with the covenant curses of Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28 (Vannoy 1995:562). It is also possible that the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was celebrated at that time based on the context where there were priests or where there were priests but laymen had to perform the sacred ordinance to honour Yahweh (Cogan & Tadmor 1988:298).

The expression “*as prescribed in the book of the covenant*” in v. 21 above could also refer to the motivation for the later Passover which was to fulfil what was stated in the book of the law as opposed to its motive in the Deuteronomistic era (Hobbs 1985:337). Nevertheless, if the motivation was to fulfil the commandment in the law book, it means that loyalty to Yahweh which was a core motive of the Exodus Passover celebration had established a link with the account in Kings. The Passover was not just an entertainment with surplus animals by peasants who were on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; it was celebrated to fulfil what was written in the book of the covenant.

As noted earlier, the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23, like that in 2 Chronicles 35 had shifted from being a family celebration (Ex. 12:1-13 and 13:16) to a public or national festival confined to Jerusalem. It allowed prominent cultic functionaries to play the roles that were performed by heads of families or fathers while it was celebrated at the family level.

**(c) Exodus 12: 21 and 2 Kings 23:21**

**Exodus 12:21 - ויקרא**

מֹשֶׁה לָּכַל-זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מִשְׁכוּ וּקְחוּ לָכֶם צֹאן לְמִשְׁפַּחַתִּיכֶם וְשַׁחֲטוּ הַפֶּסַח:

*“Then Moses called all the elders of Israel and said to them, “Go, select lambs for your families, and slaughter the Passover lamb.”*

**2 Kings 23:21 -**

וַיִּצְוֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-כָּל-הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת:

*“The king commanded all the people, “Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant.”*

The word that is translated “keep” in the expression עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם “keep the Passover to the LORD your God” in 2 Kings 23:21 above is a verb<sup>154</sup> from עָשָׂה – “do.” In this text, it conveys the order of King Josiah on the Passover in vv. 1-3 and vv. 21-23 which was projected beyond its original celebration at the family level but rather centralized according to the laws of Deuteronomy (McConville 2000:272). The type of intertexture in the above parallel texts is re-contextualization, the Passover text in 2 Kings 23:21-23 is considered younger and dependent on the older text of Exodus 12:21.

**V. 22** - *“No such Passover had been kept since the days of the judges who judged Israel, even during all the days of the kings of Israel and of the kings of Judah.”*

Even though this verse has no direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28, it is worth exploring. Does the expression “No such Passover had been kept since the days of the judges” mean that no Passover celebrated was before the one of 2 Kings 23:21-23? What about the Passover that was celebrated before then by Hezekiah in 2 Chronicles 30 and that of Exodus 12:1-13? The expression could be used to compare the Passover in Josiah’s time and with that of Hezekiah (2 Chr. 30) and the other previous celebrations during the time of the judges.

<sup>154</sup> The verb is a *qal*, imperative, masculine, plural, meaning, “do”.



The Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 has revisited the covenant law and standard required for the celebration of the Passover (Ex.12:1-11; Deut.16:1-8) which had been neglected for a long time by the new generation of Israel (Cogan & Tadmor 1988:296; House 1995:390). The Josiah Passover follows the prescriptions of Moses in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 more closely than that of Hezekiah (2 Chr. 30:1ff). It emphasizes faithfulness to God, and it was done after a thorough clean up of household gods (Judg. 17:5; 18:14, 17), mediums and spiritists (2 Kgs. 21:6), idols (2 Kgs. 21:11, 21) and all detestable things (1 Kgs. 11:5, 7; 23:13) in Judah and its capital. These all made it unique among other previous Passover celebrations (Nelson 1987:258; Provan 1995:275).

Gray (1970:742) observes that the Passover in 2 Kings 21:21-23 was associated with the deliverance from Egypt since it was carried out at a time when there was a danger of Judah exchanging Assyrian for Egyptian vassalage. In this sense, it was a celebration of hope and redemption as that of Exodus 12 in Egypt. Could we then say it was an anti-Assyrian demonstration festival with a similar design to the original one in Egypt? This study will not go into such arguments since the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was executed only in the eighteenth year of the rule of King Josiah (Gray 1970:743). Vannoy (1995:563) on the other hand attributes the uniqueness of the Josiah's Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 to the fact that it was initiated and executed by a king-reformer who was not a priest from the family line of Levi working in the high sanctuary. One would agree with Vannoy's conclusion because of differences with regards to the officials of the Passover, mode of celebration, place of celebration and the audience.

In short, the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was a public festival, it was attended by a large crowd, it was meant to entertain the peasants, the laws of centralization according to Deuteronomy 16:1-17 were applied, surplus lambs were brought to Jerusalem by the peasants, the Levites other than family heads slaughtered the lambs, lay priests from the line of Levi partook in slaughtering the lambs and it was celebrated in a central place in Jerusalem (Hobbs 1988:337; House 1995:390; Wiseman 1993:305; Tigay 1996:155; Carson *et al* 2009:382). The Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 is linked to that of 2 Chronicles 35:18. Despite its uniqueness, it acknowledges the sovereignty of Yahweh as the only true God worth worshiping in the central place in Jerusalem.

V. 23 Though this verse has no direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28, it stresses the time of the Passover and the officials that initiated and executed it. One may wonder why the king took so long to execute the Passover. The reason could be that the king was busy cleaning the various idols that were imported by the covenant people of God. Thus, it was after the cleanup that the king now pointed the people back to God’s covenant law book and the Passover celebration to commemorate God’s faithfulness (Provan 1995:275). It is no wonder the Passover was celebrated “to the Lord,” that is dedicated to God as opposed to “for the Lord” in Exodus 12, that is, in honour of Yahweh the initiator and executor of the Passover.

**Table 13: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and 2 Kings 23:21-23**

<p><b>Ex. 12:11</b> - This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly. It is <i>the Passover of the LORD</i>.</p> <p>וְכָכָה תֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ מִתְנַיִכֶם חֲגָרִים גְּעֵלֵיכֶם בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם וּמַקְלֵיכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּחִפְזוֹן [פָּסַח הוּא לַיהוָה]</p>	<p><b>2 Kg. 23:21-</b> The king commanded all the people, “<i>Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant.</i>”</p> <p>וַיֹּצֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פָּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:14</b> - This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall <i>celebrate it as a festival to the LORD</i>; throughout your generations you shall <i>observe it as a perpetual ordinance</i>.</p> <p>וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן [וְחִגַּגְתֶּם אֹתוֹ חֹג לַיהוָה] לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם תִּתְּנֶהוּ:</p>	<p><b>2 Kg. 23:21</b> - The king commanded all the people, “<i>Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant.</i>”</p> <p>וַיֹּצֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פָּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:21</b> - Then Moses called all the elders of Israel and said to them, “Go, select lambs for your families, and <i>slaughter the Passover lamb</i>.”</p> <p>וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לְכָל־זְקֵנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מִשְׁכוּ וּקְחוּ לָכֶם צֹאן לְמִשְׁפַּחְתֵּיכֶם [וְשַׁחְטוּ הַפָּסַח]:</p>	<p><b>2 Kg. 23:21</b> - The king commanded all the people, “<i>Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant.</i>”</p> <p>וַיֹּצֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר עֲשׂוּ פָּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כַּכְּתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה:</p>

The table shows that in 2 Kings 23 the emphasis is more on the rule guiding the celebration of the Passover in accordance with the Deuteronomic laws of Deuteronomy 16:1-17. The phrase

“*keep the Passover to the Lord your God*” has several parallel verses in Exodus 12 as shown in the table above.

### 5.8.6 Summary and conclusion of section

The findings in this section show that like other Passover texts already examined in this chapter, 2 Kings 23:21-23 is marked by several distinct features as outlined below:

**Terminology:** The Passover text in 2 Kings 23 uses unique expressions or terminologies that hint at the time the Passover in the text was celebrated. For example, in 2 Kings 23:21-23 the Passover was kept “to the Lord” rather than “celebrated” or “observed” as in the Pentateuch and other Old Testament texts. The expression in Kings is seen as a royal command emphasizing the need to revisit the Passover celebration in accordance with the laws of Deuteronomy.

**Place:** Another important difference between the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 and the one in Exodus 12 had to do with the place of celebration. While in Kings the Passover was kept in Jerusalem most probably in the Second Temple that was erected during the post-exilic period, in Exodus 12:1-28, it was celebrated at home and in Joshua, it was celebrated in Gilgal (Jos. 5:10-12) or in other Old Testament texts, in a place chosen by God.

**Date:** The date of celebration in 2 Kings 23:21-23, the eighteenth year of King Josiah’s rule, was also different from the fourteenth day of the first month that we have in Exodus 12:1-28. There is no mention of *Abib* or *Nisan* as the month of celebration as we have in other parallel texts of the Passover.

**Sacrifice:** There is no mention of sacrifice in the Passover account of 2 Kings 23:21-23. Perhaps the reformer was more concerned with the Passover than temple rituals which were duties of the Levitical priests. Moreover, since there were no priests to take care of official sacrifices from the lineage of Levi during the post-exilic period, the king did what was on his mind. Again, 2 Kings 23:21-23 is silent on the mode of preparation of the Passover. This is different from the instruction to roast the Passover meat over the fire in Exodus 12 or to boil it in water in Deuteronomy 16:1-8, and so forth.

**Officials:** There is no mention of any officiating priest or Levite in 2 Kings 23:21-23 other than the king-reformer, Josiah. There is also no mention of any link between the Passover and the unleavened bread in the pericope. Nonetheless, the Passover in 2 Kings is related to the Pentateuch since it was done according to the prescription of the covenant book. The absence of

a visible link between this Passover and other Passover traditions may be due to its post-exilic character since it has undergone certain developments and modifications from its original description in Exodus 12.

It has also been noted that the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was a celebration of the renewal of the covenant relationship between God and Israel. The uniqueness of the Josiah's Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 is outlined in terms of its publicity, the centralization of the feast in the temple in Jerusalem, and the involvement of elders, kings and the entire people of Israel in accordance with the laws of Deuteronomy. The emphases on "*the place*" in 2 Kings 23:21-23 and on "*the Lord your God*" the post-exilic Second Temple and priestly character of that Passover.

The fact that the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 does not point back to Joshua but alludes to Deuteronomy 16 also reflects its post-exilic nature. It is argued that 2 Kings 23:21-23 is younger than Deuteronomy and the other Passover texts in the Pentateuch and Joshua 5 (Long 1991:3; Brueggemann 2000:1, 557; McConville 2002:272). This is evident in the fact that it has borrowed from and used the laws of Deuteronomy to direct its Passover, which is a major event in the history of Israel.

## **5.9 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and 2 Chronicles 35:1-18**

Below we shall consider the intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure.

### **5.9.1 Research survey of 1 and 2 Chronicles**

Like other books of the Old Testament, 1 and 2 Chronicles are not free from interpretive problems. It is loaded with numerous questions such as, who was the writer of Chronicles? When was it written? Why was it written? What is the relationship between 1 and 2 Chronicles and other books of the Old Testament? Why do we have the work in the Old Testament when it seems to repeat what is already documented in Samuel and Kings? Is the book a complete whole

or two separate books, and so forth (Japhet 2007:654)?<sup>155</sup> Where then does one start to address the issues related to the book of 1 and 2 Chronicles?

On the name, scholars are unanimous about the Hebrew title of the book of Chronicles דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים “*events of the days/years*” or “*the book of days,*” and the LXX title Παραλειπομένων “*that which has been left out or left to one side*” or “*the things omitted*” (Tuell 2001:1; Hooker 2001:1; Japhet 2007: 654).<sup>156</sup> The titles indicate that Chronicles has taken care of the events left out by earlier histories such as Samuel and Kings (Dillard 1995:571; Klein 2006:1). The titles also show that Chronicles exist in the Hebrew Bible as one unit that has been divided into two in translations for reasons that are not unanimously agreed on by scholars (Thompson 1994:22).

Chronicles is seen as a review of the books that preceded it (Jarick 2002:1). In other words, it constitutes more or less an alternative account of the history in the books of 2 Samuel-2 Kings even though there are no clear-cut criteria for determining what it has borrowed from outside sources particularly Ezra and Nehemiah (Thompson 1994:28).

Chronicles has described the history of Israel from the beginning to the “beginning,” that is, from the inception of human existence with Adam through the destruction of the First Commonwealth during the reign of Zedekiah, to the new commencement with the declaration of Cyrus (Japhet 1993:8). Chronicles constitutes a parallel to the earlier historiography from Genesis to Kings commonly called Deuteronomistic History with its conclusion pointing to the future (Tuell 2001:1; Knoppers 2006:623). As a matter of fact, the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, and Ezra-Nehemiah form part of the major sources of the Chronicler (Japhet 1993:14; 2007:654; Thompson 1994:24). In other words, Chronicles has used much of the earlier history from the

<sup>155</sup> Professor Sara Japhet is the Yehezkel Kaufmann Professor Emeritus of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Japhet 1993, cover page notes). Professor Japhet is widely considered as Israel’s leading female biblical scholar and its highest-ranking female academic. She specializes in the history of the biblical period, the literature and religion of the Bible, and the history of Jewish exegesis.

<sup>156</sup> The evidence of the title of the book of Chronicles is found in rabbinical sources: the Mishnah (Yoma 6:1), the Talmud (Meg. 13a; Kidushin 30a; Baba Bathra 14b-15a) and the Midrash (Leviticus Rabbah 1:3; Ruth Rabbah 2:1) and the Rabbinical tradition that attests to the designation of the book as the book of genealogies, Pesahim 62b) [Japhet 1993:1]. Other books of the Bible also mention that some records bear the title, Chronicles, but their subjects are usually qualified as “the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel” (1 Kgs. 14:19); “the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah” (1 Kgs. 14:29); “the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia” (Est. 10:2), and so forth (Japhet 1993:1). The different renditions of Chronicles possibly depict the reshapeable character of history over time and contexts of varying nature.

historical books and the Pentateuch (Tuell 2001:1; Knoppers 2006:623), yet it has maintained some form of independence as a separate entity from its surrounding sources (Thompson 1994:28; Armerding 2003:309; Collins 2004:445).<sup>157</sup>

What then is the date of 1 and 2 Chronicles since it employs Joshua and the Pentateuch as sources particularly in its genealogical account that begin with Adam and extend to the entire nation of Israel as found in Genesis, Numbers and Joshua (Collins 2004:445; Japhet 2007:655)? The Chronicler also used Samuel-Kings as his main source as well as other Deuteronomistic books but he postdates them. Thus, the character of Chronicles portray it as a post-exilic literature particularly 2 Chronicles that concludes with a reference to the restoration of the Jews after the Babylonian exile by Cyrus of Persia (2 Chr. 36:22-23; Collins 2004:445). Its mention of the “*daric*,” a Persian coin that was not minted before 515 BC (1 Chr. 29:7), also permits a Persian period (538-333 BC) dating and not anytime before the sixth century (Hooker 2001:2; Jonker 2007b:23).

Knoppers (2006:622) draws an outline of the book of Chronicles beginning with human race (1 Chr. 1:1) followed by a description of Israel in genealogical form (1 Chr. 1-9). He then upholds the united monarchy of David and Solomon as an exceptional era of harmony, success and national solidarity (1 Chr. 10-2 Chr. 9). The author also recounts the history of the Judahite monarchy as an uneven period, a time of both success and failure (2 Chr. 10-36), and concludes with the great news of Cyrus ending the Babylonian exile. Based on this outline, 2 Chronicles 35:1-18, the main pericope in this section of our study, falls under the history of Judah’s monarchy, which then serves as a background to the religious reforms of Josiah with particular attention to the Passover celebration (2 Chr. 35:1-18). It is no surprise that the author emphasizes faithfulness and God’s mercy towards Israel in times of their temptation, trouble and triumph.

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<sup>157</sup> Thompson (1994:24) identifies the sources of Chronicles as the books of Samuel-Kings in the Palestinian tradition. However, the book of Chronicles does not follow its sources mindlessly; rather than being an exposition of its sources, it questions certain areas that are not in line with its ideology. In other words, despite the basic sources the book of Chronicles maintains its literary dependence as a separate book (Thompson 1994:24). The author further identifies the basic literary forms of Chronicles as genealogy (1 Chr. 1-8), lists (1 Chr. 9:3-23; 11:10-17; 12), speeches, sermons, and prayers (1 Chr. 22; 28-29) as well as a miscellaneous group of literary forms comprising of extracts from Samuel—Kings.

The structure presented by Knoppers (2006:622) is helpful because it is clear and it echoes the voices in older scholarly works as.

### **5.9.2 Research survey of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18**

The text of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 deals with the grand Passover celebration that was initiated by King Josiah as part of his covenant renewal movement (34:29-32). The Passover was celebrated after the purification of the temple and the country of Baal worship and influence (Selman 1994:536; Hooker 2001:282). It emphasized the right use of the temple (vv. 2, 3, 8, 20), its service (vv. 2, 10, 15, 16), and its offerings (vv. 7, 8, 9, 12-14, 16). In this sense, the Passover represented the apex of temple worship in Chronicles (2 Chr. 30) and a return to faith, and it had no parallel since the days of Samuel (2 Chr. 35:18). The Passover in Chronicles had, in part, historical associations with the Exodus Passover (Ex. 12:1-13), Israel's entry into the Promised Land (Jos. 5:10-11), and its place in the worship of the Second Temple (Ezr. 6:19-22; Ezek. 45:21; cf. Selman 1994:536).<sup>158</sup>

The Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 also shares certain similarities with its parallel account in 2 Kings 23:21-23 in that both were celebrated as grand feasts in a public place in Jerusalem where people from different parts of Judah came together and united for the service/worship of Yahweh. The Passover account in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 seems to be a later version of that of 2 Kings 23:21-23. This is based on the assumption that 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 has re-contextualized in the content of 2 Kings 23:21-23 which is considered older than the 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 in this study. A closer view of the two parallel texts shows that 2 Chronicles 35:1 is parallel to 2 Kings 23:21 while 2 Chronicles 35:18-19 is parallel to 2 Kings 23:22-23. This implies that 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 borrowed from 2 Kings 23:21-23 which in turn borrowed from Deuteronomy 16:1-8. That means that the three Passover texts share a common feature – that of celebrating the Passover festival based on the laws of Torah (Tuell 2001:239).

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<sup>158</sup> The Passover pericope in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 contains the following sub-sections: 1. The Passover preparations (vv. 1-6) - Choice of date, assigning roles to Levites and priests and instructions concerning the entire Passover; 2. Passover provisions (vv. 7-9) – voluntary gifts particularly of animals for the Passover, beginning with Josiah; 3. Passover offerings (10-16) – the offering of sacrifices (vv. 11-12), eating the Passover meal (vv. 13-15) and sprinkling of blood (v. 11) by the priests on the altar (v. 16) and 4. Passover obedience (vv. 17-19) – faithfulness of Josiah confirmed (Selman 1994:536).

### 5.9.3 Text critical analysis of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18

There are no serious textual problems or criticisms to consider regarding the pericope of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18.

### 5.9.4 Translation of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18

<sup>1</sup> *Josiah kept a Passover to the LORD in Jerusalem; they slaughtered the Passover lamb on the fourteenth day of the first month.*

<sup>2</sup> *He appointed the priests to their offices and encouraged them in the service of the house of the LORD.*

<sup>3</sup> *He said to the Levites who taught all Israel and who were holy to the LORD, "Put the holy ark in the house that Solomon son of David, king of Israel, built; you need no longer carry it on your shoulders. Now serve the LORD your God and his people Israel.*

<sup>4</sup> *Make preparations by your ancestral houses by your divisions, following the written directions of King David of Israel and the written directions of his son Solomon*

<sup>5</sup> *Take position in the holy place according to the groupings of the ancestral houses of your kindred the people, and let there be Levites for each division of an ancestral house.*

<sup>6</sup> *Slaughter the Passover lamb, sanctify yourselves, and on behalf of your kindred make preparations, acting according to the word of the LORD by Moses."*

<sup>7</sup> *Then Josiah contributed to the people, as Passover offerings for all that were present, lambs and kids from the flock to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand bulls; these were from the king's possessions.*

<sup>8</sup> *His officials contributed willingly to the people, to the priests, and to the Levites. Hilkiah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, the chief officers of the house of God, gave to the priests for the Passover offerings two thousand six hundred lambs and kids and three hundred bulls.*

<sup>9</sup> *Conaniah also, and his brothers Shemaiah and Nethanel, and Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, the chiefs of the Levites, gave to the Levites for the Passover offerings five thousand lambs and kids and five hundred bulls.*

<sup>10</sup> *When the service had been prepared for, the priests stood in their place, and the Levites in their divisions according to the king's command. <sup>11</sup> They slaughtered the Passover lamb, and the priests dashed the blood that they received from them, while the Levites did the skinning.*

<sup>12</sup> *They set aside the burnt offerings so that they might distribute them according to the groupings of the ancestral houses of the people, to offer to the LORD, as it is written in the book of Moses. And they did the same with the bulls.*



<sup>13</sup> They roasted the Passover lamb with fire according to the ordinance; and they boiled the holy offerings in pots, in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the people.

<sup>14</sup> Afterward they made preparations for themselves and for the priests, because the priests the descendants of Aaron were occupied in offering the burnt offerings and the fat parts until night; so the Levites made preparations for themselves and for the priests, the descendants of Aaron.

<sup>15</sup> The singers, the descendants of Asaph, were in their place according to the command of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and the king's seer Jeduthun. The gatekeepers were at each gate; they did not need to interrupt their service, for their kindred the Levites made preparations for them.

<sup>16</sup> So all the service of the LORD was prepared that day, to keep the Passover and to offer burnt offerings on the altar of the LORD, according to the command of King Josiah.

<sup>17</sup> The people of Israel who were present kept the Passover at that time, and the festival of unleavened bread seven days.

<sup>18</sup> No Passover like it had been kept in Israel since the days of the prophet Samuel; none of the kings of Israel had kept such a Passover as was kept by Josiah, by the priests and the Levites, by all Judah and Israel who were present, and by the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> וַיַּעַשׂ יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־רִוּחַ־שָׁלוֹם פָּסַח לַיהוָה וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן:  
<sup>2</sup> וַיַּעֲמֵד הַכֹּהֲנִים עַל־מִשְׁמְרוֹתָם וַיַּחֲזִקְתֶּם לַעֲבוֹדַת בַּיִת יְהוָה:  
<sup>3</sup> וַיֹּאמְרוּ לְלוֹאִים הַמְבֹרָכִים לְכֹל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַקְּדוֹשִׁים לַיהוָה תָּנוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּבַיִת אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה בֶן־דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
אִין־לָכֶם מִשָּׂא בְּכַתֵּף עִתָּה עֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְאֵת עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
<sup>4</sup> וְהַכֹּוֹנֵי לְבַיִת־אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם כָּמֹחַ לְקוֹתֵיכֶם בְּכַתֵּב דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְמִכְתָּב שְׁלֹמֹה בְּנוֹ:  
<sup>5</sup> וְעַמְדוֹ בְּקֹדֶשׁ לְפִלְגָוֹת בַּיִת הָאֲבוֹת לְאַחֵיכֶם בְּגֵי הָעֵם וְחִלְקַת בַּיִת־אֲב לְלוֹאִים:  
<sup>6</sup> וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ הַפֶּסַח וְהַתְּקֵדְשׁוּ וְהַכִּיֵּנוּ לְאַחֵיכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּדַבַּר־יְהוָה בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה: פ  
<sup>7</sup> וַיֵּרָם יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְגֵי הָעֵם צָאן כְּבָשִׂים וּבְגֵי־עֲזִים הַכֹּל לְפִסְחֵיהֶם לְכֹל־הַנִּמְצָא לְמִסְפַּר שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף וּבִקְרָר שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים  
אֶלֶה מֶרְכֹּוֹשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ: ס  
<sup>8</sup> וְשָׂרְיוֹ לְגִדְבָה לָעֵם לַכֹּהֲנִים וְלְלוֹאִים הַגֵּימוֹ חִלְקֵיהֶם וּזְכָרָהוּ וַיַּחֲזִיֵּאל נְגִידֵי בַיִת הָאֱלֹהִים לַכֹּהֲנִים נְתַנּוּ לְפִסְחֵים אֲלָפִים וְשָׁשׁ  
מֵאוֹת וּבִקְרָר שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת:  
<sup>9</sup> וּכְוֹנְנֵיהֶם וְשִׁמְעֵיהֶם וְנִתְנָאֵל אֲחֵיו וְחִשְׁבֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲזֵאל וַיִּזְבְּד שָׂרֵי הַלוֹאִים הַרִימוּ לְלוֹאִים לְפִסְחֵים חֲמִשָּׁת אֲלָפִים וּבִקְרָר חֲמִשָּׁשׁ  
מֵאוֹת:  
<sup>10</sup> וְתַכּוֹן הָעֲבוֹדָה וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים עַל־עַמְדָם וְהַלוֹאִים עַל־מִחְלָקוֹתָם כְּמִצְוַת הַמֶּלֶךְ:  
<sup>11</sup> וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ הַפֶּסַח וַיִּזְרְקוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים מִיָּדָם וְהַלוֹאִים מִפְּשִׁיטֵיהֶם:  
<sup>12</sup> וַיִּסְרִיּוּ הָעֵלָה לְתַתָּם לְמִפְלָגוֹת לְבַיִת־אֲבוֹת לְבְנֵי הָעֵם לְהַקְרִיב לַיהוָה כַּפְתּוֹב בְּסִפָּר מֵשֶׁה וְכוּ לְבִקְרָר:

<sup>13</sup> וַיִּבְשְׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ כַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהִקְדָּשִׁים בְּשָׂלוֹ בְּסִירֹת וּבְדֹדִים וּבְצִלְחוֹת וַיִּרְצוּ לְכָל־בְּנֵי הָעָם:  
<sup>14</sup> וְאַחֲרֵי הַכִּינּוֹ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנִים כִּי הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן בְּהַעֲלוֹת הָעוֹלָה וְהַחֲלִיבִים עַד־לַיְלָה וְהַלְוִיִּם הַכִּינּוּ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן:  
<sup>15</sup> וְהַמְשָׁרִים בְּנֵי־אַטָּף עַל־מַעְמָדָם כַּמִּצְוֹת דְּוִיד וְאַטָּף וְהִימָנוּ וַיִּדְתּוּן חוֹנֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשְׁעָרִים לְשַׁעַר וְשַׁעַר אֵין לָהֶם לְסוּר־מַעַל עֲבֹדָתָם כִּי־אֲחִיזָהֶם הַלְוִיִּם הַכִּינּוּ לָהֶם:  
<sup>16</sup> וַתִּכּוֹן כָּל־עֲבוֹדַת יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לַעֲשׂוֹת הַפֶּסַח וְהַעֲלוֹת עֲלֹתָ עַל מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה כַּמִּצְוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ:  
<sup>17</sup> וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנְּמַצָּאִים אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּעֵת הַהִיא וְאֶת־תֵּג הַמִּצְוֹת שִׁבְעַת יָמִים:  
<sup>18</sup> וְלֹא־נַעֲשָׂה כִּפְסַח כְּמֹהוּ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל מִיָּמֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הַנָּבִיא וְכָל־מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־עָשׂוּ כַּפֶּסַח אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם וְכָל־יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל הַנְּמַצָּא וַיּוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם:

### 5.9.5 Intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18

In this section, parallel verses of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 will be considered using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure.

#### (a) Exodus 12:3 and 2 Chronicles 35:7

##### Exodus 12:3 -

דַּבְּרוּ אֶל־כָּל־עַדְת יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר בְּעֶשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם אִישׁ שֶׁחֶד לְבַיְתוֹ לְבֵית־אָבִת לְבַיִת:

“Tell the whole congregation of Israel that on the tenth of this month they are to take **a lamb** for each family, **a lamb** for each household.”

##### 2 Chronicles 35:7-

וַיִּרֶם יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ לְבְנֵי הָעָם צֹאן כְּבָשִׂים וּבְנֵי־עֹזִים הַכֹּל לַפֶּסַחִים לְכָל־הַנְּמַצָּא לְמִסְפַּר שְׁלִשִׁים אֶלֶף וּבָקָר שְׁלֹשָׁת אֶלְפִים אֶלֶף מִרְכוּשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ:

“Then Josiah contributed to the people, as Passover offerings for all that were present, **lambs and kids**<sup>159</sup> from the flock to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand **bulls**; these were from the king’s possessions.”

<sup>159</sup> The phrase “lambs and kids” is not found in the MT but is present in the English translations.

in his preparation for the Passover King Josiah did not only make provision for the stationing of priests and Levites but he equally provided a large quantity of animals to meet the needs of the people that attended the Passover (Hooker 2001:283).<sup>160</sup> The supply of the animals was not necessarily based on the prescription of the Passover but it was to ensure that there was enough meat for a communal meal at the temple in Jerusalem (Hooker 2001:282). The gifts by Josiah (v. 7), his officials/temple administrators<sup>161</sup> and other leaders of the Levites (vv. 8-9) were willingly or voluntarily given for the sacrifice following the generous precedent originally set by David (1 Chr. 29:2-5; 2 Chr. 7:5; 30:24; cf. Thompson 1994:382; Selman 1994:539). The voluntary gifts of 37,600 animals from the flock and 3,800 bulls indicate the peoples' willingness to give their gifts and lives back to God the giver of life and property (1 Chr. 29:5-14; 2 Chr. 17:16; 29:31).

The voluntary gifts also point to the uniqueness of Josiah's Passover when compared to that of Hezekiah and of the time of the judges. The number of animals donated during this Passover doubled the number of offerings made at the Passover in Hezekiah's time but was probably less than the offering made during the dedication of Solomon's temple (Thompson 1994:382). The emphasis on the joyful and voluntary giving (24:8-14; 29:31-36; 31:3-21; 1 Chr. 29:3-9) seems to portray the relevance of the Passover to the post-exilic audience or readers (Dillard 1995:658).

The cattle mentioned in 2 Chronicles 35:7, 8, 9, if considered as part of the Passover animals in Josiah's time, could come from the "flocks and herds" of Deuteronomy 16:2 which then establishes a link between the two Passover accounts which were distinguished based on context, time, audience and needs (Selman 1994:539).

## **(b) Exodus 12:6 and 2 Chronicles 35:1**

### **Exodus 12:6 -**

וְהָיָה לָכֶם	לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת	עַד אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ	הַזֶּה וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קִהְל עֵדֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים:
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<sup>160</sup> The record of 37,600 animals and 3,800 bulls is an amazing number that doubled that of Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chr. 30:24) but much less than the number of offering made at the dedication of the temple in Solomon's day (2 Chr. 7:5). The idea as we have earlier indicated was to care for the large population that attended the unification Passover of King Josiah (Thompson 1994:382).

<sup>161</sup> The term administrators as used in this text could also mean the chief officers (cf. REB, NEB, NRSV, RSV translations) and it is a neutral term for the senior priests including the high priest Hilkiah (34:9, 14, 18). The same term (administrator) however, is restricted to the high priest in 1 Chronicles 9:11; 12:28 (Selman 1994:538).

*“You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”*

**2 Chronicles 35:1-**

וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוֹשָׁפָאט בִּירוּשָׁלַם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן:
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*“Josiah kept a Passover to the LORD in Jerusalem; they slaughtered the Passover lamb on the fourteenth day of the first month.”*

The above parallel verses contain elements of re-contextualisation; 2 Chronicles 35:1 has re-contextualized attributively the older priestly text of Exodus 12:6 without any indication that the words are written anywhere else in the Bible (Robbins 1996b:48). The text of 2 Chronicles 35 opens in v. 1 with King Josiah celebrating the Passover in honour of the Lord which in a sense shows that Josiah had complied with his own requirements regarding the Passover. Since his requirements were guided by the laws of the Pentateuch, it then follows that Josiah was obedient to the Pentateuchal laws regarding the Passover celebration in his time of reform. His compliance with his requirement then distinguished 2 Chronicles 35:1 account from that of 2 Kings 23:21 which contains the command, “celebrate the Passover” but there is no clear indication of the involvement of the one who commanded the people to observe the Passover (Selman 1994:537).

Josiah also demonstrated his obedience to the laws of the Pentateuch regarding the Passover celebration by indicating the exact date of the observance of the Passover as “*the fourteenth day of the first month*” (2 Chr. 35:1). This specification is not found in 2 Kings 23:21-23 but rather is contrasted with the Pentateuchal laws on the delayed Passover in Hezekiah’s days (Lev. 23:5; Ex. 12:6; Num. 9:3, 28:16; cf. 2 Chr. 30:2-3; cf. Dillard 1987:290). That means that Josiah’s Passover was geared towards observing both the Passover and the laws of Moses on the Passover feast as given by Yahweh (Thompson 1994:381; Selman 1994:537).

**(c) Exodus 12:8 and 2 Chronicles 35:13**

**Exodus 12:8 -**

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה צֹלֵי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עֲלֵי־מֶרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:

“They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it **roasted over the fire** with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.”

## 2 Chronicles 35:13 -

וַיִּבְשְׂלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ כַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהַקֹּדְשִׁים בְּסִירוֹת וּבַדְּוָדִים וּבַצִּלְחָוֹת וַיִּרְיִצּוּ לְכָל־בְּנֵי הָעָם:

“They **roasted the Passover lamb with fire** according to the ordinance; and they **boiled** the holy offerings in pots, in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the people.”

Verse 13 of 2 Chronicles 35 tries to strike a balance between the Passover laws of Exodus 12:8-9 and that of Deuteronomy 16:7 in that the lamb was both roasted and boiled in water but for two different purposes. This was contrary to the laws of the Exodus Passover that required the lamb to be roasted strictly over the fire (Hooker 2001:283). The connection between the Passover in 2 Chronicles and that of Exodus 12:6 and Deuteronomy can be established by the use of the Hebrew word בָּשָׂלוּ (roast, cook, boil).

However, this manner of preparing the Passover lamb by roasting the lamb with fire points back to the original celebration of the Passover in the pre-monarchical and non-priestly era when it was celebrated as a family festival at homes with head of families acting as priests.

Furthermore, the term בָּשָׂלוּ can be interpreted as “roast,” “boil,” or “cook” depending on the custom or context. The idea of roasting over fire is more applicable to the Passover norms of Exodus 12 while boiling of the bulls is more related to the ancient practice of boiling holy offerings in pots (1 Sam. 2:13-14; 1 Kgs. 19:21; cf. Thompson 1994:383). Boiling the meat in pots also had to do with the large quantity of meat that would serve the mammoth crowd in attendance as well as an indication of a settled life, probably a post-exilic setting, where cooking utensils for boiling were readily available.

Additionally, the element of haste expressed by the action of the Levites in their willingness to serve the people quickly is present in v.13. The hasty action of the Levites echo the hasty manner

of eating the roasted lambs of the original Passover in Exodus 12:11. This then explains the connection between 2 Chronicles 35:13 and Exodus and it is an indication that 2 Chronicles is younger than and has borrowed from Exodus 12 (Selman 1994:540; Thompson 1994:383). The inference here is that the non-priestly elements found in Josiah's Passover were used to stress his obedience to the covenant law and to recollect the past celebration while projecting it into the future.

#### (d) Exodus 12:9 and 2 Chronicles 35:14

##### Exodus 12:9 -

אַל־תֹּאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ נָא וּבִשְׁלַל מִבֶּשֶׂל בַּמַּיִם כִּי אִם־צֹלֵי־אֵשׁ רֹאשׁוֹ עַל־פְּרָעִיו וְעַל־קַרְבּוֹ:

*“Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.”*

##### 2 Chronicles 35:14 -

וְאַחַר הִכְיִנוּ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנִים כִּי הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן בָּהֶעֱלוּת הָעוֹלָה וְהַחֲלָבִים עַד־לַיְלָה וְהַלְוִיִּם הִכְיִנוּ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן:

*“Afterward they made preparations for themselves and for the priests, because the priests the descendants of Aaron were occupied in offering the burnt offerings and the **fats parts** until night; so the Levites made preparations for themselves and for the priests, the descendants of Aaron.”*

In v.14, the term הַחֲלָבִים “*the fats parts*” refers to the fellowship or peace offering (Lev. 3:9-17) which has been partially incorporated into the Passover and which included a communion meal. The action of the Levites in serving their fellow priests during the Passover session is a sign of concern and of the importance of accommodating others in the communion meal. The behaviour is commendable considering especially Josiah's attempt to unite the two kingdoms of Israel through the Passover celebration. The good service of the Levites was also extended to the gatekeepers who were busy and could not partake in the Passover as a group with the others (Selman 1994:540). This aspect on the behaviour of the Levites is indeed is unique to Josiah's Passover in Chronicles. Faithfulness to Yahweh and to fellow human beings is demonstrated in Josiah's Passover as a good example to follow.

Moreover, Josiah's faithfulness is established in his unique Passover which involved a large crowd comprising of the priests, Levites, all Judah/Israel and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, a crowd that was bigger than that of Hezekiah's Passover (30:25). As Selman (1994:540) has noted, the Passover was also combined with the unleavened bread (v. 17) as in the earlier celebrations (Ex.12:8; Num. 28:16-17; Deut. 16:1-8; 2 Chr. 30:13, 21).

In 2 Chronicles 35:4, the word **בְּכִתְבֵי** in this verse belongs to the root word **כָּתַב** "writing" but in this context with **בְּ** (preposition) following **כִּתְבֵי**, it is used strictly for direction or prescription. The RSV reads "*following the... directions,*" while the JPS reads "*as prescribed in the writing of... and in the document of...*" (Dillard 1987:285; Japhet 1993:1039). The word "direction" as rendered by the NRSV appears to carry more weight; thus, the RSV is preferred here.

Even though there is no direct parallel for 2 Chronicles 35:4 in Exodus 12:1-28, the verse is worth exploring. The verse shows that the duties of the Levites were spelled out in the written directives of David the King of Israel and his son Solomon. The mention of David and Solomon in Chronicles in relation to Scripture was to stress the importance of the text as a channel through which God's words are expressed in Chronicles. As one recollected the identity of notable Israelite figures such as David and Solomon, one would remember God's words spoken through them in history. In this way, the history and identity of notable biblical figures served as a tool of biblical interpretation to the community of Israel (Tuell 2001:239).

V. 3 **נָתַן** is probably read as **נָתַן**, meaning, put, place, or be given.<sup>162</sup> However, in this context, it means "put" or "place," referring to the act of setting the Ark of the Covenant in its normal position in the house of God (Japhet 1993:1038). The phrase "put the Ark" in the same verse evokes the idea that the Ark was probably removed from the Holy of Holies either as a result of apostasy under Manasseh and Amon or its installation was revisited ceremonially so that the refurbished temple under Josiah was likened to its initial dedication under Solomon. There is however no such evidence from the text (Dillard 1987:284).

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<sup>162</sup> The word **נָתַן** is a verb, *qal*, imperative, masculine, plural=put, place, be given.

Verses 6 and 11 present שִׁחַט from the root word שָׁחַט “slaughter” or “beat.”<sup>163</sup> The RSV translates the word as kill/killed while the rendering in the MT is slaughter/slaughtered (Japhet 1993:1039). The word slaughter is more applicable to cultic action and is in harmony with the NRSV that is the selected translation for this study. In vv. 6 and 11, the Levites are directed to act in everything according to word of the Lord by Moses. For instance, they were responsible for killing the Passover lamb which in a sense was the role assigned to them permanently during the Passover time under Josiah contrary to what we have in the Passover event under Hezekiah (Japhet 1993:1049).

**Table 14: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and 2 Chronicles 35:1-18**

<p><b>Ex. 12:3</b> - Tell the whole congregation of Israel that on the tenth of this month they are to take <i>a lamb</i> for each family, <i>a lamb</i> for each household.</p> <p>דַּבְּרוּ אֶל-כָּל-עֵדֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר בְּעֶשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם אִישׁ יֵשׁוּחַ לְבֵית-אָבִתָּהּ יֵשׁוּחַ לְבַיִת:</p>	<p><b>2 Chr. 35:7</b> - Then Josiah contributed to the people, as Passover offerings for all that were present, <i>lambs and kids</i> from the <i>flock</i> to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand bulls; these were from the king’s possessions.</p> <p>וַיֵּרָם יְאִשְׁיָהוּ לְבַגְי הָעֹמֹם לְצֹאן כְּבָשִׂים וּבְגִי-עֵזִים הַכֹּל לַפִּסְחִים לְכָל-הַנְּמֻצָא לְמִסְפַּר שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף וּבָקָר שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים אֵלֶּה מִרְכוּשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - <i>You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month</i>; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.</p> <p>וַהֲיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחַטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עֵדֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:</p>	<p><b>2 Chr. 35:1</b> - <i>Josiah kept a Passover</i> to the LORD in Jerusalem; they slaughtered the Passover lamb on the fourteenth day of the first month.</p> <p>וַיַּעַשׂ יְאִשְׁיָהוּ בִּירוּשָׁלַם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה וַיִּשְׁחַטוּ הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:8</b> - They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it <i>roasted over the fire</i> with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.</p> <p>וְאָכְלוּ אֹת-הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה צְלִי-אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עֲלִי-מֶרְרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:</p>	<p><b>2 Chr. 35:13</b> - They <i>roasted</i> the Passover <i>lamb</i> with <i>fire</i> according to the ordinance; and they <i>boiled</i> the holy offerings in pots, in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the people.</p> <p>וַיִּבְשְׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בְּאֵשׁ כַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהִקְדָּשִׁים בְּסִירוֹת וּבַדְּוָדִים:</p>

<sup>163</sup> The root word שָׁחַט is a verb, *gal*, imperative, masculine, plural=slaughter, beat.



	<p>ובצלות ויריצו לקל־בגני העם:</p>
<p><b>Ex. 12:9</b> - Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.</p> <p>אל־תֹאכלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ נָא וּבָשֵׁל מִבָּשָׂל בְּמַיִם כִּי אִם־צָלִי־אֵשׁ רָאִשׁוֹ עַל־כַּרְעֵיו וְעַל־קַרְבּוֹ:</p>	<p><b>2 Chr. 35:14</b> - Afterward they made preparations for themselves and for the priests, because the priests the descendants of Aaron were occupied in offering the burnt offerings and the fat parts until night; so the Levites made preparations for themselves and for the priests, the descendants of Aaron.</p> <p>וְאַחֲרַיִם הִכִּינוּ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנָיִם כִּי הִכְהֵנִים בְּגִי אֶהְרֹן בְּהַעֲלוֹת הָעוֹלָה וְהַמִּזְבֵּיִם עַד־לַיְלָה וְהַלְוִיִּם הִכִּינוּ לָהֶם וְלַכֹּהֲנָיִם בְּגִי אֶהְרֹן:</p>

### 5.9.6 Summary and conclusion of section

In line with the discussion above, the following preliminary conclusions could be made on the different elements of the Passover that are registered in the text of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. First, different terminologies are associated with the Passover text of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. For example, the Passover in the pericope was “*kept to the Lord,*” that is, it was kept in commemoration of Yahweh’s mighty acts of salvation on behalf of his chosen people. On the other hand, the people were instructed to “*celebrate the Passover for Yahweh*” in Exodus 12:1-28, that is, they were to dedicate the Passover to Yahweh as the owner or initiator of the festival. Furthermore, the phrase “*house of the Lord*” in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 is different from “*the place Yahweh will choose*” in other parallel texts of the Passover. Both terminologies point to a centralized place possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

The Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 took place in “*the house of the Lord,*” possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem and not at home or the local sanctuary as in Exodus 12:1-28 or in Gilgal as in Joshua 5:10-12. That suggests that the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 took place possibly in the post-exilic context or era.

Differences were also observed between the date and time of the Passover celebration in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 and those of other parallel texts in the Pentateuch and other books of the Old

Testament. In 2 Chronicles 35:1-18, the Passover took place exactly on the fourteenth day of the first month. It was a one-day celebration that was followed by seven days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. This time frame was different from the seven days of Passover and seven days of Unleavened Bread in Exodus 12:1-28. The exact time is not stated in 2 Chronicles even though the Passover in Exodus 12:1-28 and in other parallel texts of the Old Testament took place at twilight.

Burnt offering was made by Levites and priests using bulls, lambs and kids during the Passover celebration in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 as opposed to the parallel accounts in Exodus 12:1-28 and other books of the Pentateuch and of the Old Testament. The priests slaughtered the sacrificial animals and dashed the blood while the Levites skinned the slaughtered animals. This differs from the Passover account in Exodus 12:1-28 where individual householders slaughtered the animals and sprinkled blood on the doorposts. It also differs from other accounts in the Old Testament where kings and princes carried out the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals without any mention of dashing the blood. It is assumed here that the differences are due to the growth or development of the Passover tradition.

The mode of preparation of the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 was also different from that in other parallel accounts in the Pentateuch and in the Old Testament in general. For instance, the Passover lamb was roasted with fire and the holy offering was boiled in pots, caldrons and pans, and shared to the people as opposed to the method of roasting the entire Passover lamb in fire in Exodus 12:1-28. Bulls as well as lambs and kids were used during the Passover celebration in 2 Chronicles as opposed to lambs without any defect that were used during the original Passover in Exodus 12:1-28. The Passover in 2 Chronicles was done according to the laws of Moses while its parallel account in Exodus 12:1-28 was strictly based on God's prescription. The changes or modifications in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 reflect the dynamic character of the Passover tradition and its growth over time and in new contexts.

Priest and Levites presided over the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 while other personalities such as singers, gatekeepers, kings, seers, chief officers of the house of the Lord and probably

the high priest participated in the Passover. This differs from the account in Exodus 12:1-28 where householders slaughtered the animals rather than priests.

The Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition. For instance, it was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month just as in the parallel account of the Exodus tradition. Lambs were slaughtered and at least roasted and blood sprinkled. This is comparable to the steps taken in the Exodus tradition particularly in Exodus 12:1-28 even though several additions are found in the account of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. Furthermore, the unleavened bread festival was celebrated after the Passover; this is also similar to what took place in the Exodus tradition but with new additions to suit the context, time and need. The Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 also shares certain similarities with Deuteronomy 16:1-8 and 2 Kings 23:21-23 especially in terms of the date of the Passover and the place of celebration. By contrast, some additions in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 are not found in Deuteronomy, Kings and the rest of the Pentateuch and historical books, confirming the independent character of the Chronicler's account irrespective of its borrowing from older traditions or sources.

Lastly, it is presumed that 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 belong to the post-exilic and priestly tradition since it bears certain resemblances with that tradition. These include the mode of preparation, the officials involved, the place of celebration, the animals that were used in the celebration among other features such as the expression "to the Lord" which was used often in the post-exilic period or texts.

### ***5.10 Intertextual Connections between Exodus 12:1-28 and Ezekiel 45:21-24***

The intertextual links between Exodus 12:1-28 will be explored in this section. However, the analysis will begin with a research survey of the book of Ezekiel.

### 5.10.1 Research survey of the book of Ezekiel

Ezekiel<sup>164</sup> is one of the most difficult books of the Old Testament due to its fantastic visions, long allegories, priestly background, and combination of visions, symbolic action and logical discourse that have no parallels in the Old Testament prophetic corpus (Sweeney 2005:145; Petersen 2002:137; Galambush 1999:372; Clements 1996:151; Rendtorff 1985:213). The early rabbinic interpreters, for instance, stirred up controversies on the book of Ezekiel that are centred on:

1. The so called vision of divine chariot (Ezek. 1, 8, 10), mentioned in Ben Sira 49:8;
  2. The intensive condemnation of Israel and Jerusalem by Ezekiel (Ezek. 16:1ff);
  3. The contradictory laws of the vision of Ezekiel 40-48 to the Torah (Ezek. 44:22; Lev. 21:14).
- Nonetheless, the book of Ezekiel has been interpreted by early Christians as the source of the images of the Messiah and the good shepherd (Ezek. 34; Matt. 18:12-14; Ezek. 37:24; Galambush 1999:372).

The book of Ezekiel is addressed to the exile audience in Babylon who lost everything in the course of the exile yet had the chance of gaining everything if only they would acknowledge their guilt and put their trust in the covenant God (Renn 2005:219). The main concern of the book is the true identity of the people of God which is not found in history or genealogy but in the purposes of God. The last section of Ezekiel (in particular chs. 40-48) is dominated by prophecies of restoration (Collins 2004:370) and visions of temple renewal which make the book look more like a Pentateuchal than a prophetic book (Sweeney 2005: 145,158).

Nevertheless, the book maintains the theology of the temple as a dwelling place for Yahweh which was the ongoing tradition among the covenantal people of God. Accordingly, the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 formed part of God's purpose and revealed the true identity of the audience at that time as the covenantal people of God despite their status then as exiled people. In that regard, the Passover was regarded as a hope creating festival (Sweeney 2005:161).

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<sup>164</sup> The Hebrew name for Ezekiel עִזְקִיֵּאל = '*strength of God, whom God will strengthen, God is strong, or the man God strengthens*' (Redditt 2008:156-157) has its Greek rendering Ἰεζεκιηλ in the Septuagint from which the Latin form *Ezechiel* developed in the Vulgate. Ezekiel, as we have it, is a variant form of the Latin (Rendtorff 1985:208).

As a book in the Major Prophets, Ezekiel is attributed to Prophet Ezekiel the son of a priest called Buzi. Ezekiel was one of the leading Judean citizens that were exiled to Babylon along with the eight thousand nobility, craftspeople, priests, religious leaders and King Jehoiachin during the first deportation by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 BCE (Ezek. 24:14-16; Bodi 2009:402; Odell 2007:387; Petersen 2002:137; Klein 2000:446; Hillmer 1995:1219).<sup>165</sup> Ezekiel's background as the son of a priest seemed to influence his life and writing. For instance, his language, use of visual imagery, and theological concepts indicate that he had combined the traditional perspective and worldview of a Zadokite priest with the very circumstances of life in Babylonian exile (Sweeney 2005:132; Petersen 2002:138).

The historical allusions coupled with date notices and themes in the book of Ezekiel seemed to reflect the Judean political situation that probably led to the deportation to Babylon and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (Odell 2007:387).<sup>166</sup> The book of Ezekiel is also preoccupied with the fate of Jerusalem, which is evident in its repetition of key themes that seem to confirm that the rebellious and defeated people of Israel would come to recognize the power, covenant loyalty and sovereignty of Yahweh their God through the devastating events that befell them (Odell 2007:387). The question remains: how one can understand the book of Ezekiel given its priestly and prophetic background? One may suggest here that interpreting the book within the priestly context could facilitate its understanding since the author was more grounded in the priestly tradition as his genealogy shows.

With regards to the structure of the book of Ezekiel, Klein (2000:446) has outlined three major parts namely (a) 1-24 Oracle against Judah and Jerusalem; (b) 25-32 Oracle against foreign nations; and (c) 33-48 Words of hope. Based on this outline, chapter 45:21-24 which is the

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<sup>165</sup> Ezekiel the author of the book that bears his name was born into a chaotic world where major players on the ancient Near Eastern stage were switching roles and smaller nations were disappearing from the scene. Ezekiel came to the throne as a prophet of Israel when the Jews were found in three principal places namely Judah, Egypt, and Babylon. Ezekiel's basic audience was the community of Jews in Babylon. As a book, Ezekiel contains the collection of prophecies that bears his name whose Hebrew rendering serve as an affirmation of faith, "God strengthen/toughness" and as an appeal of faith, "may God strengthen". The rhetorical agenda of Ezekiel was to transform his audience's (the exiles) perception, their relationship with Yahweh and subsequently change their behaviour.

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pericope under investigation here falls under the third division – words of hope. The short outline by Klein (2000:446) is preferred here because it is clear and easy to memorize and understand.

If the hope that is emphasized by Klein (2000:446) is that of salvation and restoration of God's chosen nation after the exile, then the Passover celebration in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was a celebration of hope of salvation, restoration of faith and formal worship of God after the exile. This in a sense confirms the identity of God's people as a covenantal people despite their shortcomings before God which led them into exile (Renn 2005:219).

### 5.10.2 Research survey of Ezekiel 45:21-24

Joyce (2009:234) in his concise and up-to-date commentary on the book of Ezekiel also considers chapter 45:21-24 as a section that deals with festival regulations including the Passover. Cooper (1994:401) also confirms that vv.18-25 falls under the regulations for feasts which would include the Passover feast.

Odell (2005:518) on the other hand claims that Ezekiel 45:21-24 deals with the restoration of the cult which involves the establishment of the festival calendar at a third level. According to the author, three great annual feasts are required here namely the annual cleansing of the temple, the Passover and the thanksgiving feast in which a prince was required to offer a solemn sacrifice (Odell 2005:518).

Ezekiel 45:21-24 is also regarded as an interesting account of the contributions that were rendered by the secular ruler – a prince who acted in place of a king as in 2 Kings 23:21-23 and 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 (Blenkinsopp 1990:226; Cooper 1994:401).

### 5.10.3 Text critical analysis of Ezekiel 45:21-24

**V. 21** – The phrase *גִּזְרֵי שָׁבֻעַ* “*a feast of weeks*” in the MT is rendered in the LXX as *πάσχα ὁρτή* “*Passover feast*” and in BHS as *גִּזְרֵי הַפֶּסַח* as the “*Passover feast*”. As a matter of fact, some scholars (e.g. Zimmerli 1983:481) have argued that the MT rendering is not original but it only forced its way through the text and that the correct word order is that which is amazingly preserved in the LXX. The “*Passover feast*” appears only once in Exodus 34:25 and is never repeated in any of the references in the priestly tradition to which Ezekiel seems to belong. The

original text however would read, יהייה לכם הפסח “*there shall be to you the Passover*” found in the BHS with הָיָה standing as an additional remark occasioned by הָיָה “*the festival*” that follows in v. 23 (Zimmerli 1983:481). Additionally, the appropriate term for “*seven*” which is referred to in Ezekiel’s account is שִׁבְעָת found in a few MSS and the ancient version (Allen 1990:246).

The above differences may be due to later translations or translator(s) who probably reversed the original word order to arrive at a rendering that reads הָיָה שִׁבְעָת which in a sense is a corrupt rendering but is the choice of the translator(s) at the time of translation. The different renderings probably resulted from the development of the text and its transmission from one source to another. Additions or modifications to the original text then brought about its new but acceptable rendering and/or version suitable in the new context in which it is found (Zimmerli 1983:481).

By and large, textual criticism has helped to uncover the original word order of the Passover festival based on its root or context as discussed above. This study however has applied the Hebrew rendering (BHS) and the NRSV which are closely related to the LXX rendering shown below.

#### 5.10.4 Translation of Ezekiel 45:21-24

<sup>21</sup> *In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, you shall celebrate the festival of the Passover, and for seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten.*

<sup>22</sup> *On that day the prince shall provide for himself and all the people of the land a young bull for a sin offering.*

<sup>23</sup> *And during the seven days of the festival he shall provide as a burnt offering to the LORD seven young bulls and seven rams without blemish, on each of the seven days; and a male goat daily for a sin offering.*

<sup>24</sup> *He shall provide as a grain offering an ephah for each bull, an ephah for each ram, and a hin of oil to each ephah.*

בְּרֵאשִׁית חֹדֶשׁ בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַפֶּסַח הָיָה שִׁבְעָת יָמִים מִצֹּת יֵאָכֵל: <sup>21</sup>

וַעֲשֵׂה הַנָּשִׂיא בַיּוֹם הַהוּא בַעֲדוֹ וּבְעֵד כָּל־עַם הָאָרֶץ פַּר חֲטָאת: <sup>22</sup>

23 וְשִׁבְעַת יְמֵי־הַחֹדֶשׁ יַעֲשֶׂה עוֹלָה לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת פָּרִים וְשִׁבְעַת אֵילִים תְּמִימִם לַיּוֹם שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים וְחֹטְאֵת שְׂעִיר עֲזִים

לַיּוֹם:

24 וּמִנְחָה אֵיפָה לַפֶּר וְאֵיפָה לְאֵיל יַעֲשֶׂה וְשָׂמוּ הֵיוּ לְאֵיפָה:

### 5.10.5 Intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and Ezekiel 45:21-24

Once again, Exodus 12:1-28 will be used as a point of departure to analyze the intertexture of Ezekiel 45:21-24.

#### (a) Exodus 12:6 and Ezekiel 45:21

##### Exodus 12:6 -

וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשִׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עַדְת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּיּוֹם הָעֶרְבָּיִם:

*“You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this Month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight.”*

##### Ezekiel 45:21-

בְּרֵאשִׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַפֶּסַח חֹדֶשׁ שִׁבְעוֹת יָמִים מִצּוֹת יֶאֱכַל:

*“In the first Month, on the fourteenth day of the Month, you shall celebrate the festival of the Passover, and for seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten.”*

The above parallel verses contain replication, a type of recitation in which similar word strings are formed with differences in few words in the parallel text (Robbins 1996b:41). Verse 21 deals with the prescription of the Passover ordinances which are similar to those of the Pentateuch. The festival was to take place on the fourteenth day of the first month and last for seven days during which only unleavened bread was to be eaten (Block 1998:665). The word חֹדֶשׁ (festival, pilgrimage) in this context seems to take on the Old Testament connotation of an annual community festival celebrated by the chosen people of God.



The festival in most cases was marked by rejoicing and singing in the context of a procession to the sanctuary where the sacrificial offering would be presented to Yahweh (Block 1998:664). The phrase *לִּפְנֵי יְהוָה* “*the festival of the Passover,*” in v. 21 in a sense presupposed a later addition outside its original context and celebration in Egypt in Exodus 12 (Zimmerli 1983:483). This was probably a later development of the Passover in a centralized place in the Jerusalem temple as earlier anticipated by Deuteronomy 16:1-8 (Block 1998:664).

The Passover in Ezekiel required a sin offering and purification rites as opposed to that of the Exodus and it was a public feast done in the temple in Jerusalem. Here we have agreed with a post-exilic and Second Temple setting where the returnees from exile as well as the temple and its worship were restored to the normal order (Block 1998:666; cf. Blenkinsopp 1990:226-227; Cooper 1994:401). Although the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 seems to differ greatly from the older accounts in the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic books (Deut. 16; Num. 28; Lev. 23; Ex. 23; Jos. 5), it retains a link with them that is evident in the shared similarity of its pattern of festival regulations (Joyce 2009:62, 234).<sup>167</sup>

The expression *לִּפְנֵי יְהוָה* “*the Passover feast*” which is preserved in Ezekiel 45:21 also indicate a connection between the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 and those of the Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic books (Zimmerli 1983:480-481). Additionally, the unblemished condition of the animals used for the purification offering and burnt offering in Ezekiel 45:21-24 echoes the use of the unblemished lamb for the Passover celebration in the text of Exodus 12:13 and

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<sup>167</sup> The Passover account in Ezekiel differs from that of Exodus in the following ways:

1. In Ezekiel 45, the prince played a leading role while the original account in Exodus 12-13 presents the Passover as a family affair led by the head of the family.
2. Ezekiel charged the national head of state with the responsibility for the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in his time by first providing the sacrificial animals which seemed to be part of the ongoing custom as a similar thing was done later in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chr. 30) and Josiah (2 Chr. 35:1-19).
3. Ezekiel’s festival allowed a bull for the purification offering on the first day and bulls, rams, and goats on each of the seven days of the Unleavened Bread festival without mentioning lambs but grain offering involving oil and ephah (Ezek. 45:21-24). This is different from the unblemished lamb prescribed in the original Passover of Exodus 12:1ff. Ezekiel’s account in this case resembles the later prescription of the festival in Numbers 28:16-25 and that of Josiah held in 2 Chronicles 35:7-9.

From the points above, it is evident that Ezekiel has shifted from the original motive for celebrating the Passover to a new dimension where sacrificial rites and festivity seemed to gain the upper hand over a mere commemoration of liberation from slavery symbolized by the original celebration in Exodus 12:1-28 (Block 1998:666; Blenkinsopp 1990:226-227; Cooper Sr. 1994: 401).

Numbers 28:16-25 (Darr 2001:1586). The connection between the two parallels also confirms the development of the Passover tradition over time and in new contexts.

Again, Ezekiel 45:21 displays elements of a settled life. The Passover involved a pilgrimage and it was celebrated differently from its original context in the non-priestly era. Does Ezekiel 45:21-24 point to a settled life in exile or after the exile? One could say that Ezekiel in this case has drawn from an exilic source but it finds fulfilment in a post-exilic setting and it placed much emphasis on the new temple in Jerusalem (Zimmerli 1983:483). In other words, Ezekiel 45:21-24 is a product of dual contexts – exilic and post-exilic. The narrated time qualifies it as an exilic text while its time of narration falls in the post-exilic period after the erection of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. In addition, time specification rather than obligation is emphasized in the verse among other variables such as burnt/grain offerings, bulls, oil, rams, goats, festival, sin offering, and terminologies such as “*to the Lord.*” as All these serve to justify the post-exilic and Second Temple origin of the Passover text of Ezekiel 45:21-24.

Although vv. 22-24 have no direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28 which is the point of departure for this study, it seems that the unit is aided by the different variables that have been identified within the evolving Passover tradition in the Pentateuch, which allows comparism between the different levels of celebration of the Passover over time.<sup>168</sup> The celebration of the Passover and unleavened bread in vv. 22-24 was the responsibility of אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה “*the prince*” who was required to present a bull for a sin offering for himself and the people of the land (Cooper 1994:407).

The term אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה “*the prince*” in vv. 22-24 is derived from the proto-Semitic verb נָסַח, נָסַח fundamentally, “to lift up, elevate, raise or exalt. The term occurs 126 times in the Old Testament

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<sup>168</sup> These variables include the following:

- i. Terms: different terminologies are associated with the Passover text.
- ii. Place: the Passover took place in different locations.
- iii. Date: the Passover took place on different dates or at different periods.
- iv. Sacrifice: different sacrifices were performed during the Passover.
- v. Preparation: the Passover was performed in different modes.
- vi. Officials: the Passover was presided over by different people.
- vii. Other feasts: there are different links between the Passover and the Festival of the Unleavened Bread.
- viii. Exodus tradition: the Passover is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition.

(4x in Genesis and Exodus; 1x in Leviticus; 60x in Numbers; 14x in Deuteronomistic History; 12x in Joshua; 2x in Kings; 7x in Chronicler's history and 36x in Ezekiel). However, in Ezekiel 45:22-24, it is used as a royal title, to refer to a royal person in authority of leadership or to the leader of a congregation in preference to a king (Rendtorff 1985:213; Niehr 1999:44-45; Clines 2001:772).

In the this text, "the prince" is used with various nuances to refer to one who is elevated such as a priest or a ruler of the salvific future possibly a Davidic ruler whom God would appoint to shepherd the flock. He would act in contrast to the ungodly or worldly rulers and leaders who cared for themselves rather than the flocks (Aitken 1997:172; Niehr 1999:44-45; Odell 2007:395).

The "*the prince of Israel*" officiating the Passover and sin offering on behalf of his people in Ezekiel 45:22-24 represented the symbol or image of a future ruler in the lineage of David appointed by God to rule his people after their purification and restoration program. The Prince was the image of futuristic hope for Israel the exiled people of God (Petersen 2001:1586; Work 2009:162). Consequently, the Passover celebration in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was not just a festivity but a hope-giving feast that presupposed future worship in the new temple in Jerusalem. It also marked the deliverance of the people of Israel from both Pharaoh and the Angel of death (Work 2009:162).

Since princes were appointed as rulers by God to care for the sheep, the faith and spiritual commitment that focused on the temple worship in Jerusalem would therefore embrace the Jews living outside Jerusalem without a temple and who were scattered among the nations (Clements 1996:200).

**V. 22** - The expression "*people of the land*" in this verse is a term for distinguishing lay people from priests, Levites and princes. Its old meaning pointed to a full citizen of Israel while its post-exilic rendering served to distinguish between the people that remained behind in Jerusalem after the deportation and the returnees from the Babylonian exile. As used in this text and context, it is

a technical and cultic terminology found only in this verse and in no other place (Eichrodt 1970:574).

**Table 15: Intertexture between Exodus 12:1-28 and Ezekiel 45:21-24**

<p><b>Ex. 12:6</b> - You shall keep it <i>until the fourteenth day of this Month</i>; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight</p> <p>וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת עַד אַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם:</p>	<p><b>Ezek. 45:21</b> - <i>In the first Month, on the fourteenth day of the Month</i>, you shall celebrate the festival of the Passover, and for seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten.</p> <p>בְּרֵאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַפֶּסַח הַזֶּה שִׁבְעָת יָמִים מִצֹּת יֶאֱכַל:</p>
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### 5.10.6 Summary and conclusion of section

To conclude the discussion in the foregoing section, different variables depicting different levels and contexts of the Passover celebration have been uncovered and they are summarized as follow:

First, the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 is associated with different terminologies from the previous ones in the Pentateuch and in the Deuteronomistic traditions or books. Ezekiel 45:21-24 contains the phrase *הַפֶּסַח הַזֶּה* the “*festival of the Passover*” which is a different expression from “*the Passover feast*” or “*the Passover and unleavened bread*” in Exodus 12:1-28 and other passages in both Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic tradition. The term “*celebrate*” is also used in place of “*observe*” with regards to the Passover observance. It is argued that the differences in terminology between Ezekiel 45:21-24 and its parallel text in Exodus 12:1ff point to a post-exilic setting in which the Passover celebration in Ezekiel had shifted from its original context to a new context with a lot of modifications.

Second, the place of celebration of the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 differs from that of Exodus 12:1-28. In Ezekiel 45:21-24 the Passover was celebrated in a public and centralized place possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem that was erected after the return from the Babylonian captivity which was different from its earliest celebration at the family level at local sanctuaries

or homes in Exodus 12. The difference in the place of celebration is also marked by differences in audience and in the number of celebrants.

Third, on the issue of date, it is shown that the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was celebrated in the post-exilic and Second Temple period. This is evident in its reference to the temple in Jerusalem which is repeated several times in the text. Thus, the Passover was celebrated after the return from the Babylonian exile in order to restore the spiritual worship of and sacrifice to Yahweh in the temple.

Fourth, with regards to the sacrifice, Ezekiel 45:21-24 alludes to different sacrifices including sin offering, burnt offering and grain offering. The sacrifices and offerings were made with different animals and oil, a clear departure from the account in Exodus 12:1-28.

Fifth, the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 employed a different mode of preparation compared to the parallel celebrations in Exodus 12 and other books of the Old Testament. Although it was celebrated for seven days with the eating of the unleavened bread as in the original celebration in Exodus 12:1-28, it differed in the sense that it included the offering of seven young bulls and seven rams without blemish, on each of the seven days. The animals were provided by the prince and the people of the land for a burnt offering to the Lord. It also called for a male goat for a sin offering on a daily basis. In addition, the prince had to provide a grain offering in the form of an ephah for each bull, an ephah for each ram, and a “*hin*” of oil to each ephah. It was an impressive celebration that required so many animals because so many people attended.

Sixth, the officials of the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 included the prince who was elevated to oversee the Passover. He provided the animals and other things needed along side with the people of the land; after that, he presided over the celebration of the Passover sacrifices and offerings. This is different from the Passover account in Exodus 12:1-28 where fathers or heads of families were the officiating personnel and in the Deuteronomistic account where the kings, priests, and Levites were the officiating ministers of the Passover.

Seventh, on the issue of time, the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month for seven days as the people ate unleavened bread. This character echoes the earliest celebration and the memory of the Passover as a feast that was at this time combined with the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Exodus 12. While Exodus 12 commemorated the liberation from slavery in Egypt, Ezekiel 45:21-24 celebrated the liberation from exile in Babylon, the purification of temple worship and the restoration of the spiritual lives of the returnees. Even though the Passover employed a different mode of celebration in a different context, it continued to relate to the original motive of the celebration of deliverance from any form of oppressive act. This shows the dynamic and open-ended character of the Passover tradition.

Lastly, it is presupposed here that Ezekiel 45:21-24 belonged to the post-exilic era though it has drawn its sources from the exilic context. Additionally, the celebration of the Passover in Ezekiel points to a future restoration when God would restore the spiritual lives of his people and appoint a caring ruler from the family of David to care for his people. That ruler would be better than kings who were self-centred in their services to humanity. The future hope celebrated in Ezekiel 45 was marked by the full participation of a prince who presided over in the Passover ceremony and the sacrificial offerings showing that Ezekiel's account of the Passover is definitely different from parallel accounts of the Passover in other Old Testament books.



## **CHAPTER 6**

# **THE SOCIAL CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL/THEOLOGICAL INTERTEXTURE OF PARALLEL PASSOVER TEXTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

In the last chapter, we considered the intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 in relation to those of other Passover texts in the Old Testament. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to identify the social and cultural elements as well as the ideological and theological elements in each of those texts. Socio-cultural intertexture will help us to determine the setting of the Passover texts and celebration, i.e. whether it is a family or tribal setting; monarchical or pre-monarchical setting; North or South setting; pre-exilic, exilic or post-exilic setting; colonial (Persian colony, Second Temple), oral, etc.

Social intertexture has to do with living with a text in the world or the social and cultural quality of the text as opposed to the intertexture of the text. It seeks to investigate the kind of social and cultural characters that are found in the world of a particular text (Robbins 1996a:71). In other words, social knowledge is visible and held by all people of a region irrespective of their cultural location (Robbins 1996a:62).<sup>169</sup>

Cultural knowledge, according to Robbins (1996a:58), is “insider knowledge,” that is to say, it is known by people within the particular culture or by those who have learned about that culture through some form of interaction with it whether in a direct way with members of the culture or through education. Cultural intertexture appears in words and concept patterns and

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<sup>169</sup> Social knowledge is readily accessible to all people through general interaction, in contrast to cultural knowledge that must be taught with careful use of language and transmission of specific traditions. Social knowledge manifests in four categories namely social role (e.g. priest, slave, shepherd) or social identity (e.g. Jew, Roman, Greek); social institution (e.g. empire, household, temple, tabernacle); social code (e.g. honour, hospitality); and social relationship (e.g. friend, enemy, patron; cf. Robbins 1996a:62).



configurations; values, codes, or systems (e.g. purity, law, covenant); and myths (e.g. wisdom). Cultural intertexture appears in a text through either reference or allusion and echo.

Theological texture or analysis on the other hand has to do with seeking the divine in a text. It is interested in finding insights into the nature of the relationship between human and the divine in texts (Robbins 1996a:120). The divine being may exist in either the background or a direct position of action and speech in the text. However, this study will consider theological texture as the link between the text and God; that is, what the particular text has said about God is the primary concern of theological intertexture in this study.

The analysis of the ideological texture of a text refers to an agreement reached by a group of people rather than individuals to dialogue (i.e. agree or disagree) with one another using a text that is coming to them as a guest as their point of departure (Robbins 1996a:95). In other words, ideological texture is interested in analyzing and interpreting the writer, the readers, and other people's interpretations of the text in question as well as the text itself as a guest in the interpretive conversation with one another. According to Robbins, the basic task of the analysis of ideological texture is people and it is only when one's conscious or unconscious enactment of presuppositions, dispositions, and values are held in common with other people's views that the ideological analysis of a text will be real. Therefore, the ideological intertexture will help to determine whether the interpretation of the Passover text (s) is solely in service of power.

In this chapter therefore besides the socio-cultural texture, the analysis of theological intertexture will seek to know whether the Passover text(s) or celebration involved a united Israel (under David and Solomon) or only the southern kingdom i.e. with Jerusalem and the cult centralization by Josiah in view. The discussion will be aided by Robbins' (1996a) definition of socio-cultural and ideological/theological intertexture. The Passover variables depicting the different levels of the Passover celebration will also be of great use in this section. The conclusion will bear in mind the involvement of the Tiv as an oral based culture in the Passover celebration on cultural, social, ideological and theological levels.

## **6.1 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Exodus 23:14-19**

This section will examine the Passover text of Exodus 23:14-19 to identify the social and cultural elements as well as ideological and theological elements in the text. Socio-cultural intertexture will help us to investigate the social and cultural character of one who lives in the 'world' of a text. In other words, it will help to determine the social and cultural 'location' of the language and the type of social and cultural world that language evokes or creates in a text. Ideological intertexture will help one to determine whether the interpretation of the Passover text (s) is solely in service of power while theological intertexture will seek to know whether the Passover celebration involved a united Israel (under David and Solomon) or only the southern kingdom, i.e. with Jerusalem and the cult centralization by Josiah in view. The discussion will take note of the variables which point to the different levels of the Passover celebration outside its original context in Egypt in Exodus 12:1-28.

Social intertexture as the name implies has to do with the social knowledge held by the people of a region no matter what their particular "cultural location" may be (Robbins 1996a:62). Social knowledge is obtained by observing the behaviour and public materials that are produced by other people. This implies that social knowledge is accessible to all the people through general interaction.

Social knowledge is different from cultural knowledge which is a kind of "insider knowledge." Cultural knowledge is taught and learned through careful use of language and the transmission of specific traditions by people within a particular culture or those who have learned that culture by means of education (informal or formal) or through direct interaction with members of that culture (Robbins 1996a:58, 62). As applied to a text, cultural intertexture manifests in the form of reference or allusion.

As noted earlier, the basic task of ideological intertexture is people and it is only when one's conscious or unconscious enactment of presuppositions, dispositions and values are held in common with other people's views that ideological analysis of a text will be real (Robbins

1996a:95). Specifically, ideological texture is concerned with the social, cultural and individual location as well as the perspective of writers and readers.

### 6.1.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Exodus 23:14-19

At this point, the socio-cultural texture of Exodus 23:14-19 will be analyzed based on the definition of socio-cultural intertexture above.

In v. 15, the phrase אֶת-חַג הַמִּצוֹת “*the festival of unleavened bread*” is regarded in this section as a cultural phenomenon or intertexture. The Feast of Unleavened Bread was the first festival in the year with its original observance described in Exodus 12:1-28. The command to observe the festival calls to mind the Passover celebration in Egypt, which led to the liberation of the people of Israel from slavery and set them on a wandering life that would lead them to the land promised to them by God. Thus, the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Covenant Code was necessary to establish God’s covenant with his people and to prepare them for the wandering life ahead of them (Stuart 2006:534).

Although the Passover is not explicitly mentioned in the Exodus 23:14-19 pericope, it seems to be indirectly embedded in the sequence of the celebration of Unleavened Bread which we have argued points back to the Passover celebration in Egypt in Exodus 12:2. Moreover, at that time the two festivals had become merged into one festival commemorating the exit from Egypt. The absence of the Passover in the pericope could also be accounted for in terms of its non-agricultural origin. To be precise, the Passover was not a farmer’s festival originally but it was merged with the Unleavened Bread feast which was a farmer’s festival to become one festival (Sarna 1991:145).

Verse 16 presents three special annual festivals namely חַג הַקַּיִץ “*festival of harvest*,” חַג בְּכוֹרֵי “*festival of firstfruits*” חַג הַמִּטְוֶה “*and festival of ingathering*” which find parallel in Exodus 34:22. The festivals were celebrated by the nation of Israel to worship Yahweh and not just for the purpose of mere celebration (Stuart 2006:534). The three annual agricultural feasts required travelling probably by foot to a local shrine, tent or tabernacle in older times before the building of Solomon’s temple for the worship of Yahweh (Bruckner 2008:219). The Passover feast

marked the beginning of barley harvest while the harvest festival marked the completion of wheat harvest and the festival of ingathering marked the end of the agricultural year when produce was stored in the barns (Sarna 1991:145).

The assumption in this chapter is that the three agricultural feasts form part of the cultural intertexture of the text of Exodus 23:14-19 since they are issues relating to the laws, covenant, codes and values of Israel. The absence of any parallel feasts in Exodus 12 and the sketchy prescription of the same feasts in Exodus 23:14-19 serve as a clue that Exodus 23:14-19 is older than 34:18-26 and 12:1-28. It is possible that the absence of a detailed prescription of the three feasts in Exodus 23 anticipated their future celebration when the prescriptions will be made (Cassuto 1974:302). The three festivals were introduced during the agricultural period of Israel's history and Yahweh prescribed the time for celebrating them probably to guide against imitating the idolatrous celebration of similar festivals by the Canaanites (Judges 9:27).<sup>170</sup> Such Canaanite celebrations were probably to appreciate the god of fertility for his provision of good yield and to ask him for more fruits of the earth (Cassuto 1974:303).

Verse 18 contains another cultural law that prohibits the mixing of the blood sacrifice meant for Yahweh with leaven:<sup>171</sup> לֹא־תִזְבֹּחַ עַל־הַזֶּבֶחַ דָּם־וְזֶבַחַי *"You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with anything leavened."* The prohibition brings to mind the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Stuart 2006:537; Dozeman 2009:551). Ancient people were engaged in "sympathetic magic" which was an act of drinking the blood of sacrificial and non-sacrificial animals with the belief that it would prolong life span (Stuart 2006:537). Israelites were prohibited from such pagan practices by Yahweh (Sarna 1991:147).

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<sup>170</sup> *"And they went out into the field, and gathered the grapes from their vineyards and trod them, and held festival, and went into the house of their god, and ate and drank."*

<sup>171</sup> The preposition עַל in the verse above literally means "on" but in this context, it means "with." In the same verse, the construction *"the blood of my sacrifice"* actually means *"my blood sacrifice"* which is similar to what we have in Isaiah 1:16; 37:24. The above prohibition does not seem to refer specifically to the Passover that obviously will not be slaughtered with leaven but to all cereal offerings that were brought to the Lord on the altar where no leaven or honey could be burnt as a fire offering to the Lord (Cassuto 1974:304). The above probably was to prohibit the community of Israel from following the Canaanite practices or Egyptians who regarded honey as the food for the god or kings who were equally considered as gods. The prohibition serves as a clue of the pre-exilic nature of the Covenant Code.

In v. 18b, we have yet another law prohibiting the *חֶלֶב־הַמִּצְוֵה* “fat of my festival” from remaining all night. This prohibition just as the previous one in v. 18a was also meant to guide against the opportunity for lawless behaviour during the meal by eating it either as an ordinary food or as a meal eaten by dogs, for the meal was considered sacred to God (Bruckner 2008:110). The prohibition in a sense establishes a link with the Passover celebration in the parallel texts of Exodus 12:10 and 34:25. Could the “fat” in this verse allude to the Passover lamb? Bruckner (2008:218) observes inference has been made by many scholars even though there is no mention of such a direct connection in the text.

The burning of the leftovers is again linked in this section the custom of nomads of breaking camp at night without leaving anything behind (Houtman 1996:181). Once more, the pre-exilic nature of the pericope or its earliest form is assumed (Cassuto 1974:305).

The term *בְּכוֹרֵי* “firstfruits” in v. 19 refers to the choicest of the firstfruits of the ground that the people had to bring to Yahweh in contrast to the Canaanite practice of bringing similar offerings to their gods. The people of Israel were warned not to follow the heartless custom of the Canaanites which permitted the boiling of the kid in its mother’s milk as a special dish prepared during the festival ceremonies that pertain to the fertility of the soil (Cassuto 1974:305). Although the people of Israel were required to celebrate the annual festivals just like their neighbouring tribes, they had to take precaution to avoid copying their ungodly manner of celebrating feasts to honour the gods. This then links with the summary of the covenant in Exodus 20 prohibiting the worship of handmade gods.

Verse 19 again contains a prohibition, *לֹא־תִבְשַׁל גְּדִי בְחֵלֶב אִמּוֹ* “*You shall not boil a kid in its mother’s milk,*” which is a cultural and ritual law. This is a social-cultural prohibition which from a humanitarian perspective may be considered as a cruel act. However, if considered in terms of the Jewish dietary laws, then it would be interpreted as a prohibition against mixing meat and milk together. In addition, one may consider this prohibition in terms of social incest, that is, as a taboo or law against cosmic disorder in which the image of a mother breastfeeding her young one was a symbol of divine order signifying continuity in life or life force. Using the

mother's milk as a symbol of life force, to cook a young one that has already died would be an act of discontinuing life, hence, a taboo (Dozeman 2009:552).

Bruckner (2008:203) also offers a similar interpretation of the prohibition in v.9 likening the "*fats*" to that used in sacrificial rites. One would agree with his interpretation that the prohibition was meant to stop one from killing both the kid and its mother at the same time, that is, to avoid removing two animals and their reproductive abilities at the same time. Considering the interpretation in the context of subsistence farming, it was probably not a welcomed idea to subsistence farmers who depended on livestock as essential commodities for survival. The above discussion seems to indicate that the Covenant Code is an older biblical legal code than the other biblical legal codes.

Furthermore, as regards the claim that the prohibition was guiding against the Canaanite practice of cooking a kid in its mother's milk Bruckner (2008:219); Dozeman (2009:552), such an offering was actually a special dish dedicated to the god of fertility to appeal for more yields in subsequent years. Even though the Canaanite practices were not mentioned directly in the text in question, one would consider that the inference was to idols, cult religion or even magic (Durham 1987:334). However, Israelites were commanded to be holy as the Lord their God is holy for the Canaanite practices were an abomination to Yahweh's sacredness and to the festivals celebrated in honour of Yahweh.

Subsequently, from the pericope of Exodus 23:14-19, the following socio-cultural elements are identified. Sinai where the covenant laws took place is regarded as a social institution as well as a tent and tabernacle where celebration of feasts to Yahweh took place. While Moses forms part of the social role, Yahweh as sovereign is seen in a social relationship and Israel as a nation is associated with social identity.

The observance of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (v. 15), of the festival of harvest/firstfruits (v. 16), and the offering of the sacrifice of "*fats*" form part of the cultural intertexture of the text since they form part of the nation's covenant, law, code and value system established to honour Yahweh.

### 6.1.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Exodus 23:14-19

The phrase לְמוֹעֵד תְּדִישׁ הָאָבִיב “*at the appointed time in the month of Abib*” in v. 15 conveys some ideological significance with the emphasis on the specific time that celebrants were required to perform the festival and its custom (Cassuto 1974:303). The emphasis on “*the appointed time in the month of Abib*” as the time stipulated for the celebration of the Unleavened Bread festival which was the first yearly festival could be because at that time the date of the celebration was not yet firmly established in the yearly calendar due to its agricultural focus (Stuart 2006:534; Dozeman 2009:550).

However, the אָבִיב was not an ideal month for the people of God to celebrate the Festival of Unleavened Bread since it is a Canaanite word for the month in which its people celebrated a similar feast to appease the gods for the fertility of the soil in the next season (Dozeman 2009:550). We would therefore argue that the phrase “*for in it you came out of Egypt*” in the same verse differentiates the month of *Abib* for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread to commemorate the Passover in Egypt from the Canaanite celebration of a similar feast in the same month of *Abib* (Cassuto 1974:303).

In v. 15 also we have the law that commanded celebrants of the Festival of Unleavened Bread not to appear before the Lord empty-handed at the sanctuary but with gifts, possibly the firstlings of their flocks and their herds. This law has a parallel in Exodus 34:18-20 (Cassuto 1974:305). The gifts are regarded as a mark of thanksgiving to Yahweh for his provision of bountiful yields.

The expression שְׁלֹשׁ “*three times*” in v. 14 and v. 17 refers to the time of the Festival of Unleavened Bread celebrating green grains, the harvest festival celebrating bountiful yields, and that of ingathering commemorating the storage of harvested grains (Stuart 2006:534; Dozeman 2009:550). Those three festivals were held at different times of the year to honour Yahweh for his providence of life and yields. The emphasis placed on the number three therefore points to the religious obligation that Israelites owed God in a year to make a pilgrimage three times on dates of their choice to worship Yahweh in either a local or national shrine (De Vaux 1961:471; Stuart 2006:535).

The phrase יהוה יהוה “*the Lord God*” in v. 17 is used to differentiate the holy Lord from the Canaanite god Baal which refers to lord or master. Although the people of Israel celebrated similar festivals to those of the Canaanites, they were not allowed to follow the fictitious Baal but were to remain steadfast to Yahweh the true Lord.

The following ideological intertextures are identified in the pericope of Exodus 23:14-19. First, vv. 14 and 17 contain specific time stipulations when a festival was to be celebrated to Yahweh and when the men of Israel would appear before Yahweh. That ideological element presupposed a pilgrimage to a local shrine or tent since the feast took place in the earliest time in the pre-exilic period when no formal temple existed. Furthermore, in connection with time stipulation, it is assumed that the phrase “*at the appointed time*” in v. 16 referred to the month of *Abib* when the three festivals were supposed to be celebrated. Verse 18 rounds up with an ideological law prohibiting the “offering of the sacrifice with leaven.” That prohibition is regarded in this text not only as an ideological phenomenon but also as a theological motif in the sense that it maintains the sacredness of Yahweh and the sacrifices offered to him and differs from the way the ungodly nations honour their gods.

Ideological texture appears to dominate this pericope and that could be a reminder of the covenant relationship that Yahweh established with his people which recommended blessings in return for obedience to Yahweh and curses as a penalty for disobedience.

### 6.1.3 Summary and conclusion of section

At this point, it is important to bear in mind the variables identified in the last chapter which are associated with the Passover and point to the identity of Jews and Israel. The variables which include terminologies, place, date, sacrifice, mode of preparation, officials, and link with Unleavened Bread festival and the Exodus tradition will be related to Exodus 23:14-19 as follows:

**Terminology:** We have shown that certain terminologies or expressions are associated with the Passover text of Exodus 23:14-19. Examples include “*fats of my sacrifice,*” “*festival for me*”



which differ from terminologies such as the “*Passover of/to the Lord*,” “*the Passover sacrifice to Yahweh*,” “*the sacrifice of the Passover offering to Yahweh*” in Exodus 12, 23, 34 and other books of the Old Testament. The differences in terminology would therefore indicate the growth and development of the festival celebration over time and in different contexts.

**Place:** The Passover in Exodus 23:14-19 took place at Sinai where the covenant was made. It is possible that the feast was also celebrated in the tent and tabernacle as opposed to the home, central sanctuary and temple settings reported in other Passover texts of the Old Testament.

**Date:** The Passover in Exodus 23:14-19 took place in the month of *Abib* parallel to Exodus 12:1-28 but different from other texts of the Old Testament.

**Sacrifice:** The sacrifice of “*fats*,” “*blood sacrifice*,” and “*firstfruits*” was performed during the Passover in Exodus 23:14-19 which differed from the sacrifice with lamb (Exodus 12:1-28) sheep, goat, bull, grains, and oil in Deuteronomy 16:1-8, Joshua 5:10-12; 2 Kings 23:21-24; 2 Chronicles 35:1-18, and so forth. It is assumed that the changes are due to the growth and expansion of the Passover tradition in different contexts at different times by different celebrants with different needs.

**Preparation:** The Passover in Exodus 23:14-19 did not mention any particular mode of preparing the feast as in Exodus 12:1-28 where the Passover lamb was roasted in fire, in Deuteronomy where it was boiled in water and in 2 Kings 23 where it was boiled or roasted in fire.

**Officials:** The Passover celebration in Exodus 23:14-19 was presided over by Moses who acted as both priest and leader as opposed to family heads in Exodus 12:1-28 or Levites, kings, and prince in Leviticus 23; Numbers 9 and 28; 2 Kings 23; Joshua 5; 2 Chronicles 35 and Ezekiel 45.

**Link with Unleavened Bread:** There are different links between the Passover and the Unleavened Bread feast in Exodus 23:21-23. For instance, the separate feasts of firstfruits, harvest and ingathering existed originally as separate agricultural festivals celebrating bountiful harvest. The separate festivals were then combined together in the Passover which was commemorated with agricultural produce (i.e. lambs and unleavened bread). However, there was a shift in motive from mere celebration of agricultural yields to commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt.

**Link with Exodus tradition:** The Passover in Exodus 23:14-19 is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition such as Sinai/ Horeb and is connected to the Decalogue/theophany (Exodus 20:1-17), of the exit from Egypt, the Sea Crossing, etc.

On the whole, it is observed from the present pericope that the celebration of the Unleavened Bread and of the festivals of harvest, firstfruits and ingathering have a strong link with the Passover celebration of Exodus 12. The festivals have combined through the Passover of Exodus 12 to become one festival celebrated in honour of Yahweh and not only for agricultural purpose as in its earliest celebration. Moreover, the socio-cultural intertexture played a more dominant role in the pericope than other forms of intertexture.

It is also noted that the dominance of socio-cultural texture and ideological texture in the text points to the fact that it was grounded in the cultural setting of the audience of the time which was agricultural in character. The ideological intertexture in the text also indicates that the Unleavened Bread feast was accompanied by certain laws that required obedience without questions. To be precise, the text of Exodus 23:14-19 is cultured in a static form or nature.

Lastly, it is shown from the text that the choice of the time of the celebration was dictated by the audience and the place of celebration was probably a local sanctuary since it took place before the building of Solomon's temple. That implies the text is set in the pre-exilic period, a time where obligation and obedience were more emphasized than theological notions. In a sense, the determination of the period forms one of the main aims of this study, that of projecting the theological interpretation of the Passover narratives in various contexts, cultures and times.

## ***6.2 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Exodus 34:16-25***

The current section seeks to uncover the social, cultural, ideological and theological intertextures of Exodus 34:16-26. Particular attention will be given to theological intertexture which is the primary focus of the entire study. The analysis of the socio-cultural intertexture will involve the time of the composition of the text not in terms of canonical sequence (narrative time) but of time of narration. The social or cultural place will also be considered under socio-cultural

intertexture that is where the event or the text composition took place. The ideological/theological intertexture on the other hand will consider the concerns and criticisms that are exerted on the text bearing in mind its socio-cultural background. Finally, the divine communication or message that in most cases is hidden or forgotten will be discussed bearing in mind also its socio-cultural and ideological background.

### 6.2.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Exodus 34:18-26

Verse 18a presents the ritual formula אָת־חַג הַמִּצּוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר *“you shall keep the festival of unleavened bread”* which is regarded in this study as a cultural phenomenon under the category of law and code. That law is parallel to Exodus 12:17 and 23:15 but with a different rendering of the verb תִּשְׁמֹר *“keep”* as *“observe”* in Exodus 12:17 and 23:15. The change in verbal form is regarded as the outcome of different translation preferences; otherwise, תִּשְׁמֹר as a verb means *“observe,” “keep”* or *“celebrate”* pointing to the actual observance of the festival and not just to unleavened bread as a mere substance (Osborn & Hatton 1999:283; Stuart 2006:286).<sup>172</sup>

Based on the parallel renderings, it is assumed in this study that Exodus 34:18 is older than 12:17 but younger than 23:15 (Covenant Code), which is the oldest of the biblical legal codes. That means that Exodus 34:18 is a recitation of 23:15 but in a renewed form.

Another cultural phenomenon in v. 22, *“Observe the festival of weeks, firstfruits and ingathering,”* finds a parallel in Exodus 23:16 where it is rendered as the *“feast of ingathering”* and no parallel at all in Exodus 12:1-28. Again, Exodus 34:22 seems to have recited 23:16 to create a verse that is somewhat new but similar to Exodus 23:15 (Houtman 2000:258). This also strengthens the earlier point that Exodus 34:18 which concerns the covenant renewal is older than 12:1-28 in terms of time of narration and not of narrated time. This claim is supported by the fact that three individual feasts (unleavened bread, harvest and ingathering) are mentioned in Exodus 23:14-19 and 34:18-26 while Exodus 12:1-28 mentions only one festival, the Passover

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<sup>172</sup> The clause about the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Exodus 34:18 on the other hand is almost a verbatim recitation of Exodus 23:15a but not of any verse in Exodus 12:1-28 (Noth 1962:263).

which combined the three different feasts in its later stage as one festival commemorating Yahweh's salvific act in history.

However, the emphasis on keeping the feasts could be regarded as a clue to the priestly and pre-exilic dating of Exodus 34:18-26. It is assumed that the text is set at the time when the first tablets containing the covenant words (the Ten Commandments) were broken following the worship of the golden calf by the covenant people of God. Now that the merciful God had forgiven his people and renewed the covenant laws on the second tablets (Deut. 5:1ff), they had no choice but to 'keep' those laws to avoid the previous mistake (Stuart 2006:728). That means that the cultural law of keeping the feasts as we have shown in v. 18 above also has an ideological implication.

On the social intertexture of the pericope, one may conclude that both Moses and Aaron in their capacity as leaders and priests perform social roles, and whereas Sinai is a social institution, the nation of Israel falls under social identity, i.e. following the categorization of Robbins (1996a:62).

Another cultural intertexture is found in v. 19 in the expression כָּל-פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם “*all that first opens the womb*” which refers to the firstborn of humanity and beast, possibly males depending on the use of the verb תִּזְכֹּר in the text and context.<sup>173</sup> In v. 19, the verb is in the second person masculine form referring to Israel's firstborn males who had to be dedicated to Yahweh during the time of the ritualized Festival of Unleavened Bread (Noth 1962:263; Sarna 1991:219; Houtman 2000:265; Propp 2006:614). Although the firstborn of humans and animals, like the firstfruits, belonged to God, God did not permit human sacrifices or offerings made with certain prohibited animals such as donkeys and camels on the altar. Thus, the law of redemption appeared to allow the people of Israel to exchange or substitute the firstlings of humans and of certain animals which for cultural reasons were not slaughtered on the altar with other animals that were lawful, presentable and acceptable to Yahweh (Stuart 2006:728-729).

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<sup>173</sup> For instance, when תִּזְכֹּר is used as a verb in the second person masculine form, it points to the human male in particular. In a similar way, when תִּזְכֹּר is used as a verb in the third person feminine singular, it may refer to either human or beast.

Although the law of the firstborn does not have any direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28 or Exodus 23:14-19, it is used in the text of Exodus 23:14-19 to establish a link between the spring birthing of livestock which had coincided with the spring Festival of Unleavened Bread. In Exodus 12:3, 5 for example, a one-year-old male lamb that was unblemished was prescribed specifically for the Passover by Yahweh while in Exodus 23:16, 19, the law prescribed the firstfruits of the ground for an offering to Yahweh during the Feast of Unleavened Bread. In Exodus 23:14-19, firstfruits are mentioned specifically to point to the original agricultural life or custom of the people. It was then formulated into a law and it became part of the Covenant Code but as the context changed or developed in Exodus 34:18-26 (a younger text than 23:14-19), a different terminology was employed to suit the context and narration time.

It is no wonder that the Feast of Unleavened Bread which was associated with the Passover (Ex. 12:14; Lev. 23:5) was kept at the beginning of the harvest commemorating the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage (Bellinger 2001:137). In a similar vein, the feast of harvest was kept at the end of harvest to commemorate Israel's passage through the Reed Sea while the feast of ingathering was kept in autumn when crops had been stored in the storehouses in thanksgiving for God's mercy during their wandering through the wilderness.

Verse 21b presents yet another cultural term *בְּהַרְיֵשׁ וּבִקְצִיר* "*ploughing and harvest time,*" which is similar to the law in Exodus 12:16 and 20:8-10 (Bruckner 2008:309). Ploughing in the verse refers to the busiest season in the life of farmers. Even during this busy time, the command to rest on the seventh day of the week (the Sabbath day) applied (Durham 1987:460). That command is repeated in the Fourth Commandment on Sabbath rest in Exodus 20:8-10. Work in this case was considered less important than the Festival of Unleavened Bread that was observed in honour of Yahweh (Stuart 2006:731).

In v. 22 is another cultural phenomenon regarding the laws of harvest which form part of the values, covenant, codes and system of the people Israel - *חַג שָׁבֻעַת תְּעֻשָׂה בַּפְּרִי קִצִּיר הַטִּיב וְחַג הָאֲסִיף* - "*you shall observe the festival of weeks, the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the festival of ingathering.*" The verse recites almost verbatim the parallel in the Covenant Code of Exodus 23:15-19 but it has no direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28. Even the parallels texts of 34:22 and

23:15-19 differ in a sense. There is some modification in 34:22 where the festival of “weeks” is mentioned as opposed to “harvest” in Exodus 23:18. The differences suggest that Exodus 34:22 is younger than Exodus 23:18 and it has probably copied 23:18 to suit its new context and audience but it is not a verbatim recitation (Bruckner 2008:310).

The fact that the cultural law in 34:22 has no parallel in Exodus 12 may be explained in terms of the development of the festival calendar in Exodus 12 which combined all the three agricultural feasts into one namely the Passover as opposed to the older accounts in Exodus 23 and 34 where the feasts were still celebrated as independent feasts.

Similarly, v. 26 presents two laws that are similar to those in Exodus 23:19. The first law relates to the *ראשית בכורי אדמתך* “*firstfruits of your ground*” which implies that farmers of fruits just like those of animals must present the first harvest of their produce to Yahweh as a thanksgiving offering for the bountiful harvest. It appears that in the text, the people used what was available in their context (i.e. their produce) to express thankfulness to God for what they had received from him. In today’s context, that would be money, which is the common currency of trade. In this sense, one tenth of what one receives as wage would be dedicated to God as tithe (Stuart 2006:732).

The presentation of firstfruits and offerings to Yahweh in the pericope of Exodus 34:18-26 could be explained as the enactment of thanksgiving to Yahweh for his blessings and provisions (Gorman 2000b:1131). The ritual practices also could be an engagement with the dynamics of history - that of remembering the salvific act of Yahweh through the Passover episode in Egypt. In this sense, celebrants were not only engaged with remembering the past but retelling the Exodus story (Gorman 2000b:1131).

The second cultural law in v. 26 relates to the expression *לא־תבשל גְּדִי בְּחֵלֶב אִמּוֹ* “*not boil a kid in its mother’s milk.*” It seems to be more of a ritual law than a mere dietary law that might have originated from a pagan cult in one of the ancient gentile tribes (Klein 2005:196). The ritual prohibition was a means of preparing the people of Israel beforehand to avoid the temptation of

imitating the ungodly practices of foreign nations particularly Canaanites as they were about to inherit the Promised Land (Stuart 2006:732; Dozeman 2009:552).

The command in v. 26 is parallel to Exodus 12:9 but it is reshaped in a different form prohibiting instead the eating of the Passover meat raw or boiling it in water. This could be a clue that Exodus 12:9 is younger than and has re-contextualised 34:25 being an expansion or modification of the older text. This is evident in the fact that 34:25 is a direct parallel of Exodus 23:19 which is an older biblical legal code than 34:25.

Although the ritual prohibition is regarded as cultural in nature, it has theological implications since it prescribes a sacred form of cooking meals that are dedicated to Yahweh as opposed to what the ungodly nations offer to their gods.

As a leader of the faith community and one who mediated between God and the believing community at Sinai, Moses played a social role just as the Israelites formed part of a social identity. We may assume that the Festival of Unleavened Bread, ritual laws and prohibitions, prescriptive mode of preparing sacred meals, observance of the festival of weeks, firstfruits and ingathering, and sacrifice of firstlings of crops and animals (vv. 18, 19, 22, 25) all fall under cultural intertexture since they form part of Israel's laws, covenant and values (Robbins 1996a:62).

### **6.2.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Exodus 34:16-25**

**V. 18b** – The command, *שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מִצֹּת* “*seven days you shall eat unleavened bread,*” is seen here as an ideological intertexture since it has depicted some elements of authority. The command finds parallel in Exodus 12:18-20 where the people are commanded to eat unleavened bread for seven days beginning from the fourteenth to the twenty-first day of the month. However, the penalty to cut off from the people of Israel anyone who was found with leaven was not found in the older text of 34:18b. Based on the differences between the two parallel texts, it is assumed here that Exodus 12:18-20 is younger than 34:18 having undergone certain expansions that are omitted from the older text of 34:18. The command also finds a parallel in Exodus 23:15 suggesting that it was emphasized to prevent the people from falling into the

temptation of worshipping graven images. Rather, they should worship God three times in a year through the agricultural festivals (Stuart 2006:728).

In addition to the ideological texture identified in v. 18b, the presence of theological could be noted. The people were conditioned to dedicate themselves to Yahweh for a whole week to celebrate the unleavened bread rather than engage in other forms of worship that were contrary to the will of Yahweh. The necessity to obey the law is emphasized in the later version of Exodus 12:15 which commands that violators be cut off from the community of Israel by means of either divine elimination or excommunication.

Another trace of ideological intertexture is found in the statement in v. 21a - שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי תִשְׁבֹּת *“six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest.”* The command is characterized by ideological and theological intertexture. Absolute rest without doing any work was required; not even ploughing and harvesting during the time of the Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals was permitted (Durham 1987:460; Propp 2006:616; Stuart 2006:731).

**V. 20b-c** – This verse also contains an ideological and theological warning to celebrants of the Passover and Unleavened Bread festival never to appear before the פְּנֵי יְיָ *“face of the Lord empty handed.”* This means that they should not come to the presence of the Lord (possibly in the sanctuary) to worship without gifts or sacrifices as a sign of covenant loyalty to God (Propp 2006:616; Stuart 2006:729). During the golden calf incident, the people offered valuable ornaments of gold that were melted to mould the golden calf for them to worship. Now that they were being punished by God and they had come to their senses, they had to offer sacrifices to God each time they were in his presence as mark of appreciation and a sign of covenant renewal (Stuart 2006:729).

Thus, the worship of God was not done apart from offering a part of the numerous gifts that we have received from God. This indicates a connection between the theological and the ideological intertexture of v. 20b-c. The command does not have any direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28 but only with 23:15 indicating that it is an older law/text than Exodus 12:1ff but younger than Exodus 23:14-19 (the Covenant Code).



Another element of ideological intertexture in the above text is found in v. 25 which prohibits mixing blood with leaven during the observance of the Festival of Unleavened Bread - לֹא־תִשְׁחַט עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ דָּם־זֶבַח־יְיָ “*not offer blood of my sacrifice with leaven.*” The instruction was that no leaven should be found at the time of slaughter of the Paschal animal. The phrase “*blood of my sacrifice*” refers to the Paschal animal that was slaughtered but the entire instruction refers to the sacrifice by fire on an altar even though שָׁחַט generally connotes slaughter (Propp 2006:616).

Eating of blood was a Canaanite or pagan practice; as such, one could argue that the purity was required during the celebration of the Festival of Unleavened Bread was a theological element. It served as a demarcation between the festival dedicated to God and that dedicated to the gods (Stuart 2006:732). Therefore, God forbade his people to mix sacred worship with ungodliness. He is holy and those who worship him have to be holy.

The issue of sacredness which is theological but expressed in an ideological form is further expounded in v. 25 in which celebrants were instructed to consume the Passover sacrifice in one night. This law is regarded as a cultic law meant to guide against defilement of the sacred festival by ungodly people or dogs (Dozeman 2009:748). It would be recalled that in the Passover celebration of Exodus 12:1-28 in Egypt, the same law was issued but only the people of Israel who obeyed it were saved. In the subsequent celebrations of the Passover, the prescription was reinforced but reshaped to maintain the sacredness of the feast that was celebrated in honour of Yahweh.

**V. 21** - The verse contains a cultural phrase בְּתָרִישׁ וּבְקַצִּיר “*ploughing and harvest time.*” Theologically, the phrase refers to a set time dedicated to the worship of Yahweh the giver and controller of life. Work is important and moments of one’s life are important also, but one has to remember that life is controlled by God. As such, the people were enjoined to involve him in their daily routines and no matter how busy they were, they needed to remember the Sabbath and keep it holy. The above law is parallel to fourth commandment of Exodus 20:1ff.

V. 25 - לא־תִשְׁחַט עִלְיָהֶמָּן דָּם־זֶבֶח־יְיָ “*you shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.*” This law exhibits traces of ideological intertexture since it is a command which leaves no room for questioning or objection but only obedience. The ideological trait suits the context since the command came after the disobedience of Israel in the golden calf incident that caused the breaking of the first tablets of the commandments (Stuart 2006:732). God through Moses had to renew and strengthen his covenant relationship with Israel and one of the ways Israel would fulfil its part was to keep the ordinances in the proper manner as a sign of obedience to God.

Again, in v. 25, we have another prohibition, לֹא־יָלִין לְבִקֹּר זֶבַח הַגַּהֲפֹסֶס “*the sacrifice of the festival of the Passover shall not be left until the morning.*” This shows elements of ideological intertexture since it is in form of a sequence or order. The prohibition is parallel to Exodus 12:10 but with the additional instruction that remnants of the Passover meal be burnt probably to avoid any disrespectful form of handling it by dogs or pagans since it was a sacred meal to God (Bruckner 2008:110). The addition in Exodus 12:10 is regarded as a later addition indicating that it is younger than 34:25. The prohibition is also parallel Exodus 23:18 but in a slightly different way. For instance, Exodus 23:18 reads the “*fats of my sacrifice*” which is different from the “*sacrifice of the Passover*” in Exodus 34:25 and “*the lamb*” as in Exodus 12:10. The different parallel renderings in the texts indicate textual growth and development. The laws were given to keep the memories of the Passover fresh in the minds of the celebrants and to demonstrate that the feast was different from the Canaanite feasts in honour of the gods of Canaan.

The ideological intertexture of the pericope could be determined from the expressions, “*no one shall appear before me empty-handed*” (v. 20) and “*six days you shall work but the seventh day you shall do no work but rest*” (v. 21). Other commands are “*three times in a year all your males shall appear before Yahweh*” (v. 23); “*do not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven,*” (v. 25) and “*do not boil a kid in its mother’s milk*” (v. 26). The assumption here is that the ideological laws in the pericope relate to the theological intertexture since elements of sacredness and purity are involved. This shows that the cultural, social and ideological work together to facilitate a theological interpretation of the Passover tradition.

### 6.2.3 Summary and conclusion of section

At this point, the discussion will take into account the variables in the Passover texts that have been identified earlier in this study in relation to Exodus 34:18-26. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** The findings above show that certain terminologies are associated with the covenant renewal text of Exodus 34:18-26 which largely allude to the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28. For instance, Exodus 34:18-26 contains the expression “*the offering of the Passover*” which is different from “*the Passover celebration*” in Exodus 12:1-28. This is taken as a clue that Exodus 34:18-26 is older than 12:1-28 and that 34:18-26 is drawn from a ritual context of where the different feasts were separate and ritualized to make the memory of the Decalogue of Exodus 23:14-19 real to the people of Israel. In other words, the feast of Exodus 34:18-26 was celebrated as a ritual Decalogue to restore the people to their former state of grace with God following the incident of the golden calf (Ex. 32:19). It served as a renewal of the covenant made at Horeb/Sinai which was itself a renewal of the covenant made with Abraham in Genesis 15 and 17. That means that the Passover offering in Exodus 34:18-26 was a kind of ritual Decalogue that helped the Israelite faith community to enact, discover and reflect upon its faith, engage the divine being and respond to the full range of life experiences in the context of the sacred (Gorman 2000b:1131).

The basis of the renewed covenant (Ex. 34:18-26) seems to be the same as the covenant described in Exodus 19-20 called the Ten Commandments but with a different set of laws only few of which are similar to the Ten Commandments (Newsome 1998:112, 115). While the laws of Exodus 34:18-26 are ritualistic in nature and are not numbered up to ten like those of Exodus 20:1-17 (Fretheim 1991a:306), they did not also deal with everyday life of the people, as did the Ten Commandments.

Perhaps one could argue that Israel’s sin in respect of the golden calf incident was ritualistic in nature; thus, the renewal of the covenant took the same form to aid them correct their lives. Nonetheless, v. 21 is the abbreviation of the Fourth Commandment in Exodus 20:8-11 (Newsome 1998:116).

**Place:** The actual place where the Passover offering in Exodus 34:18-26 took place is not stated but one could presuppose that it was Horeb/Sinai, the same place that the laws were first given in Exodus 23:14-19. Since the context of the offering of the Passover sacrifice in Exodus 34:18-26 is assumed to be older than that of Exodus 12, it could belong to an early priestly tradition in which the offering was made possibly in local sanctuaries or tabernacles rather than in the family and non-priestly context of Exodus 12:1-28.

**Date:** The Passover offering in Exodus 34:18-26 took place in spring and autumn featuring different sacrifices or feasts suitable for the seasons such as the Unleavened Bread, harvest and ingathering. This time differed from the first month of the year in Exodus 12:1-28 which had probably undergone some reformulations being a later text.

**Sacrifice:** Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover offering of Exodus 34:18-26 such as the Unleavened Bread which was kept at the beginning of the harvest to commemorate Israel's deliverance. The feast of harvest was kept at the conclusion of harvest to commemorate the crossing of the Reed Sea and the feast of ingathering was celebrated in autumn in thanksgiving to God for his act of provision of good yields and for the fertility of the soil. The different sacrifices were of agricultural origin and they therefore point to the older context of Exodus 34 drawn from an even older context, that is, of the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19). That context also differed from the later context in Exodus 12:1-28.

**Preparation:** The mode of preparation of the Passover was different in Exodus 34:18-26 from Exodus 12:1-28. For instance, leaven was prohibited in Exodus 34:18-26 but with no serious penalty as in the case of Exodus 12. Moreover, the people were forbidden from mixing blood with leaven during the celebration of the Unleavened Bread feast in 34:18-26 as opposed to Exodus 12 which contains no such laws. Boiling the kid in its mother's milk as well as mixing blood with leaven was also prohibited. This is clearly different from the instruction to roast the lamb over fire and eat it with bitter herbs after sprinkling the blood of the slaughtered lamb on the doorposts and lintels of doors in Exodus 12:1-28.

**Officials:** The Passover offering in Exodus 34:18-26 was presided over by different people possibly priests (although the text does not mention this directly). On the other hand, the celebration at the family level in Exodus 12:1-28 was conducted by the heads of families.

**Link with Unleavened Bread:** There is a link between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Exodus 34:18-26. The two separate agricultural feasts were merged at a

later stage in Exodus 12:1-28 to form one festival commemorating the exit from Egypt. Thus, as the people celebrated the sacrifice of the Passover, harvest, ingathering or Unleavened Bread, they recalled the memories of the liberation from Egypt (Newsome 1998:116).

**Link with Exodus Tradition:** To sum up, the Unleavened Bread festival in Exodus 34:18-26 was celebrated in renewal of the broken covenant in Exodus 23:14-19 where the people of Israel worshipped the golden calf. Exodus 34:18-26 therefore relates to various themes such as covenant renewal, avoidance of syncretistic influence, Yahweh the jealous God, gifts and sacred festivals due to Yahweh, etc. When placed together, the themes give an overall impression of covenant renewal which emphasizes total loyalty to Yahweh after the incident of the golden calf.

In a way, the above pericope also summarizes the themes of the Ten Commandments and the book of the covenant. Exodus 34:18-26 contains seven laws with various parallels in the book of Exodus. These include the Passover law in v. 18 (23:15), the law of offering of or redemption of the firstborn (vv. 19-20), and the commandment worship and rest after six days of work (v. 21). The others are the calendar of the three major sacred feasts (vv. 22-23; 23:17), respect of the sanctity of the Passover by keeping all leaven away from it (12:5; 19-20) and burning the remnants of the sacrificial animal before morning (12:8-10; 23:18). Lastly, the text also contains the command to offer the firstfruits of the ground to Yahweh (v. 26a; 23:19) and the command against cooking a kid in its mother's milk (v. 26b) [Durham 34:462; Dozeman 2009:748].

Exodus 34:17-26 presents a list of the laws on proper worship in the Promised Land which are similar to what obtains in the book of the covenant (Ex. 23:18-19) [Dozeman 2009:748]. There is a close inner-biblical relationship between the book of the covenant and the law of the covenant renewal established through many of its verbatim repetitions. Nevertheless, Exodus 34:18-26 has built on the Covenant Code by including the law of the firstborn (v. 19-20; 13:3-10) and the Passover instruction (v. 25) which belong to the non-priestly tradition.

It is worth noting that the Passover in Exodus 34:25 is clustered with other sacrifices and is distinct from the Feast of Unleavened Bread; thus, indicating a priestly origin as opposed to the non-priestly in which the Passover and Unleavened Bread were combined to form one festival. However, the Passover law of Exodus 34:25 contains some additions that are of priestly rather

than the non-priestly tradition. For example, the non-priestly tradition states that the Passover is a sacrifice (Ex. 12:27) while the covenant renewal adds the instruction that the Passover be consumed in one night which is a priestly teaching (cf. Ex. 12:10 where the Passover is not considered as a sacrifice). The same addition is found in the cultic calendar of Deuteronomy 16:4 suggesting a literary relationship between the law of the covenant renewal and Deuteronomy (Dozeman 2009:748). Consequently, scholars have suggested that Exodus 34:18-26 belongs to the priestly tradition because of its additions which point to a priestly era. At the same time, cultural memories have accrued to it (Carol 2005:266).

### ***6.3 Socio-cultural and Ideological-Theological Intertexture of Leviticus 23:5-8***

This section of the study will focus on the socio-cultural elements in Leviticus 23:5-8 with particular attention to the “time of narration” of the text rather than the narrative time (canonical sequence). Socio-cultural elements in the text will be identified except where it is not visible or relevant to the research. Similarly, the place or setting of the text will be determined such as pre-exilic, exilic or post-exilic, non-priestly or priestly, and so forth.

In addition, the ideological/theological elements, that is, the divine communication or message in the text, will be considered. In other words, the task in this section is to ascertain based on its context and time the degree to which the social-cultural and ideological/theological elements in the text of Leviticus 23:5-8 have influenced its interpretation.

The text will first be compared with Exodus 12:1-28 which is the point of departure for the entire study before relating it to other texts on the Passover. Lastly, the discussion will take into consideration the variables in the different Passover texts in relation to Leviticus 23:5-8.

#### **6.3.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Leviticus 23:5-8**

In this paragraph, we shall identify and discuss the social and cultural elements in Leviticus 23:5-8 based on Robbins’ (1996a:22) definition of socio-cultural intertexture discussed earlier in 6.1 above.

In Leviticus 23:5, we have “*In the first month<sup>174</sup> on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight, there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord.*” The statement is parallel to that in Exodus 12:2. This type of dating system that involved numbering the months rather than naming them was probably to guide against the polytheistic practice of worshipping the movement of time or associating the names of gods with months and time (Levine 1989:156; Hartley 1992:384). The method of numerical dating in this text is regarded in this study as a cultural phenomenon since it was understood by to the members of the Israelite community.

The dating system formed part and parcel of the values and codes of the people of Israel and probably helped to preserve the purity of the people of Israel as a godly people who were separate from the ungodly tribes around them. This is yet another clue that the dating system was a cultural phenomenon. The strong emphasis on time in v. 5 is a clue that Leviticus 23:5 belonged to the priestly, pre-exilic and first temple era when time/date was stressed more than religious obligations as in Exodus 12:1-28 and other Passover pericopes in the Old Testament.

The emphasis on date and time in the pericope could also be in conformity with the priestly and holiness character of assigning a specific date to each celebration and a careful outline of rituals that were to be performed. Leviticus 23:5-8 in keeping with the priests’ manual (Priestly Code) that rituals must be done at the right time, place and in the right manner, then specified the time that the Paschal offering and Unleavened Bread feast had to take place, possibly in the temple or approved sanctuary duly supervised by a priest (Hartley 1992:370; Bailey 2005:278). Thus, the emphasis on time and date strengthens the argument that Leviticus 23:5-8 is a priestly text.

In v. 5 also is found the expression “*at twilight*” which referred to the Passover that began between sunset and darkness. In a sense this is also a cultural phenomenon since twilight in this pericope coincided with the time that was set for lighting lamps in the Tabernacle (Ex. 30:8) and for performing daily evening offerings and sacrifices (Ex. 29:39). Setting the Passover offering

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<sup>174</sup> The Passover in the Holiness Code is observed in the first month of the vernal equinox when day and night are of equal length (Bailey 2005:278). This celebration might have taken place in the home or by a clan at a local shrine at its initial stage but that location shifted to the temple in Jerusalem and after the destruction of the temple, it reverted to a home celebration.

at the time that was familiar to the people then would help them to understand better the value and meaning of the Passover as a salvific offering that was presented with lambs to commemorate the liberation of the people of Israel from Egyptian slavery (Kaiser 1994:1157).

The numerical or ordinal<sup>175</sup> ordering of the months including that of the Passover offering in Leviticus 23:5 has much influence on the interpretation of the Passover among the believing community of Israel. In ancient Israel, the numbering of months began in spring, which would indicate that the Passover and Unleavened Bread were spring festivals (Levine 1989:156). Moreover, the Passover was the first festival of the year in spring and it commemorated the Exodus from Egyptian bondage or salvific history (Hartley 1992:384).

Associating the Passover with cultural systems and values of the community of Israel in a sense serves as a an indigenous way of appropriating or interpreting the Passover to promote a quick and lasting understanding of the salvific motive of the Passover offering among the members of that believing community.

The phrase “the first month” in v. 5 is also a cultural expression that alludes to the month when the barley grain was easily hulled. That inference in a sense confirms the agricultural origin of the feasts of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread in their earliest forms. Associating the Passover offering with the agricultural month also helps to understand and remember the Passover as a salvific feast rooted in the culture of the believing community of Israel. Since the Passover had influenced the agricultural and civic calendar of the ancient Israelites, it was no

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<sup>175</sup> In linguistics, ordinal numbers are the words representing the rank of a number with respect to some order, in particular order or position (i.e. first, second, third, etc.). Its use may refer to size, importance, chronology, etc. In English, they are adjectives. They are different from the cardinal numbers (one, two, three, etc.) referring to the quantity. Ordinal numbers are alternatively written in English with numerals and letter suffixes: 1st, 2nd or 2d, 3rd or 3d, 4th, 11th, 21st, 101st, 477th, etc. In some countries, written dates omit the suffix, although it is nevertheless pronounced. For example, 4 July 1776 (pronounced "the fourth of July ... "); July 4, 1776, ("July fourth ..."). When written out in full with "of", however, the suffix is retained: the 4th of July. In other languages, different ordinal indicators are used to write ordinal numbers. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ordinal\\_number\\_\(linguistics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ordinal_number_(linguistics)) [17th-8-2011]. Mathematically ordinal numbering is a mathematical concept for number words denoting a position in a sequence (first, 1st; second, 2nd ). It is a well-ordered type of a well-ordered set usually identified with hereditary transitive sets. It is an extension of the natural numbers different from integers and from cardinals.



longer a strange feast to them. Moreover, the fact that the Passover was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month was significant as that date was the day of the first full moon after the spring equinox, a term well known in Israelite culture.

Leviticus 23:6a further assigns the date and specific time for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread - "*On the fifteenth day of the same month is the festival of unleavened bread to the Lord.*" This statement is parallel to Exodus 12:17 and 23:8. Eating of unleavened bread also called the bread of affliction in this context and time brings to mind afresh the exit of the people of Israel from Egypt (Bellinger 2001:138). The prohibition against leaven in the original preparation and eating of the Passover and unleavened bread was marked by haste. The "*haste*" would be understood easily in this context since at that time the people were still in their wandering and unstable state and were yet to reach the Promised Land.

In addition, the unleavened bread as used in the context of the Holiness Code (Ex. 23:5-8) was in accordance with preserving the purity of the people of God since yeast is often associated with sin, old nature, with arrogance and pride which puff people up just as yeast puffs up bread and dough (Ndjerareou 2006:100). In contemporary contexts, one could also liken leaven to wickedness, murder, rape, and various other serious crimes. The fact that one fermented piece of bread influences the many freshly baked loaves alone shows that the old nature influences the purity of the new which is contrary to the spiritual requirement for our lives in the presence of God.

Unlike in the Exodus 12 account, little is said about the mode of preparation and eating the celebratory meal in Leviticus 23:5-8. The reason for this omission could be due to the assumption that the celebrants already had a prior knowledge of the Passover celebration in Exodus 12:1-13, 21-27. In this way, the claim is further strengthened that Exodus 12:1-13, 21-27 is older than Leviticus 23:5-8 and that Leviticus has borrowed from Exodus 12 but utilised it in its late priestly context which dealt with ritual observance, sacrificial offerings and purity of worshipers of Yahweh the Holy God.

Although there is no direct mention of a priest or temples in the pericope of Leviticus 23:5-8, one may argue that since sacrifices and offerings were involved during the Passover and the Unleavened Bread celebration, priests from the family line of Aaron assisted by other Levites or priests were probably responsible for the supervision of such sacrifices. That being the case Aaron, priests, and Levites will be recognized as performing social roles (i.e. based on Robbins 1996a:62). Laws of purity and set times/dates in the text are therefore regarded as cultural elements or intertexture amidst the sacrifices and offerings stipulated in the text.

### **6.3.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Leviticus 23:5-8**

It should be noted that the divine and ideological concern or message is interwoven with the aspect of socio-cultural intertexture; as such, the similarities between the two different but related issues should not be confused as repetition of content.

**V. 6b** – “*Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread.*”<sup>176</sup> Why? This statement, that is, the specification of the number of days to eat the unleavened bread (cf. Ex. 23:15), does not find a direct parallel in Exodus 12:1-28. It is regarded as an ideological expression that concerns order and compliance without questioning. The stipulations however are in line with the holiness character of outlining dates, places and time for ritual celebrations and offering.

The command to observe the unleavened bread for seven days in the above verse and pericope suggests that what was being observed in Leviticus 23:6 in the context of the Holiness Code following the Covenant Code at Sinai was reality, that is, what already happened in history. It should be recalled that leaven was exempted during the Covenant Code era in Exodus 23:14-19 on Mount Sinai as well as during the covenant renewal episode following the breakage of the first two tablets of the commandments due to the apostasy of Israel in Exodus 34:18-26.

Similarly, leaven was prohibited in the original Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Exodus 12:1-28. That means that what we have in the above pericope is the recitation of what

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<sup>176</sup> Leviticus 23:6 presents different levels of observing the pilgrimage Festival of Unleavened Bread for Yahweh. For instance, it was conducted on the first day (Ex. 12:14, 17 (H?); Leviticus 23:6 (H); Numbers 28:17 (P); Deuteronomy 16:16 (Deuteronomic inferring vv. 2, 7-8; the seventh day (Ex. 13:6) [JE) and all seven days (Ezek. 45:21; 2 Chr. 30:13, 21; 2 Chr. 35:17) [Milgrom 2004:276].

had already happened in history but in a reshaped form. Thus, though the people were not provided with valid reasons why unleavened bread was to be eaten for seven days, the previous knowledge of what happened to their forefathers was conveyed, but in the context of living holy rather than in mere covenant relationship as in other earlier texts. As a matter of fact, holy living has been the centre of God's working relationship with Israel in the past and at present.

**V. 7** – The verse contains yet another ideological and theological motif, that of a holy convocation and full rest. Rest on the seventh day was associated with remembering and commemorating the earlier period when the pilgrimage required during the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 23:15; Deut. 16:16) took place (Milgrom 2001:277). Just as we have holy places and holy people, holy days and times are also needed in which normal businesses are suspended and the community of believers is solely devoted to God and under his authority.

However, since such times required specific dates and set times, based on its priestly and purity character, Leviticus 23:7 then prescribed the fixed time, date and day of rest during the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The regulation was to enable celebrants recall the salvific history of God and his call for purity among his worshipers as well as obedience to his covenant stipulations in earlier texts such as Exodus 23; 34 and 12. In another sense, one may argue that rest was required in Leviticus 23:7 probably as a lesson that even during the agricultural period when farmers were relatively busier, they were still able to take a day to rest, praise God for his goodness and seek his blessing for the future (Houston 2003:120).

Since in the agricultural system of ancient Israel animals did most of the works, it was assumed that on those days of rest, even the animals would need some rest as well. This seems to be a humanitarian response not only to the needs of the animals but of the land which also enjoyed the day of rest. In the postcolonial times, it is thought that Leviticus 23:5-8 projected the understanding of the Passover and Unleavened Bread beyond mere ritual celebration to commemorate liberation from Egypt. Rather, it was an open-ended interpretation and dialogue which had penetrated other areas of life. However, with the mention of the holy assembly in vv. 6-7 the feast probably took place at home and not in a sanctuary. The idea was possibly of local sanctuaries rather than a centralized place as in Deuteronomy 16:1-8.

**V. 8** – “*For seven days you shall present the Lord’s offerings by fire; on the seventh day there shall be a holy convocation: you shall not work at your occupations.*” The phrase “*offering by fire*” in this verse could be a cultural term referring to something fiery or to burnt sacrifices usually offered on the altar of the sanctuary (Levine 1989:157). However, from a theological viewpoint, burnt offerings were required during the seven days of Unleavened Bread a time that the people dedicated themselves wholly to God. The expression “*the sacrifice by fire*” recalled the Passover lambs that were slaughtered and roasted in fire with the blood smeared on doorposts and lintels in Exodus 12. That in a sense establishes a link between the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:5-8) and Exodus 12:1-28.

Burnt offerings in the pericope also allude to the condition of the hearts of the people which were dedicated to God during the Festival of Unleavened Bread. God was in control of the lives and hearts of worshipers; thus, he first accepted their hearts as living sacrifices before accepting their offerings. Returning to God in purity of heart and thankfulness is one of the theological motifs in Leviticus 23:8.

**V. 6b** – The statement “*seven days you shall eat unleavened bread*” is seen in this study as an element of ideological intertexture possibly reinforced by priests and Levites who were temple officials. As noted above, although the idea of burnt offerings seems to point to socio-cultural intertexture, theologically, it symbolizes the clean hearts that were dedicated to God. Furthermore, the burnt offerings symbolize thanksgiving to Yahweh for his gracious act of provision of life, food, shelter, protection, and so forth.

### **6.3.3 Summary and conclusion of section**

At this point, we shall again take into account the variables that have been established in the different Passover texts in relation to the pericope of Leviticus 23:5-8. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** The text of Leviticus 23:5-8 which is treated as a priestly text under the Holiness Code also contains terminologies that are distinct from those in other Passover texts. For

example, the text uses the expression “*the Passover offering*” rather than “*the Passover festival*” found in Exodus 12:1-28. This difference in terminologies is attributed to the development or expansion of the Passover text as it crosses from one context, period and audience to another.

**Place:** The Passover and Unleavened Bread in Leviticus 23:5-8 took place at approved and sacred sanctuaries but at a family level as opposed to the context of the Exodus 12:1-28 where it took place at the family level but in individual homes.

**Date:** It has been shown from other texts that the Passover took place on different dates and at different times. For instance, it took place on the first day of the first month at twilight which was a fixed date and a fixed time in other Passover texts of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament.

**Sacrifice:** The text shows that a different sacrifice was performed during the Passover in Leviticus 23:5-8. For instance,

there is no mention of the preparation of the Passover lamb nor the mode of eating in Leviticus 23:5-8 compared to its parallel in Exodus 12:1-28 where a one-year-old male lamb was slaughtered, roasted over fire and eaten in haste with unleavened bread, and where a description of the apparel of the celebrants was also given.

**Officials:** The Passover was presided over by different people. For instance, in Leviticus 23:5-8 it is presupposed that members of the priestly line of Aaron presided over the Passover offering assisted by other Levites and priests as opposed to fathers and family heads in Exodus 12:1-28 and Moses in Exodus 23 and 34 or king and princes in the post-exilic texts.

**Link with Unleavened Bread and Exodus Tradition:** There is also a connection between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Leviticus 23:5-8. For instance, the offering by fire for the Lord is an indication that the Passover lambs were used in Leviticus 23 as in Exodus 12:1-28. The different levels of the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Leviticus 23:5-8 (Holiness Code) and in Exodus 23:14-19 (Covenant Code) and in Exodus 34:18-26 (Covenant Renewal) are an indication of different but related aspects of the Exodus tradition. The central message remains being loyal to Yahweh in purity and reverence since Yahweh is holy.

To sum up the discussion in this section, Leviticus 23:5-8 is concerned with the service of worship at the tabernacle that was conducted presumably by the descendants of Aaron and some

other Levitical priests. Leviticus 23:5-8 gives the laws and regulations for worship and instructions on holy days as well as moral laws probably on Mount Sinai where God gave directives to Moses on how to organize Israel's worship. The laws and instructions must have been given to Israel as a chosen nation by God and the earthly representative of God's kingdom after the covenant at Sinai. The purpose of the laws in the pericope was to regulate the personal, religious and communal life of Israel as a holy nation of God. Therefore, special attention was given to Israel's religious ritual marked by offerings and sacrifices at a specified and approved sanctuary under the supervision of a priest who preserved the purity of such sacrifices and conveyed the spiritual and symbolic meanings of the sacrifices to the people.

#### **6.4 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Numbers 9:1-14**

The present section will examine the social, cultural, ideological and theological intertextures of Numbers 9:1-14.

##### **6.4.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Numbers 9:1-14**

Numbers 9:3, 5, 11 contain the phrase *בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם* "at twilight," which is parallel to Exodus 12:6, 18; Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 28:4, 8. The phrase is a cultural phenomenon due to its successive number of occurrences that formed a pattern or value system best known and understood by the Israelite community who were familiar with the time zone in terms of ritual performance. The phrase as noted above in 5.1 could mean the time between sunset and darkness (Milgrom 1990:67; Osborn & Hatton 1999:237) or just evening Sarna (1991:55; Bruckner 2008:110). The fact that the phrase has parallels in Exodus 12:6, 18; Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 28:4, 8 indicates that Numbers 9:1-14 is younger than those parallel texts and it has copied from them.

However, since the emphasis on time specification is a character of the priestly texts, the pericope could be regarded as priestly in origin possibly of the post-exilic and Second Temple period.

Being “*far away on a journey*” (Num. 9:10) was one of the obstacles that could prevent people from attending the Passover in the first month and it indicates that cult centralization in the Jerusalem temple which was influenced by the Deuteronomistic movement (2 Kgs. 23; Deut. 16:5-7) could be behind Numbers 9:1-14 Dozeman (1998:87). However, the Passover in the priestly tradition was confined or centralized as in the Deuteronomistic era (Deut. 16:2, 5, 6). It was still celebrated at the family level as in Exodus 12:1-14 (Otto 2003:9). Therefore, one could argue that the phrase does not presuppose centralization or confinement of the Passover in the priestly tradition but rather that the celebration of Passover took place within the domain of the community of Israel presumably in the tent of meeting or tabernacle (Noth 1980:71; Olson 1996:51). In this case then, the use of דָּרַךְ “*way, road, distance, journey, manner*” in Numbers 9:13 is a clue or indicator that travelling to a place for the Passover celebration was required. The tabernacle or tent on the other hand will be regarded as a social institution based on Robbins’ (1996a:22) social categorization.

Verse 14 is parallel to Exodus 12:19 and presents a social figure אֲרֵץ “*an alien*” who was allowed to take part in the Passover and Unleavened Bread festival. The term “*alien*” in the text refers to a dwelling sojourner or resident alien (Milgrom 1990:70). Based on the social categorization by Robbins (1996a:117; 1996b:62) the “*alien*” would be regarded as a social relationship/identity. In terms of social relationship, such a person was not a temporary visitor or stranger to the community of Israel but a residing sojourner who was probably also circumcised. Though “*aliens*” dwelled among the Israelites for a long time and probably became members of the community, their social identity would still reveal that they were not Israelites by birth but resident sojourners (Budd 1984:98).

Additionally, v. 14 contains the law that permits a resident alien or a non-Israelite to partake in the Passover and Unleavened Bread festival provided he/she kept the regulations governing the Passover celebration (Malle 2006:180). The inclusion of the resident alien in the celebration in a sense pointed to the significance of the Passover in Israel (Olson 1996:51). Theologically, it implied that the law had permitted the inclusion of non-Israelites in the congregation of the Lord. In other words, it opened the door for all to come to worship Yahweh irrespective of their tribes, race, gender, social identity, profession and status, etc.

Another cultural feature that depicts the relevance of the Passover celebration in Israel is the penalty of being *וְנִכְרְתָה מֵעַמִּיהָ* “*cut off from his people*” (i.e. by bearing one’s guilt, being excommunicated, dying through divine agency, etc.) depending on the context (Grabbe 2001:117; Bellinger 2001:212). The penalty was meant for people who were clean and were not on a long journey but who abstained from the Passover celebration deliberately or those who were unclean but partook in the celebration all the same (Wenham 1981:98; Milgrom 1990:69).

The modification of the Passover and Unleavened Bread law in Numbers 9:1-14 to accommodate the alien has some theological implications. The text is flexible but careful in terms of modifying certain laws that are not suitable in our present context and could stand as hindrances to others who would like to worship God. In a sense, laws have to be modified carefully so that the new modifications will not neglect biblical teachings on particular issues but at the same time will not impose unnecessary hardship on people in the changing context, culture and circumstance (Malle 2006:180).

The command “*keep it in accordance with all its rules and rites*” in vv. 3, 11, 12 of Numbers 9 alludes to the original laws of the Passover in Exodus 12:1-28, which may be considered as a cultural phenomenon since it was understood by members of the Israelite community. However, does that imply that the Passover regulations of Numbers 9:1-14 have followed those of Exodus 12:1-28 verbatim? By no means! Some modifications in the second Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 are different from what we have in the original text/celebration of Exodus 12 (Levine 1993:296; Chavel 2009:1). For instance, in the first Passover in Exodus 12:1-28, the blood of the Paschal lamb was collected and smeared on doorposts. However, in the context of the second Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 presupposed to be in the wilderness, the blood of the Passover lamb would be smeared on tents instead since there were no houses with doors in the desert (Wenham 1981:98; Milgrom 1990:67).

The fact that Numbers 9:1-14 is concerned with the prescription of who should participate in the Passover observance and who should not, the right time to partake in the Passover observance, accommodation of late observance of the Passover and the details of the rules on the observance



of the Passover as well as the repeated mention of Egypt echoes God's great care for the people of Israel which is the main theme of the Passover (Leveen 2008:45). Thus, a socio-cultural phenomenon that is considering the other irrespective of values, purity measures and social stratification, is at play in this pericope.

**V.1** - In Numbers 9:1, the Lord God is presented as sovereign guide, promise keeper, and lawgiver (Martens 1997:985, 990). He was suzerain over the people of Israel, and in their wilderness wandering; they started and stopped at his order. His presence with them was symbolized by the Ark of covenant. This was a social role that Yahweh played among the Israelites. Moses and Aaron in a similar vein played the social roles of leaders and priests to the entire people of Israel (Bellinger 2001:212; Grabbe 2001:117).

In short, a closer look at the pericope reveals certain social and cultural elements. Socially, the people of Israel as a nation had a social identity in Numbers 9:1-14. The resident aliens on the other hand form had a social relationship with the community of Israel. The fact that aliens were tagged non-Jews to differentiate them from the native-born Israelites shows that they may also be categorized under social identity as well (Robbins 1996a:62). Moses and Aaron in the pericope may be grouped under social role since they played dual roles (leaders and priest) in the believing community. Even though they are not visible but presupposed in the text, the terms tabernacle, tent, wilderness of Sinai, and temple come under social institution.

Furthermore, the Ark of the Covenant, defilement by corpse, sexually transmitted diseases, menstruation, and so forth, are cultural phenomena since they relate to issues of purity, covenant, values and laws practiced and known by the believing community. The use of the elements influenced the understanding of the Passover text in Numbers 9:1-14 by the audience who formed part of the social and cultural system of that time since they were able to correlate the text with what obtained in their context.

#### **6.4.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Numbers 9:1-14**

The expression *וַיִּכְרַתֶּהּ מֵעַמִּיהָ* “*cut off from his people*” (i.e. by bearing one's guilt, being excommunicated, or dying through divine agency, and so forth) in vv. 13 and 14 finds a parallel

in Exodus 12:19. However, there is a slight modification in Numbers 9:13, 14 where “*his people*” is used as opposed to “*the community of Israel*” (Ex. 12:19).<sup>177</sup> Although the expression could be placed under cultural intertexture, ideologically, it portrayed elements of power to banish deliberate offenders or violators of the Passover law due to non-participation or absenteeism without any genuine cause. The offenders were given no room for excuses but they had to accept the punishment which could be execution either through judicial means or at God’s hand (Milgrom 1990:405, 408; Bellinger 2001:212; Grabbe 2001:117).

On a theological note also, celebrants who were unclean due to certain impurities but who had participated in the Passover defiled the sacred meal that was meant to honour God. In that case, they were liable to excommunication from their people or even to death by divine agency (Milgrom 1990:68; Wenham 1981:98). God is holy and those who worship him must be holy as he is. However, since sacredness or purity is a cultural phenomenon based on Robbins’ (1996a) categorization, one could conclude that culture is intertwined with ideology and theology in Numbers 9.

In v. 7, אֶת־קִרְבָּנוֹ יְהוָה “*the offering of the Lord*” could also be regarded as a theological expression referring to subsequent Passover celebrations or offerings outside Egypt as formal sacrifices in honour of Yahweh. The blood of the sacrificial animal in this later context however was offered in an authorized sanctuary or on an altar prescribed by Yahweh.

In vv. 2, 3, 13, the phrase “*at its appointed time*” refers to an ideological stipulation that orders the celebration of the Passover at a specified time just as in the first celebration. This stipulation was not to be disputed but obeyed. It was to guard against laxity among celebrants of the second Passover (Budd 1984:97). Theologically, it implies that though God’s grace is sufficient to all who come to him, it does not stop God from punishing evil deeds (Naylor 1994:178).

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<sup>177</sup> The different renderings could be due to translation choice or to textual growth and expansion. It may also be a cultural phenomenon in that Israel at that point had already become a community; as such, the priestly tradition might have assumed that the Israelite audience were aware that they were not just a people but a community or congregation as well. In other words, there was no point to repeat the phrase “*the community of Israel*” here. Moreover, Numbers 9 has reconfigured Exodus 12:19; thus Numbers 9:13 and 14 seem to overshadow Exodus 12:19.

Numbers 9:1-5 contains divine commands which reflect ideological and theological intertexture based on Robbins (1996a:810). God is depicted in the text as a God of order (Martens 1997:990). This in a sense is a form of authority and an ideological phenomenon based on Robbins' (1996a:810) description of social intertexture.

The resident alien as a social figure (social relationship and identity) in the text presupposes a settled life in Canaan; otherwise, Israelites who were wandering in the desert would also be considered aliens (Dozeman 1998:87). In this sense, one may consider it from a theological as imagery for God's covenant fulfilment of the Promised Land. The term alien in the pericope indicates the inclusion of non-Israelites or outsiders in the congregation of God (Dozeman 1998:87). It therefore serves as a message of hope for the gentiles to come and celebrate the salvific feast of God which was also celebrated in the New Testament through the death of Jesus on the Cross for the sin of humanity (Naylor 1994:178).

Numbers 9: 6-13 deals with the issue of uncleanness as an obstacle to participation in the Passover celebration which was a sacred meal dedicated to the worship of a holy God. Uncleanness in a way drew attention to purity, which was a socio-cultural phenomenon understood by the community of Israel. However, on a theological level, stopping people who were defiled by a corpse or other forms of impurity from partaking in the Passover offering was to maintain the sacredness of the festival offering and that of God (Naylor 1994:178; Ashley 1993:8).

The penalty of being "cut off" because of wilful negligence of the Passover law by healthy violators who failed to pitch up for the festival also has a theological implication that is ideological in nature. The penalty also served as a lesson that "weakness is helped but rebellion is never tolerated" by God (Naylor 1994:179).

So far, we have attempted to show that the text of Numbers 9:1-14 possesses elements of ideological and theological intertexture besides social intertexture such as the social role which describes God as the lawgiver, saviour, guide and promise fulfiller to the people of Israel. Moses

and Aaron in a similar way played the social roles of leaders and priests in the Passover celebration in Numbers 9:1-14.

Ideologically, the Passover text of Numbers 9:1-14 contains certain authoritative orders imposed on celebrants without leaving them any room to escape but to obey such orders. For example, we have time expressions such as “*at its appointed time*” (vv. 2, 13) and “*on the fourteenth day,*” “*at twilight,*” “*at the appointed time*” (vv. 3, 11) in the Passover celebration in Numbers 9. The laws that bear these expressions hint that time allocation is more elevated in the text than religious obligation. Thus, the text is seen as a priestly text.

Theologically, the text has a divine message for its audience and such divine communication does not exist in isolation of the socio-cultural and ideological intertextures but establish a link with them. The purity laws prohibiting defiled persons from participating in the Passover celebration for example point to the theological intertexture of the text since the Passover was meant for the worship of Yahweh and since God is sacred the Passover and its celebrants ought to be sacred as well (Bellinger 2001:214). The inclusion of the resident aliens in the second Passover though has a social intertexture contains the theological motif of God’s salvific act that opened the congregation to other people outside the twelve tribes of Israel. The ideological order to celebrate the Passover at the appointed time is also a divine order which stressed the need for celebrants to be dedicated to Yahweh and his worship. It also alludes to the laws of abstaining from work on the seventh day during the Passover celebration in Exodus 23:15; 34:18 and Leviticus 23:5.

#### **6.4.3 Summary and conclusion of section**

To conclude the discussion in this section, we shall consider the variables identified in the Passover texts of the Old Testament in relation to Numbers 9:1-14. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Distinct terminologies are associated with the Passover text of Numbers 9:1-14. For instance, the word “*keep*” in vv. 2, 3, 11, and 12 refers to the celebration of the Passover as

opposed to “*observe*” in Exodus 12. This is regarded as the product as of an interpretive choice by different translators of the Bible in this study.

**Place:** The Passover took place in different locations. For instance, it is assumed here that in Numbers 9:1-14 the Passover took place in an approved sanctuary, that is, a tent, tabernacle or a temple even though it was still open to family or tribal celebration because it is found in a priestly text. This is different from Exodus 12:1-28 where it was celebrated purely at the family level in homes or at local shrines. It also differs from Exodus 23:14-19 where it was celebrated at Sinai and from Deuteronomy 16:1-8 where it was centralized. As the Passover text developed, it expanded and gathered additional information resulting in the modification of its original content in Exodus 12.

**Date:** The Passover took place on different dates or at different time. For instance, in Numbers 9:1-14, it took place on the fourteenth day of the first month at twilight. However, those who could not partake in the first celebration owing to defilement from impurities or being “*far away on a journey*,” the Passover took place on the fourteenth day of the second month. This is different from the account in Exodus 12:1-28 where the feast took place on the fourteenth day of the first month for seven days.

**Sacrifice:** Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover. In Numbers 9:1-14 for instance, we have “*the Lord’s offering*” in v. 13 as opposed to “*the Passover celebration*” in Exodus 12:1-28.

**Preparation:** There were different modes of preparing the Passover feast.. In Numbers 9:1-14 for example, there is no categorical mention of the mode of preparation of the Passover as in Exodus 12:1-28 though the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 probably followed the rules of Exodus 12:1-28.

**Officials:** Different people served as officiating ministers of the Passover. In Exodus 12:1-28, the Passover was presided over by fathers or heads of families and clans while in Numbers 9:1-14, the officials probably included Moses, Aaron, leaders and family heads acting as priests. Nonetheless, the Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 is connected to that of Exodus 12:1-28 in terms of the salvific motif and purity, to Exodus 23 and 34 in terms of obedience to the covenant relationship with God, and to texts of the post-exilic period in terms of its inclusion of celebrants outside the twelve tribes of Israel.

Numbers 9:1-14 is a direct and divine fulfilment of Exodus 12:24. The Passover in Numbers 9:1-14 probably took place in the Tabernacle or tent of meeting (cf. Num. 7:8, 9). It marked the re-establishment of God's relationship with Israel after the sin of the worship of the golden calf (Olson 1996:51). Obedience by all people is emphasized in Numbers 9:1-14 (ideological/theological element). The Passover in the first month represented the Northern kingdom of Israel or Ephraim and the one in the second month represented the southern kingdom of Judah (Olson 1996:51). Further, 2 Chronicles 30:1-3 shows the divergence in the history of the Passover which had become merged with the Unleavened Bread festival to commemorate the salvific work of God on behalf of his chosen people. Verses 11-12 are parallel to Exodus 12:8 which detail the instructions for eating the Passover and Unleavened Bread with bitter herbs to commemorate the bitterness experienced in Egypt which forms part of the theological and cultural motif of the text of Numbers 9 (Olson 1996:52).

Participation in the Passover consolidates the congregation as the people of God journeying to Canaan. It did not matter that they were natives or resident aliens showing that there were no slaves or servants with regards to God's salvation formula (Dozeman 1998:86-88). This is a theological message of the text. Ritual laws are briefly stated in vv. 3, 11-12 and the instructions in the verses are parallel to Exodus 12:1-20. The first month presupposed to be the month of Nisan in the spring is seen as a cultural phenomenon and it hints at the priestly origin of the Passover text of Numbers 9:1-14 since priestly texts are more concerned with time allocation and specification than obedience or religious obligation.

Moreover, participation in the Passover in v. 13 defines the membership of both the Israelites and outsiders in the congregation of God (Dozeman 1998:87). In other words, the Passover celebration was an Israelite rite but it had to be done in all purity and seriousness; otherwise the offenders were punished (Budd 2003:125). The issue of purity therefore intertwines socio-cultural intertexture with ideological-theological intertexture since purity is regarded as an element of cultural intertexture (Robbins 1996a:810) but it may as well be a theological motif. This is because God is holy and any form of worship of him whether through sacrificial rite or ritual of the Passover must be done in purity or sacredness.

Although the Passover text of Numbers 9:1-14 does not categorically name any priest as the officiating minister of the Passover sacrifice, being a priestly text, Moses, Aaron, the sons of Aaron, Levites [Nazirites], leaders or heads of tribes probably served as leaders and priests. Thus, those officials performed social roles (Robbins 1996a). Women seem to receive little attention in the text possibly due to cultural prohibitions from making a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:2; cf. Budd 2003:125).

The setting of the text of Numbers 9:1-14 is priestly and the introduction in v. 1 supports the argument that it was a late addition (Budd 1984:96). According to Budd, while vv. 10b-12 belongs to the exilic tradition based on the permission to travellers to partake in the Passover in the second month, vv. 10-12 is an indication of the growth and development of the text which presupposes Exodus 12. However, the numerical dating of months and the allusion to Nisan which are characters of the post-exilic period indicate that Numbers 9:1-14 is a priestly and post-exilic text (Noth 1980:71).

The Passover commemoration in Numbers 9:1-14 is depicted as taking place after the dedication of the Tabernacle in Exodus 25-31, 36-40 and the renewal of the covenant in Exodus 34:18-26 after the worship of the golden calf (Bellinger 2001:211). Thus, Numbers 9 is presumably younger than Exodus 23:14-19 (Covenant Code), 34:18-26 (Covenant Renewal) and 12:1-28 (original Passover) [Bailey 2005:438]. Based on the narrated time, it is possible to assume that Numbers 9:1-14 drew insight from the pre-exilic wilderness and exilic periods and it made use of resources from both in the post-exilic era. In other words, the time of celebration is interwoven with different periods.

## **6.5 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Numbers 28:16-28**

This section will seek to identify the socio-cultural as well as ideological and theological intertexture of Numbers 28:16-28 bearing in mind Robbins' (1996a: 62, 71) discussion of the elements.

### 6.5.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Numbers 28:16-28

Verse 16 contains a cultural phenomenon פֶּסַח לַיהוָה “*a Passover offering to Yahweh*” which has theological implications while pointing to ideological intertexture in the text. From a theological viewpoint, the feast was an occasion for Yahweh to really touch the lives of the celebrants in a way that they would feel his presence in their lives. This explains the prohibition on work and of leaven and the emphasis on purity as well as the call for a מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ “*holy convocation*” during the Passover sacrifice in Numbers 28 which is similar to Leviticus 23 (Nihan 2008:117). The laws governing the Passover could therefore be explained in terms of the dynamic relationship existing between God and Israel (Martens 1997:990).

Verses 19-21, 24 on the one hand discusses the sacrifices that were brought to the Lord on the seven days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread similar in purpose to the feast of weeks (Ex. 34:22; Deut.16:10). Verse 26 also mentions the cereal or grain and the offering of new grain referring to the first produce of the new harvest that was offered to the Lord during the “*day of the firstfruits*” or simply the “*feast of weeks*” (Noth 1980:222; Budd 1984:316; Bosman 1997b). The absence of a detailed description of the Passover offering in the Numbers 28:16-28 pericope is an indication that it was not a cultic occasion for the entire community but for individual families; as such, no temple sacrifices were required (Noth 1980:222; Budd 1984:316). This may also be a clue to a post-exilic origin of the text.

Verse 24 contains the expression לָחֶם אֵשׁהּ רִיח־בְּיִחֹם לַיהוָה “*an offering by fire of pleasing odour to the Lord*” referring to “*a gift*” or “*burnt offering to Yahweh.*” The expression shows traces of cultural intertexture since it could only be best understood by people within the culture and context of the celebration. Those outside the context and culture would always seek an explanation of what it is meant by לָחֶם אֵשׁהּ רִיח־בְּיִחֹם לַיהוָה (Milgrom 1990:244). An offering by fire in the verse alludes to the Passover of Exodus 12 where the Passover lamb was roasted over fire and eaten with bitter herbs before leaving Egypt. It shows that the Passover in this text is connected to other Passover texts in the Pentateuch and the Old Testament.



Numbers 28:18, 25-26 contains yet another social phenomenon that deals with a sacred institution - מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ *“holy convocation.”*<sup>178</sup>The phrase finds parallel in Exodus 12:16 and Leviticus 23:7-8 even though it is rendered as *“holy assembly”* in Exodus 12. However, both refer to a legal or religious gathering of a people who are called by Yahweh to worship him in purity (Milgrom 1984:571-574; Jonker 1997:971). The different renderings are probably due to translation preferences by different translators. The holy convocation was probably held at the public sanctuary and not at the family level (Milgrom 1989: xxxii; 1994:1148; Levine 2000:365).

From the views of the above authors, it is argued that the holy gathering probably took place in the post-exilic period following the return of Israel from exile and the rebuilding of the temple which served as a unifying point for the entire Israelite community (Albertz 2002:111). It is worth noting however, that such holy convocation in the temple in Jerusalem did not completely wipe off the gathering at the family, tribe, or clan level. It simply went beyond a mere family gathering (Janzen 1997:81).

From the above consideration of Numbers 28:16-28, there seems to be more elements of cultural intertexture than social, ideological or theological intertexture. For instance, we have in v.16 *“the Passover offering to the Lord”* (Olsom 1996:170-171); in vv. 19, 23, 27 *“burnt offering to the Lord”* (Naylor 1994:192), in vv. 20, 26, 28 *“grain offering,”* in v. 21 *“sin offering”* and in v. 24 *“food/drink offering.”* The expressions all point to elements of cultural intertexture since they engage in issues relating to value, purity, laws and covenant (Robbins 1996a:62).

Why is there so much emphasis on cultural phenomena in the above text? The reason could be due to the setting of the text as a post-exilic text evident in the emphasis placed on sacrifices, temple, and purity (Armerding 2003:306; Prosic 2004:45). The returnees from the Babylonian exiled needed to remind themselves of their values, codes and covenant bonds to re-model their lives to fit in Yahweh’s agenda of holiness, obedience and true worship. The celebration of the

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<sup>178</sup> Exodus 12:16 is rendered מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ *“as a solemn assembly”* (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35; Deut. 16:8; 2 Chr. 7:9) as opposed to *“holy convocation”* in Numbers 28:18, 25. Both renderings are similar however, since they both refer to a sacred gathering or the calling of a pure assembly to worship Yahweh. In other words, the difference in rendering is due to the variation in translation by translators.

Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 with more focus on cultural phenomena such as laws, values, covenant, and culture therefore marked a new beginning in their lives just as it did in the lives of their ancestors when it was celebrated in Exodus 12:1-28. It opened a new page in their lives as liberated people from the slavery of Egypt. The cultural phenomena in a sense emphasize the connection between Numbers 28:16-28 and Exodus 12:1-28.

Subsequently, if the Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 was celebrated in the context of the priestly, post-exilic and Second Temple era with much emphasis on purity and sacrificial worship of Yahweh in the temple, then it will be problematic to leave priests out of the discussion of the pericope. That then brings us to the social intertexture of the text of Numbers 28:16-28.

The study presupposes that priests such as Aaron and other Levites took part in presiding over the sacrificial duties in the temple. That implies that they played social roles, that is, according to Robbins' (1996a:62) category of social intertexture. The temple in this case is a social institution as well as the "*holy convocation*" in v. 25. The Israelites/Jews returning from exile and those remnants at home represented a social identity while the aliens among the people of Israel during the Second Temple period formed part of a social relationship.

### **6.5.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Numbers 28:16-28**

Verse 16 displays an ideological texture in the phrase בְּהֵדֵשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן "*the head*" or "*first of Month*" which concerns time specification with the character of priestly, post-exilic and Second Temple texts. The phrase has parallels in Exodus 12:2, 6, 18 where it is rendered "*this month*". The differences in time specification in the parallel texts may be explained in terms of contexts and needs or priority. Exodus 12:2, 6, 18 seem to pay more attention to obligation than time specification (Balentine 2002:176). Other parallels of Numbers 28:16 include Leviticus 23:5; Numbers 9:1, 5; 2 Chronicles 35:1 and Ezekiel 45:21. Although these texts are not verbatim renditions, they share the common feature of referring to the specific month of the year in which the Passover celebrations took as opposed to Exodus 12 (Osborn & Hatton 1999:273).

The differences may presuppose that Numbers 28:16 is later than Exodus 12:6 and that its emphasis on time specification is a clue to its post-exilic origin. During the post-exilic period,

the priests were conscious to keep temple sacrifices and offerings meant for Yahweh at specified times to avoid ungodliness that could lead them again into captivity. Perhaps they recalled the golden calf incident of Exodus 34 and their bitter experiences during the Babylonian captivity.

Verse 17 reports that “*on the fifteenth day of this month*” is a festival; “*seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.*” This verse displays elements of ideological intertexture also with the emphasis on specific time. The expressions also find a parallel in Exodus 12:15 where it is used in a different context. In Numbers 28:17, the Passover sacrifice or offering was no longer celebrated purely at the family level in individual homes but in the temple or sanctuary; as such, it was necessary to allocate specific times to avoid the penalty of being *cut off* that might befall violators (Durham 1987:158; Bruckner 2008:112). That means that the priests were not just being ideological in their exercise of power over lay people but they were conscious of the sacredness of Yahweh and they desired to maintain that sacredness in the sacrificial rites as well.

In Numbers 28:18, 25, 26 is also found the command *לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: כָּל־מְלָאכָת עֲבֹדָה* “*you shall not work at your occupations.*” The prohibition of work during the period of the Passover forms part of the ideological intertexture of the text. It emphasized rest during the celebration to honour Yahweh (Armerding 2003:302). The strong ideological emphasis could be explained in terms of allowing Yahweh’s presence to be felt in the lives of the celebrants of the Passover (Von Rad 1962:241-242). The fact that the Passover sacrifice was dedicated to Yahweh also had theological implications. Yahweh demanded obedience and sacred worship through sacrificial rites in his honour and the Passover was one of the core sacrificial offerings for commemorating Yahweh’s salvific acts in history on behalf of his people. Thus, they had to dedicate themselves, the animals and the soil to God by observing total rest without any work (Houtman 1999:187).

Time specification is also seen in Numbers 28 as part of the ideological intertexture. For example, the Passover was scheduled to take place on the first day and on the seventh day (Ex. 12:16; Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35; Deut. 16:8; 2 Chr. 7:9; Neh. 8:18). All the parallel texts seem to be post-exilic texts indicating the time stipulated for the Passover offering to Yahweh as well as for the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Osborn & Hatton 1999:283). A connection is then established between Exodus 12:16 and verse 15, which stipulate the command to remove leaven

from the homes of celebrants before celebrating the Festival of Unleavened Bread to Yahweh (Durham 1987:159).

The expression *וּבַיּוֹם הָרְאִשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה* “*on the fourteenth day of the first Month*” (Num. 28:16) marked the annual spring occasion when the Passover and Unleavened Bread feast were celebrated on the fourteenth day and the fifteenth day, respectively (Levine 2000:379; Gorman 2000a:458-459). This appears to be a cultural event that needed no publicity or explanation before members could understand it. Once it was springtime and in the first month, then people would start thinking of the Passover and of going on a pilgrimage possibly to Jerusalem, which was an important religious practice of the day. They would go up to present sacrifices and offering and to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread which was also a cultic but cultural meal prescribed to Israel by God. The numerical counting of months such as “*the first month,*” or “*the seventh month*” in Numbers 28 and Leviticus 23 Levine (2000:379) is regarded in this study as a cultural practice that was unique to the Israelite community.

The system was used probably to avoid the secular practice of naming months after foreign gods which was going on among the foreign nations that surrounded Israel. The phrases *בְּיוֹם הָרְאִשׁוֹן* “*on the first day*” and *וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי* “*on the seventh day*” in Numbers 28:18, 25 refer to the first day of the seven days and the seventh day in the month of *Abib* which were set aside for the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Osborn & Hatton 1999:281). The people of Israel feast were instructed to remove all yeasts out of their houses on that day. The specific ordinal numbering of days just as months discussed earlier points to a cultural tradition among the people of Israel. It spoke to them and reminded them to follow their annual festal calendars in honour of Yahweh. Since the period was recognized and observed by members of the Israelite community, it points to cultural elements which bring out the cultural intertexture of the pericope (Robbins 1996a:58).

The above pericope of Numbers 28:16-28 contain some ideological elements such as time specification. In v. 16, we have the expression “*on the fourteenth day of the first month,*” in v. 17 “*on the fifteenth day this Month,*” and in vv. 18, 25 “*on the seventh day of this month*” all of which emphasize specific time schedules (Balentine 2002:176). Time specification in this text is

a clue to its post-exilic origin. Other ideological elements in the text include the prohibition of work on the seventh day in vv. 18, 25 and 26 (Houtman 1999:187).

Why do we find all these ideological phenomena in Numbers 28:16-28? Who were those responsible for them? The priests of course were responsible for the ideological laws required by Yahweh to maintain purity, law/order, ideal sacrificial worship of Yahweh, value judgement and a renewed covenant relationship with Yahweh their saviour. In other words, the motive behind the ideological laws or elements in the text was not just a mere exercise of power by priests over lay people but it was aimed at guiding the chosen people of God against any form of apostasy that could lead them into another exile or to a broken relationship with Yahweh.

Theologically, one may argue that the Numbers 28:16-28 pericope addresses the issues of purity and sacrificial duties to God on the part of the celebrants. However, since human beings are always pulled away from God by external forces, ideological laws are then brought in to serve as a guide to self-reproach and correction to enable them live according to the will of God. Thus, Numbers 28:16-28 also forges a link with the covenant laws of Exodus 23:14-19 and its renewal in Exodus 34:18-26 as well as their summaries in Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:1ff.

### 6.5.3 Summary and conclusion of section

To conclude the discussion in this section, the variables already identified in the different Passover texts of the Old Testament particularly Exodus 12:1-28 will be related to Numbers 28:16-28. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Distinct terminologies are associated with the Passover text of Numbers 28:16-28. For instance, the pericope refers to the Passover celebration as the “*Passover offering for the Lord*” which differs from Exodus 12 and other pericope that use the expression “*the sacrifice of the Passover,*” “*Passover celebration*” or “*the Passover feast.*” The differences may be brought about by variations in setting or context of the Passover celebration. Thus, they are regarded as the outcome of the growth and expansion of the original text at different times.

**Place:** The Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 took place in the Second Temple in Jerusalem or in an approved sanctuary outside the family as opposed to the celebration in individual homes as in

Exodus 12:1-28, on Mount Sinai as in Exodus 23:14-19 or in the wilderness as in Exodus 34:18-26, and so forth.

**Date:** The Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 took place on different dates and time from other Passover celebrations in the Pentateuch and the Old Testament particularly in Exodus 12:1-28. For example, the Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 took place on the fourteenth day of “*this month*” and the Festival of Unleavened Bread on the fifteenth day of “*this month*” which differs from “*the fourteenth day of the month*” in Exodus 12:6 where the Paschal meat and unleavened bread were eaten with bitter herbs.

**Sacrifice:** A distinct sacrifice was performed during the Passover sacrifice of Numbers 28:16-28 which included the grain offering (vv. 26, 28), burnt offering (v. 27), divine offering/food as an offering by fire (v. 24), an offering by fire and a gift offering. The named offerings seem to allude to the Passover celebration of Exodus 12 but they are not mentioned in the Passover account of Exodus 12.

**Preparation:** The mode of preparing the Passover in Numbers 28:16-28 was different from that of Exodus 12:1-28. In Numbers 28:16-28, three-tenths of an *ephah* for a bull, two-tenths of an *ephah* for one ram, oil, and seven male lambs were used for the burnt offering and grain offering. In the Passover account of Exodus 12:1-28, a one-year-old male lamb was used with unleavened bread. Additionally, 2 Kings 21:21-23, Deuteronomy 16:1-8 and 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 recommend different animals for the Passover festival and they also use different ingredients and cooking modes from Numbers 28:16-28.

**Officials:** The Passover was presided over by different people in Numbers 28:16-28 compare with Exodus 12:1-28 where heads of families or fathers acted as priests and 2 Kings 23 and 2 Chronicles 35 where kings, a prince, loyal officials, and leaders all contributed to administering the Passover. In Numbers 28:16-28, priests and Levites administered the Passover sacrifices and offerings in the temple in Jerusalem.

**Link with Unleavened Bread:** There are different links between the Passover and festival of the Unleavened Bread. For example, in Numbers 28:16-28, the Passover offering to the Lord as well as the burnt, grain and sin offerings all point back to the Passover in Exodus 12:1-28 where the Passover lamb eaten with unleavened bread was used as a salvific symbol for the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian slavery.

**Link with Exodus Tradition:** The different modes of offerings and sacrifices in other Pentateuchal books and the Old Testament all point back to the salvific motive of the original Passover tradition in Exodus 12:1-28, confirming that the Passover is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition. On the whole, this study argues that the Passover offering in Numbers 28:16-28 belonged to the post-exilic era and it was made probably in the Second Temple in Jerusalem to mark the beginning of new life for the celebrants after their return from exile.

## **6.6 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Deuteronomy 16:1-8**

This section will investigate the socio-cultural and ideological/theological intertexture of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure.

### **6.6.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Deuteronomy 16:1-8**

Deuteronomy 16:1 contains the expression אֶת־חֹדֶשׁ־אֲבִיב *“the month of Abib”* which is a cultural phenomenon referring to the first month in the ancient Hebrew calendar (Ex. 12:2) and named after the *“new ripe corn”* of that season. It is earlier mentioned in the priestly text (Ex. 12:1), in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19), in the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:5-8) and interestingly, it has reappeared in the Deuteronomistic code (Deut. 16:1-8). Its reappearance in Deuteronomy 16:1 may be regarded as an echo or reminder to celebrants that that month is a memorable month that has been co-opted into the religious calendar of Israel for the celebration of the Festival of Unleavened Bread and Passover in commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt (Tigay 1996:152). Therefore, even though the unleavened bread not mention with the month in question, one could presuppose that celebrants knew what month it was and the feast that was attached to it since it was set in their context.

The re-appearance of the month of *Abib* in the pericope may be explained in terms of allusion to or a reminder of the Fourth command in Deuteronomy 5:12 - *“observe the Sabbath day”* - as well as the law of the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the older text of Exodus 23:15 and 34:18 (McConville 2002:271). It presupposes the fuller command in Exodus 23:15 - *“you shall observe*

*the feast of unleavened bread at the appointed time in the month of Abib.*” The word “observe” in Deuteronomy 16:1 echoes the Sabbath laws and establishes a link with the Passover of Exodus 12:1-28 (Biddle 2003:261). It is interesting to note that the expression “by night” in Deuteronomy 16:1 is not found in the older Passover texts (Ex. 23:15; 34:18) but has parallels in the text of Exodus 12:6, 12; 30-31, which is the narrative of the institution of the Passover (McConville 2002:272).

**V. 2** – “*You shall offer the Passover sacrifice to the Lord your God, from the flock and the herd, at the place that the Lord will choose as a dwelling for his name.*” The instruction has elements of cultural intertexture which deals with the laws, codes and value system of the celebrants of the Passover in Deuteronomy. The verse is paralleled by Exodus 12:11. The Passover was in honour of Yahweh in due commemoration of his salvific acts for Israelites. The Passover underwent some modifications; as such, freewill offerings of animals were made from either the flock or the herd as opposed to the account in Exodus 12 where they were limited to a one-year-old lamb. The offerings only took place in a dwelling place of Yahweh which was presumably the temple in Jerusalem (Tigay 1996:151; Thompson 1994:193; Biddle 2003:262).

The choice of animals from the flock and herd also signified the fulfilment of the promise of “plenty” (Deut. 7:12ff) if v. 2 is related to Deuteronomy 14:26. That implies that the people made use of the wealth of the land to celebrate their return from exile to commemorate the Exodus from Egypt (Biddle 2003:262). The paring of the “flock and herd” in Deuteronomy 16:2 could also symbolize Yahweh’s blessing in the context of sacrificial worship (Deut. 17:13; 12:17, 21; 14:23). The use of flock and herd may indicate the consideration given to other sacrifices such as freewill, peace or festal offering and Passover sacrifices which probably also accompanied the Passover (Num. 28:19; 2 Chr. 30: 15, 24; cf. Biddle 2003:262 ).

In Deuteronomy 16:3 we have the  $\text{לֶחֶם אֲפִיקָה}$  “bread of affliction or distress” which refers to the unleavened bread that was eaten during the original Passover celebration in Egypt (Levinson 2000:274). The expression  $\text{לֶחֶם אֲפִיקָה}$  may also refer to “one who oppresses, violates and humiliates



another person or group of people using power contrary to the demand of justice particularly when it is used as a *piel/pual*” (Gerstenberger 2001:230, 236).<sup>179</sup>

The phrase may also refer to forced labour or the humiliation of a person such that the victim feels tired, devastated or exhausted. An example is Tamar’s case in 2 Samuel 13:11ff. However, if the phrase refers to an oppressive rule staged by the oppressor to make life hard for the oppressed, then in this text it probably refers to the autocratic rule of the Pharaoh of Egypt over Israel even though that is not mentioned categorically in v. 16. In that case, the social status or role of Israel would be that of slave while Pharaoh’s that of a king.

However, we would prefer the second meaning of לֶחֶם עָנִי which refers to one who is brutally forced to do hard labour. In that sense, it refers to food that brought to mind the sufferings and liberation of Israel from slavery in Egypt (Levinson 2000:274). The bread reminded Israel of their suffering and the deliverance granted to them by Yahweh through Moses who freed them from the oppressive rule of Pharaoh. Again, the use of unleavened bread in Deuteronomy as bread of affliction alludes to the change in Israel’s identity from slaves in Egypt to sons/daughters occupying a Promised Land of their own.

In Deuteronomy 16:2, 6 we find yet another social phrase אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁוֹ “*at the place*”<sup>180</sup> which refers to a chosen place for the Passover offering to Yahweh presumably the Second Temple in Jerusalem. However, מִקְדָּשׁוֹ “*the place*” in the verses does not just mean a mere restriction to a place for the Passover sacrifice but also a form of transformation of the religious and the social life of Israel and Judah. That means at that point in time the Passover had been transformed from its original or earliest form of celebration at the family, tribe, and clan level to a central sanctuary possibly the temple in Jerusalem where a single solemn assembly was conducted (Levinson 1997:74; Biddle 2003:262).

<sup>179</sup>The phrase לֶחֶם עָנִי “*bread of affliction*” is mentioned 7x in Deuteronomy, 4x in Numbers, 5x in Leviticus, 5x in Exodus and 4 x in Genesis (Gerstenberger 2001:230).

<sup>180</sup> The phrase אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁוֹ “*at the place*” is repeated 15 times in the Old Testament (Gen. 35:13; Lev. 4:29; Deut. 12:14, 18, 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 31:11; 1 Sam. 10:5; 2 Chr. 3:1; Ezr. 8:17; cf. Levinson 1997:74). The mention of “*the place*” several times in Deuteronomy indicates that the Passover had now shifted from a family meal celebrated at individual homes to a public festival celebrated at a centralized sanctuary probably at the Second Temple in Jerusalem. In other words, it shows the development of the Passover tradition from the pre-exilic to the post-exilic era.

The transformation of the Passover from its original form into a much wider celebration in a chosen sanctuary chosen by Yahweh created a shift in the social status of the celebrants as well. Their social status had shifted from slavery (during the family celebration) to freedom, and a joint celebration in the temple also influenced their identity. As long as they celebrated the Passover and Unleavened Bread feast to commemorate their Exodus from Egypt, they were reminded of their identity as a people who could now worship God together in the temple where Yahweh's presence dwelt (Kellermann 1998:58, 273).

Another cultural view that points to some dissimilarity between Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7 is the difference in the manner of preparation of the Passover animal. In the Exodus account, the Passover animal had to be roasted over the fire while in Deuteronomy 16:7 celebrants were required to boil the animal as shown by the verb בָּשַׁלְתָּ from the root בָּשַׁל "to cook"<sup>181</sup> in Deuteronomy 16:1 (Tigay 1996:153; Biddle 2003:263). However, even though בָּשַׁל usually means, "to boil," a term denoting cooking in general as well as baking (Ex. 12:9; 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21; Ex. 16:23; 2 Chr. 35:13), it was probably a more convenient mode of preparing the Passover for a settled people than roasting which would be easier for wanderers. Moreover, Biddle (2003:263) has rightly observed that "boiling was the common way of preparing meats especially the flesh of large cattle (1 Kgs. 19:21; 2 Kgs. 4:38; Ezek. 24:3-5; 2 Kgs. 6:29) while cereals offerings were baked."

Boiling in the Passover celebration in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 could therefore presuppose a settled life possibly of a post-exilic type (Biddle 2003:263). The returnees from Babylonian exile had assumed a more settled life having at their disposal all the necessary cooking utensils and enough time to cook the Passover lamb in any other preferred way than roasting the people in transit hurriedly did.

On the other hand, the prescription of smaller livestock (from the flock) or larger cattle (from the herd) shows why boiling was the preferred mode of cooking. It was to accommodate the flesh of

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<sup>181</sup>The term בָּשַׁל is a verb, *piel*, perfect, second person, masculine, singular meaning, "to cook."

large cattle that were slaughtered to cater for the large crowd in attendance during the centralized Passover and Unleavened Bread celebration in Jerusalem.

Although clear features of social and cultural intertexture may not easily be identified in the text of Deuteronomy 16:1-8, some nuances of social and cultural intertexture may nonetheless be highlighted. Verse 7 for instance, mentions “*a chosen place*,” which is a social code or institution particularly when considered in terms of a temple. The “*tent*” is also a social institution referring to a dwelling place. The indirect reference to priests and leaders in as officials of the feast also points to social roles.

The expressions “*the month of Abib*” (v. 1a), “*bread of affliction*,” “*flock and herds*,” as well as the idea of boiling of the Passover meat or avoidance of leaven, and so forth, in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 are elements of cultural intertexture depicting laws, codes and values of the people of Israel.

### **6.6.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Deuteronomy 16:5-8**

**V. 3** - Verse 3 contains elements of ideological intertexture in the prohibition of the possession of leaven in the territory of Passover and Unleavened Bread for a period of seven days. As an ideological phenomenon, the prohibition made no room for celebrants to choose what to do; they just had to obey. The unleavened bread of course is related to the Exodus as we have already noted above (Osumi 1998:506).

**V. 4** - Similarly, v. 4 presents yet another ideological instruction that prohibits leaving any part of the Passover meat until the next morning. This law is parallel to Exodus 12:10 and it implies that the Passover meal had to be consumed in one night; otherwise be burnt as in Exodus 12:10 (Tigay 1996:153). Deuteronomy is silent on the burning of the remaining meat but since the Passover was centralized in the temple with a large number of people in attendance, it is feasible that they would be able to consume the whole meat in one night. It is also possible that temple officials such as priests took care of the remnants.

Though the prohibition of leaven is ideological, it may also be considered theologically. Thus, the burning of the leftover meat was to avoid reducing its sacredness to the level of a mere meal by dogs, foreigners and ungodly people (Bruckner 2008:110).

**V7** – “*You shall cook it and eat it at the place that the Lord your God will choose; the next morning you may go back to your tents*” This is an ideological law that is parallel to Exodus 12:9. It is interesting to see that the double commands or motions are imposed on the pilgrims to the Passover and Unleavened Bread feasts in Deuteronomy 16. On a literary level, one may argue that ascertains the centralization of the two feasts as one in the place chosen by Yahweh probably the temple in Jerusalem (Levinson 2000:276).

Deuteronomy 16:7 places emphasis on sacrificing the Passover festival in the place that Yahweh would choose as a dwelling for his name.<sup>182</sup> This of course could be seen as an element of theological intertexture, that is, from the repeated emphasis of Deuteronomy on faithfulness to Yahweh’s covenant including the observance of specified feasts at the appropriate time and places (Armerding 2003:307).

Moreover, “*a place chosen by Yahweh*” symbolizes Yahweh’s presence; therefore, it had to be a sacred place preferably a temple of worship. Though such a place could be considered a social institution based on Robbins’ (1996a:62) category of social intertexture, it is also a theological phenomenon since God’s divine presence is felt there. Reference to “*a chosen place*” establishes a link with the first Passover in Egypt where celebrants were instructed to remain indoors while the Angel of death slew the Egyptian children. That shows that sacredness is required where God dwells and salvation also is experienced where God dwells.

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<sup>182</sup> The “*chosen place*” (Deut. 16:2, 5-6; Lev. 23:4-8; Num. 28:16-25; 2 Kgs. 23:21-23; Ezr. 6:19-22; 2 Chr. 30; 35 and the Jewish tractate *Pesachim* 5:5-7) emphasized in the above pericope envisages sacrifices at the sanctuary in connection with the Passover rather than the institution of the Passover at the family level in its original setting (Ex. 12:3-4, 7, 21-24; 13:10; cf. Biddle 2003:262). This however did not put a complete end to the observance of the Passover sacrifice at the family level in future celebrations (Ex. 12:21-24). One common thing about all the Passover texts is that they show that the celebration belonged to the whole community of Israel (Ex. 12:6, 47; cf. McConville 2002:272).

From the above discussion, one can conclude that there are elements of ideology in the pericope of Deuteronomy 16:1-8. These include expressions such as “*keep the Passover in the chosen place*” (v. 2) –, “*no leaven shall be seen*” (v. 4); - “*none of the meat... shall remain*” (v. 4b); “*keep the Passover in the chosen place*” (v. 7) and – “*for six days... and on the seventh day*” (v. 8). They are elements of ideological intertexture expressing strong commands or instructions that left the celebrants no room to object but to obey (Osumi 1998:506).

Ideological intertexture is necessary in this text and context to guide celebrants against dishonouring Yahweh with sinful acts since holiness is emphasized in Deuteronomy. Moreover, the pericope is set in the temple in Jerusalem and since the temple symbolized the presence of Yahweh, whatever sacrifice or offering that was meant for him had to be presented in an orderly fashion to avoid profanation. This also formed part of theological discourse of the text in question.

On a theological level also, the command to abstain from leaven in v. 3 or to avoid leaving any sacrificial meat till the following morning was to maintain sacredness since the Passover was offered to the Lord. The celebration of the Passover in a central place also brings to mind the idea of the centre of the community’s life (Ex. 23:15; 34:18-20; Lev. 23:5-8), which is unity in the worship of Yahweh as a nation bound by a covenant relationship (Merrill 1998:252). It should be recalled at that the time of the celebration of the Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8, the tribes and clans of Israel were merged into a covenant community signifying one body as God’s liberated and chosen people. In this sense, the centralized Passover in Deuteronomy served as a reminder of the unity of a nation under God marching unto victory.

### **6.5.3 Summary and conclusion of section**

We would conclude the section by examining the variables identified in the different Passover texts in relation to Deuteronomy 16:1-8 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Distinct terminologies are associated with the Passover text in Deuteronomy 16:1-8. For instance, in 16:2, the Passover was to be “sacrificed,” as opposed to the more neutral

term “slaughtered” in Exodus 12:6, 21. Deuteronomy 16:8 in a similar way uses the expression “solemn assembly” which is different from “*holy convocation*” in the parallel verses of Exodus 12:16 and Leviticus 23:8 (McConville 2002:274).

**Place:** We have noted that the Passover took place in different locations. For instance, in Deuteronomy 16:4 it was celebrated at the central temple possibly in Jerusalem where the animals were slaughtered while the eating of the unleavened bread is presupposed to have taken place in tents (vv. 4a, 7b-8; cf. Merrill 1994:254). This is different from its original celebration at the family level in homes or local shrines in Exodus 12:10, 15 (Osumi 1998:506; McConville 2002:274).

**Date:** The Passover took place on different dates and at different times. In Deuteronomy 16:6-7, it was on the fourteenth day of Nisan (*Abib*) which is parallel to the date in Exodus 12:1-28 (Merrill 1994:254).

**Sacrifice:** Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover celebration in different contexts and at different times. In Deuteronomy 16:1-8 freewill, peace or festal offerings were given before the Passover itself was eaten (Ex. 12:16; 2 Chr. 35:7, 13). The sacrifices differ from what we have in the original Passover in Exodus 12; 23; 34 and other parallel texts in the Old Testament.

**Preparation:** The Passover in Deuteronomy 16:7 in particular was “boiled” in water instead of being “roasted” over the fire as in Exodus 12:9 or cooked as in other Passover texts of the Old Testament. The selection of the Paschal animal was expanded in Deuteronomy 16:2 to include animals from the flock and the herd different from one-year-old unblemished male lambs in Exodus 12:3, 21 (Biddle 2003:262).

**Officials:** The Passover was presided over by different people at different levels of its celebration. In Exodus 12, it was overseen by heads of families while in Deuteronomy 16 we assume that it was monitored by priests and other temple workers and not mere family heads.

**Links with Unleavened Bread:** The links between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 are different from what obtains in other parallel texts. In Deuteronomy, the two festivals share common motifs such as rest, celebration and commemoration of blessing with the Sabbath. These are evident in certain verbal allusions to Sabbath commandments such as the term “*observe*” (Deut.16:1), frequent references to periods of seven days or weeks (Deut. 16:3, 4, 8, 9, 13) and the command to avoid work during the

festivals (Deut. 16:8) [Olson 2008:6-7, 19]. The prohibition of eating leaven in v. 3 (Weinfeld 1991:23) also finds a parallel in Exodus 12:8, where the law is a Passover law but is used in a reformulated way in Deuteronomy 16:1-8. Thus, even though the pronoun “*it*” is used rather than the noun one may not hesitate to point back to the Passover as the noun behind the discussion (Levinson 1997:83; Christensen 2001:334).

**Links with Exodus tradition:** The Passover is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition. In other words, Deuteronomy 16:1-8 could serve as a bridge to link the Exodus event in the past with its fresh understanding in the present (McKenzie & Kaltner 2007:139-145). The re-enactment of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 make the Exodus fresh in the hearts of the celebrants of that time and context.

To sum up, Deuteronomy 16:1-8 is a Deuteronomistic text that has borrowed from priestly and non-priestly texts to fit into the context of the post-exilic Second Temple era. Verse 2 in particular allows the selection of the Passover animals from the flock and herds rather than solely from the flock in the priestly text of Exodus 12:3-5 (Biddle 2003:262). Consequently, it is assumed that the Passover in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 was centralized because of the choice of animals from the flock and herd, which suggests that many people made an annual pilgrimage to the central place chosen by Yahweh possibly the temple in Jerusalem (Tigay 1996:151).

## **6.7 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Joshua 5:10-12**

This section like the preceding ones seeks to determine the social, cultural, ideological and theological intertexture of the elements in Joshua 5:10-12. The aim is to ascertain the degree to which the social and cultural as well as the ideological elements influence the theological or divine message of the text in its current context, time and audience.

### **6.7.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Joshua 5:10-12**

Joshua 5:10 mentions גִּלְגָּל “*Gilgal*” (roll away) as the place where the first Passover commemorating the entrance into the Promised Land was celebrated. There are several other references to Gilgal in the Old Testament such as גִּלְגָּל near Jericho, גִּלְגָּל near Bethel, גִּלְגָּל the

border marker, גִּלְגָּל a regional term and גִּלְגָּל an uncertain location (Hubbard 2005:334-335). However, Gilgal in this verse is located in the plains of Jericho (Jos. 5:9). It is therefore a social institution following the social categorization of Robbins (1996a:62). The place was so named because the circumcision of the surviving generation of Israel in the wilderness-wandering episode took place there and there God rolled away the reproach of Israel.

However, if of the root of Gilgal in the Hebrew means “to roll away,” then, the theological inference is that the Passover celebrated at Gilgal was a covenant meal that marked a new beginning in the lives of the people. God had dealt with their past which was marked by the slavery and oppression in Egypt but also by their disobedience to God. They were forgiven of their disobedience and liberated from their bondage which was considered a reproach in this case. The past that stood as an obstacle between them and God was forgiven and a new page of life and covenant between them and God was now open. The bitterness of slavery turned into the joy of occupying the Promised Land. This in a sense is a message of hope for the oppressed, depressed, poor, hungry, and people passing through all kinds of circumstances that pull down their faith and cause them to distance themselves from fulfilling God’s promise (Lewis 1995:294; Hubbard 2005: 334-335; Oginde 2006:267).

The fact that Gilgal in v. 10 is mentioned in connection with יְרִיחוֹ “*Jericho*” one of the ancient and historic places in ancient Israel shows that the Passover in Joshua 5:10 formed part of the history of Israel. It was the first Passover celebration in the Promised Land. Other significant aspects include the act of rolling away the reproach of Israel, the wandering episode in the desert, to the end of manna the desert food which opened a new page in the covenant relationship between the new generation of Israel and God. Ultimately, the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 is connected to that of Exodus 12:1-28; 23:14-19 and 34:18-26. Thus, Joshua is a later Passover text which has borrowed from those older sources mentioned above.

In v. 10, the statement “*they kept the Passover...*” shows a change in terminology from the usual idea of to “*observe*” or “*celebrate*”. This is regarded as a cultural term referring to the celebration or observance of the Passover in Canaan by the new generation of Israel. While the older generation of Israel partook in the Passover in Egypt under the leadership of Moses at the



family level, the second Passover which echoed the first was celebrated as a national festival in Gilgal at the entrance of the Promised Land by a new generation of Israel under the leadership of Joshua (Younger 2003:178). The parallel but related celebrations may also be explained in terms of the development of the Passover in different contexts, and circumstances and at different times.

In v. 11, the people of Israel celebrated the Passover by eating the מצות וקליי “*unleavened bread and roasted grains.*” This brings to mind the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread that was celebrated usually on the fifteenth day of the month after the Passover (Lev. 23:6-8). The feast was rooted in Israel’s life as an agricultural and nomadic people. Its mention in the pericope also brings to mind the combination of the two feasts (Unleavened Bread and Passover) into a single feast to commemorate the Exodus from Egypt at an earlier period than the Deuteronomistic period (Hyatt 1971:135). The mention of the unleavened bread and roasted grains shows a change in the social status of the celebrants who had manna for food in the wilderness wandering but now in Canaan the Promised Land had bountiful agricultural yields (Hess 1996:124; Howard 1998:153,154).

The change in diet and the mode of celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Joshua 5:10-12 also point to its connection to the celebration in Exodus 12 where the people ate Passover hastily. In Joshua, the people of Israel had just arrived in the Promised Land and had not yet settled down. Thus, God’s provision of the grains of the land was in a sense a hasty food that was similar to the unleavened bread of Exodus 12 that was eating hastily in Egypt.

In vv. 11-12a, the phrase “*produce of the land*” also referred to as “*roasted grains*” is seen here as a cultural phenomenon since it is best understood within the cultural context of the people of Israel. The appearance of roasted grains alongside the unleavened bread in this context suggests that Joshua 5:10-12 is not a priestly text but preserves as much older tradition (Brekelmans 1989:91; Howard 1998:152; Younger 2003:178). Joshua 5:10-12 is regarded in this study as a Deuteronomic and pre-exilic text. The question is how did the people get the grains of the land, having just arrived? The answer may be seen in terms of God’s continued act of providence on behalf of his people. On the other hand, it could be that, as invaders of the Promised Land, they

took over their grains just as they took the land from its inhabitants. Moreover, since the Passover took place at the time of the barley harvest (Ex. 12:6; 23:10-14), if the inhabitants were dispersed by the invaders, then they would have gained access to the grains of the land.

Thus, Gilgal is identified in the above text as a social institution being a camping ground or place where events including cultic celebrations took place. In Joshua 4:19 Gilgal denotes a circle of stones. It is also regarded as the place of rolling away possibly the stones. These descriptions create a cultic image which is seen as a cultural phenomenon here.

The concepts of the “*produce of the land*”, manna and roasted grains (vv. 10-12) are also cultural phenomena that were best understood by the people of Israel and Judah who were conversant with them as part of their agricultural practices or way of life.

Israelites or Jews as God’s chosen people have a social identity and as occupants of the Promised Land, they also operate under a social code since their shameful status as wanderers was replaced by the honourable status as landowners. Joshua as a leader on the other hand plays the social role of a leader in the text that is, based on the social categorization of Robbins (1996a:62). However, there seems to be no visible element of social relationship in the text in question.

### **6.7.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Joshua 5:10-12**

Although the consumption of the produce of the land of Canaan in vv. 11-12 is a cultural phenomenon, theologically, it is a reinforcement of the graciousness of Yahweh towards Israel (Younger 2003:178). That means “*eating of the produce of the land*” reminded celebrants of the gracious act of God’s providence which took Israel from one sacred stage of history to the other. Furthermore, the Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 was celebrated to create some sort of hope and confidence in the Israelites that as long as they remained faithful and obedient to God, they would continue to enjoy God’s gracious act of providence in life (Soggin 1972:76; Hess 1996:124; Younger 2003:178). The motive for the Passover celebration in the Joshua 5:10-12 suggests that the pericope is a post-exilic and Deuteronomistic text since it shares certain themes that are typical of the Deuteronomistic tradition and the post-exilic era.

The expression “*on the fourteenth day of the month*” in v. 10 is parallel to Exodus 12:6 displays an element of the ideological intertexture based on the specification of time or the exact date of the Passover celebration. Although the expression בָּאַרְבָּעָה עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּעֶרְבֹ בִּבְרַחֲשִׁי “*on the fourteenth day in the evening*” does not name any specific month, the inference seems to be to the month of *Abib* (March-April) in the spring also known as the full moon of the year. It may also refer to the completion of the first seven-day period that marked the inheritance of the Promised Land (Boling 1982:190; Lewis 1995:294-295).<sup>183</sup> From the exact time and the combination of the Passover with the Unleavened Bread into a single festival, it could be assumed that Joshua 5:10 is a late pre-exilic text.

Time specification in the verse brings to mind the earlier celebrations of the Passover in the Pentateuch even though it seems to be a different context here in Joshua 5:10-12 (Soggin 1972:74). It relayed the ideology behind the appointed time for the celebration of the Passover to this new generation of Israel who were not part of the earlier celebrants. It also shows that they were like their forefathers who followed the Passover instructions in their own generation (Howard 1998:152).

In Joshua 5:10-12, the Passover was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month while the produce of the land of Canaan was consumed in the form of unleavened bread. The manna then ceased a day after the people consumed the farm produce, probably on the sixteenth day of the month. Theologically, the incident marked a turning point in the life of celebrants being a transition from the forty years of desert wandering to a settled life in Canaan (Howard 1998:154). It is also worth noting that the Passover marked the end of Israelite bondage in Egypt (Exodus 12:1-28) and of the desert wandering and eating manna (Joshua 5:10-12). The Passover celebrated in Joshua 5:10-12 reminded celebrants of the Exodus as well as their covenant bond with God sealed by the promise of land and divine act of providence (Waltke 1994:242; Cetina 1998:532).

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<sup>183</sup> For instance, on Day 8, Joshua announced the crossing three days in advance and dispatched the spies. On Day 9, Joshua and the sons of Israel advanced towards Jordan while the spies hid in the hills. Day 10 was probably reserved for the return of the spies; the Jordan also was forded on that day. On Days 11, 12, and 13, the people set up camp and underwent circumcision and on Day 14 was the Passover (Boling 1982:190).

One may infer from the time specification that Joshua 5:10 is younger than Exodus 12:6; 23:14-19 and the other Passover texts in the Pentateuchal tradition where the Passover and Unleavened Bread were celebrated as a combined festival (Brekelmans 1989:89). The specification of an exact date in v.10 suggests that Joshua 5:10-12 preserves an older tradition of the Passover and Unleavened Bread. That shows that the Passover festival existed before the monarchy and it was only re-introduced during the monarchical period by King Josiah (Brekelmans 1989:89).

In v. 12, the statement וַיִּשְׁבֹּת הַמָּן “*The manna ceased*” as soon as Israel occupied Canaan again points to v. 11 where the Israelites consumed the produce of the land as their new diet instead of the desert food, manna. Israel had courageously occupied their land and had to settle down to the food of the land. They were no longer wanderers; thus, manna was no longer a desired food. The end of manna marked a turning point in their lives from wanderers to a people in the land that yielded bountiful produce (Howard 1998:154). Theologically, it may be said that the end of manna marked the end of forty years dependence on God’s special provision of food in the desert but God’s act of providence had not ended since the people now obtained stable food from the produce of the land (Lewis 1995:294).

The phrase בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא “*in that year*” in v.12 also brings to mind the change of diet from manna to the produce of the land of Canaan, which drew the curtains on the forty years of desert wandering as the people became occupants of an inherited land (Lewis 1995:294). The phrase בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא in the text seems to emphasize that the social status and identity of the celebrants of the Passover and Unleavened Bread had changed following their entrance into the Promised Land and the celebration of the produce of the land (Nelson 1997:78). The phrase recalls the very night that Israel celebrated the Passover in Egypt to mark the end of their slavery in the hands of Pharaoh. The Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 marked a dramatic change caused by God to improve the condition of the Israelites his chosen ones.

In a similar vein, v.11 contains a repetition of הַיּוֹם “*the day*” rendered as two different but related expressions namely מִמָּחָרֶת “*on the day after or tomorrow*”; בְּעֶצְמוֹ הַיּוֹם “*on that very day.*” Both expressions point to the day after the Passover, that is the day of the Feast of Unleavened

Bread that ushered in the eating of roasted grains of Canaan (Hess 2009:29). The repetition of “*the day*” in the verse and context is to emphasize the fact that the Israelites had begun to enjoy the long anticipated food of the Promised Land (roasted grains) and no longer had to eat manna, the desert food (Waltke 1994:238). This in a sense reminded them of their past status and the newly acquired status and shows that the Passover and Unleavened Bread were still observed as combined feasts in the Promised Land. In this context however, the Passover culminates the crossing of the Jordan river and entrance into the Promised Land while the Unleavened Bread marked the presentation of the firstfruits of the barley grain that matured that very time of the year (Hess 2009:29).

In other words, the celebration of the Passover with roasted grains in Joshua 5:10-12 represents the abundance of agricultural and pastoral life in the highlands of Canaan. Theologically, it signified the futuristic hope of God’s provision of food, shelter and life to his people.

The Passover and Unleavened Bread as observed in Joshua 5:10-12 also evoked memories of the Exodus in Egypt and the celebration of gratitude for the firstfruits of barley. Just as unleavened bread was eaten in the Pentateuchal account as a hasty diet (1 Sam. 17:17), in the Joshua account, roasted grains were also eaten by the celebrants who were yet to stabilize and fully occupy the land (Hess 2009:29).

The term אֶרֶץ “*land*” in v. 11 theologically applies to the gift of divine inheritance granted the Israelites by Yahweh who owned the land and owned them as his chosen ones (Lev. 25:23). In other words, Israel had no inherent right to the land (Deut. 9:4-6) but only received it as a gift from Yahweh because of his love and on his divine promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Deut. 9:5; Jos. 1:6; 5:6; 21:43, 44). Moreover, since the land belonged to Yahweh and Israel inherited it based purely on Yahweh’s gracious gift, Israel had the obligation to remain faithful to the covenant with Yahweh their God to enjoy all his benefits (Jos. 23:12-16; cf. Vannoy 1997:816-817).

However, the idea of ownership of land has to do with identity formation since one without land is usually considered a stranger or foreigner particularly in Africa, south of the Sahara. Thus,

Israel's identity was changed the moment the people inherited the land of Canaan. They had become occupants of a land that was granted to them by God their divine warrior and they were no longer slaves in Egypt or wanderers in the wilderness. The celebration of the Passover with the grains of the land in Joshua therefore confirmed Israel's new identity as celebrants of an "anticipated eschatology" which was the gift of the Promised Land that was graciously handed to them by Yahweh (Vannoy 1997:817). This created hope in Israel that Yahweh who fought for them and gave them the land long promised to their fathers would take them to greater heights. All they needed to do was be faithful to Yahweh.

From the discussion so far, fewer elements of ideological and theological intertexture are observed in the text than elements of socio-cultural intertexture. Nonetheless, the few elements of ideological and theological intertexture in the text will be highlighted at this point.

In v. 10, emphasis is placed on time specification as in the parallel text of Exodus 12:6 where the Passover and Unleavened Bread were celebrated on "*the fourteenth day*" and "*the first month.*" Each phrase refers to a specific time appointed for the Passover celebration. The emphasis on time specification in the Passover celebration in Joshua 5:10-12 may be a clue to its late priestly and pre-exilic origin that seems to have more interest in time specification than obligation.

Additionally, the change of diet from manna to the produce of the land of Canaan is considered an element of theological intertexture depicting God's gracious provision of land and food for his chosen people Israel (Hubbard 2005:335). The issue of land in v. 11 is also considered a theological element since land belongs to God and he owns the right to give it to the people as a gift as he wishes. The people of Israel inherited the land of Canaan not by merit but purely because of God's gracious gift. The people were unfaithful and disobedient most of the times, yet God in his faithfulness kept his promises and remained loyal to them. Once again, Joshua 5:10-12 is a Deuteronomic text that emphasizes God's graciousness.

### 6.7.3 Summary and conclusion of section

At this point, the variables identified in the different Passover texts will be revisited in relation to Joshua 5:10-12 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** We have established that different terminologies are associated with the Passover text. For instance, in Joshua 5:10 the word “kept” is used for the Passover instead of “*observed*” or “*celebrated*” in Exodus 12 and other Passover accounts of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament.

**Place:** The Passover took place in different locations. In Joshua 5:10-12 for example, it was celebrated in Gilgal in the plains of Jericho instead of in individual homes in Exodus 12:1ff or at Sinai in Exodus 23:15 and 34:18 and Deuteronomy 16:1-18 where the Passover was centralized in the temple.

**Date:** The Passover in Joshua 5:10-12 took place on the fourteenth day of the first month at the time of barley harvest which is similar to the date in Leviticus 23:5-8; Numbers 28; 2 Chronicles 35 and Ezekiel 45 but different from what is found in Exodus 12:1-28; Numbers 9; Deuteronomy 16; Exodus 23 and 34 and 2 Kings 23. The difference in terminology depicts the growth and development of the Passover festival in different contexts and at different times.

**Sacrifice:** Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover at different levels of its celebration. In Joshua for example, there is no mention of any sacrifice as in other Passover texts of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament.

**Preparation:** The Passover was performed with roasted grains, that is, the produce of the land of Canaan as opposed to the slaughtering of lambs and baking of unleavened bread eaten with bitter herbs in Exodus 12:1-28.

**Officials:** The Passover was presided over by different people. In Joshua for instance, there is no mention of a temple or temple officials. The study argues that Joshua probably presided over the Passover since he was the leader of Israel at that time. Nonetheless, there is a link between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread for instance, in the eating of produce of the land in form of roasted grains which echoes the Passover of Exodus 12:1-28.

Lastly, it is assumed in this section that Joshua is a Deuteronomistic, late priestly and pre-exilic text that emphasizes God's gracious act on behalf of his people Israel.

## **6.8 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of 2 Kings 23:21-23**

This section will seek to determine the social, cultural, ideological and theological intertextures that are found in 2 Kings 23:21-23.

### **6.8.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of 2 Kings 23:21-23**

Verse 21 contains a cultural expression כְּכָתוּב עַל סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית “*as prescribed in this book of the covenant*” referring to the laws of Moses or that of Deuteronomy 16:1-8. While the meaning of the phrase would be hidden to people who did not belong to or learn the Jewish/Israelite culture, those who belonged to the culture would readily understand that it referred to the laws of Moses. The phrase as used in the context of Josiah's religious reform and Passover celebration unveiled its motive that it was not just a mere reform or celebration for pleasure but it aimed at renewing the covenant that Yahweh had with Israel. That implies that the Passover in particular under Josiah's reign was a public festival centralized in the temple as opposed to its earliest celebration at the family level in Exodus 12ff and Deuteronomy 16:5 (Hobbs 1988:337; Wiseman 1993:304; Gotom 2006:464).

Some elements of social and cultural intertexture are identifiable in the pericope of 2 Kings 23:21-23. They include King Josiah, Israel, Judah, Jerusalem and Lord. First, the Jerusalem temple as the place where the Passover in Josiah's time was celebrated and other cultic practices were centralized constitutes a social institution while Yahweh addressed as “*Lord*” in the text is regarded as part of the social code. King Josiah, elders, family chiefs of the monarchical era, priests/prophets who were religious representatives and Levites who were presumably in attendance are all grouped under social relationship since they were leaders of the chosen people of God (Fritz 2003:408; Carson *et al* 2009:382).



Judah and Israel as nations that existed as a united monarchy on the other hand are categorized under social identity taking into account the Robbins' (1996a:62) categorization of social intertexture.

The book of the covenant as is seen as a cultural phenomenon that is best understood by the people of Israel and Judah in whose context covenant and law worked hand-in-hand to keep their relationship with Yahweh going. In the context of 2 Kings 23, the book of the covenant recounts the specific trend or strategy that Josiah used to implement his reformation (Long 1991:273, 279). It also refers to the laws of Deuteronomy 16:1-17 (Brueggemann 2000:558; Fritz 2003:408) or the Mosaic Law with the covenant curses (Lev. 26; Deut. 28; cf. Vannoy 1995:562). This cultural phenomenon would be placed under code and covenant based on the categorization by Robbins (1996a:62).

### **6.8.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of 2 Kings 23:21-23**

**V21** - *“The king commanded all the people, ‘Keep the Passover to the LORD your God as prescribed in this book of the covenant’.*” The verse is an ideological phenomenon that expressed the command from the King to his subjects, the celebrants of the Passover. The emphasis on the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 could be due to the fact that it was initiated by a king-reformer, centralized in the Jerusalem temple and made public for all people as opposed to its celebration in the older context at the family and clan level (McConville 2002:272). The command is best understood in the context of power. The king-reformer who was undertaking a secular reform with a religious motive ordered people to celebrate the Passover in honour of Yahweh. Given such commands, everyone had to obey without complaining.

When viewed theologically, the command by King Josiah aimed at regulating an ideal order of the Passover that would meet the standard of the covenant people with renewed hearts ready to honour Yahweh. In a similar way, centralizing the Passover amidst other cultic acts in Jerusalem was theologically motivated in that it was meant to enhance and establish the worship of Yahweh as the only true God in the temple in Jerusalem. Another reason for the centralization was to ensure better supervision in order to maintain the sacred observance of the Passover in honour of Yahweh the holy one. This complies with the ideological order by the king *“to keep the*

*Passover to the Lord in accordance with its law,*” which means that the Passover was to be kept at a place where Yahweh dwelt and it had to follow the laws of the original one as contained in Deuteronomy 16:5-8 (Merrill 1994:253; Brueggemann 2000:558).

The centralization of the Passover in Jerusalem in accordance with the laws of Deuteronomy could also be a means of restricting Judah from any involvement in the worship of other deities (McConville 2005:630). In this sense, the study will propose that the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 which was initiated and executed by King Josiah of Judah was meant for the renewal of the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his chosen people. The covenant which was centred on obedience to Yahweh was violated due to the ungodliness of the people that took them into exile. Thus, this Passover by Josiah awakened them to be faithful in their worship of Yahweh and avoid ungodliness that could lead them into another exile.

In v. 21, the command *עֲשׂוּ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם* – “*keep the Passover to the Lord your God*” as prescribed in the book of the law in the pericope indicates an interpretation of power by a reformer and king of Judah. The order refers to the Passover that was carried out by the entire Israelite community after crossing the Jordan. Although the order was not to celebrate the Passover centrally, it did not preclude the family celebration. With the centralization of the Passover in the temple in Jerusalem and with no mention of the unleavened bread during the monarchical period, one will consider the present context as that which concerned the southern kingdom.

Verses 21 and 23 contain a theological phrase *לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם* “*to the LORD,*” implying an element of theological intertexture since the Passover in Josiah’s time was dedicated to Yahweh or was observed in honour of Yahweh.

### **6.8.3 Summary and conclusion of section**

In the study, certain variables have been identified in the Passover texts, which depict the different levels, contexts, times and needs that it was celebrated. We have therefore observed the following findings as regards 2 Kings 23:21-23 based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Different terminologies are associated with the Passover text of 2 Kings 23:21-23 from what we have in Exodus 12:1-28 and other books of the Old Testament. For instance, 2 Kings 23:21-23 uses the expression “*keep the Passover*” instead of “*observe,*” “*celebrate,*” or “*slaughter*” the Passover in Exodus 12:1ff.

**Place:** The Passover took place in different locations. In 2 Kings 23:21-23 for example, it was celebrated at a central place in Jerusalem in conformity with the context of Deuteronomy 16:1-8 whereas in Exodus 12:1-28, which is the main point of departure in this study, the Passover was celebrated at the family level in homes or local shrines.

**Date:** The Passover took place on different dates or at different times. In 2 Kings 23:21-23 the Passover took place in the eighteenth year of King Josiah of Judah different from fourteenth day of the first month (*Abib*) as in Exodus 12:1-28, Joshua 5:1-12; Leviticus 23; Numbers 28; 2 Chronicles 35; Ezekiel 45, and so forth. The difference in date is explained in terms of the context or the period (e.g. monarchy, pre/post-exilic, exilic, priestly and non-priestly) in which it was celebrated.

**Sacrifice:** Although different sacrifices were performed during the Passover celebration in the Old Testament, there is no mention of any sacrifice in 2 Kings 23:21-23 but only the Passover celebration. However, we have argued earlier that since this Passover was centralized in the temple, it is possible that other sacrifices were performed there as well.

**Preparation:** The Passover involved different modes of preparation. In 2 Kings 23:21-23, there is no mention of the mode of preparation as in Exodus 12:1ff where the Passover lamb was slaughtered, roasted over fire and eaten with bitter herbs in one night. However, since the Passover in the pericope apparently followed the prescription of the law of Torah and Deuteronomy 16 in particular one may assume that it would have followed a similar mode of preparation to those in the Pentateuchal texts.

**Officials:** The Passover was monitored by different people depending on the time and context in which it was celebrated. In 2 Kings 23:21-23 for example, it was monitored by a king who was also a religious reformer and since it was done in the temple in Jerusalem priests, leaders of families, temple officials and Levites probably solemnized it as opposed to Exodus 12 where heads of families played the role of priests.

**Link with Unleavened Bread:** Different links are established between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Old Testament. In 2 Kings 23 for instance, the celebration

was geared towards a religious reform by a secular leader yet it established the sovereignty of Yahweh and his sacred worship as in the original context in Exodus 12:1-28.

To sum up this section of the study, the Passover in 2 Kings 23:21-23 was observed according to Mosaic laws in honour of Yahweh. The pericope is regarded here as a Deuteronomic, late priestly and post-exilic text. Despite the modifications which distinguish the Passover from the original celebration in Exodus 12, it remains clear that it is connected to the Passover of Exodus 12.

### **6.9 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of Ezekiel 45:21-24**

The socio-cultural, ideological and theological elements in the pericope of Ezekiel 45:21-24 will be examined in this section.

#### **6.9.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of Ezekiel 45:21-24**

**V22** - present cultural expression “*people of the land*” argued in this section of study as a term for distinguishing lay people from priests, Levites and Prince. Its old meaning points to a full citizen of Israel while its post-exilic rendering serve to distinguish between the portions of the people that remain behind in Jerusalem after the deportation from the returnees from the Babylonian exile. As used in this text and context is technical and cultic terminology that is found only in this verse and no other place (Eichrodt 1970:574). Why use the term at this time? One may argue based on the above that it points to the post-exilic context of the text where the restoration of the temple and faith community was expected. In this manner one may argue that it was mentioned to ascertain the genuine people that were due for participation in temple services and/or rituals to that the issue of syncretism will be avoided.

Verse 22 contains the term **הַנְּשִׂיָּהּ** “*the prince*” which will be categorized as a social role/status in this section based on Robbins (1996a:62). The prince made an amazing contribution of seven young bulls throughout the seven days of unleavened bread as a burnt offering to Yahweh. His other contributions include a young bull on his behalf and on behalf of the entire people of the

land (i.e. of Judah and Israel) and the resident aliens for purification or as sin offering. This is regarded as a cultural phenomenon or intertexture (Cooper 1994:407). The prince is used in this context in the place of a king. He represents a royal person with authority of leadership or the leader of a congregation (Rendtorff 1985:213; Niehr 1999:44-45; Clines 2001:772). It is interesting to note that the selection of animals for purification and burnt offering in Ezekiel 45:21-24 is similar to that of the Passover celebration in Exodus 12:13 since in both instances, the animals that were required for both the purification and burnt offering had to be unblemished (Numbers 28:16-25). This act of purification, the burnt offering and the unblemished bulls theologically signify the restoration of God's sacredness among his people through ritual means.

### 6.9.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of Ezekiel 45:21-24

In v. 21, the expression ב' ראשון בארבעה עשר יום לה' דש "In the first Month, on the fourteenth day of the Month" shows elements of ideological intertexture because it stipulates a specific time for the Passover celebration without leaving any room for alteration. The phrase is parallel to Exodus 12:6 and other texts such as Leviticus 23:5-8; Joshua 5:10-12; Numbers 28:16-26; 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. In the pericope of Ezekiel 45:21-24, it emphasizes the exact time that the entire people of Israel and Judah ought to celebrate the Passover and the Unleavened Bread festival. It also served to provide a cultic schedule for the Prince who performed official duties during the Passover sacrifice in Ezekiel 45 (Darr 2001:1586).

Theologically, the presence of הנָּשִׂיא "the prince" in Ezekiel 45:21-24 s points to future hope for God's people. It showed that the Passover celebration in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was not just a festivity but a hope-giving feast that anticipated future worship in the new temple in Jerusalem. Moreover, since Prince(s) were involved as appointed rulers by God to care for the sheep, the faith and spiritual commitment that focused on the temple worship in Jerusalem would embrace the Jews living outside Jerusalem and who were scattered among the nations without a temple (Clements 1996:200).

The involvement of the prince who may be considered as more sacred than a king who led the people in wars and would have shed innocent blood also points to a future restoration of both the temple, its peaceful leadership and the faith community. This would also reshape the spiritual

ideology of future celebrants of the Passover so that they would focus on the true worship of God in the temple as a mark of the renewal or restoration of the covenant that God made with them through Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Although the “*the prince of Israel*” as an officiating minister of the Passover and sin offering on behalf of his people in Ezekiel 45:22 is classified under socio-cultural intertexture, his presence also has a significant theological implication. Theologically, “*the prince*” is used as an image or symbol of future hope for Israel. A time would come when God would purify and restore his exiled people and appoint a ruler from the family of David over them (Petersen 2001:1586; Work 2009:162). Thus, the Passover celebration in Ezekiel 45:21-24 was a hope giving festival that marked the deliverance of the people of Israel from the Babylonian captivity in a similar way to their earlier deliverance from Pharaoh and the Angel of death in Exodus 12:1-28 (Work 2009:162).

The Passover sin offering that formed the focal point throughout the celebration of the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Ezekiel’s account however has no parallel in the Pentateuch. This is an indication of the development of the Passover tradition in Ezekiel which also points to the future restoration or renewed form of the celebration that will accommodate changes ranging from the officiating personnel to the animals and the mode of celebration.

Lastly, Ezekiel’s celebration is regarded as a post-exilic and Second Temple celebration (Allen 1990:266).

### **6.9.3 Summary and conclusion of Ezekiel 45:21-24**

At this point, the variables identified in the different Passover texts will be revisited in relation to Ezekiel 45:21-24 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Distinct terminologies are associated with the Passover text of Ezekiel 45:21-24. For instance, the expression חַג הַפֶּסַח “*festival of the Passover*” is used in Ezekiel 45:21-24 as

opposed to the “*Passover feast*” or “*Passover and unleavened bread*” in Exodus 12:1-28 and other books of the Old Testament.

**Place:** In Ezekiel 45:21-24, the Passover was celebrated in a public and central place possibly the Second Temple in Jerusalem which was erected after the return from the Babylonian captivity. This is different from its earliest celebration at the family level in local sanctuaries or homes in Exodus 12.

**Date:** The Passover took place on different dates or at different times. In Ezekiel 45:21-24 for instance, it took place on the fourteenth of the first month which is parallel to Exodus 12:6 and other books of the Old Testament.

**Sacrifice:** Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover. Ezekiel’s festival allowed a bull for the purification offering on the first day and bulls, rams, and goats on each of the seven days of Unleavened Bread festival without any mention of lambs but grain offering with oil and *ephah* (Ezek. 45:21-24). This is different from the unblemished lamb prescribed in the original Passover in Exodus 12:1ff. Ezekiel’s account in this case seems to be similar to the later prescription of the festival in Numbers 28:16-25 and that of Josiah in 2 Chronicles 35:7-9.

**Preparation:** The mode of preparation of the Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 is different from the parallel celebrations in Exodus 12 and other books of the Old Testament. It was celebrated for seven days with the unleavened bread as in the original celebration but it included for each of the seven days seven young bulls and seven rams without blemish provided by the prince and the people of the land for a burnt offering to the Lord. It also called for a male goat for a sin offering on each of the seven days. Furthermore, the prince had to provide as a grain offering an *ephah* for each bull, an *ephah* for each ram, and a “*hin*” of oil to each *ephah*. This in a sense was an amazing celebration where lots and lots of animals were used. It is presupposed that here that a lot of people attended and that it took place at a centralized place in the Second Temple of the post-exilic era in Jerusalem.

**Officials:** The Passover was presided over by different people. In Ezekiel 45:21-24, the prince played a leading role while in the original account in Exodus 12-13, the Passover is presented as a family affair led by the head of the family.

**Links with Exodus Tradition and Unleavened Bread:** The Passover in Ezekiel 45:21-24 is connected to that in Exodus 12:1-28 and others in the Pentateuch in that it was celebrated in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, for seven days with unleavened bread. These

elements evoke the earliest celebration and memory of the Passover as a feast that was at that time combined with the Unleavened Bread feast despite their different origins. While the original feast commemorated the liberation from Egyptian slavery, in Ezekiel 45:21-24, it commemorated the liberation from Babylonian exile, the purification of temple worship and restoration of the spiritual lives of the returnees. Even though the mode of celebration had taken a different shape over time and in different contexts, it still relates to the original motive of the feast which was the celebration of deliverance from any form of oppressive act as we see in the Ezekiel pericope. This in a sense confirms the dynamic and open-ended character of the Passover tradition.

So far in this section, we have argued that Ezekiel 45:21-24 belonged to the post-exilic era though it drew its sources from the exilic context. Furthermore, the celebration of the Passover in the pericope pointed towards the future in which God would restore the spiritual lives of his people and appoint caring rulers from the family line of David to care for his people instead of kings who are self-centred in their services to humanity. This future hope celebrated in Ezekiel 45 is marked by the full participation of a prince who presided over the Passover and sacrificial offerings in Ezekiel's account as opposed to what we have in other Old Testament books.

## **6.10 Socio-cultural and Ideological/Theological Intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18**

The socio-cultural and ideological/theological intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 will be explored in this section.

### **6.10.1 Socio-cultural intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18**

In v. 6 is the expression *וַיִּשְׁחַט אֶת־הַפֶּסַח וְהַתְּמִידָה* “slaughter the Passover lamb” while *שָׁחַט* “slaughter” is a verb from the root word *שָׁחַט* “slaughter” or “kill”<sup>184</sup> referring to the Passover law of Exodus 12:6 that required celebrants to slaughter the lambs at twilight. The specific time of the day twilight is omitted in 2 Chronicles 35:6. In this context, the expression refers to the slaughtering of bulls and cattle during the Passover celebration of King Josiah in 2 Chronicles 35

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<sup>184</sup> *שָׁחַט* is a verb, *qal*, imperative, masculine, plural, meaning slaughter or kill.



(Japhet 1993:1039). This law shows an element of cultural intertexture sub-categorized under laws based on the cultural categorization by Robbins (1996a:62). In ancient Israel, animals were slaughtered for sacrificial purposes; as such, the expressions “*Passover lamb*,” “*Passover sacrifice*” and “*Passover offering*” (vv. 7, 8, 9) could also be regarded as part of cultural laws (cf. Robbins 1996a:62).

Verse 1 states that *יָעַשׂ יְהוֹשָׁפָט בְּיְרוּשָׁלַם פֶּסַח לַיהוָה* “*Josiah kept a Passover to the LORD in Jerusalem.*” The expression is a cultural phenomenon since it deals with the covenant law of keeping the Passover in commemoration of the salvific act of Yahweh on behalf of his people. The verse shows that Josiah also complied with the Passover laws as did others who partook in the festival of the Passover such as Levites, priests, gatekeepers, singers and seers (Selman 1994:536; Dillard 1987:290). The rendering of the verse however differs from those in the Pentateuch and other Passover texts of the Old Testament where we have “*celebrate*,” “*observe*” or “*slaughter*” the Passover without first mentioning any name (2 Kgs. 23:21-23, Ex. 12:1-28; 23; 34; Lev. 23:5-8).

One may conclude based on the elaborate report of the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 that mentioned the king’s participation repeatedly that it aimed at achieving positive reform especially in terms of restoring the right use of the temple (vv. 2-3, 8, 20), its service (vv. 2, 10, 15-16) and its offerings (vv. 7-9, 12-14, 16) [Selman 1994:536].

The following are identified from the 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 pericope as social phenomena or elements of the socio-cultural intertexture following Robbins (1996a:62) categorization of socio-cultural intertexture:

**Social role or identity** - This concerns Hilkiah, Zechariah, and Jehiel (the chief officers of the house of God), singers, gatekeepers, the seer (Jeduthun), kings, Levites, priests, Israel, Judah (David and Solomon), administrators or officials. The Chronicler emphasized the role of priests and Levites among other roles such as Israel, Judah, administrators and/or officials with regards to their participation in the unique and embracive Passover initiated and executed by Josiah in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 (Selman 1994:538; Jonker 2003:52; Collins 2004:457). For instance, the

priests and Levites were appointed during the reign of David to serve as singers in the Tabernacle. They continued to serve until the temple was rebuilt by Solomon (1 Chr. 6:16-17, 31-32). The priests, Levites and gatekeepers jointly constituted part of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:10-34) [Klein 2007:45].

**Social relationship** - Expressions such as “*descendants of Aaron*” and “*descendants of Asaph*” (vv. 14, 15) indicate that Aaron and Asaph were kinsmen to a group of families and they formed part of the social relationships (cf. Robbins 1996a:62).

**Social institution** - With the dominance of temple officials and sacrificial rites in the pericope (vv. 11-12), it may be assumed that the temple and tabernacle were present even though they were not mentioned directly in the text in question. Thus, both the temple and the tabernacle refer to social institutions (Thompson 1994:382). The active leadership of priests and Levites as emphasized by the Chronicler is a clue that Judaism was centred on the temple cult and on the roles played by temple officials, i.e. priests and Levites (Collins 2004:459).

Additionally, the laws on slaughtering, skinning, and sprinkling of the blood of the Passover animal by the priest in conformity with the laws of Moses, sacrifices or fats and burnt offerings all are cultural phenomena that formed part of the purity laws and codes which were part and parcel of the values of the chosen people of God.

Although the celebration of the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 differs from what we have in the Pentateuch, it alludes to Exodus 12:1-28, Joshua 5:10-12, 2 Kings 23:21-23 and other texts of the Old Testament. In that regard, allusions would form part of the socio-cultural intertexture (Robbins 1996a:62).

The inclusion in the pericope of people who differed in terms of social status, code, identity and relationship has theological implications. For example, it points to the importance of role sharing or distribution among members of the household of God such that each member functions in his/her own capacity to the glory of God but also for the benefit of others. This divine message if appropriated will project the interpretation of the Passover beyond a mere liberation from slavery

to an embrative feast that considers ‘the other’<sup>185</sup> as the image of God. The fact that the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 embraced people of varied social ranks to work together by playing various roles assigned to them could be a clue to the post-exilic setting of the text.

### 6.10.2 Ideological/theological intertexture of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18

Verse 1b contains the ideological expression *בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַיּוֹם הַרְּבִיעִי* – “*the fourteenth day of the first month*” referring to the specific time schedule for the celebration of the Passover as in Exodus 12:1-28 and other Passover texts of the Old Testament (Thompson 1994:381). The specification of time in the a pericope point to its post-exilic and priestly character since the Passover in the 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 aimed at restoring purity and the sacred worship of Yahweh in the temple. Time specification is however not found in 2 Kings 23:21-23, meaning that it is probably older than 2 Chronicles 35:1-18.

Burnt offerings and fats offerings in vv. 11-12 could be regarded as cultural phenomena but also as theological elements since they were associated with Levites and priests in the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. Furthermore, the offering of the Passover in thanksgiving to Yahweh the initiator of and central focus of the Passover has theological substance. The Passover was also a means of preserving purity since priests and Levities were the temple officials eligible for sacrificial duties in the temple (Dillard 1987:290). This is supported by the phrase in v. 12, “*they set aside the burnt offerings*” (RSV) or “*they removed the parts to be burnt*” referring to the priest and Levites performing their sacred duties in the temple to honour Yahweh (Selman 1994:539). That implies that the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 was just but a renewal of previous ones in the Pentateuch (Deut. 16) or other Old Testament traditions (Johnstone 1997:253).

The blood of the slaughtered animals was sprinkled or dashed (v. 11), re-enacting the Passover celebration in Egypt. This theological element brings to mind the uniqueness of Josiah’s

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<sup>185</sup> The expression “*the other*” as used above refers to consideration given to people from various social ranks, cultures, contexts, ages, genders and so forth bearing in mind that all share in one common identity - that of being created by God and sustained by his gracious act of providence on a daily basis.

Passover, which re-instituted the temple services that were down for a long time probably due to the exile and the destruction that befell the nation of Israel.

The freewill donations of bulls and cattle (1 Chr. 29:5-9) in vv. 8, 9 of 2 Chronicles 35 by the officials (three priests and six Levites) in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 may be seen as a response in gratitude and praise to Yahweh for the favour he bestowed on his people. It is also an expression of the zeal and commitment of the clergy towards the re-dedication of the temple; therefore, it forms part of the theological message of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 (Johnstone 1997:250).

### 6.10.3 Conclusion of section

At this point, the variables identified in the different Passover texts will be revisited in relation to 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 using Exodus 12:1-28 as the point of departure. We have therefore observed the following findings based on the variables:

**Terminology:** Distinct terminologies are associated with the Passover text of 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. For example, the pericope contains the expression “slaughter the Passover lamb” which is parallel to Exodus 12:6 but different from other Passover texts that read “*observe*,” “*keep*,” or “*celebrate*” the Passover. The different terminologies are used in different contexts and levels of the Passover celebration possibly to suit the audience, time and circumstances that it was addressing.

**Place:** The Passover in 2 Chronicles took place in the temple in Jerusalem as opposed to the parallel accounts in other Old Testament texts where it was celebrated at the family level in homes (Ex. 12), at Sinai (Ex. 23 and 34), in Gilgal (2 Kgs. 23:21-23), and so forth.

**Date:** The Passover took place on different dates or at different times. In 2 Chronicles 35:1-18, the Passover took place on the fourteenth day of the first month which is parallel to Joshua 5; Ezekiel 45; Numbers 9 and 28 but different from Exodus 12; 23; 34 and 2 Kings 23. The difference is explained in terms of the different contexts in which the Passover was celebrated.

**Sacrifice:** Distinct sacrifices were performed during the Passover celebration in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18. For example, the term  $\text{הַעֲלֹתָ}$  “*the burnt offerings*” repeated in vv. 12, 14, 16, denotes the various burnt offerings that took place during the Passover celebration in the pericope. In v.

13, "*holy offering*" was presented which is different from other Passover accounts in the Old Testament.

**Preparation:** Different modes of preparing the Passover are attested in the Old Testament. For instance, in 2 Chronicles 35:13, the Passover lamb was roasted with fire according to the ordinance while the holy offerings were boiled in pots, in caldrons, and in pans, and shared quickly among the people (Jonker 2003:52). This mode of preparation is parallel to Exodus 12:6 and shares a link with Deuteronomy 16:1-8 except that in Deuteronomy 16:1ff every meat was boiled on the fire rather than roasted over fire. The changes in mode of preparation are explained in terms of development or growth of the Passover tradition.

**Officials:** Different officials presided over the Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 such as priests and Levites who were responsible for temple duties among other officials such as the king, singers, gatekeepers and a seer who all played various roles during the Passover celebration in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18.

**Links with the Unleavened Bread:** There are different links between the Passover and Festival of Unleavened Bread, e.g. the Passover in the pericope partly shares historical associations with the Exodus Passover (Ex. 12:1-13), Israel's entry into the Promised Land (Jos. 5:10-11), and its place in the worship of the Second Temple (Ezr. 6:19-22; Ezek. 45:21; cf. Selman 1994:536).

Having examined the various functions and roles played by priest, Levites, temple singers, gatekeepers, kings, administrators and the entire nation of Israel, we may argue that Josiah's Passover in 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 was a re-enactment or renewal of history, that which Jonker (2007b:23) refers to as "reforming history".

From the text in question, the history of the people was not only reformulated but it evoked afresh memories of the identity of celebrants in their different social contexts as Yahweh's chosen people. The joint efforts of people of different social, cultural and ideological backgrounds to make the Passover a reality was motivated by the restoration of proper temple worship and services since the temple is considered among the members of the believing community as the dwelling place of God (Selman 1994:536).

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### **7.1 Chapter Introduction**

This is the concluding chapter dealing with summary of chapters, contribution of research to scholarship and suggested areas for future research as follows.

#### **7.2 Summary of Chapters**

**Chapter 1** is an introductory c dealing with the research problem, motivation of the study, hypothesis, methodology, aims and objectives of the study, definition of terms, potential contribution of the study, and the limitation of the study. The chapter began with the research question, *“How does one interpret and establish the theological relevance of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria?”*

The suggested answers to this question are as follow:

- a) The theological relevance of the Passover can be established among the Tiv by reading it as a narrative of origin and migration.
- b) Exodus is a theological text that calls for more than a liberation interpretation. In view of the first hypothesis, it could be argued that the Passover is a significant theological part of Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity at different times and in different literary contexts – an approach that will make theological sense to Tiv readers.

This study therefore holds that various previous interpretations of the Passover in the Exodus tradition entailed historical and literary approaches but lack a theological outlook that is reader

centred (Dozeman 2010:13-193; Longman III 2009:7, 29, 51). To enhance an effective interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition among the Tiv of Nigeria who are mostly from an oral background, the study has employed the socio-rhetorical approach of Robbins (1996:1), with special attention to that section oral-scribal intertexture Robbins (1996:40).

The research as part of the effort to answer the research question has moved beyond the interpretation of the Passover as a liberation text but as an ongoing text on identity. The socio-rhetorical approach is used to integrate readers from an oral background as the Tiv people of Nigeria with the written text, as they place their personal experiences side by side with the Passover text of Exodus 12 to draw some parallels by way of analogy.

**Chapter 2** focuses on both literature study and empirical research on narratives of the origin and migration of the Tiv. It was established from the literature study, the survey of the works by researchers on the Tiv and the trends in Tiv research that very limited written literature by Tiv scholars is available on the Tiv tradition and history. The cause of this lack of literary interest or interest in publication among African educationists was traced and attributed to the low level of literacy which hindered the early literate Africans from developing keen interest in writing to mentor younger generations. On the other hand, the study attributes the cause to cultural barriers that caused the early-educated Africans to keep their knowledge and communicate it orally than in written form. In other words, oral literature gained advantage over written literature among the Tiv people (Akiga 1939: v).

The empirical research on the other hand was conducted in two phases – the pilot and main project. The pilot project was conducted with two clans (Ityuluv-ya and Turan all of Kwande Local Government area of Benue State. It focused on the Tiv knowledge of their narratives of origin and migration. A structured interview was conducted first with the two clans on different dates and in different locations to ascertain the degree of their knowledge of their origin and migration narratives. This was followed by a focus group interview also conducted with the two clans comprising of eight participants including men and women, young and old, formally or informally educated, urban and rural settlers, Christian and non-Christians.

It was established from the empirical and qualitative research (pilot) that the Tiv have good knowledge of their origin and migration narratives particularly the elderly people between the age group of 60 and 100 years. The reason for this is that the Tiv narratives are oral in nature; thus, the elders were more knowledgeable since they either received the narratives from their ancestors of the first generation or witnessed the events themselves.

The researcher also noted that although the clans speak one language, they are conscious of their lineage grouping of Ichongo (circumcised) and Ipusu (uncircumcised) which in a sense has reshaped their identity and influenced their knowledge of their origin and migration narratives differently. Additionally, the knowledge of the Tiv identity as well as their life experiences has influenced their understanding and interpretation of the Bible particularly of the Passover in Exodus 12:1-28. The research based on the oral nature of the Tiv culture has suggested that the interpretation of the Passover texts should consider the social, cultural, pre-religious/religious, ideological and historical background of the Tiv (or other Africans) to enhance a fresh understanding of the texts even though the tools used remain western (Ukpong 2000:17-18; West 2008:48).

The findings of the pilot research serve as a building block for the main research that was conducted in 2008/2009 with two different tribes focusing on the Tiv identity and knowledge of the Passover. The groups involved were the Ipav and Masev of Gboko and of Gwer Local Government Area, respectively. The same procedure used in the pilot research was followed and the result showed that the Tiv are aware of the Passover as a feast commemorating their identity as a people who are no longer foreigners in Congo or Cameroon but settlers in Benue their land. To them, this is similar to the story of the biblical Israelites and their entry into Canaan. The Passover is seen as a commemoration of the Tiv's migration. This is celebrated in the form of the Tiv's New Yam festival which is done at the family level in the evening and only members of the family are allowed to partake in the meal as in the biblical Passover in Exodus 12. The details of the two qualitative researches are found in Chapter 2 in the main study.

**Chapter 3** –this chapter enhances the possibility of reading Exodus as narrative concerning origin and migration. It deals with the research survey of the Exodus tradition, research on



Exodus as a tradition with special emphasis on the Passover, and the Passover as an Exodus tradition. The chapter has identified different trends or divisions in the Exodus tradition namely the departure from Egypt (Ex.1:1-15:21), the journey from Egypt to Sinai (15:22-18:27), and Israel in Sinai - the covenant and the laws (19-40). The third division is further distinguished into three parts, (a) the covenant (Ex. 19-24); (b) the breach of the covenant, and its renewal (32-34); (c) the instructions for the building of the sanctuary and their execution (25-31; 35-40) [Ska 2006:26-27].

The study is not interested in the broader context of the tradition or the Exodus tradition but in the Passover as an Exodus tradition with particular attention to the oral Passover tradition that is embedded in the ritual part of the Passover. That means the study did not delve into other themes which are related to the Passover in the Exodus tradition such as the exit from Egypt that marked the beginning of the Passover (Hahn 1999:364), Crossing the Sea of Reeds (Hahn 1999:364; Dozeman 2009:3-4), Sinai/Horeb [Ten Commandments/theophany] (Johnstone 2007:374-378; Dozeman 2009:4), the Wilderness Wandering (Olson 2003:611; Dozeman 2009:2) and Crossing the River Jordan.

The study is therefore concerned with the ritual aspect of the Passover<sup>186</sup> that enables the Tiv readers from an oral background to place their past life experiences and stories side by side with the literary text of Exodus 12:1-28 and interact with it through analogy to generate a new interpretations.

My interest in the Passover as an Exodus tradition stems from the realization that it evokes fresh memories of the Exodus tradition and it is an ongoing process that marked the beginning of the Exodus event but not the end of it. It is more of a feast to celebrate identity than a mere celebration to commemorate liberation from slavery. In other words, the Passover is regarded as a significant aspect of the Exodus tradition and narratives of origin and migration that

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<sup>186</sup> The Passover ritualised the past in order to shape and preserve group identity in relation to the memory of Exodus (Myers 2005:104-105). That is to say, the Exodus tradition is not mere history but it is a traditional way through which a society remembers its past. The celebration of the Passover links two different farming practices in ancient Israel together, that is of grains and animals or peasant and nomads, respectively. Although the two farming systems operated different forms, they shared a common goal of celebrating the fertility of the land and animals that guaranteed the survival of subsistence farmers (Myers 2005:103).

commemorate Israelite and Jewish identity (Childs 1979:186-187; Myers 2005:104-105). As noted earlier, the different Passover celebrations are characterized by different variables which indicate that the feast marked the beginning of Israel's origin and migration and continued with the same beginning from generation to generation but in a reshapeable form.

**Chapter 4** discusses the literary character and possible oral tradition of Exodus 12. Although the study focuses on written text(s), it also considers earlier oral versions but the emphasis on oral background reflected in the entire study has several implications. The study also takes into account the interplay or continuity between written and oral texts. Chapter 4 has examined the inner literary elements or inner texture of Exodus 12 such as voices in the text, repetition, progression, open, middle, close texture, sensory/aesthetic texture/pattern, rhetorical speeches, formulas (that is introduction/messenger), structure/pattern, narration, argumentative texture, and so forth.

It is also argued in the chapter that the differences in the present translations of the Passover texts are due to textual growth or development. It is presupposed that different translators have different recollective abilities, needs and audience. Moreover, orality and context play a role in the different renderings that we have in biblical translation particularly as regards the Passover text of Exodus 12. The various repetitions of verbs (active and passive), pronouns (personal), phrases (in series or single), particles, and conjunctions in the Passover text of Exodus 12 depict elements of orality and its interplay with the written text of Exodus 12.

Furthermore, the various repetitions in the literary text of Exodus 12 are used for emphasis. The emphasis on orality in chapter 4 points back to chapter 3 which stressed the need to pay more attention to theological interpretation particularly to oral tradition. This would aid oral communities such as the Tiv of Nigeria to make meaning out of the text using their oral texts full of narratives of origin and migration and other life experiences by way of analogy.

**Chapter 5** discusses the intertexture of Exodus 12:1-28 and other parallel texts in the Old Testament such as the Torah (Ex. 23:14-19; 34:18-26; Lev. 23:5-8; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-25; Deut.16:1-8); the Writings (Jos. 5:10-12; 2 Kgs. 23:21-23; 2 Chr. 35:1-18) and the Prophets

(Ezek. 45:21-24). From the Passover parallels, one can identify the three biblical legal codes namely the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19), the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:5-8) and the Deuteronomic Code (Deut.16:1-8). The Passover parallels represent different levels of development and celebration of the Passover with different audiences, in different contexts and at different times. The motive of the Passover in recent texts and times as shown in this study is the ritual commemoration of the beginning of the migration of God's chosen people. The Passover as a ritual commemorating the beginning of the journey from Egypt has an open-ended character and depicts the identity of celebrants from various socio-cultural and ideological contexts and circumstances.

The chapter examined the variables in the parallel Passover texts and observed the following findings that:

Different terminologies and expressions are associated with the Passover text at different stages of its celebration. For example, we have "*the Passover of or to the Lord*" (Ex. 12:14, 27; Lev. 23:5-6; Num. 9:10, 14; 28:16; 2 Kgs. 23:21) or "*the Passover offering to Yahweh*" (Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:16). Others include "*holy convocation*" (Lev. 23:7; Num. 28:18, 25-26) as opposed to "*holy assembly*" in Exodus 12, "*the Passover sacrifice to Yahweh*" (Deut. 16:2, 4-6; 2 Chr. 35:6) as opposed to "*the sacrifice of the Passover offering to Yahweh*" or "*the Passover of/to the Lord*" in Exodus, and "*observe the festival of unleavened bread*" (Ex. 12:17; 23:15) instead of "*keep the festival of unleavened bread*" (Ex. 34:18; 2 Chr. 30:13) and "*keep the festival*" (Num. 9:2, 4, 6, 10, 14; 2 Kgs. 23:21; 2 Chr. 35:16). These examples confirm that different terminologies were used at different times in the development of the Passover tradition (ranging from the priestly to the post-exilic period).

The Passover took place in different locations. For example, in Exodus 12:1-28 it was at the family level in individual homes and at local shrines while in Deuteronomy 16:1-8 it was centralized in the Temple.

The Passover also took place on different dates at different times outside Egypt. For instance, the month of *Abib* is referred to as "*the Month*" or "*the first Month*" (Deut. 16:1; Ex. 34:18; 23:15)

without any specification of time. Specific time stipulation such as “*the fourteenth day of the first Month*” (Jos. 5:10-12; Lev. 23:5-8; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-28; 2 Chr. 35:1-18; Ezek. 45:21-24) is however found in priestly and post-exilic texts as mentioned above.

Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover celebration in different contexts and by different celebrants. For example, we have “*blood sacrifice*” (Ex. 23:18; 34:25), “*Passover sacrifice*” (Deut. 16:2, 4-6; Ex. 12:6, 21; 2 Chr. 35:6), “*burnt*” and “*sin offerings*” (2 Kgs. 23) and “*Passover offering*” (Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:16). Unblemished one-year-old male lambs were prescribed, slaughtered and roasted over fire and eaten with bitter herbs in Exodus 12:1-28. Sheep, goat, bull, grains, and oil were used elsewhere (Deut. 16; Jos. 5:2 Kgs. 23; 2 Chr. 35) boiled in water (Deut. 16:1ff) or “boiled” in fire (2 Kgs. 23:21). All these differences are regarded as an indication of textual growth and the ongoing open-ended character of the Passover celebration in different contexts and at different times.

The Passover was presided over by different people. For instance, heads of families and tribes officiated at the non-priestly level (Ex. 12:1ff) while in the later celebrations outside Egypt, priests, Levites, kings and princes were in charge (Lev. 23:5ff; Num. 9, 28; Jos. 5:10ff; 2 Chr. 35:1ff; Ezek. 45:21ff).

Different links have also been established between the Passover and the unleavened bread. For example, in Exodus 23:14ff and 34:18ff, the two feasts existed as separate feasts in the earliest celebration in the agricultural period. In its later celebrations however the two feasts were combined to form one festival commemorating not the agricultural period but Yahweh’s salvific act and graciousness to Israel (Ex. 12:1ff; Deut. 16:1ff; Num. 28:16; 2 Chr. 35:1ff; Ezek. 45:21ff).

The Passover is connected to other aspects of the Exodus tradition. For instance, it was celebrated to mark the beginning of Israel’s journey out of slavery which is an ongoing journey that is ritualized differently in subsequent contexts, cultures, circumstances, and periods. The Passover celebration in Egypt ushered liberation to the Israelites who then crossed the Sea of Reeds and celebrated the Passover in the form of the Covenant Code at Sinai (Ex. 23:14-19) and

covenant renewal at Horeb, the place of theophany and issuing of the Decalogue (Stuart 2006:529). The variables strengthen the argument in this study that the Passover celebration never marked the end of the journey but it evokes fresh memories of the beginning of migration from Egypt, which communicates the identity and the offerings of Israel at that time to the people of our time and in our context.

On the whole, chapter 5 also shows that the variables mark the different stages of the celebration of the Passover from the non-priestly (Ex. 12:1-28), pre-priestly (Ex. 23:14-19) or priestly (Lev. 23:5-8), to the exilic (Ezek. 45:21-24) and post-exilic (Num. 28:16-28; 2 Chr. 35:1-18). The differences in the mode of celebration, place, time and date in the parallel texts examined above is explained in terms of the development of the Passover as it crossed from one context to the other.

**Chapter 6** has examined different parallel texts of the Passover s in the Old Testament namely in the Pentateuch (Ex. 23, 34, Lev. 23; Num. 9 and 28) and in the Writings and the Prophets (Jos. 5; 2 Kgs. 23; 2 Chr. 35 and Ezek. 45) to ascertain the social, cultural, ideological and theological intertextures in the texts. The conclusion in the chapter is that more attention is given to elements of socio-cultural and ideological intertextures than of theological intertexture, which is open-ended and allows criticism, fresh insight into and interpretation of the text particularly to an audience in an oral culture.

The most common social phenomena identified in the text include social institutions such as tent, tabernacle and temple; social identity (Israel and Judah); social roles (priest, Levites, leaders) and social relationships (e.g. aliens) (Ex. 23:14-19; 34:18-26; Lev. 23:5-8; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-28; Deut. 16:1-8; Jos. 5:10-12; 2 Kgs. 23:21-23; 2 Chr. 35:1-18 and Ezek. 45:21-24). Although in some of the Passover texts, the social elements are not directly stated but they are identifiable from the context, setting and/or voice of the text. In the texts also are found cultural phenomena that are identified through laws, codes, values and systems of the celebrants of the Passover in their own context.

The most common cultural elements in the Passover texts are those concerned with the Passover offering to the Lord (Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:16), Passover sacrifice (Deut. 16:2, 4-6; 2 Chr. 35:6), and blood sacrifice referring to the Passover indirectly (Ex. 23:18; 34:25). Other elements include observance of the Passover and unleavened bread (Ex. 23:15), keeping the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 34:18), keeping the Passover (Num. 9:2, 4, 6, 10, 14; 2 Kgs. 23:21; 2 Chr. 35:16) and Month of *Abib* (Deut. 16:1; Ex. 23:15; 34:18). The cultural phenomena establish a continuing link between the original Passover in Exodus 12:1-28 and later celebrations outside Exodus 12 and Egypt.

Again, the ideological intertexture is marked by several prohibitions pointing to power definitions such as not boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23:19; 34:26), not appearing empty-handed before Yahweh (Ex. 23:15; 34:20) and not offering the blood of the sacrifice with leaven (Ex. 23:18; 34:25). The study has argued that most of the elements of ideological texture are from the older Passover texts which regard the covenant relationship between Israel and Yahweh as static and not to be tampered with. However, since the Passover tradition is dynamic and open-ended in character, voices from the theological intertexture rise to offer interpretation of the laws and ideologies that stood as a barrier to the ongoing interpretation of the Passover in our present context. The voices from theological intertexture though given scant attention in the past usher in a dialogue between the written Passover texts and oral texts of readers from an oral background such as the Tiv of Nigeria. In this way, the Passover is celebrated in different modes and contexts showing that oral texts which are full of personal life experiences bring forth new interpretations.

As shown in chapter 6, time specification is the primary concern of the priestly tradition (Ex. 34:18-26; Num. 28:16-26; Lev. 23:5-8) as obligation is to the non-priestly texts or tradition (Ex. 12:1-28). Moreover, the presence of the elements of ideological intertexture seems to be an attempt to stop the ongoing character of the Passover as an identity festival that is understood and interpreted based on the context of the reader or interpreter. However, the faint voice of theology has opened the Passover texts up for questions, criticisms and new interpretations. Such newly generated interpretations will offer useful meanings and will be acceptable to African audiences such as the Tiv who find parallels of their oral/historical text in the written Passover

texts of the Old Testament. Only when the Tiv people are able to place their stories of origin and migration side by side with those in the Exodus tradition are find some parallels by way of analogy that interpretation of the Passover among them will become meaningful.

Chapter seven on the one hand deals with summary of chapters, main contributions of the study to research and suggested areas for future research.

### ***7.3 Main Contributions to Research***

The entire research engages with two groups of narratives namely:

- (a) The predominantly oral narratives of the Tiv about where they came from and how they migrated to their present location.
- (b) The written narratives of the ancient Israelites in Exodus about their departure from Egypt and their journey through the wilderness on their way to the Promised Land with special attention to the description of the first Passover as the first commemoration of their origin and migration.

The research also deals with two hypotheses in an attempt to do justice to the two narratives (of the Tiv and ancient Israelites), as stated above. Chapter 1 clearly states the first hypothesis: “The theological relevance of the Passover can be established among the Tiv by reading it as a narrative of origin and migration”.

The first hypothesis is proven in Chapter 2 of the study which deals with the research survey of the Tiv traditions and the empirical research conducted among selected Tiv clans. The empirical research confirmed that the Tiv people (though belonging to different lineage settlements and geographical locations) are aware of their narratives of origin and migration. For example, in the structured interviews with the individual members and focus groups of the two most important Tiv clans (the Ityuluv and Turan), both traced the origin of the Tiv back to Takuruku an African who originated from Congo the place from which the Tiv and many other Bantu groups originated or migrated. The clans also share a similar view that the Tiv fought several battles

during their migration episode and gained entrance into Benue province where they have settled as permanent occupants of that area. Both clans claim that the Tiv fought and conquered the original residents of Benue before they finally settled there. The exact time of both the migration of the Tiv and their arrival and settlement in the Benue province of Nigeria however remains a guess. Nonetheless, several respondents claimed that the sixteenth century (c.1540) was the period of the migration.

The two clans also claimed that the Tiv people did not all migrate to Benue and that some remnants such as the Utanga and Iyon people still live near the Swem Mountain in the present Cameroon. The clans acknowledge that their culture and tradition are preserved through oral documentation in songs, stories, proverbs, as well as in rituals, festivals, cultural dances, mode of dressing, and so forth. They also established through memories embedded in oral sayings such as singing of war songs and telling of stories that the Tiv are linked to the Zulu in terms of place of origin and blood lineage although no one could explain with any certainty how this came about.

A focus group was conducted with eight participants selected from the designated Tiv clan to take part in the group discussion. These focus group discussions lasted approximately an hour during which three selected texts from Exodus (Ex.14:21-29= Crossing of the Reed Sea; 19:10-20= Wilderness Wandering and 20:1-17= the Commandments) were read and interpreted by the respondents according to their own tradition and understanding. The researcher first reminded the respondents of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration and then read the texts (using the Tiv version of the Bible, *Bibilo I ken zwa Tiv*). The respondents were asked probing questions after the researcher read the selected texts one after the other with the respondents to see how they interpreted these texts in their own way. The discussions were recorded for later transcription and interpretation.

**Exodus 14:21-29** which describes how the Israelites crossed the sea on dry ground and how the Egyptians perished due to the intervention of God was the first text read during the focus group discussion. The researcher asked his respondents whether they saw any similarities between the Exodus narratives and the migration experience or story of the Tiv people. Respondents laughed and said that the story of the Tiv people is the same as the story that was read from the Bible.



Some of the respondents added that the story from the Bible is their own story that it was written using other people's name instead of the Tiv's.

They said the Tiv people crossed the Mkoomon River at the back of a green snake that stretched itself like the stick of Moses to enable the people cross to the other side. The enemies of the Tiv such as the Chamber, Ugenyi, Ukwese, and Ndir who were pursuing them from behind, also followed on the back of the same snake but the snake withdrew itself causing them all to fall into the river and drown. The green snake according to the Tiv acted in the place of God to save them from their enemies and it is similar to the rod of Moses that divided the water for the people of Israel to cross the Reed Sea to escape from their enemies - Pharaoh and his army. They also saw Karagbe from Masev as a God-fearing man and leader of the Tiv people like the Moses of the biblical Israel.

When the researcher asked his respondents to relate what they thought Exodus 14:21-29 says about God. They answered in a chorus that God loves his people and he hates those who seek to maltreat others due to the power they had. Some added that God does side with the oppressed against the oppressors. God supported the Israelites in the Bible against their enemies/oppressors and in a similar way supported the Tiv people throughout their migration episode until they settled down in Benue.

The next text that was read was **Exodus 19:10-20**. In the text, the Lord asked Moses to consecrate the Israelites before they would meet him on Mount Sinai to receive the commandments. Only Moses was permitted to go to the top of the Mountain to meet God. On the reasons for the cleansing ritual which the Israelites were asked to perform before meeting God on Mount Sinai, the first respondent who was a traditionalist and one of the older men in the group said God wanted to initiate people into his holiness before they would meet him. He further commented that the act seemed quite similar to what the Tiv practitioners of *akombo* rituals do. When an uninitiated person comes near an *akombo* festival or shrine, he/she has to remove the shoes so as not to avoid defile the *akombo* shrine that is considered holy ground by the practitioners. Similarly, for an uninitiated person to partake in the *akombo* ritual meal, he/she

must first be initiated into the *akombo* as a mark of cleanliness before eating the *akombo* ritual meal.

Other respondents simply said God is holy; thus, He wants his people to approach him with clean hearts before He would accept them. An older male respondent remarked that God is clean and hates anything dirty such as adultery, murder, stealing, disrespect, disobedience and hatred. He looked up in the sky and said to prove that God likes cleanliness, his dwelling is also colourful and his feet do not touch the ground like ordinary people's, that is why he lives high in the sky above human beings. This is similar to the *akombo* shrine which may not be visited by defiled persons such as menstruating women or men who have sexual intercourse with women outside marriage.

The researcher reminded his respondents that according to the text the Israelites were given the commandments on Mount Sinai after they had crossed the River Jordan. He then asked them to comment on the relevance of such commandments to the Israelites. The respondents said if there are no laws, then there will be no order which implies that no one would fear God. The rules were to guide the people of Israel since human beings have different ideas and act differently. Some of the respondents further said that God wanted to show the Israelites his likes and dislikes and the consequences of their obedience or disobedience – blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience. This could be compared to the relationship between Tiv parents and their children in which obedient children are hardly punished but disobedient children are subject to hard discipline at home. Some of the respondents added that even among the Tiv people, every home has rules that guide its members and visitors for the sake of discipline and safety.

**Exodus 20:1-17**, the giving of the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai, was the last text read during focus group discussion with the selected clans (Ityuluv and Turan of the Kwande Local Government area of Benue State). The researcher asked his respondents which commandment they considered most relevant to the Tiv tradition. Both female and male respondents maintained that adultery is abhorred since virginity is held with pride among Tiv mothers. Other commandments considered important were those against murder and bearing of false witness against a neighbour as well as lying. Although the Tiv did not have written laws as the Israelites

did, oral laws meant for the maintenance of order were prescribed by elders at the nuclear family, extended family and clan levels. Such laws are applicable at the Tiv's main court of appeal called *ijir tamen* chaired by the overall chief of the Tiv people, the *Tor-Tiv*. Such laws are said to be similar to the Ten Commandments that were given by God to the people of Israel on Mount Sinai through Moses.

The respondents therefore pointed out that the Tiv consider the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments found in Exodus 20:1-17 most important but do not neglect the others. The Swem pot is also used in law courts to ascertain truths among the people. To the Tiv readers of the book of Exodus, the Swem pot obtained from the Swem Mountain, serves as a source of commandments for their social and religious living. Laws concerning sexuality, neighbourliness, marital affairs, religious worship, justice, sacrificial acts, sorcery, witchcraft practices, wars, kingship, and taboos are all embedded in the Swem pot, the indigenous "bible" and law book of the Tiv people which contains stones, ashes, and leaves picked from the Swem Mountain in the Cameroon area. This is considered parallel to the Ten Commandments given to the Israelites on Mount Sinai.

Subsequently, findings from the study help to confirm the first hypotheses that, "The theological relevance of the Passover can be established among the Tiv by reading it as a narrative of origin and migration". For instance, respondents from both clans pointed out that in the Exodus tradition, Moses was the leader of the Israelites during their migration episode in the same way that Karagbe of Masev was a leader of the Tiv in their migration period. The Israelites crossed the Reed Sea on dry ground while their enemies all drowned just as the Tiv crossed the Mkoomon River at the back of a green snake (*ikyarem*) while their enemies also drowned in the attempt to crossover to attack them. The crossing of the River Aya on the back of *Ikyarem* (the green snake) by the Tiv alludes to the crossing of the Reed Sea by the Exodus people (Ex. 13:17-15:21).

Moreover, after crossing the Mkoomon River, the Tiv people sang a song and uttered a proverb thus: "*Ka we per yande la u yila ambe iwa. Nyian alu ikur ior a bam se hoon se kpe*", i.e. "When you cross to the other side of the river you can insult the crocodile. Today, if any tribe will

provoke us, we are ready to die.” This song is similar to the victorious song of the Exodus people after crossing the Reed Sea (Ex. 15:1-21). The Swem pot also resembles the Ark of the Covenant in Exodus. The Tiv shrine which houses an idol relates to the Exodus tabernacle which symbolized the presence of God (Ex 35-40). The green snake was a covenant sign to the Tiv in the same way as circumcision was a Covenant symbol to the Exodus people. The activities of the *mbatsav* (witches and wizards) in times of trouble correspond to the acts of God manifested in the plagues on Egypt. The skull of Takuruku the father to the Tiv people was brought back from the Swem Mountain and is preserved in the Swem pot in powdered form. This is comparable to the bones of Jacob taken home from Egypt by the Exodus people (Ex. 13:19).

In addition, the Israelites received the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai through Moses to guide them just as the Swem pot was given to the Tiv people through Karagbe on the Swem Mountain to guide the Tiv then and now. The respondents also pointed out that God is holy and expects his people to approach him in holiness; that is why the people of Israel were asked to consecrate themselves before meeting him on the Mount Sinai. Tiv people also did same to their idols that represented God on earth. Before entering in a shrine, one had to remove his/her shoes, in most cases, to maintain holiness. Menstruating women were also not allowed to visit shrines in order not to defile it. They were also forbidden to sleep with their husbands especially when the men were preparing to go to war. This shows that the Tiv people also had their own idea of the holiness of God.

From the above, one could conclude that though the two clans are situated in different geographical regions and they belong to different family lineages of the Tiv, they did understand the Exodus texts read to them and interpreted them in their own context using their experiences. This therefore agrees with Masenya’s (1999:238) statement that, “one’s reading is shaped by his or her experience and that the experience of the reader will always play a role in a reader’s encounter with the Bible.” The Tiv readers of the Bible therefore consider their own experiences, significant for the interpretation of the Bible. The relevance and significance of the Bible can be comprehended in relation to the experiences of Tiv readers and the apparent similarities of their origin narratives to the Biblical Exodus. Relating the Bible to the Tiv people in terms of their

social, cultural, religious and historical experiences will enable them to generate new meanings and understanding.

The comparison between the Tiv and Exodus narratives indicates the potential of the socio-rhetorical approach as an effective hermeneutical tool to facilitate an adequate understanding of the book of Exodus among Tiv readers. When placed at the centre of biblical interpretation with due consideration given to their worldview and cultural values, Tiv readers of the Bible particularly of Exodus 12 and its parallel texts in the Old Testament would understand the Bible better. To dissociate Tiv readers of the Bible or of Exodus 12 from their cultural background, which functions as a text to them and which is mirrored in their interpretation of the Bible will make the understanding much more complex for them.

Having proven the first hypothesis using the analysis of the empirical research in Chapter 2 above, we shall then move on to prove the second hypothesis, which states that, “The Exodus is a theological text that calls for more than a liberation interpretation. In view of the first hypothesis, it will be argued that the Passover is a significant theological part of the Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity at different times and in different literary contexts – an approach that will make theological sense to Tiv readers”. The second hypothesis deals with the exegetical section of this study in Chapters 4-6. It is explained through the Passover variables identified in the research which indicate the different levels, periods, places, modes of preparation, sacrifices and officials involved in the celebration of the Passover as it moved outside its original celebration in Egypt.

Very few scholars have done justice to the reading and interpretation of the Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration. Weor (2006) has already identified and described the different trends in biblical interpretation particularly in Exodus study in the course of the centuries namely historical, literary and theological trends. It was established from the study that scant attention is given to the theological approach to biblical interpretation that is reader-centred and enables the reader to enter into the world of the text with his/her vast experiences. A call was then made to biblical interpreters particularly from oral cultures such as the Tiv of Nigeria to pay more attention to the theological approach to enable them understand and interpret the text based on

their oral context full of stories of origin and migration as well as other personal life experiences and circumstances.

In the present study, the researcher has moved a step further by conducting a socio-rhetorical study, a method of biblical interpretation that integrates the text with history and the reader in his/her context, which abounds with stories, mostly in oral form. It is anticipated that such a method will aid readers to place their vast life experiences/fascinating stories which are mostly in oral form side-by-side with the literary text of Exodus by way of analogy to generate new meanings or interpretation based on their own context.

From the researcher's familiarity with the literary Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 and its parallel texts in the Old Testament as well as on the empirical research conducted among members of selected Tiv clans, eight Passover variables were identified and described which indicate the development of the Passover over time and in separate contexts. The variables show that the Passover is a significant theological part of the Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity in the Old Testament context. The variables consist of the following:

**Terminology** - Different terminologies are associated with the Passover text such as the "Passover of the Lord" or "to the Lord" (which indicates that it was done in honour of Yahweh who delivered his people from slavery in Egypt), "the Passover sacrifice", "the sacrifice of the Passover", "the Passover festival", and so forth, depending on the period of celebration (non-Priestly, Priestly, pre-exilic or exilic) [Osborn & Hatton 1999:280].

**Place** - The Passover took place at different locations. At the Priestly level, it was celebrated in temples and in holy sanctuaries while at the non-priestly level, it was celebrated in individual homes (Levinson 2000:274; Johnstone 2007:374; Dozeman 2009:6).

**Date** - The Passover took place on different dates or in different periods. Expressions such as "the fourteenth day of the first month of *Abib* at twilight" and "the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan in the evening" are associated with the celebration of the Passover depending on whether it was celebrated in the non-Priestly or the Priestly tradition (Bruckner 2008:109).

***Sacrifice*** - Different sacrifices were performed during the Passover such as the Passover offering, sin offering, burnt offering, sacrifice of the Passover, and so forth. One-year-old unblemished male lamb, bulls, goats, sheep, epah, oil were required, among other items, for the Passover sacrifice depending on the context/time of celebration (Thompson 1994:382).

***Preparation*** - The Passover was performed in different ways such as roasting the Passover animal on fire or eating it with bitter herbs as in the non-Priestly tradition. The mode of preparation for the Priestly tradition entailed boiling the Passover animal in water over fire (Levinson 2000:276; Christensen 2001:335; McConville 2002:273; Jonker 2003:52).

***Officials*** - The Passover celebration was presided over by different people such as the priests, Levites, kings and princes in the priestly tradition while the father or head of the family presided over it in the non-Priestly tradition (Tigay 1996:155).

***Links with Unleavened Bread*** - There are different links between the Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread. In the Priestly tradition, the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were celebrated as combined feasts to commemorate the exit from Egypt. In the non-Priestly tradition, the Feast of Unleavened Bread was celebrated as an agricultural festival commemorating the bountiful yield granted by Yahweh whereas the Passover was celebrated as a pastoral and nomadic festival commemorating the movement of nomads from one place to the other in search of grazing fields for their cattle (Fretheim 1991a:252; Houtman 1993:154).

***Links with the Exodus tradition*** - the Passover is related to different other aspects of the Exodus tradition such as Crossing of the Reed Sea, the Sinai theophany, Wilderness Wandering, and so forth.

The different Passover variables described above indicate that the Passover was celebrated at different levels and in different contexts depicting different motifs from its core liberation motif in the celebration in Egypt. To be precise, the Passover variables confirm in part the second hypothesis while the empirical research conducted among selected clans of the Tiv in the main research also confirms it in part.

In the empirical research conducted among the Masev and Ipav clans, the focus was on the Passover celebration and its influence on the understanding and interpretation of the book of Exodus among the Tiv. Focus group discussions were conducted comprising of ten participants

from each of the designated clans. The respondents were reminded of the Tiv narratives of origin and migration as embedded in the ritual/festival traditions of the Tiv. The researcher then read aloud the Passover text of **Exodus 12:1-28** with the respondents using the Tiv version of the Bible (*Bibilo i ken zwa Tiv*). Responses generated from the empirical research were recorded on tape and were transcribed and interpreted at a later stage.

The respondents were asked whether they were familiar with the Passover feast. Respondents from both clans in the age bracket of 60-100 years of age shared similar views on this question as they noted that the Passover is *kwan nahan* (ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor or malnutrition commonly found among Tiv children). They explained that the meal is eaten by ritual practitioner, the victim and other initiated persons only. The meal has to be consumed at once and the blood of the animal (or oil if an animal was not slaughtered) is painted on a graven idol with part of it rubbed on the belly and foot of the victim as a mark of healing or liberation from the illness. This in their view is similar to the Passover celebration by the biblical Israelites.

Some of the respondents said the Passover is similar to the Tiv Day Celebration and the annual Tiv *Kwagghir* (puppet art theatre) both of which are public festivals commemorating the identity of the Tiv as children of Takuruku an African who migrated from Congo through Swem to their present location in Benue. Celebrating the festivals through cultural dances, songs, story telling/recitation of proverbs and drama performances remind them of the migration of their ancestral parents from Congo as the Passover of Exodus 12 to the Israelites.

Other elderly respondents above 71 years old said the Passover is the *adzov* festival, an annual thanksgiving offering to *adzov* (unseen spirits) usually held on Swem Mountain by those who could afford to attend or at any designated place by the rest of the worshipers. During this grand celebration, white lambs, chickens and doves are slaughtered and the blood smeared on moulded or wooden idols which represent *adzov*. The meat prepared from these animals is expected to be eaten up at once otherwise it must be dumped at the venue for wild beasts (which were thought to be angels of the *adzov*) to eat. The *adzov* festival according to the Tiv worshippers is celebrated to render thanksgiving to God for protection and good harvest enjoyed by the



worshippers of *adzov* in the same way that the biblical Passover was celebrated partly as a salvific festival. The *Tor idzov* – the head or chief of *idzov* (singular form of *adzov*) – is comparable to Moses, Levites, priests, kings or princes who officiated at the biblical Passover celebration at different stages/periods outside of Egypt.

Some of the respondents compared the Passover to the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the sky God for granting fertility and bountiful harvest. Like the Passover meal, the New Yam celebration is restricted to the family and to those who have dwelled long in the family as sojourners or strangers. The meal is expected to be consumed in one night or its remnants buried before daybreak to prevent unseen spirits who are not members of the respective families to partake in it. This is also parallel to the biblical Passover of Exodus 12 which was celebrated at the non-Priestly level.

The respondents were asked another probing question to ascertain whether the Passover had any bearing on their identity as Tiv Christian men/women. Respondents from both clans said the Passover reminded them of God's deliverance of their forefathers from Congo to Benue in the same way God delivered the biblical Israel out of Egypt. This common element of God's salvific act for humankind is made fresh once the Passover celebration is mentioned in any form, place, and context and at any time. For instance, celebrating the annual Tiv Day Celebration, New Yam festival and *adzov* in a sense reminds the Tiv people of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific act and providence to Israelites. The Passover reminds them of their distinct identity from other ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The researcher again asked the respondents to interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition in the light of the Tiv traditions of *adzov*, New Yam festival, Tiv Kwagghir and Tiv Day Celebration. Respondents from both clans said *adzov* (unseen spirits) are their god who delivered them from slavery in Congo and led them through Swem to Benue in Nigeria as the God of Exodus also delivered Israel from slavery in Egypt and led the people to Canaan. The Swem pot representing the book of the law of the Tiv was given to Karagbe on Swem Mountain by the *adzov* as the Ten Commandments were given to Moses on Mount Sinai by God. The annual celebration of *adzov* is marked by sacrifices offered with white lambs, chickens and pigeons to

appeal for forgiveness of sin and to render thanksgiving to *adzov* considered as the god who hates evil and deserves sacrifices.

According to the respondents, *adzov* rituals also sought salvation, peace, and liberation from the forces of evil as the Exodus Passover was meant for the liberation of the people of God from slavery. Only the Tor *adzov*, the chief or leader of *adzov* worshipers, is allowed to perform the ritual and offer sacrifices to *adzov* on behalf of celebrants. This is likened to heads of families, Moses, priests, kings, prince or Levites who officiated during the Passover in the Exodus and in the biblical traditions at different periods and contexts. As in the Passover celebration in Exodus 12, the slaughtering of animals as well as the sprinkling of blood on wooden idols during the *adzov* festival is seen as a symbol of salvation, thanksgiving, peace and freedom for all who participate in the celebration. The meat has to be consumed in the same place and whatever remains would be left there for vultures to consume which is comparable to the Passover celebration of Exodus 12.

On the one hand, the New Yam festival is celebrated among the Tiv at the family level guided by the head of family in a similar way to the Exodus Passover especially at the non-Priestly level. The meal is eaten in the evening at sunset and the blood of the slaughtered animal is sprinkled on a stick/pot and left on the farm to purify the farm for bountiful yield. The entire meal is eaten at once for it is believed that if any part is left uneaten, the yams would not be large enough at harvestime (*akor a ile*). This ritual echoes the Passover of Exodus 12 in which the meal was eaten at twilight and consumed at once while the leftover is burnt. The use of blood in the Passover as symbol of salvation is similar to that of the yam festival that was meant to guarantee bountiful harvest that would liberate the Tiv from hunger. Moses led the people in celebrating the Passover in the Exodus tradition as elderly Tiv men also lead their family members in celebrating the New Yam festival.

The Tiv Kwaghhir (puppet art) festival on the other hand is a drama set up by the Tiv to portray all the essential elements of Tiv culture and values, as respondents pointed out. Tiv politics, agriculture, religion, and economic activities are all acted out skilfully by the Kwaghhir group just as in Western movies. The Kwaghhir festival according to respondents is similar to the

Passover festival of Exodus 12 since it conveys much of Tiv identity as the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 brought to light the identity of Israelites as God's chosen people who were distinct from other nations. The Tiv Kwagghir festival is also celebrated once a year like the Passover of Exodus 12. Just as God, in the Exodus Passover, used nature to enact salvation for the Israelites which reflects on their identity, in a similar way, the skilful man (*Tor Kwagghir*) uses nature to act out the Tiv life situation and history as a portrait of the Tiv identity.

In their interpretation of the Passover in the Exodus tradition in the context of the Tiv Day celebration, respondents from the two clans said that Tiv Day is similar to the Passover of Exodus 12 since both are celebrated annually and publicly. The Tiv Day celebration is meant to enhance unity, peace, cultural values, and laws among the Tiv. It is the celebration of a people who had once suffered in the hands of their enemies when in search of freedom but who are now free in their own land. On the day of celebration, Tiv sons and daughters come together to dance, sing, enjoy Tiv cultural music, and eat. The Tiv believe that the Exodus Passover is similar to the Tiv Day celebration in the sense that it is a celebration of freedom for the people.

From the responses gathered from the selected clans during the focus group discussions, it would be argued that the second hypothesis is proven since the Tiv respondents were able to establish a link between the Exodus origin and migration episode with familiar Tiv festivals. For example, respondents said the Tiv Kwagghir recounts the history and experiences of the Tiv people through performances. The Kwagghir helps the Tiv to recollect their origin and migration stories through songs, proverbs, dances, and so forth, in a similar fashion to the Passover which is celebrated to commemorate the beginning of the journey of migration of the chosen people of God as part of an ongoing identity negotiation. A similar link was established by respondents between *akombo* ritual that is performed with an animal to cure a disease or to appeal to the gods and the Passover. The sacrifice is eaten only by the initiators of the ritual without breaking the bones of the slaughtered animal. The blood of the slaughtered animal is then rubbed on a carved or moulded idol as a sign of healing and liberation of the victim from the *akombo*. It is clear that the *akombo* ritual has surprising similarities with the Passover celebration in Exodus 12.

The ongoing identity negotiation triggered by the Passover celebration in the Tiv context and culture noted above remains in a sense an organizing factor or catalyst for hermeneutical nuances showing the various socio-historical and economic phases of the Tiv life. The Tiv in search of freedom, power, self-identity, and actualization truly needed hope to boost their morale and the determinative will to succeed. Hope celebrated based on the Passover in the Exodus in an African context, specifically, the Tiv context would help the people to recount the beginning of their journey of migration and God's saving acts in history. This could in turn mobilize them to walk confidently with God amidst all odds so that through divine support they would obtain some reward in the world of struggle for a better and improved life (Akao 2002:343).

The study apart from proving its hypothesis as part of its contribution to scholarship has also identified eleven pericopes on the Passover that stretch from the Pentateuch to the Latter Prophets. The pericopes cut across the three Biblical legal codes namely Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-19), Holiness Code (Lev. 23:5-8) and Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 16:1-8). The pericopes also span non-priestly (Ex. 12:1-28) as well as priestly texts (Ex. 34:18-26; Num. 9:1-14; 28:16-25). The Passover is seen as part of a ritual commemoration depicting an open-ended character of an interpretation that evokes fresh memories of the beginning of migration and not the end of migration. In other words, the Passover as a ritual festival or commemoration recollects the identity of a chosen people that started the journey of migration from Egypt, which is a continued journey from generation to generation. The Passover also marks the ongoing remembrance of the salvific history of Israel from generation to another in a fresh manner (Ex. 12:27).

From the interpretation of the Passover texts in this study, eight variables have been determined which have thrown light on the Passover in terms of how it began, developed and continued over time. For instance, its starting point as a family festival (no temple), its development within the priestly period (tent, sanctuary, and temple) and its continued celebration as a family festival (exilic period and no temple) and as a public festival in a central sanctuary (post-exilic period, temple) have been outlined.

The variables have also helped me to interpret the Passover among the Tiv who are from an oral background and share memories of personal life experiences and circumstances that are parallel to those of the Israelites in the Exodus tradition. In this way, I was able to affirm that the Passover has an open-ended character and that it is an ongoing festival that marked the beginning of migration but not the end of migration. That implies that readers and interpreters of the Passover in Exodus 12 are evoking fresh memories of ritual commemoration in the narratives of origin and migration from one circumstance in life to the other. In other words, the ritual celebration of the Passover commemorate the beginning of the journey in Egypt that marks the identity of celebrants then and now as the salvific people of God.

The variables also mark the Passover as a significant aspect of the Exodus as a narrative of origin and migration that commemorates Israelite and Jewish identity with different variables in the Old Testament. These variables which have been highlighted above include different terminologies, places, dates, sacrifices, preparations, officials, links between the Passover and Unleavened Bread feast, and links with the Exodus tradition.

Part of my contribution in this research is going beyond reading and interpreting Exodus as a text of liberation to reading and interpreting it in the Tiv context of origin and migration, which in a sense triggered an aspect of on going identity formation celebrated through the Passover. As one reads the Exodus and the Passover text in particular, one is reminded of one's origin and identity. Reading or interpreting Exodus 12:1-28 in this way opens the door for readers from various cultures and contexts to read and interpret it in their own way based on their life circumstances and needs.

The socio-rhetorical approach employed in this interpretation has confirmed that ongoing oral tradition could work hand-in-hand with the written text. The field research among the Tiv by a Tiv researcher living among the Tiv has brought to light the collective memories of the origin and migration of the Tiv contributing significantly to the scant written materials on the Tiv which seems to have been notably superseded by the oral repertoire. Lastly, as a Tiv researcher, I have employed the oral resources of the Tiv to interpret the written text of the Passover in the

Exodus tradition in view of its oral antecedents in resonance with the oral narratives of origin and migration of the Tiv people.

To conclude, it is crucial for the future of Christian theology not only among the Tiv but in Africa to rejuvenate metaphors such as the Exodus by reinterpreting them within African contexts especially with the narratives of origin and migration. To escape the everpresent danger of ideology that attempts to maintain the *status quo*, theology would be kept alive by a continuous rejuvenation of its basic metaphors (such as the Exodus) through the never-ending process of re-interpretation. It is therefore most significant to emphasize the focus of the Passover on the beginning of the migration and not on the arrival in the Promised Land. The inevitable ongoing negotiation of identity is well served by this theological point of orientation – theological identity is shaped and kept alive by the way in which you start your journey and not in the smug celebration of your arrival!

#### **7.4 Suggestions for Further Research**

The present study suggests that more research needs to be done on the identification and interpretation of the Passover in other books of the Old Testament that do not find any parallel in the original Passover of Exodus 12:1-28 such as 2 Chronicles 30 and Exodus 13.

Additionally, it will be helpful to match the Passover variables discovered in this study with the contexts to which they belong (e.g. non-priestly, priestly, monarchical, Second Temple period, and so forth). This will aid further interpretation and generate new answers based on the context of the current audience.

The study also recommends that further empirical research be conducted with other ethnic groups in Nigeria to see how different people in one country will engage with the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 and its parallels to generate new meanings. Research on the genealogies of other ethnic groups like the Zulu of South Africa, and the Udam, Etulo, Jukum, Cameroon, Chamber Fulani and Hausa people of Nigeria may also generate new insight.

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## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO

### ***A1 Additional Information on the Survey of Tiv Researchers***

This section is a part of the survey of literature and trends in research on Tiv traditions that could be used as reference materials but which do not fit into the main chapter in terms of origin and migration narratives of the Tiv.

#### **A.1.1 Social organization of the Tiv**

According to Bohannan (1958) and Horton (1971, cited in Edwards 1983:464), the Tiv social organization is a classical example of a segmentary society. The expression, segmentary society, in this research refers to that society whose grouping of basic political units centred on genealogy. The essential features of these extended lineage systems, according to Goody (1967:90, in Edwards 1983:464), is that groups of a lower level combined for a particular social purpose at the next order of segmentation. These particular systems centred on the framework provided by the genealogy. The Tiv social organization appears similar to that of ancient Israel, which was organized based on a tribal system. The tribal system centres on the principle of family, through which land ownership and people are better protected because it touch on the protection of family and family tradition. The Tiv social organization, like that of ancient Israel, comprised of the following social units:

##### **A.1.1.1 Clan – Patrilocal clan community (*lpavn*)**

According to Cook and Van der Merwe (2004:81), the composition of a clan in ancient Israel was between different extended families that lived in the same district. Although they considered each other as family but it was strictly not on direct relationships. The Tiv family composition is similar to that of ancient Israel; thus, ancient Israel is a point of contrast in this section. The Tiv clans resemble those of ancient Israel as the patriarchs in charge of different extended families made alliances with one another as brothers to the advantage of all parties. For example, patriarch 'A' would make a contract with 'B' and even do more depending on the nearness, and would decide that both should share one well of water. In this sense, members of the different

extended families in question could share ownership of the same well without any existing conflict.

Furthermore, marriage was encouraged between the different extended families in a clan because it is believed that blood is thicker than water (Cook & Van der Merwe 2004:81). In the olden days, such marriages were not celebrated because the Tiv assumed that the groom had just married his sister and the bride her brother (*ingbian kwase and ingbian nomso*). These days however such marriages are celebrated both in traditional and Christian ways.

Downes (1933:33-34) notes that the Tiv have never really considered the administration of their affairs from the point of view of the clan or of the tribe as a whole; it was not been necessary. According to the author, before the advent of the British, there were those who had made themselves positions, which seemed to indicate that the idea of clan heads might have been developing, only that it did not appear to have gained much ground. However, the British administration crowned Jato Aka as the district head of the *Turan* people. Moreover, Zaki Aba of Shitile South was more than a kindred head; he became a district or clan head. In theory, it seems that the Tiv social structure had no clear-cut distinction between kindred, clan, and extended family settlements. However, in practice they had the composition of a clan but only without a clear or defined nomenclature.

Edwards (1984:81) points out that the term clan and kindred introduced by the colonial administration do not correspond to any Tiv term. The word *ipavn*, for instance, literally means segment and was used within a wider semantic range than the English word, lineage. Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:15-19) explains that the term, *ipavn*, literally segment, may be used of any lineage, which occupies a *tar* (a place where people settled in large numbers), also known as cosmos.

The segments (*ipavn*) are associated with genealogical reference. For instance, extended family 'E' combined with 'F' and would in turn combine with 'G' and 'H' who live in a *tar* (cosmos or tribe), to constitute unanimously a clan (*ipavn*). The clans offered more protection to the

individual and meant a larger group. The more the extended families could form a clan, the more the people who were available to help and protect others.

#### **A.1.1.2 Extended family (*small ipavn*)**

The Tiv, like the Israelites were a patriarchal society (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:17). The leaders were mainly men and inheritance passed through the male bloodline only. The composition of the extended family among the Tiv was the nuclear family. A man, his wife and his children lived together, and the children did not leave the house after they were married but continued to live with their parents. In this way, the nuclear family enlarged to form an extended family. The children as well as their wives, and children stayed with their parents on the family property.

Therefore, the extended family was bound through blood relationships. The Tiv patriarch (*orya*) in an extended family was an elderly man who was both the founder and the leader of the group (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:17). He was not just the head of the family but also the judge in cases where a dispute arose between members of the family. He was a priest also performing religious rituals on behalf of the family. The relationship of the Tiv patriarch (*orya*) to other members of the extended family within the lineage may be that of agnate, that is, of father's blood lineage (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:17). The patriarch (*orya*) of the extended group was not a dictator over the family even though he usually had the final say in collective decision-making on matters that affected his members (Downes 1933:27).

The matriarch and the children were also important in the broader social structure of the Tiv as in ancient Israel. The mothers looked after the wellbeing of the family in terms of feeding, protection, and discipline for the children, and educating the children in non-formal ways at home, etc. The children also helped with certain types of farm work and in the house. Both men and women in an extended family were involved in protecting members against threats from other people and wild animals. They were involved also in trade, tilling the ground and developing needed infrastructure. There was usually a close tie between the different members. Although things have changed, most Tiv families continued to maintain the features of the old extended family system in their family structure and it works well.

### **A.1.1.3 The *Tar* (cosmos, country)**

According to Rubingh (1969:64), the Tiv construed their social organization in terms of *tar*, a term that refers to any area containing a group of people bound together by kinship relationships. As a concept, *tar* does not really refer to territory as to the society inhabiting the area. It is a place but, primarily, a peopled place explained in terms of the lineage segment occupying the place. Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:19-22) however describes *tar* as the territorial and administrative aspects of Tiv political organization. In Tiv, the word *tar* refers to country, tribe, and land, in both political and territorial sense. In other words, *tar* refers to people, and their farms and compounds. The word *tar* is used in a social sense matter and it implies that *tar* could be ruined if not properly governed to ensure that all the political, social, economic, and mystical activities of the members are in good running order.

Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:22) further explains that the relative position in space is spoken of in terms of *tar* while the social distance between two *tar* is determined by the genealogically defined order of segments, *ipavn* (clan). In addition, the social distance between neighbouring segments controls their relationships. For instance, at one point, Kwande and Jechira adjoin each other through their medial lineages Nanev and Ute. A man from Ute may know more Nanev people than people from the further reaches of Jechira, like Gaav. However, in a situation of war, people from Gaav will come to the aid of Ute who are of the same lineage with them against Nanev. In other words, where neighbours are of the same small lineage segment, close co-operation is common whereas hostility is disapproved.

The Tiv social organization is quite complex to explain and understand using the terminologies introduced by the British administration. One would agree with Downes (1984:81) that the terms clan, kindred, district, and tribe, introduced by the British government, do not correspond to any Tiv term. The reason for this is not far-fetched - the Tiv were operating on their own level of literacy, custom, and understanding based on the co-operation in their social set up before the advent of westernisation. The whites came and replaced Tiv terminologies in an organized way to reflect the anthropological set up in such a way that the English meanings of such terminologies could not find any place in the original sense of the word and in the context of the

Tiv people. To Tiv people, *tar* is simply that wider lineage sector comprising of different extended groups, clans, including all strangers.

#### **A.1.1.4 Leadership among the Tiv**

According to Rubingh (1969:64), before 1946, the Tiv had no chief who ruled over the people as a whole nor in the Tiv view did mere geographic contiguity have much to do with political groupings or alliances. The Tiv believed that authority resided intrinsically in the personality of the leader who could not be clothed with it artificially or simply by appointment. The author adds that the social organization of the Tiv rests on kinship. A man could only be chief over those of whom he was a part. His emergence as chief was based on his strong personality, richness in witchcraft potential, master for many of the rites used to set the land right, knowledge of the genealogy of the segment over which he was to rule, and his age as the most elderly man in the community.

In modern times, the Tiv have adopted the chieftaincy system, which is a centralized chieftainship in charge of the entire Tiv people. The chieftainship however alternates between the two children of Tiv, viz. *Ipusu* and *Ichongo* (uncircumcised and circumcised). In addition, a chief is appointed to look after the extended family, called *ortar* (a man of *tar*). There is yet another higher chief controlling the clan called *Tyoor* besides the highest chief who controls different clans of close lineages and locations called *Ter* (father of the clans). The *Tor* Tiv (king of the Tiv) is the highest ruling monarch and he controls the entire Tiv people. Another person can only succeed a king Tiv after his death unless he does a terrible thing worth dismissal by his people or government authorities (researcher's personal observation as a Tiv person).

#### **A.1.1.5 Judicial system in Tivland**

Before the period of 1906-1934, the Tiv had no formal judiciary courts or proceedings for judging their family and clan cases. The most notable elder in the nuclear and extended families, clans, tribe and *tar* were responsible for judging and putting right the *tar* when it was damaged by anger between individuals or groups. In those days, the Tiv would gather round and swear by the Swem pot to tell the truth in their local court sessions called *ijir* (judgment). When the British

government brought Tiv people under their control between 1906 and 1934, it restructured and initiated its ideas partly into Tiv court sessions (*ijir*).

#### **A.1.1.6 Courts and codes among the Tiv**

As regards the Tiv, Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:42) claims that it is much better to define the law as codes, courts, and processes, to avoid detailed explanation of what the term law entails. From the standpoint of the above definition, all Tiv laws are externally imposed by the British administration. Although the Tiv were using the court terminologies imposed on them by the British administration, in their local court sessions (*ijir*) the technical usage of such words were not applied in their real senses.

Bohannan and Bohannan further states that each district in Tivland had a Grade 'D' court during the colonial administration, which consisted of a council of the *Tyoor* (district or clan head) and the *Mbatarev* (kindred heads of the clan). Their responsibility was to repair the *tar*, to settle disputes that upset social harmony and impair the *tar* (in this sense, the clan). Accusers brought matters to the court (*yila ijir*) when the council of district and kindred heads fails to resolve them at the family level. Even when such matters go to the Grade 'D' court, the district and kindred heads must advice the judge before ruling (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:42).

Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:28-29) also notes that the Tiv had no broad generalizing concepts such as procedure except for the appearances of witnesses therefore different acts in *ijir* are described verbatim by folklore terms in the following manner:

Step I: It deals with the appearance of the accuser and the accused in court.

Step II: The accuser presented his complaints while the accused listened carefully to respond, afterwards pointing out areas of truth and lie in the accuser's version.

Step III: It deals with the activities of witnesses and the Tiv ideas of evidence, oaths, and ordeals.

Step IV: It deals with the activities of the *Mbatarev* (kindred heads) or other arbitrators who are said to investigate or find the underlying cause of the *ijir*.

Step V: It deals with the finishing part of the *ijir*, the *Kure ijir* or end of *ijir*.



From the steps described above, both the old and current local court procedures involve the activities of the judge, principals, and others. Some court cases however contain acts that go beyond normal court sessions before the final verdicts. A closer look at the procedures will show that matters were hardly pushed to the local courts but they were often settled at the family level with the oldest representative of the family or clan presiding.

#### **A.1.1.7 Economic activities of the Tiv**

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:50), the Tiv are good and hard workers when they see the need to be. One of the favourite sayings of the Tiv is the adage *tom ngu woo or ga* (*work will not kill a man*). This saying is an encouraging statement as it implies that no one will ever die for working very hard. Among the Tiv people, farming is their greatest work and it provides most of the imagery and metaphor of labour. Men do the heavy work of hoeing heaps and ridges, clearing, and preparing land for planting, the women engage in planting and weeding and harvesting of yams, other roots and vegetable crops, while both men and women jointly harvest the grain crops. It is the duty of the family head to ensure that the men of his compound have sufficient land; otherwise, the men would abandon him in search of farmlands to settle elsewhere (Bohannan and Bohannan 1953:50-51). The staple crops grown in Tivland include yam, a tuberous crop grown in March, is ready to eat from July, and harvested in November-December. Guinea corn ripens in December while bulrush millet ripens in May or June. Other crops most of which were not grown in the past include beans, soybeans, cocoyam (or white yam), cassava, sweet potato, groundnuts, and beniseed, while the people also cultivated citrus trees, and engaged in pottery and animal husbandry (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:50-51).

Local markets in Tivland, where buying and selling of farm produce take place, hold every five days (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:53). In addition to farming, the people also takes to some works engage in jobs as night guard, road construction, clothes weaving, carving of ornamental things, leather works, hunting game for consumption and commercial purpose, pottery making (done by women), hair plaiting and barbing, to mention but a few. In today's Tiv economy, both men and women take to high-ranking government jobs because of western education. The Federal Government of Nigeria has declared Benue State the food basket of the nation because of the Tiv's productive hard work on the farm.

### A.1.1.8 Marriage and divorce among the Tiv

Marriage is an institution ordained by God (Iyortyom 2001: xi); for He said it is not good for a man to be alone and made for man a helpmate at creation (Gen.1:26). Iyortyom explains that the Tiv are not an exception to this divine ordination of marriage and they also practice a patrilineage form of marriage. In this form of marriage, a man marries a wife and takes her to his home and the offspring turnoff the union share the inheritance of their father. There was one form of marriage in the olden time practiced by the Tiv people until its abolition in 1927 by the British government. It was referred to as *kwase yamen* (exchange marriage). Exchange marriage was a complicated and problematic form of marriage although it seems simple in theory (Bohannan & Bohannan 1953:69; Yakobu s.a.: 29; Iyortyom 2001:1).

In exchange marriage, a man took his ward (*ingyor*) and married her off to a man who in return would give him his ward (*ingyor*) as a wife. These wards who were exchanged in marriage were expected to produce the same number of children in their husband's homes to avoid cheating on both sides, which was quite a difficult thing to achieve. Since children are not born in equal sex ratios in small groups and some usually died, problems came up with the acquisition of marriage wards.<sup>187</sup> This type of marriage was then prohibited by the government and was replaced by marriage with bride-wealth, which the Tiv in collaboration with the government referred to as *kem*, that is, marriage in which money and gifts were exchanged instead of human beings (Akiga 1939:161-174 and Iyortyom 2001:1).

### A.1.1.9 Exchange marriage “Kem” as cumulative gifts or price

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:73), the Tiv presently practice *kem* marriage (cumulative bridewealth) after the abolition of exchange marriage in 1927. He notes that the word *kem* is difficult to translate. Essentially, it means to acquire something gradually. *Kem*

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<sup>187</sup> 1. People who had no wards to exchange for wives stayed without wives for a long time pending the time a girl was available in the same family from an uncle or brother that could be exchanged in marriage (Bohannan 1953:69).  
 2. Those who had wards ready to exchange for wives but got no one who loved their wards still stayed without wives.  
 3. New wards were usually demanded in replacement from the families of wards that were exchanged in marriage but remained barren or died without children. A replacement ward became the new wife of the victim, whose wife died childless or was barren.  
 4. Some families had more males than females; thus, the few words were exchanged to enable some of the men to marry while others without wives became a source of much concern.  
 5. Those with ugly and deformed wards remained without wives since no one was ready to exchange such wards.

marriage starts with the engagement of a bride and groom and it moves into courtship involving families of the bride and groom. Gifts are usually exchanged between those who are in courtship and the parents of the bride in particular receives many gifts. Usually, the groom was required to pay a small amount of money and a live she-goat was given to the mother in-law. Many other gifts are not returnable were also given to the parents of the bride as a mark of appreciation and love. The name *kem* (cumulative bride wealth) was derived from all the gifts that were exchanged including the goat and money as well as the shared love demonstrated by parents of both the groom and the bride.

The implication is that as long the two families remain in good union with one another, gifts and the various kinds of help they receive from one another would be counted as a cumulative bride-price. In Tiv, there is a saying, *kem ngu been ga* (bride-wealth does not end until everyone in the families die). In earlier times when virginity was highly respected, the mother of the bride would always guide and guard her daughter against illicit sex so that she would not bring shame to herself and to the entire family. A mother whose daughter married as a virgin was highly regarded by her son-in-law who would come with many gifts to break the good news to his mother in-law.

*Kem* marriage is good in the sense that it allows both girls and boys to choose their own partners. The marriage is followed by much feasting when the lady is finally given to her suitor and it is accompanied by many gifts from both family members and friends. Today, most men do traditional and church weddings before taking their brides home.

#### **A.1.1.10 Divorce among the Tiv**

According to Yakobu (s.a: 39), Tiv marriages, like those of the Hebrews, were subject to divorce. Both the husband and the wife had legal powers to divorce one another based on certified reasons. Among the Hebrews, a man could divorce his wife by giving her a divorce certificate. Marriage by *kem* (cumulative bride wealth), as noted earlier, gives warranty to the girls to choose whom they want, but it also enables the parties to divorce whenever the marriage is not favourable to them. Tiv people however believe in marital dialogue rather than in rampant divorce. When there is a problem between a married couple, both families would intervene quickly to resolve the issue thus minimizing the rate of divorce among the Tiv. The low rate of

divorce among the Tiv attested by Yakobu appears rather true. However, at present, illegal divorce among teenage couples and adults, which is contrary to what obtained in the past, is quite rampant.

#### **A.1.1.11 Reasons for divorce**

According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953:77) and Yakobu (s.a: 39) valid reasons for divorce among the Tiv in the olden times include:

- (a) Failure of a man to start a farm for his wife.
- (b) Failure of a man to build a hut for his wife after bearing a child for him may result in divorce.
- (c) Failure of a man to buy clothes for his wife.
- (d) Failure of a man to look after his wife during an illness leads to divorce in most cases.

In spite of the above issues, which seem so genuine, it was rare for a woman to divorce her husband since there was always some intervention from the family either of the groom or of the bride or their peers to resolve the issues. In the present Tiv context, more reasons are advanced for divorce such as marital unfaithfulness, barrenness, same sex children (.g. all boys or all girls instead of a mix of both sexes), ill health (e.g. HIV/AIDS), and impotence, to mention a few. Despite the different conditions for divorce, not very many divorce cases are registered in court every year. The process of breaking a Tiv marriage in the court takes quite a long time. Temporary divorce is more common among the Tiv since most couples especially those who have children before divorce would sometimes come back together at their children's request.

## ***A2 Interview Questions/Schedule for the Pilot Project***

### **A2.1 Introduction**

I am Rev Jonathan Weor, a pastor in the N.K.S.T Church and lecturer at the Reformed Theological Seminary at Mkar. Presently, I am a registered doctoral student of Old Testament with the Faculty of Theology at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

As part of my study, I am working on a project that seeks to appropriate the Exodus tradition among the Tiv as a narrative of origin and migration. In other words, I am investigating how one can establish the theological relevance of the Exodus narrative among the Tiv people of Nigeria.

The aim of the study is to use the cultural, historical, and religious ideas of the Tiv as an indigenous interpretive resource for the theological appropriation of the Exodus tradition among the Tiv. The research could help other researchers of similar topics to discover possible ways of reading and interpreting the book of Exodus in the Tiv context. It could also aid readers to discover how one's identity, cultural, and religious ideas, as well as experiences could facilitate the interpretation of Exodus among a group of untrained readers of the Bible.

I therefore ask you to be open and relax as you participate in this interview. I also promise that whatever you share in this interview will be treated in confidence. No names will be used in the final analysis.

## A2.2 Index of Participants

### 1. Age

Under 40	40-50	51-60	61-70	71 +
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### 2. Gender

Male	Female
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### 3. Areas

Tivland is divided into two major areas. These areas are based upon the names of the two children of Tiv. Area 1 is named after the first son of Tiv called Ipusu (uncircumcised). It includes Kparev, Shitire, Ukum, Tongov, Mkar, Katsina- Ala, Zaki- Biam, Ityuluv, Nyiev, Anyiin, and Gbeji, to mention just a few. Area 2 is named after Ichongo (circumcised), the second son of Tiv. This includes places such as Ihyarev, Ugondo, Nongov, Masev, Ikyurav, Turan, and Nanev.

a.

Area 1	Area 2
Ichongo circumcised	Ipusu uncircumcised

b.

Urban	Rural

**4. Education**

No School	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary

**5. Employment**

Unemployed	Self-employed	Farmer	In private sector	Trader	Medical Personnel	Teacher

**6. Church/ Religious affiliation**

African Initiative Churches	Protestant	Catholic	Pentecostal	African Traditional Religion

**7. Church Involvement**

Church event	Worship Service	Wedding	Funeral Service	Others
Attendance per month				

**A.2.3 Tiv Origin and Migration Narratives**

*1. Who are the Tiv people? Tiv jim yo ka uno ase?*

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*2. Where did the Tiv people come from? Ka hanma ijiir Tiv ve dugh?*

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**3. How did the Tiv people secure their present location and who were the original inhabitants of the place? Ka sha nyi gbenda Tiv ve zough a inya i ve tem tvev heregh biishii nee? Lu uno ve vande lun hen ijir shono?**

**4. When did the Tiv people settle in the Benue province? Lu hanma shie nahan Tiv nyor ken tar u Benue pe ve lu hegen nee?**

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**5. Do you know of any Tiv narrative indicating a Zulu origin or link? U ngu a mkav sha kwagh u yiase i Tiv people mlu ve shin mzough ve a Zulu?**

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**6. Do you know any other tribe that shares similar or the same origin and migration narratives with the Tiv people? U fa ma ikurior igen I yiase ve sha mlu u tsombor shin tvev teman i lu inja mom shin I we zuan a Tiv kpa?**

**7. What do you know about the following places in connection with Tiv origin (Swem, Congo, and Cameroon)? Pase mfe wou sha kwagh u Swem, Kongo, man Kameron er ve zough sha yiase i Tiv yo.**

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**8. Did all the Tiv people migrate to the Benue province or did some settle somewhere else? Ka Tiv cii yange ve hembe tvev ve va ken Benue shin mba gen mba ape?**

**9. Tiv people talk of God and idols at the same time. Who played the decisive role in their migration and origin narrative? Tiv ka ve oron kwagh ve bumun Aondo kua akombo. Sha mnege wough yo ka hanmo ken mba uhar mban a er tom taveraa sha kwagh u mdugh u Tiv people nyer ve ken tar Benue?**

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**10. How did the Tiv people come to settle with other tribes in the Benue province? Did they migrate together or are they related in some other ways? Hii nan man Tiv ve higur u lun imongo a atotiev a gen ken Benue? Yange ve due a atotiev shon imôngo shin mba tsombor môm?**

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**Do you know of any written literature on the Tiv narratives of origin and migration? U fa ma takerada u or nger kpehee kpehee sha kwagh u yiase i mdugh u Tiv kpa?**

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## **A2.4 Text**

**Exodus 14:21-29; 19:10-20; 20:1-17**

The text will be made available and read in the preferred version identified below:

Tiv Bible ( <i>Bibilo</i> ) Old & New Testament	RSV	NIV	Jerusalem Bible

### **Exodus 14:21-29 - Crossing of the Sea of Reed**

1. Do you find similarities between the Exodus narratives and the migration story of the Tiv people? *U zua a kwagh u a je inja mom ken hiitiri i Ekesodu man mdugh u Tiv?*

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2. What does the text tell you about God? *Ka nyi i zough ami ken Biblio pe se or ne sha kwagh u mlu u Aondo?*

### **Exodus 19:10-20 - On Mount Sinai**

1. The text tells us that after the Israelites left Egypt and crossed the River Jordan they were given the Commandments on Mount Sinai. What do you consider the relevance of such commandments? *Shie u Mbaiserael due ken igipiti yo ve za ngohol atindi a Aondo sha uwo u senai. Sha mnenge wou yo kanyi i na ve gba hange hange u a na ve atindi nee?*

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2. According to the text, the Israelites consecrated themselves before meeting God on Mount Sinai. What do you think was the reason behind this ritual of cleansing? *Bibilo pase se er cii man Mbaiserael za sha uwo u Sinai u za ngohol atindi yo ve vande wanger ayol a ve. Kwagh ne ikav na ka nyi?*

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3. Is there any Tiv ritual that is similar to that which the Israelites performed before meeting God on Mount Sinai? *Tiv mba a ma kombo u u zough sha ieren I Mbaiserael shie u ngohol atindi sha uwo ne shi nii?*

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### **Exodus 20:1-17 - The Decalogue**

4. Are there central laws guiding the social, cultural, and religious lives of the Tiv? *Tiv mba a atindi a alu kuran mlu ve, ieren ve I mbayiase, man kwaghaodo yo?*

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5. Which of the Commandments is most relevant to the Tiv tradition? Give reasons. *Ka hanmo atindi hen pe se or ne a hembe lun a inja hen Tiv? Na ato akaa.*

## **A2.4 Empirical research transcriptions for the pilot project**

**Q** = Question by interviewer; **A** = Answer by focus group members; **S** = Statement by interviewer

### **1. Area 1a: structured interview with Ityuluv clan members**

#### **Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**A:** *The Tiv are Bantu people by origin and children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga by blood lineage.*

**A:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku – son of Anayamazenga – son of Bantu – son of Shem – son of Abraham- son of Terah – Son of God in heaven (This answer was given by a 94-year-old evangelist in one of the Reformed churches in the area).*

**A:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga, a Bantu man in Africa.*

#### **Q: Where did Tiv people come from?**

**A:** *The Tiv migrated from Congo, where all the Bantu tribes first lived, to Swem and then to Benue.*

**A:** *The Tiv are from Congo a fertile place where they lived and farmed but later left and settled at Swem, another fertile place.*

**A:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue.*

**A:** *The Tiv migrated from Ur of the Chaldeans where Abraham their father also came from and settled at Swem; then they migrated finally to Benue.*

#### **Q: How did the Tiv people secure their present location and who were the original inhabitants of the place?**

**A:** *The Tiv fought with the Uke (non-Tiv,) who were the original owners of the land, defeated them and possessed the land of Benue as their own up till now.*

**A:** *The Tiv met, fought and defeated Udam, Ugee, Jukun, Arago, Ukwese, and Chamber, the original inhabitants of Benue and settled in their place as owners up till today.*

#### **Q: When did the Tiv settle in the Benue province?**

**A:** *It is difficult for most of us who are not fully educated to tell the precise date of the event but it is a long time since the Tiv came to settle in the Benue province.*

**A:** *The years were not written down for us by our forefathers, therefore we do not know precisely.*

**A:** *When it comes to the particular year, it is difficult; but the Tiv arrived in Nigeria in 1540.*

**PQ: How did you come up with 1540 as the year Tiv arrived in Nigeria?**

**A:** *The early missionaries in Tivland taught us in a history class.*

**Q: Do you have any knowledge of Tiv narratives indicating a Zulu origin or link?**

**A:** *The Tiv do talk of the Zulu as their brothers and that they once lived together.*

**A:** *Our fathers used to say that the Zulu are good warriors and that they once lived together.*

**A:** *The Zulu are brothers of Tiv people based on the sayings of our forefathers; but how they are related in terms of blood lineage, we have no idea.*

**Q: Do you know of any other tribe that shares a similar or the same origin and migration narrative with the Tiv people?**

**A:** *The Fulani (nomads), Jukum, and Etulo tribes also migrated from one point to another but within Nigeria and not from Congo like Tiv people.*

**A:** *The Bantu Nyanza of Malawi also migrated from Congo like the Tiv people.*

**Q: What do you know about the following places in connection with Tiv origin - Swem, Congo, and Cameroon?**

**A:** *Swem is the place where the Tiv settled for a long time before migrating to Benue.*

**A:** *Congo is the place from where the Tiv and other Bantu tribes lived and migrated.*

**A:** *The people of Cameroon settled in Swem after Tiv people and they share boundaries with the Tiv.*

**Q: Did all the Tiv people migrate to the Benue province or did some remain behind somewhere?**

**A:** *No, some of the Tiv people like the Utange-Ya and Iyon are still in Swem.*

**A:** *No, some mingled with other non-Tiv tribes and have become part of them.*

**A:** *No, some of the Tiv died on the way during the migration episode.*

**Q: Tiv people talk of God and idols at the same time. Who played the decisive role in their migration and origin narrative?**

**A:** *God in heaven delivered Tiv people from slavery and not any other god. **Ka Aondo u sha la a due a Tiv ken kpan kera ye ka ma aondo u gen ga.***

**A:** *The Tiv believed in the heavenly God more than they do in the idols that are used as symbols of the heavenly God who is far from human reach.*

**Q: How did the Tiv people come to settle with other tribes in the Benue province? Did they migrate together or are they related in some other ways?**

**A:** *The British administration first zoned the non-Tiv together with the Tiv people.*

**A:** *The Tiv are not related by blood to the tribes living with them in Benue but are only zoned together by the government based on the geographical map of the state.*

**A:** *The non-Tiv live with the Tiv in Benue these days due to the declaration of freedom of movement for all citizens by the Federal Government of Nigeria.*

**Q: Do you know of any written literature on the Tiv narratives of origin and migration?**

**A:** *J W T Gbor wrote on *Mdugh man mnyer u Tiv ken Benue* (The migration of the Tiv into the Benue province).*

**A:** *Many have conducted research among us but we have not seen their books except J Gbor.*

## **2. Area 2a: Structured interview in Turan clan (pilot project)**

**Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**A:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga, a Bantu man in Africa.*

**A:** *The Tiv are children of a Bantu man from Congo called Takurukuku Anyamazenga*

**A:** *The Tiv are Bantu by origin and children of Takurukuku in Africa.*

**A:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku from Swem.*

**Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**A:** *The Tiv came from Congo and lived on Swem in Cameroon.*

**A:** *The Tiv are from Congo, a Bantu tribe, where Takurukuku their father came from.*

**A:** *The Tiv are Bantu from Swem in Africa.*

**Q: How did the Tiv people secure their present location and who were the original inhabitants of the place?**

**A:** *The Tiv fought, defeated, and drove out the original inhabitants of the land who were the Uke people, non-Tiv tribes, and took possession of their land.*

**A:** *The Tiv fought and drove out the Ugenyi, Udam, Ugee, Chamber, and Jukum who were the original inhabitants of the Benue province and possessed the land as theirs.*

**Q: When did the Tiv people settle in the Benue province?**

**A:** *It is difficult to tell you the year since most of us were not formally educated and did not write the exact date down.*

**A:** *[We have] no idea of the date since our forefathers did not write it down on paper for us.*

**A:** *Approximately, it was between 1540 and 1545, since the Tiv arrived in Nigeria in 1540.*

**Q: Do you have any knowledge of Tiv narratives indicating a Zulu origin or link?**

**A:** *Our forefathers kept talking of the Zulu people as their brothers and good fighters; but how they are related in terms of blood lineage, we have no idea.*

**Q: Do you know any other tribe that share similar or the same origin and migration narratives with the Tiv people?**

**A:** *The Jukum and Etulo people in Nigeria also migrated in a similar way from the Northern region of Nigeria down to the central region of Benue province.*

**A:** *The Fulani (nomads) also migrated from somewhere and met the Tiv people on the way.*

**Q: What do you know about the following places in connection with Tiv origin (Swem, Congo, and Cameroon)?**

**A:** *The Tiv migrated first from Congo where their forefathers lived.*

**A:** *Swem is the place where Tiv people settle for a long time before coming to Benue.*

**A:** *Cameroon share boundaries with Tiv people then and now.*

**Q: Did all the Tiv people migrate to the Benue province or some remain somewhere else?**

**A:** *No, Iyon and Utange-Ya are still in Swem in Cameroon while others have intermingled with other tribes and have become part of them.*

**Q: The Tiv people do talk of God and idols at the same time. Who played the decisive role in their migration and origin narrative?**

**A:** *The God is the sky is the only one who played a decisive role in the migration and origin narrative of the Tiv people, not idols.*

**A:** *The Tiv do talk of idols but they acknowledge the supremacy of the heavenly God over idols.*

**Q: How did the Tiv people come to settle with other tribes in the Benue province? Did they migrate together or are they related in some other ways?**

**A:** *The Tiv are not related by blood to those tribes living with them in Bneue but only came to live together due to the geographical zoning of tribes by the government.*

**A:** *The Tiv live together these days with non-Tiv in Benue because there is freedom of movement for all citizens in Nigeria.*

**Q: Do you know of any written literature on Tiv narratives of origin and migration?**

**A:** *Yes, J T W Gbor wrote directly on the subject matter in Tiv language in 1978.*

**A:** *Many do come to get information from us on the subject matter but have never come to show us a book that they have written; thus, we can only boast of John Gbor.*

## **2. Area 1b: Focus group interview in Ityuluv Clan (pilot project)**

**Q = Question** by interviewer; **A = Answer** by focus group members; **S = Statement** by interviewer.

Texts - Ex. 14:21-29 (Rescue/Crossing of the Red Sea); Ex. 19:10-20 (Wilderness Wandering /the Sinai Theophany); Ex. 20: 1-17 (revelation/Commandments)

**Q: Do you find any similarity between the Exodus narrative and the migration experience of the Tiv people?**

**A:** *Yes, it is the narrative of the Tiv that is recorded in Exodus where you have read.*

**A:** *Tiv people crossed the River Mkoomon at the back of a green snake just as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea on dry ground.*

**A:** *The Tiv had Karagbe as their leader just as Moses was the leader of the Exodus people.*

**A:** *The enemies of Tiv people who were pursuing them from behind were drawn into the River Mkoomon as the green snake withdrew; this is similar to what happened to Pharaoh's horsemen and chariots in the Red Sea.*

**Q: What does the text tell you about God?**

*A: God is the mighty warrior and saviour of his people.*

*A: God takes sides with the oppressed and destroys the oppressors.*

*A: God always helps his people in times of trouble.*

**Q: The text tells us that after the Israelites left Egypt and crossed the River Jordan, they were given the Commandments on Mount Sinai. What do you consider to be the relevance of the Commandments?**

*A: The Commandments helped the Israelites to know God's likes and dislikes.*

*A: The Commandments helped to maintain order and discipline among the Israelites.*

*A: The Commandments serve as a covenant between God and Israel. They were bound by obedience to God and received blessings from God in return for obedience.*

**Q: The Israelites, according to the text, consecrated themselves before meeting God on Mount Sinai. What do you think was the reason behind this ritual of cleansing?**

*A: God is holy and we must come to his presence with clean hearts.*

*A: We must wash our sins off before coming to the presence of the holy God.*

**Q: Is there any ritual among the Tiv people that is similar to that which the Israelites performed before meeting God on the Mountain of Sinai?**

*A: Yes, the Tiv also have certain 'akombo', emblems that require people who are not initiated into the cult for such emblems to wash and remove their shoes before entering into the shrines.*

*A: Worshippers and practitioners of adzov (sprites or shape changers) require cleansing before entering the place where the adzov emblems are kept to avoid defiling their holiness.*

**Q: Are there central laws guiding the social, cultural, and religious lives of the Tiv people?**

*A: The Tiv do not have formal laws with penalties, as did the Exodus people and the law courts. However, Tiv people also emphasized similar laws to those prescribed for the Exodus people.*

*A: Prescribed laws from Swem that are similar to those in Exodus guide the Tiv.*

**Q: Which of the Commandments is most relevant to the Tiv tradition? Give reason(s).**

*A: The third commandment is important because if you mention the name of adzov (shape changers or sprites) in vain, they would curse you since they act in place of God on earth.*

**A:** *Commandment number ten is important because if you covet your neighbour's property, according to Tiv people, you will covet the meat sacrificed to idols or cultic emblems, and the idols will seize you.*

**A:** *The seventh commandment is important because if you are caught in adultery, you will not eat, go to war, or associate with people.*

**A:** *The sixth is important because if you kill, the blood of the deceased will be upon you.*

**A:** *Commandment number nine is important because if you bear false witness against someone, Swem will curse you and your face, legs, stomach, and hands will swell, and eventually you will die.*

#### **4. Area 2b: Focus group interview with the Turan clan (pilot project)**

**Q: Do you find any similarity between the Exodus narrative and the migration experience of the Tiv people?**

**A:** *Yes, it is the exact story of the migration and origin of Tiv that is recorded in Exodus. A: Tiv people crossed River Mkoomon at the back of a green snake, ikyarem, just as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea on dry ground.*

**A:** *The Tiv had Karagbe as their leader just as Moses was the leader of the Exodus people.*

**A:** *The Tiv had Swem as their law book while Israelites had the Ten Commandments.*

**A:** *Only Karagbe went on Mount Swem to collect the Swem pot just like Moses in Exodus.*

**Q: What does the text tell you about God?**

**A:** *God is the mighty warrior and saviour of his people.*

**A:** *God takes sides with the oppressed and destroys the oppressors.*

**A:** *God is gracious to Israel as he is to Tiv people.*

**Q: The text tells us that after the Israelites left Egypt and crossed the River Jordan, they were given the Commandments on Mount Sinai. What do you consider as the relevance of such commandments?**

**A:** *The Commandments serve as a guide to the Israelites.*

**A:** *The Commandments helped to maintain order among the Israelites.*

**A:** *The likes and dislikes of God are prescribed in the Commandments.*



**Q: The Israelites, according to the text, consecrated themselves before meeting God on Mount Sinai. What do you think was the reason behind this ritual of cleansing?**

*A: God is holy and we must come to his presence with clean hearts.*

*A: We must be clean before we can approach the holy God. In the past, our husbands asked a similar thing of us; they asked that we stay away from them when we were menstruating or when they were about to go to war, so that they would be free to defeat their enemies.*

**Q: Is there any ritual among the Tiv people that is similar to that which the Israelites performed before meeting God on the Mountain of Sinai?**

*A: Yes, Tiv people who practise akombo (use of cultic emblem) do require people seeking treatment or initiation as members into akombo to perform cleansing rituals first.*

*A: In some cases, people must not enter the places where certain emblems or idols are kept with their shoes to maintain purity.*

*A: The Tiv do not have formal laws with penalties, as did the Exodus people and the law courts. However, Tiv people also emphasized similar laws to those prescribed for the Exodus people.*

*A: Prescribed laws from Swem that are similar to those in Exodus guide the Tiv.*

**Q: Which of the Commandments is most relevant to the Tiv tradition? Give reason(s).**

*A: The third commandment is important because if you mention the name of adzov (shape changers or sprites) in vain, they would curse you since they act in the place of God on earth.*

*A: Commandment number ten is important because if you covet your neighbour's property, according to Tiv people, you will covet the meat sacrifice to idols or cultic emblems, and the idols will seize you.*

*A: The seventh commandment is important because if you are caught in adultery, you will not eat, go to war, or associate with people.*

*A: The sixth is important because if you kill, the blood of the deceased will be upon you.*

*A: The ninth commandment is important because if you bear false witness against someone, Swem will curse you and you will die of swollen face, legs, and stomach.*

## **A2.5 Interview Question/Schedule –Main project**

**Note:** For the interview variables and letter of consent, refer to Addendum 'A' under the pilot project above.

1a. Who are the Tiv people? *Tiv ka uno ior ase?*

.....  
.....

b. Does your definition of the Tiv define you as an individual? *Mrumun u u ne sha mpin ne pase mlu wou sha inja i OrTiv kpa?*

.....  
.....

2. The Tiv people are surrounded by other tribes and they have even inter-married with those tribes. How do you then differentiate yourself as a Tiv person from other tribes? *Akuraior agen wa ndor a Tiv je ve voso ayol kpa. Ka sha nyi gbenda nahan u tese mposu wou u or Tiv a akuraior nee?*

.....  
.....

3a. Where did the Tiv people come from? *Tiv jim yo ka hana ve dugh u?*

.....  
.....

b. Do the origin and migration narratives of the Tiv have any influence on their identity or are they considered as mere narratives? *Give your personal opinion considering your age and status in life as a Tiv person. Mdugh man nyer u Tiv ken Benue ne tese inja I mlu ve shinii ka di yiase tso? Pase mnenege wou.*

.....  
.....

4a. Tell me about the Tiv festival you last attended? *Orom kwagh sha iniongo i Tiv i u shember zan yo?*

.....  
.....

b. Are the festivals important to you? *Uniongo mba Tiv ve eren la mba a inja hen awe kpa?*

.....  
.....

c. If the festivals are important to you, how does that influence your life as a Christian Tiv man/woman? *Aluer uiniongo mba Tiv mba u a inja yo ka sha nyi gbenda nahan ve bende a uma wou sha injai or/kwase kristu u Tiv?*

.....  
.....

5a. Do you know anything about the Tiv Day Celebration, New Yam festival, Tiv marriage, and adzov? *Mngu a mfe sha kwagh u iyangei Tiv, Ruam u iyough mbi hev man adzov Kpa?*

.....  
.....

b. Have you participated in any or all of those ceremonies this year? *U faityo u za iniongo mab mter sha 5a cii shin mom ken ave ken inyom ne shinii?*

.....  
.....

c. What impact do the festivals have on the Tiv identity? *Ka nyi kwagh u iniongo mba Tiv mban tese nyi sha inja ior I Tiv vel u?*

.....  
.....

*Section B Bible reading and Interpretation (Ex.12:1-28 = The Passover Ritual). The researcher will read Exodus 12:1-28 with the respondents aloud.*

6a. Do you know anything about the Passover feast? *Ungu a mvav sha iniongo i Paseka kpa?*

.....  
.....

b. When last did you participate in the Passover feast? *Ka hanma shie nahan u mase ember iniongo i paseka?*

.....  
.....

c. Does the Passover have any impact on your identity as a Tiv Christian man or woman? *Iniongo i paseka nei tese ma kwagh sha mlu wou sha inja i or/kwase Tiv u Kristu?*

.....  
.....

d. Rethink or re-interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in light of the Tiv traditions of *adzov*, New Yam festival, marriage feast and Tiv Day Celebration. *Na mpase wou sha iniongo i paseka er u nenge we ngu inja imom a u iniongo mba Tiv ve eren ninja er adzov, iniongo i iyough mbi hev, iyangei Tiv, Kwagghir man kwase eren la.*

.....

.....

e. Establish a link between a known Tiv festival and the origin and migration narrative of Exodus. *Tese ikav sha mom ken uiniongo mba Tiv ve eren la eri izough sha yiase i mdugh man nyer u Tiv ken Benue yo.*

.....

.....

## **A2.6 Empirical research transcriptions for the Main Project**

### **Structured interview with the Masev Clan (Main project)**

**Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga in Africa (age group of respondents = 61-100)

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of God in Africa* -age group of respondents = 40-60.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are the Masev, Ihyarev and Nongov* - from 71+ years who were non-Christians from rural areas).

**Probing question:** *Does your definition of the Tiv people define you as an individual?*

**Answer:** *Yes, it does* – This was the answer generated from respondents on this question. They add that knowing who they are and being able to trace their genealogy from two generations backwards is a pride to them; and that, in a sense, it tells well of them - that they are not slaves but children of a renowned African from Congo.

**Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Congo, a fertile place, to Swem another fertile place where they settled for a long time before migrating to Benue where they are now* - answer from the majority

of male and female respondents above 71 years who were mostly residents of the rural areas and non-government workers.

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue – answer from male and female respondents in the age group of 40-71 years.*

**Probing question:** *What is the main feature that sustains Tiv culture despite the many non-Tiv groups surrounding the people?*

**Answer:** *The Tiv have one common language that is spoken and understood by all members. They have a unique mode of dressing and unique cultural dances, ritual performance, farming system, and so forth, which are different from those of other tribes. All these portray their culture and identity.*

**Q: Tell me about the last Tiv festival you attended**

**Answer:** Six respondents in the age bracket of 40-61 years said that they attended the Tiv Day Celebration. This is an annual celebration commemorating their victories and independence during and after their wandering from Congo to Swem and finally to the Benue valley in Nigeria. It is a national festival that is attended by Tiv people from all over the world. Non-Tiv are welcome to attend or witness the cultural display of the Tiv.

**Answer:** Two respondents in the age group of 71-85 years attended *adzov* festival (worship of sprites or unseen spirits). The idea of this festival also stemmed from the migration episode of the Tiv from Swem where it is believed that *adzov* (unseen spirits) gave them a pot also called “Swem” containing herbs and ashes for healing and protection as well as laws to guide them throughout their wandering episode.

**Answer:** Three of the respondents between ages 40 and 70 years attended the Tiv *Kwaghhir* (Tiv puppet arts performance). They claimed that the *Kwaghhir* reminded them of Tiv culture and heritage.

**Answer:** One Christian woman between 40 and 60 years of age attended a church wedding.

**Probing question:** *Are the festivals important to you?*

**Answer:** Respondents said 'yes,' the festivals are important to them since they are all connected to the Tiv narratives of origin and migration. They said the festivals find parallels in the biblical Passover since both depict elements of identity.

**Probing question:** *If the festivals are important to you, how does that influence your life as a Christian Tiv man/woman?*

**Answer:** Answers generated from respondents with a Christian background indicates that the festivals are important to them since they commemorate the wandering episode of the Tiv and their victories in a similar way to the Passover narrative of Exodus 12. One of the respondents said Christians have a lot to learn from the Tiv festivals as the festivals help them to understand the culture of the Tiv, and the experiences could be used to interpret the Bible in their own way.

**Q: Do you know anything about the Tiv Day celebration, New Yam festival, marriage feast and adzov?**

**Answers:** Six respondents expressed their knowledge of Tiv Day Celebration, which they personally attended. They said it is a Tiv national festival that is aimed at promoting Tiv culture and unity. Cultural dances, songs and other art performances are staged during this festival. These, in a sense, reflect the identity of the Tiv people.

**Answer:** *The yam festival is done at the family level where individual family heads set aside a day to celebrate their first farm produce.* Respondents further said the yam festival is similar to the Passover in Egypt that was celebrated at the family level and restricted to the Israelites. It reminds the Tiv of their origin and identity as children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga who once migrated from Congo to Swem in search of a fertile soil for farming.

**Answer:** Few elderly respondents said that the *adzov* is a ritual that was given them from Swem Mountain by unseen spirits. This ritual, they added, marked the beginning of their knowledge of the God in the sky who led them out of Congo and in their wanderings to inherit the Benue province where they are now.

### **Structured interview with the Ipav Clan (Main project)**

**Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga in Africa* (age group of respondents = 40-71+).

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of God in Africa* (age group of respondents = 40-60).

**Probing question:** *Does your definition of the Tiv people define you as an individual?*

**Answer:** *Yes, it does. Knowing who we are and where we came from gives us much pride and assurance that we are human beings with a genealogy and not animals or slaves.*

**Question: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** According to seven respondents in this clan in the age group of 50-71+, both Christians and non-Christians, self-employed workers and civil servants, the Tiv migrated from Congo, a fertile place, to Swem, another fertile place, where they settled for a long time before migrating to Benue where they are now.

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue.* This was given by respondents between 40-60 years of age men and women inclusive.

**Probing question: What is the main feature that sustains Tiv culture despite many non-Tiv tribes around them?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv are united by one common language spoken and understood by all. The Tiv also maintain their unique dressing mode, eating style, farming system, and cultural dances, songs and art performances like the kwaghir. These all differentiate Tiv people from other neighbouring tribes.*

**Question: Tell me about the Tiv festival you last attended**

**Answer:** Seven respondents in the age bracket of 40-71 years said that they attended the Tiv Day Celebration and church weddings. They explained that the Tiv Day Celebration is an annual celebration commemorating the deliverance of the Tiv people from the hands of their enemies. It also commemorates the inheritance of the Benue valley as a permanent home for the Tiv people. It is a national festival that is attended by Tiv people from all over the world. It aims at uniting Tiv people as one and fostering unity and peace among the various Tiv communities.

**Answer:** Five respondents in the age group of 40-70 years attended the Tiv *Kwaghir* (Tiv puppet arts performance). This performance reminded them of Tiv culture and heritage.

**Probing question: Are the festivals important to you?**

**Answer:** Respondents said the festivals are important to them because they remind them of their narratives of origin and migration. They also help them to learn from the experiences and culture of Tiv people, which is a good move towards identity formation. Some of the respondents who were Christians said that the festivals are a good way of understanding God's dealing with

humanity. They help them to compare their culture with that of the biblical Israelites, which, in turn, help them to understand the Bible better.

**Probing question:** *If the festivals are important to you, how does that influence your life as a Christian Tiv man/woman?*

**Answer:** Respondents answered with that: *“The festivals are important to us because they help us to recollect the pains that our ancestors endured, which in our time serve as a mark of identity of who we are and where we are as our permanent home.”* Some of the respondents with a Christian background said that their festivals are similar to those of the biblical Israelites. Thus, participating in the festivals create a sense of understanding of the Passover in which the Israelites also partook to remember their liberation from slavery in Egypt.

**Q: Do you know anything about the Tiv Day Celebration, New Yam festival, marriage feast, and adzov?**

**Answers:** Seven respondents said that the Tiv Day Celebration is a unity festival celebrated at the national level to promote Tiv culture and unity. Cultural dances, songs, and other art performances are staged during this festival. The festival bolsters the national identity of the Tiv as a recognized people amidst many peoples in Nigeria. Apart from helping in identity formation, the Tiv Day Celebration identifies with the biblical Passover celebrated by Israelites to honour God, their saviour.

**Answer:** Respondents note that the New Yam festival continues at the family level although there are some modifications to the original mode of celebration. Some families buy drinks to add more weight to the celebration whereas some poor families that cannot afford to slaughter an animal or buy drinks find other substitutes or just roast the yam for the family head to eat first and then declare the eating open for the entire family. Respondents also said this festival is similar to the Passover in Egypt that was celebrated at the family level and restricted to the Israelites.

It reminds the Tiv of their origin and identity as children of Takuruku who once migrated from Congo to Swem in search of a fertile soil for farming. It also serves as a mark of thanksgiving to the God in the sky for the new harvest.



### **Focus group discussion with the Masev Clan (Main project)**

After reading the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 with his respondents, the researcher reminded them of their narratives of origin and migration and of their ritual festival narratives. He then asked them some guided questions that generated the following answers:

#### **Q: Do you know anything about the Passover feast?**

**Answer:** Respondents in the age group of 60-100 years said the Passover to them is the *kwan nahan* (ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor, a condition of malnutrition, common among the Tiv.

**Answer:** Other respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said the Passover is the Tiv Day Celebration and Tiv *Kwaghhir*, which are public festivals to mark the identity and culture of the Tiv just like the Passover of Exodus 12.

The most elderly respondents above 71 years of age said the Passover is *adzov* where offering is done annually as a mark to thank the unseen spirits for protection and good harvest.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents said that the Passover is the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the God in the sky for granting fertility and bountiful yields. The meal, like the Passover meal, is restricted to the family and to those who have dwelled long in the family as sojourners or strangers.

#### **Probing question: *When last did you participate in the Passover feast?***

**Answers:** Christian respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said they have been celebrating the Passover on a monthly basis in church in form of the Holy Communion. Some said they attended the Tiv Day Celebration at the end of the year while others said they partook in the *Kwaghhir* festival at the clan level, recently. The rest of the respondents said they participated in the New Yam festival in the month of September.

#### **Probing question: *Does the Passover have any impact on your identity as a Tiv Christian man/woman?***

**Answer:** Respondents who were mostly Christians said the Passover reminded them of God's salvation to humankind. It also reminded them of their identity, which is distinct from those of other Nigerian peoples. Partaking in the annual Tiv Day or New Yam festival, in a sense, reminded them of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific

act and providence to Israelites. They also said the Passover helps them to unite as people of one family who are cared for by God.

**Answer:** The non-Christian respondents in the age group of 60-100 years said the biblical Passover reminded them that they are also children of the God in the sky. As they attend the Tiv Day and *Kwagghir* to dance, sing, and perform other wonders, they are reminded of the wonders of the Passover in Egypt. They further claimed that they are the people that the Bible refers to under a new name, Israel.

**Question: Rethink /or interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in light of the Tiv traditions of adzov, New Yam festival, Tiv kwagghir and Tiv Day Celebration.**

**Answer:** *Adzov* is worship conducted to venerate unseen spirits. A white lamb that is unblemished is slaughtered as sacrifice to the spirits. The meat is eaten afterwards but in the same place. It is believed that anyone who takes the meat home will be punished by the *adzov*. It takes place both at the family and the national levels. The festival is said to parallel the Passover of Exodus 12.

**Answer:** The Passover in Egypt was a family meal celebrated in the evening just like the New Yam festival is also celebrated in the evening at sunset and is restricted to family members.

**Answer:** The Tiv *Kwagghir* is a display of Tiv magical arts and culture at the family and national levels. It involves the manipulation of nature in ways that show that the Tiv are different from other neighbouring groups in Nigeria. It is parallel to the Passover celebrated in Egypt in the sense that nature was manipulated by God to force Pharaoh to allow the Israelites to go.

**Probing question: Can you establish a link between the Tiv festival and the Exodus origin and migration narrative.**

**Answer:** Respondents said the Tiv *Kwagghir* is a festival that recounts the past life and experiences of the Tiv through performances. said the performances help the Tiv to recall their origin and migration stories just like the Passover that was celebrated to commemorate the exit from Egypt, the wandering, and the inheritance of the Promised Land. The Passover was done to recollect the memories of Egypt and the Wilderness Wandering and this is similar to the Tiv Day

Celebration that is also meant to recount the past life of the Tiv in the present through songs, proverbs, dances, *Kwagghir*, and so forth.

### **Focus group discussion with the Masev Clan (Main project)**

After reading the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 with his respondents, the researcher reminded them of their narratives of origin and migration and of their ritual festival narratives. He then asked them some guided questions that generated the following answers:

#### **Question: *Do you know anything about the Passover feast?***

**Answer:** Respondents in the age group of 60-100 years said the Passover to them is the *kwan nahan* (ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor, a condition of malnutrition, common among the Tiv.

**Answer:** Other respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said the Passover is the Tiv Day Celebration and Tiv *Kwagghir*, which are public festivals to mark the identity and culture of the Tiv just like the Passover of Exodus 12.

The most elderly respondents above 71 years of age said the Passover is *adzov* where offering is done annually as a mark to thank the unseen spirits for protection and good harvest.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents said that the Passover is the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the God in the sky for granting fertility and bountiful yields. The meal, like the Passover meal, is restricted to the family and to those who have dwelled long in the family as sojourners or strangers.

#### **Probing question: *When last did you participate in the Passover feast?***

**Answers:** Christian respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said they have been celebrating the Passover on a monthly basis in church in form of the Holy Communion. Some said they attended the Tiv Day Celebration at the end of the year while others said they partook in the *Kwagghir* festival at the clan level, recently. The rest of the respondents said they participated in the New Yam festival in the month of September.

**Probing question: *Does the Passover have any impact on your identity as a Tiv Christian man or woman?***

**Answer:** Respondents who were mostly Christians said the Passover reminded them of God's salvation to humankind. It also reminded them of their identity, which is distinct from those of other Nigerian peoples. Partaking in the annual Tiv Day or New Yam festival, in a sense, reminded them of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific act and providence to Israelites. They also said the Passover helps them to unite as people of one family who are cared for by God.

**Answer:** The non-Christian respondents in the age group of 60-100 years said the biblical Passover reminded them that they are also children of the God in the sky. As they attend the Tiv Day and *Kwaghhir* to dance, sing, and perform other wonders, they are reminded of the wonders of the Passover in Egypt. They further claimed that they are the people that the Bible refers to under a new name, Israel.

**Question: Rethink or re-interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in light of the Tiv traditions of adzov, New Yam festival, Tiv kwaghhir and Tiv Day Celebration.**

**Answer:** *Adzov* is worship conducted to venerate unseen spirits. A white lamb that is unblemished is slaughtered as sacrifice to the spirits. The meat is eaten afterwards but in the same place. It is believed that anyone who takes the meat home will be punished by the *adzov*. It takes place both at the family and the national levels. The festival is said to parallel the Passover of Exodus 12.

**Answer:** The Passover in Egypt was a family meal celebrated in the evening just like the New Yam festival is celebrated in the evening at sunset and is restricted to family members.

**Answer:** The Tiv *Kwaghhir* is a display of Tiv magical arts and culture at the family and national levels. It involves the manipulation of nature in ways that show that the Tiv are different from other neighbouring groups in Nigeria. It is parallel to the Passover celebrated in Egypt in the sense that nature was manipulated by God to force Pharaoh to allow the Israelites to go.

**Probing question: Establish a link between a known Tiv festival you know and the origin and migration narrative of Exodus.**

**Answer:** Respondents said the Tiv *Kwaghhir* is a festival that recounts the past life and experiences of the Tiv through performances. They said the performances help the Tiv to recall their origin and migration stories just like the Passover that was celebrated to commemorate the

exit from Egypt, the wandering, and the inheritance of the Promised Land. The Passover was done to recollect the memories of Egypt and the Wilderness Wandering and this is similar to the Tiv Day Celebration that is also meant to recount the past life of the Tiv in the present through songs, proverbs, dances, *Kwagghir*, and so forth.

### **Focus group discussion with the Ipav Clan (Main project)**

The researcher read the Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 with his respondents aloud in Tiv after that, he reminded them of their narratives of origin, migration, rituals and identity. He then used their previous knowledge as a means to test their biblical knowledge of the Passover of Exodus 12 as follows:

#### **Question: Do you know anything about the Passover feast?**

**Answer:** Respondents above 71 years old said the Passover is *kwan nahan*, a ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor or malnutrition, which is common among Tiv children. Others of the same age group said the Passover is *adzov* in which offering is made annually to thank unseen spirits for protection and good harvest.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents in the age group of 50-71+ years said the Passover is the Tiv Day Celebration and the Tiv *Kwagghir*, which are public festivals to mark the identity and culture of the Tiv like the Passover of Exodus 12.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents above 60 years said the Passover is the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the God in the sky for granting fertility and bountiful yield. The meal, like the Passover meal, is restricted to the family and to those who have dwelled long in the family as sojourners or strangers.

#### **Probing question: *When last did you participate in the Passover feast?***

**Answers:** Christian respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said they have been celebrating the Passover on a monthly basis in church in form of the Holy Communion. Some said they attended the Tiv Day Celebration at the end of the year while others said they partook in the *Kwagghir* festival at the clan level, recently. The rest of the respondents said they participated in the New Yam festival in the month of September.

**Probing question: *Does the Passover have any impact on your identity as a Tiv Christian man/woman?***

**Answer:** To some of the respondents who were Christians in different denominations, the Passover reminded them of God's salvation to humankind. It also reminded them that their identity was different from others in Nigeria. Participating in the annual Tiv Day Celebration or New Yam festival, in a sense, reminded them of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific act and providence to the Israelites. They also said the Passover helped them to unite as people of one family who are cared for by God.

**Answer:** Non-Christian respondents in the age bracket of 60-100 years said the biblical Passover is similar to their festivals and ritual performances such as the Tiv Day Celebration and the *Kwagghir*. Therefore, they feel that they are also God's children and are doing what the Israelites also did.

**Question: Rethink or re-interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in light of the Tiv traditions of adzov, New Yam festival, Tiv Kwagghir and Tiv Day Celebration.**

**Answer:** The worshippers of *adzov* said the biblical Passover is the same ritual as theirs but it was performed only by different people in a different place and time. They added that the same lamb that was used in the biblical Passover is used in the *adzov* ritual. The biblical Passover was performed under the leadership of Moses just as the *adzov* ritual is led by the *Tor Idzov* (literally, the chief of the unseen spirits). To these worshipers, *adzov* is god just as Yahweh is God to Israel and Christians. The Passover was done to honour God just as the *adzov* are worshiped in honour of the unseen spirits or gods. *Adzov* is done at the family, clan and national levels just as the Passover of Exodus 12. At the national level, it is held on Swem Mountain where all worshipers go to worship the great *Idzov* who gave the Tiv a pot during their migration episode from Swem. This is parallel to the Passover that was centralized at a later stage in the Temple in Jerusalem.

**Answer:** *The Passover in Egypt parallels the New Yam festival since both were celebrated at the family level in the evening at sunset with only family members participating.*

**Answer:** *The Passover in Egypt is parallel to the Tiv Kwagghir, which is a display of Tiv magical arts and culture. Both the Passover in Egypt and the Tiv Kwagghir involved manipulation of nature to create some effect. This, in a sense, depicts the identity of the performer as a great or unique person. In the case of the Passover, God the performer through Moses caused ten plagues to strike Egypt before he finally liberated the people out of slavery.*

*The Tor Kwaghhir (chief of puppet art) leads the magical performance to declare the identity of the Tiv as a great people in Nigeria.*

**Probing question:** *Establish a link between any known Tiv festival and the Exodus origin and migration.*

**Answer:** Respondents to this question said that at the national level, the *adzov* ritual is held on the Swem Mountain, which, in a sense, helps the Tiv to recollect their memories of origin and migration. Respondents above 71 years old claimed that the *adzov* ritual is similar to the Passover that commemorates the origin and migration of Israelites from Egypt as God's chosen and covenanted people.

### ***A3 Structured and Focus Group Interviews with Members of the Four Clans***

#### **A3.1 Analysis of structured interview held with members of Ityuluv Clan (“Area 1”)**

Ityuluv is a clan in the Nyiev part of Kwande LGA of Benue State. It is tagged “Area 1” in this research and it represents the lineage of Ipusu, one of Tiv’s children. It is situated at the foot of the Swem Mountain and shares boundaries with Cameroon and other non-Tiv peoples. The Ityuluv clan is significant in this study because of its proximity to Swem, a place where the Tiv settled for a long time before migrating down to the plains of Benue. A structured interview was conducted with ten members of this clan early in January 2007. The pre-formulated questions asked during the interview are shown below.

#### **Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

This was the first question asked to test the knowledge of respondents on the issue of Tiv identity. Several opinions were received from respondents, which altogether indicate that the Tiv are knowledgeable about their origin narrative.

**Answer:** *Tiv are Bantu people by origin and children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga by blood* - answer from respondents in the age group of 50-61+ years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku, son of Anayamazenga, son of Bantu, son of Shem, son of Abraham, son of Terah, Son of God in heaven* - This answer was given by a 94-year-old evangelist in one of the Reformed churches in the area. He was trained by the missionaries and he remains an active member of the church. His earliest educational and religious background seems to influence his knowledge of who the Tiv people are.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga an African Bantu man* - from respondents in the age group of 50-71 years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of God in Africa* - answer from respondents in the age group of 40-51+ years.

#### **Probing question: where did Takuruku come from?**

**Answer:** *Takurukuku was a Bantu man from Congo.*

**Answer:** *Takurukuku was from Swem in Africa.*



**Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Congo where all the Bantu tribes first lived to Swem and then to Benue - answer from respondents in the age bracket of 50-60+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv are from Congo a fertile place where they lived and farmed but they later left Congo to settle at Swem, another fertile place - answer from respondents in the age group of 60-71+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue - answer from respondents in the age group of 40-60 years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Ur of the Chaldeans where Abraham their father also came from and settled at Swem before migrating finally to Benue was from the 94 year-old evangelist from one of the Reformed churches in the area, which is situated at the foot of Swem Mountain.*

**Q: How did the Tiv secure their present place and who were the original inhabitants of the place?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv fought and displaced the Uke, non-Tiv speakers and listeners, who were the original owners of the land, and possessed the land of Benue where they are now.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv fought and fazed out the non-Tiv tribes (Udam, Ugee, Jukun, Arago, Ukwese, Chamber) the original inhabitants of Benue and took over and settled in their land.*

**Answer:** *One of the respondents an elderly woman of about 60 years said that her late husband used to talk of the brutality of the Tiv people to the Uke particularly the Arago people. Her answer corresponded with that of other respondents in the age group of 60-71+ years that the Tiv fought and fazed out of the area non-Tiv people before occupying the place as their own.*

**Probing question: Tell me more, is that how wicked the Tiv people are?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv were not wicked as such but they did not like settling with other tribes because of fear of war, overpopulation, and intermarriage, which was a threat to their security and culture. These days however, Tiv people have no other option than to settle together with other non-Tiv peoples and marry from among them contrary to their original custom.*

**Q: When did the Tiv people settle in the Benue province?**

**Answer:** *It is difficult for most of us who are not fully educated to tell the precise date of the event, but it was a long time ago when the Tiv came to settle in the Benue province.*

**Answer:** *The years were not written down for us by our forefathers; thus, we cannot tell the exact time of the incident* - response from respondents in the age group of 40-70 years.

**Answer:** *When it comes to the number of years, it is difficult but the Tiv arrived in Nigeria in 1540* - answer from respondents in the age group of 71+ years who were educated and worked under the missionaries that evangelised the Tiv people from 1911.

**Probing question:** *How did you come up with 1540 as the year the Tiv arrived in Nigeria?*

**Answer:** *The early missionaries in Tivland taught us in a history class in school.*

**Q: Do you have any knowledge of Tiv narratives indicating a Zulu origin or link?**

**A:** *The Tiv do talk of being brothers with the Zulu, they once lived together* - answer from respondents in the age group of 50-70 years.

**A:** *Our fathers do talk of Zulu that they are good warriors and that they once lived together (sic)* - from respondents in the age group of 50-61+ years.

**A:** *The Zulu are brothers of the Tiv based on sayings of our forefathers but how they are related in terms of blood lineage, we have no idea* - from respondents in the age group of 61-71+.

**Q: What do you know about other groups that share similar or the same origin and migration narratives with the Tiv?**

**Answer:** *The Fulani (nomads), Jukun, and Etulo tribes also migrated from one point to another but within Nigeria and not from Congo like the Tiv* - answer by people less than 71 years of age. *The Jukun migrated only from the Northern part of Nigeria to settle in Benue. The Tiv fought them but they could not prevail totally; thus, the Jukun continue to occupy part of the Tiv area in the present Taraba State of Nigeria. However, the fight over land ownership between the Tiv and Jukun has continued until today.*

**Answer:** *The Bantu Nyanza of Malawi also migrated from Congo like the Tiv people* - from respondents above 71 years.

**Q: What do you know about the following places in connection with Tiv origin -Swem, Congo, and Cameroon?**

**Answer:** *Swem was the place where the Tiv settled for a long time before migrating to Benue.*

**Answer:** *Congo was the place where the Tiv and other Bantu tribes first lived before they migrated later to different parts of Africa* - answer from respondents in the age group of 60-71+ years.

**Answer:** *Swem is a settlement in Cameroon and it shares boundaries with the Tiv people until now.*

**Q: Did all the Tiv people migrate to the Benue province or did some settle back somewhere else?**

**Answer:** *No, some Tiv people like Utange-Ya and Iyon still live in Swem.*

**Answer:** *No, some have mingled with other non-Tiv tribes and have become part of them.*

**Answer:** *No, some of the Tiv died on the way during the migration episode.*

The above answers were given by respondents in the age group of 60-71+years.

**Q: Tiv people do talk of God and idols at the same time. Who played the decisive role in their migration and origin narrative?**

**Answer:** *God in the sky (heaven) delivered the Tiv from slavery and not any other god - answer from respondents in the age group of 40-71 years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv believed in the sky (heavenly) God more than they did in idols that are used as symbols or agents of the sky (heavenly) God who is beyond human reach - answer from respondents in the age bracket of 60-71+ years.*

**Q: How did the Tiv people come to settle with other tribes in the Benue province? Did they migrate together or are they related in some other ways?**

**Answer:** *The British administration first zoned the non-Tiv tribes together with the Tiv peoples – from respondents in the age group of 61-71+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv are not related by blood to other neighbouring groups in Benue but they were zoned together by the government based only on geographical mapping or allocation of the state.*

**Answer:** *The presence of non-Tiv neighbours of the Tiv in Benue these days is the result of the declaration of freedom of movement/settlement by the Federal Government of Nigeria to all citizens - answer from respondents with formal education in the age group of 50-71+ years.*

**Q: Do you know of any written source on the Tiv narratives of origin and migration?**

**Answer:** *J W T Gbor wrote **Mdugh man mnyer u Tiv ken Benue** i.e. the migration of the Tiv to the Benue province.*

**Answer:** *Many have conducted research among us but we have not seen their books except J Gbor's.*

### **A3.2 Analysis of structured interview with the Turan Clan (“Area 2”)**

The Turan clan is in Kwande Local Government area of Benue State in the proximity of Swem Mountain from where the second phase of the Tiv migration to the Benue province took place. Two oral interviews were conducted in the Turan clan in the second week of January 2007. The first interview was conducted between the 8th and 9th of January 2007 with 10 selected members of the designated clan. Both men and women were selected for personal oral interviews, each of which lasted for approximately twenty minutes. The responses were recorded on tapes while written notes were also taken to aid transcription and analysis.

The second interview was a focus group discussion that was held on 10 January 2007 with eight people selected from the designated area. The interview was guided by seven oral questions and three selected texts from Exodus were read to the interviewees, one after the other. They were expected to interpret based on their own understanding afterwards. Both men and women were included in the interview but the emphasis was on the age – respondents were older people. The interview lasted for approximately an hour and it was recorded on tape and on paper for subsequent transcription and analysis. Below is the analysis of the two oral interviews in the Turan area beginning with the individual oral interviews.

#### **Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga, an African Bantu man-* answer from educated and uneducated respondents in the age group of 50-61+ years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are the children of a Bantu man from Congo called Takurukuku Anyamazenga* - answer from elderly people in the age group of 61-71+ years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are Bantu by origin and children of Takurukuku in Africa* -answer from educated and mostly urban civil servants in the age group of 40-55 years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are the children of Takurukuku from Swem* - answer from elderly respondents in the age group of 51-71+ years.

**Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv came from Congo and lived on Swem in Cameroon - answer from respondents in the age group of 61-71+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv are a Bantu tribe from Congo from where Takurukuku their father came - answer from respondents in the age group of 50-71+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv are Bantu from Swem in Africa - answer from respondents in the age group of 40-65 years.*

**2.4.8.3 How did the Tiv people secure their present place and who were the original inhabitants of the place?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv fought, defeated, and drove out the original inhabitants of the land, who were the Uke (non-Tiv tribes) and took possession of their land -answer from respondents in the age group of 61-71+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv fought and drove out the Udam, Ugenyi, Arago, Chamber, and Jukun who were the original inhabitants of the Benue province and possessed their land.*

**Q: When did the Tiv people settle in the Benue province?**

**Answer:** *It is difficult to tell you the year since most of us were not formally educated and we could not write the exact date down.*

**Answer:** *[We have] no idea of the date since our forefathers did not write it down on paper for us - answer from people in the age bracket of 40-61+ years.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv arrived in Nigeria around 1540-1545 - answer from educated respondents in the age group of 71+ years.*

**Q: Do you have any knowledge of Tiv narratives indicating a Zulu origin or link?**

**Answer:** *Our forefathers kept talking of the Zulu as their brothers and good fighters; but how they are related in terms of blood lineage, we have no idea.*

**Q: What do you know of other tribes that share similar or the same origin and migration narratives with the Tiv?**

**Answer:** *The Jukum and Etulo people of Nigeria also migrated in a similar way as the Tiv from the North down to the central region of Nigeria in the Benue province.*

**Answer:** *The Fulani (nomads) also migrated from some place and met the Tiv people on the way.*

**Q: What do you know about the following places in connection with Tiv origin - Swem, Congo, and Cameroon?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated first from Congo where their forefathers lived.*

**Answer:** *Swem was the place where the Tiv settled for a long time before coming to Benue.*

**Answer:** *Cameroon shares boundaries with Tivland and still does.*

**Q: Did all the Tiv people migrate to the Benue province or did some settle back somewhere else?**

**Answer:** *No, Iyon and Utange-Ya are still in Swem in Cameroon while others have mixed up with other tribes and become part of them.*

**Q: Tiv people do talk of God and idols at the same time. Who played the decisive role in their migration and origin narrative?**

**Answer:** *Only the God in the sky played a decisive role in the migration and origin narrative of the Tiv people, not idols.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv do talk of idols but they acknowledge the supremacy of the heavenly God over idols.*

**Q: How did the Tiv come to settle alongside other tribes in the Benue province? Did they migrate together or are they related in some other ways?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv are not related by blood to those tribes living beside them in Benue but they only came to live together due to the geographical zoning of tribes by the government.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv live together these days with non-Tiv tribes in Benue because there is freedom of movement for all citizens in Nigeria.*

**Q: Do you know of any written source on the Tiv narratives of origin and migration?**

**Answer:** *Yes, J T W Gbor wrote directly on the subject matter in Tiv language in 1978.*

**Answer:** *Many do come to get information from us on the subject matter but they have never come back to show us a book that they have written; thus, we can only boast of John Gbor.*

### **A3.3 Focus group interviews with Ityuluv Clan and Turan Clan (“Area 1”)**

Below are the questions on Exodus 14:21-29; 19:10-20 and 20:1-17 which were used in the focus group interviews with the Ityuluv and Turan clans as well as the answers of the respondents.

## ITYULUV CLAN

### **Exodus 14:21-29 - Crossing of the Sea of Reed**

Exodus 14:21-29 narrates the story of the Israelites crossing the Reed Sea on dry ground through the God's mighty work as the Egyptians and all Pharaoh's horses, chariots, and horsemen were destroyed in the sea.<sup>188</sup>

**Q: Do you find any similarity between the Exodus narrative and the migration experience of the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** *Yes, it is the narratives of the Tiv that is recorded in Exodus where you have read.*

**Answer:** *Tiv people crossed River Mkoomon at the back of a green snake just as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea on dry ground.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv had Karagbe as their leader just as Moses was the leader of the Exodus people.*

**Answer:** *The enemies of the Tiv people who were pursuing them from behind were drawn into the River Mkoomon as the green snake withdrew and let all of them in the river. This is similar to what happened to Pharaoh's horsemen and chariots in the Red Sea.*

**Q: What does the text tell you about God?**

**Answer:** *God is the mighty warrior and saviour of his people.*

**Answer:** *God takes the side of the oppressed and destroys the oppressors.*

**Answer:** *God always helps his people in times of trouble.*

### **Exodus 19:10-20 - On Mount Sinai**

The Lord asked Moses to consecrate the Israelites before they met him on Mount Sinai for the giving of the commandments. Only Moses was permitted to go to the top of the mountain to

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<sup>188</sup> Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and all that night the LORD drove the sea back with a strong east wind and turned it into dry land. The waters were divided,<sup>22</sup> and the Israelites went through the sea on dry ground, with a wall of water on their right and on their left.<sup>23</sup> The Egyptians pursued them, and all Pharaoh's horses and chariots and horsemen followed them into the sea.<sup>24</sup> During the last watch of the night the LORD looked down from the pillar of fire and cloud at the Egyptian army and threw it into confusion.<sup>25</sup> He made the wheels of their chariots come off so that they had difficulty driving. And the Egyptians said, "Let's get away from the Israelites! The LORD is fighting for them against Egypt."<sup>26</sup> Then the LORD said to Moses, "Stretch out your hand over the sea so that the waters may flow back over the Egyptians and their chariots and horsemen."<sup>27</sup> Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and at daybreak the sea went back to its place. The Egyptians were fleeing toward it, and the LORD swept them into the sea.<sup>28</sup> The water flowed back and covered the chariots and horsemen—the entire army of Pharaoh that had followed the Israelites into the sea. Not one of them survived.<sup>29</sup> But the Israelites went through the sea on dry ground, with a wall of water on their right and on their left. [Exodus 14:21-29]

meet God. The rest of the people were warned not to go up the mountain or touch the foot of it so that they would not die.

**Q: The text tells us that after the Israelites left Egypt and crossed the River Jordan they were given the commandments on Mount Sinai. What do you consider the relevance of such commandments?**

*Answer: The commandments helped the Israelites to know God's likes and dislikes.*

*Answer: The commandments helped to maintain order and discipline among the Israelites.*

*Answer: The commandments served as a covenant between God and Israel. Obedience to God meant blessings from God in return.*

**Q: According to the text, the Israelites consecrated themselves before meeting God on Mount Sinai. What do you think was the reason behind this ritual of cleansing?**

*Answer: God is holy and we must come into his presence with clean hearts.*

*Answer: We must wash our sins off before coming to the presence of the holy God.*

### **Exodus 20:1-17 - The Decalogue**

Exodus 20:1-17 contains the commandments that were given to the Israelites. The passage reads: *You shall have no other gods before me; you shall not make for yourself an idol in form of anything; you shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God. Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Honour your father and your mother; you shall not murder; you shall not kill; you shall not commit adultery; you shall not steal; you shall not give false testimony against your neighbour; and you shall not covet your neighbour's house, wife, maidservant or manservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour*[NRSV].

**Q: Is there any ritual among the Tiv that is similar to that which the Israelites performed before meeting God on Mount Sinai?**

*Answer: Yes, the Tiv also have certain **akombo**, i.e. emblems that require people who are not initiated into a particular cult to be washed and to remove their shoes before entering into the shrines meant for such emblems.*



**Answer:** *Worshippers or practitioners of **adzov**, sprites or destiny changers, require cleansing before entering the place the **adzov** emblems are kept to avoid defiling their holiness.*

**Q: Are there central laws guiding the social, cultural, and religious lives of the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv do not have formal laws with penalties attached to them as the Exodus people who also had law courts. However, Tiv people subscribed to the same laws prescribed to the Exodus people.*

**Answer:** *Swem has prescribed laws that are similar to those in Exodus and these guide the Tiv.*

**Q: Which of the commandments is most relevant to the Tiv tradition? Give reasons.**

**Answer:** *The third commandment is important because if you mention the name of the **adzov** (destiny changers or sprites) in vain, then they would curse you since they act in place of God on earth.*

**Answer:** *The tenth commandment is important because if you covet your neighbour's property, according to Tiv people, you will covet the meat sacrificed to idols or cultic emblems and the idols will seize you in return.*

**Answer:** *The seventh commandment is important because if you are found of adultery, you will not eat, go to war, and associate with people.*

**Answer:** *The sixth is important because if you kill the blood of the deceased shall be upon you.*

**Answer:** *The ninth commandment is important because if you bear false witness against someone, Swem will curse you, your face, legs, stomach, and hands will swell and eventually you will die.*

## **TURAN CLAN**

### **Exodus 14:21-29**

The above passage is about rescue, that is, how God helped the Israelites to cross the Red Sea on the dry ground and destroyed the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh that were pursuing the Israelites. Moses was the leader of the group through whom God did all the wonders in Egypt, at the Red Sea and during the Wilderness Wandering of the Israelites.

**Q: Do you find any similarity between the Exodus narrative and the migration experience of the Tiv people?**

*Answer: Yes, it is the exact story of the migration and origin of Tiv that is recorded in Exodus.*

*Answer: Tiv people crossed the River **Mkoomon** at the back of a green snake, **ikyarem**, just as the Israelites did cross the Red Sea on dry ground.*

*Answer: The Tiv had Karagbe as their leader just as Moses was the leader of the Exodus people.*

*Answer: The Tiv had Swem as their law book while the Israelites had the Ten Commandments.*

*Answer: Only Karagbe went on Mount Swem to collect the Swem pot just as Moses went to Sinai in Exodus.*

**Q: What does the text tell you about God?**

*Answer: God is the mighty warrior and saviour of his people.*

*Answer: God takes the side of the oppressed and destroys the oppressors.*

*Answer: God is gracious to Israel as he is to the Tiv people.*

### **Exodus 19:10-20 - On Mount Sinai**

In Exodus 19:10-20, God asked Moses to consecrate the people of Israel and prepare them to meet him on Mount Sinai for the giving of the commandments. The people were warned not to touch or go near the mountain. They waited at the foot of the mountain while Moses went up to meet God on top of the Mountain.<sup>189</sup>

**Q: According to the text, the Israelites consecrated themselves before meeting God on Mount Sinai. What do you think was the reason behind this ritual of cleansing?**

*Answer: God is holy and we must come to his presence with clean hearts.*

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<sup>189</sup> <sup>10</sup>And the Lord said to Moses, “Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow. Have them wash their clothes <sup>11</sup>and be ready by the third day, because on that day the LORD will come down on Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people. <sup>12</sup> put limits for the people around the mountain and tell them, ‘Be careful that you do not go up the mountain or touch the foot of it. Whoever touches the mountain shall surely be put to death. <sup>13</sup>He shall surely be stoned or shot with arrows; not a hand is to be laid on him. Whether man or animal, he shall not be permitted to live.’ Only when the ram’s horn sounds a long blast may they go up to the mountain.” <sup>14</sup> After Moses had gone down the mountain to the people, he consecrated them, and they washed their clothes. <sup>15</sup> Then he said to the people, “Prepare yourselves for the third day. Abstain from sexual relations.” <sup>16</sup> On the morning of the third day, there was thunder and lightning, with a thick cloud over the mountain, and a very loud trumpet blast. Everyone in the camp trembled. <sup>17</sup> Then Moses led the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they stood at the foot of the mountain. <sup>18</sup> Mount Sinai was covered with smoke, because the LORD descended on it in fire. The smoke billowed up from it like smoke from a furnace, the whole mountain trembled violently, <sup>19</sup> and the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder. Then Moses spoke and the voice of God answered him [*Exodus 19:10-20*].

**Answer:** *We must be clean before we can approach the holy God.* The older women in the focus group within the age bracket of 61+ years said that in the past, their husbands treated their menstruating women in a similar way. The women were restricted from having any close contact with men, idols, shrines and drinking wells for fear of defilement. They added that hunters and men who were preparing for war were also prohibited from having any sexual intercourse with their wives and other women before attending to their respective functions lest they bear ill luck, and are killed in war or in the bush by wild animals. This, they said, is similar to the cleansing ritual to meet God at Sinai in the book of Exodus.

**Q: Is there any ritual among the Tiv people that is similar to that which the Israelites performed before meeting God on Mount Sinai?**

**Answer:** *Yes, Tiv people who use akombo (cultic emblem) do require people seeking treatment or initiation into such akombo cult to perform cleaning rituals before they are initiated as members.*

**Answer:** *Some emblems require that people enter places where such emblems or idols are kept without their shoes to maintain purity.*

**Answer:** *The Tiv do not have formal laws with penalties attached to them as the Exodus people who also had law courts. However, Tiv people subscribed to the same laws prescribed to the Exodus people.*

**Answer:** *Swem has prescribed laws that are similar to those in Exodus and these guide the Tiv.*

**Q: The text tells us that after the Israelites left Egypt and crossed the River Jordan, they were given the commandments on Mount Sinai. What do you consider the relevance of such commandments?**

**Answer:** *The commandments serve as a guide or mirror to the Israelites.*

**Answer:** *The commandments help to maintain order among the Israelites.*

**Answer:** *God's likes and dislikes are prescribed in the commandments.*

### **Exodus 20:1-17 - The Decalogue**

In Exodus 20:1-17, God gave the Israelites the Ten Commandments beginning with the commandment not to have any other gods than God. Others are: *You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything; you shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God. Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Honour your father and your mother; you shall not murder;*

*you shall not kill; you shall not commit adultery; you shall not steal; you shall not give false testimony against your neighbour; and you shall not covet your neighbour's house, wife, maidservant or manservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour.*<sup>190</sup>

**Q: Which of the commandments is most relevant to the Tiv tradition? Give reasons.**

**Answer:** *The third commandment is important because if you mention the name of the **adzov** (destiny changers or sprites) in vain, then they would curse you since they act in place of God on earth.*

**Answer:** *The tenth commandment is important because if you covet your neighbour's property, according to the Tiv people, you will covet the meat sacrificed to idols or their cultic emblems and the idols will seize you in return.*

**Answer:** *The seventh commandment is important because if you are caught in adultery, you will not eat, go to war, or associate with people.*

**Answer:** *The sixth is important because if you kill a person, the blood of the deceased will be upon you.*

**Answer:** *The ninth commandment is important because if you bear false witness against another, Swem will curse you and you will die of swollen face, leg, and stomach.*

### **A3.4 Structured interviews with the Masev clan and Ipav clan**

#### **MASEV CLAN**

**Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

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<sup>190</sup> *And God spoke all these words:* <sup>2</sup> *"I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery.* <sup>3</sup> *"You shall have no other gods before me.* <sup>4</sup> *"You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below.* <sup>5</sup> *You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me,* <sup>6</sup> *but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments.* <sup>7</sup> *"You shall not misuse the name of the LORD your God, for the LORD will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.* <sup>8</sup> *"Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy.* <sup>9</sup> *Six days you shall labor and do all your work,* <sup>10</sup> *but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the LORD your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your manservant or maidservant, nor your animals, nor the alien within your gates.* <sup>11</sup> *For in six days the LORD made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the LORD blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy.* <sup>12</sup> *"Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the LORD your God is giving you.* <sup>13</sup> *"You shall not murder.* <sup>14</sup> *"You shall not commit adultery.* <sup>15</sup> *"You shall not steal.* <sup>16</sup> *"You shall not give false testimony against your neighbor.* <sup>17</sup> *"You shall not covet your neighbor's house. You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his manservant or maidservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor" (Exodus 20:1-17).*

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga in Africa* - answer by respondents in the age bracket of 61-100 years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of God in Africa* - answer by two male respondents in the age bracket 40-60 years, who have formal education, are primary school teachers, and are Christians from the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal churches.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are the Masev, Ihyarev and Nongov* - answer by respondents above 71 years of age who were non-Christians residing in rural areas and were local farmers.

**Probing question:** *Does your definition of who the Tiv people are define you as an individual?*

**Answer:** *“Yes, it does,”* - answer generated from respondents between ages 40 and 100 years. They added that knowing who they are as well as being able to trace their genealogy from two generations backwards is a pride to them. In a sense, the knowledge assures them that they are not slaves but children of a renowned African from Congo. The women in this group emphasized that it is a pride to know that one is a descendant of a particular person. One elderly woman in the age bracket of 61-70 years added that, when a man loves his wife, he shows it by calling her by her father’s name or her clan name (e.g. *wan Takurukuku*, i.e. daughter of Takurukuku; or *wan Masev*, i.e. daughter of Masev).

**Probing question:** *Why are the Tiv people fond of asking where one comes from particularly when they are meeting the person for the first time?*

**Answers:** The respondents shared common views on this question irrespective of their social status in the society. Their answer was that because the Tiv want to establish a close blood relationship with one another they always inquire after the strangers’ identity to be sure of the part of Tivland to which they belong.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are cautious not to marry a blood relative; thus, inquiring where a stranger in their midst has come from serves to guide against such a mistake.* The most elderly people between 70 and 100 years added that because the Tiv are warriors, they want to know whether the stranger is from an enemy clan for the sake of safety. The researcher also established that culture is very important to the Tiv and issues of security and also count with the people.

**Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Congo, a fertile place, to Swem, another fertile place, where they settled for a long time before migrating to Benue where they are now* - answer by the

majority of male and female respondents above 71 years old who resided mostly in the rural areas and were non-civil servants.

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue* - answer by male and female respondents between 40 and 71 years of age.

**Probing question:** *What is the main feature that sustains Tiv culture even though many non-Tiv tribes surround them?*

**Answer:** *The Tiv have one common language that is spoken and understood by all members.* They also have a unique mode of dressing, as well as cultural dances, ritual performances, farming systems, and so forth, which are different from those of other tribes. All these portray their culture and identity.

**Q:** **Could you say something about the Tiv festival you last attended?**

**Answer:** Six respondents in the age bracket of 40-61 years said that they attended the Tiv Day Celebration. This is an annual celebration commemorating their victories and independence during and after their wandering stage from Congo to Swem to the Benue valley in Nigeria. It is a national festival that is attended by Tiv people from all over the world. Non-Tiv are also welcome to attend and witness the cultural display by the Tiv people.

**Answer:** Two respondents in the age group of 71-85 years attended the *adzov* festival (worship of sprites or unseen spirits). The idea of this festival also emanated from the migration episode of the Tiv from Swem where it is believed that *adzov* (unseen spirits) gave them a pot also called "Swem" containing herbs and ashes for healing/protection and laws to guide them throughout their wanderings.

**Answer:** Three of the respondents between ages 40 and 70 years attended the Tiv *Kwagghir* (puppet art performance in Tiv). This performance, they said, reminds them of the Tiv culture and heritage.

**Answer:** One Christian woman between 40 and 60 years of age attended a church wedding.

**Probing question:** *Are the festivals important to you?*

**Answer:** Respondents answered 'yes' to the question claiming that the festivals are important to them since they are all connected to Tiv narratives of origin and migration. They also said that the festivals have parallels in the biblical Passover since both depict elements of identity.

**Probing question:** *If the festivals are important to you, how do they influence your life as a Christian Tiv man/woman?*

**Answer:** Answers generated here from respondents with Christian background indicate that the festivals are important to them since they serve as a commemoration of the wandering episode of the Tiv and their victories just as the the Passover festival did to the biblical Israelites. One of the respondents said Tiv Christians have much to learn from the Tiv festivals since they could help them to understand the culture of the Tiv as it relates to the biblical Israelites.

**Q: Do you know about the Tiv Day celebration, New Yam festival, marriage ceremony, and adzov?**

**Answers:** Six respondents in the age bracket of 40-71+ years expressed their knowledge of the Tiv Day Celebration, which they said they had personally attended previously. The celebration is a national festival of the Tiv that is aimed at promoting Tiv culture and unity. Cultural dances, songs, and other performances are staged during the festival. In a way, the activities all reflect the identity of the Tiv people.

**Answer:** *Yam festival is done at the family level where individual family heads set aside a day to celebrate their first farm produce.* Respondents claim that the yam festival is similar to the Passover in Egypt that was celebrated at the family level and restricted to the Israelites only. It reminds the Tiv of their origin and identity as children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga who once migrated from Congo to Swem in search of a fertile soil for farming. The festival takes place in the evening at sunset and all the food prepared has to be eaten up that evening.

**Answer:** Few elderly respondents above 71 years said the *adzov* make up a ritual that was given to them from Swem Mountain by unseen spirits. This ritual marked the beginning of the Tiv's knowledge of the God in the sky who led them out of Congo and took them through their wandering episode to inherit the Benue province where they are at present.

**Answer:** Most of the respondents noted that traditional marriage ceremonies remain an ongoing practice among the Tiv. Even among Tiv Christians, marriages are celebrated traditionally before church weddings. When one marries a wife, he would bring her home in the evening accompanied by singers and dancers. The celebration would continue the whole night. In the morning, an animal is slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled on the doorpost where the new wife dwells as a sign that bachelorhood has been celebrated and that illegal sexual relationship that might have existed between the bachelor and others is cut off since he is married now.

Respondents claim that traditional marriage is more of a family feast while church wedding is a public feast.

**Answer:** One of the respondents elaborated on the celebration of the *Tiv Kwagghir* saying, “it was a common practice among the Tiv to sit with their families at leisure hours particularly at night to tell stories featuring animals, which were largely stories of the history of origin and migration of the Tiv.” In this way, it was easy to sustain the culture and norms of the people as such stories were told to children. In later years, beginning from 1968, the stories were acted out on stage by Tiv people in colourful costumes and accompanied by dancing. Whenever the *Kwagghir* is staged, it portrays the custom of Tiv people in drama form.

**Q: What impact do the festivals have on Tiv identity?**

**Answer:** Respondents between 40 and 71 years unanimously answered that the festivals promote the identity of the Tiv and that they help in retelling their origin and migration stories in practical terms. They also serve as a means of retelling their past stories of origin, migration, culture, and religious practices to younger generation in practical ways. In a sense, this makes them proud of their own culture, which they hold in high esteem above other cultures.

**Q: Have you participated in any or all of the festivals this year?**

**Answer:** Christian Tiv men and women from the Reformed church tradition in the age group of 50-61 years said they participated in the Tiv Day Celebration but not in *kwagghir* or *adzov*. Since the church doctrine prohibits members from public participation in things that are not, they are forbidden to attend or participate in most of the Tiv celebrations to avoid church discipline or excommunication. Some Tiv Christians from other denominations however said that they have participated in almost all of the abovementioned Tiv festivals and rituals without any inhibitions. Such actions constitute part of the identity crises that is brewing between the Tiv Christians who are participating in all rituals and the Christian Tiv who try to strike a balance between their identity as Tiv and as Christians.

**Q: From where do you think the Tiv people developed the idea of such festivals?**

**Answer:** Respondents above 71 years old said Tiv got the idea of their rituals from *idzov* (unseen spirits of the dark world). They *idzov* gave the Tiv everything they needed to keep them united and maintain their identity right from their migration from Swem. Other respondents between 40 and 70 years old said they have developed these ideas through collective thinking and practices.



Few respondents within the same age group however differed claiming that the Tiv borrowed most of their ideas on ritual practices and festivals from other neighbouring tribes.

With the above responses, the researcher was able to ascertain extent to which the Tiv understand their narrative of origin and identity and the way their knowledge of rituals and festivals help them to understand and interpret the Passover in the Exodus tradition.

## **IPAV CLAN**

### **Q: Who are the Tiv people?**

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of Takurukuku Anyamazenga in Africa* - answer by respondents in the age group of 40-71+ years.

**Answer:** *The Tiv are children of God in Africa* - answer by people in the age group of 40-60 years.

### **Probing question: Does your definition of Tiv people define you as an individual?**

**Answer:** *Yes it does. Knowing who we are and where we came from gives us much pride and security, that is, we are human beings with a genealogy and not animals or slaves.*

### **Q: Where did the Tiv people come from?**

**Answer:** According to seven respondents in this clan in the age group of 50-71+ years who were an assortment of Christians and non-Christians, as well as self-employed and government workers, the Tiv migrated from Congo, a fertile place, to Swem, another fertile place, where they settled for a long time before migrating to Benue where they are now.

**Answer:** *The Tiv migrated from Swem to Benue* - answer by male and female respondents between 40 and 60 years of age.

### **Probing question: What is the main feature that sustains the Tiv culture despite that many non-Tiv tribes surround them?**

**Answer:** The Tiv are united by a common language spoken and understood by all members. They have also maintained their unique dressing mode, eating style, farming system, cultural dances, songs and performance arts such as the *Kwagghir*. All these differentiate Tiv people from other surrounding peoples.

### **Q: Could you say something about the Tiv festival you last attended?**

**Answer:** Seven respondents in the age bracket of 40-71 years said that they attended the Tiv Day Celebration and church weddings. They explained that the Tiv Day Celebration is an annual

celebration commemorating the deliverance of the Tiv from the hands of their enemies. It also commemorates the inheritance of the Benue valley as a permanent home of the Tiv people. It is a national festival that is attended by the Tiv all over the world. It aims at uniting Tiv people and fostering peace in the society.

**Answer:** Five respondents in the age group of 40-70 years attended the Tiv *Kwagghir* (puppet arts performance). They said the performance reminds them of Tiv culture and heritage.

**Probing question:** *Are the festivals important to you?*

**Answer:** Respondents said the festivals are important to them because they remind them of their narratives of origin and migration. They also help them to learn from the experiences and culture of the Tiv people, which in turn is a good step in identity formation. Some of the Christian respondents said that the festivals help them to understand God's dealing with humanity and to compare their culture with that of the biblical Israelites, thereby helping them to understand the Bible better.

**Probing question:** *If the festivals are important to you, how does that influence your life as a Christian Tiv man/woman?*

**Answer:** Respondents answered with enthusiasm thus: "*the festivals are important to us because they help us to recollect the pains that our ancestors experienced, which, in our time, serve as a mark of our identity and of our permanent home.*" Some of the respondents with Christian background said that the Tiv festivals are similar to those of the biblical Israelites. Thus, participating in the festivals create a sense of understanding of the Passover that the Israelites used to commemorate their liberation from slavery in Egypt.

**Q: Do you know anything about the Tiv Day Celebration, New Yam festival, marriage ceremonies, and adzov?**

**Answer:** Seven respondents said the Tiv Day Celebration is a unity festival celebrated at the national level to promote Tiv culture and unity. Cultural dances, songs, and other performance arts are staged during the festival. The festival bolsters the national identity of the Tiv amidst many other peoples in Nigeria. In addition, the Tiv Day celebration symbolizes the biblical Passover celebrated by Israelites to honour God their saviour.

**Answer:** Respondents note that the New Yam festival continues at the family level although there are some modifications to it nowadays compared to the original mode of celebration. Some families buy drinks to add more weight to the celebration while some poor families that cannot

afford to slaughter an animal or buy drinks find other substitutes or just roast the yam for the family head to eat first before declaring the eating open to the entire family. Respondents also said the festival is similar to the Passover in Egypt that was celebrated at the family level and restricted to the Israelites. It reminds the Tiv of their origin and identity as children of Takuruku who once migrated from Congo to Swem in search of fertile soil for farm work. It also serves as a mark of thanksgiving to the sky God for the new yield.

**Answer:** *Adzov* is the cultic worship of unseen but influential spirits among the Tiv but the practice is prominent among traditional worshippers. The idea of *adzov* was cultivated among the Tiv from Swem where Karagbe claimed to have received the Swem pot containing laws of healing and cultural values for the Tiv people. At present, enlightened Tiv and Christians do not welcome *adzov*, as do the traditional Tiv worshippers. The researcher could ascertain the degree of the understanding of and participation *in adzov* of the members of the Ipav clan who are somewhat influenced by religious ideas, which are different from those of the Masev clan members who continue to believe strongly in the cultic practice of *adzov*.

**Answer:** On the issue of traditional marriage, the Ipav clan, like the Masev clan, affirms that the practice continues today although in a modified way by those with a Christian background. When a Tiv man married a wife, he would bring her home in the evening in the company of singers and dancers. The next morning an animal is slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled on the doorpost of the new bride's dwelling as sign that singleness has been discarded. Once a person sees blood on the doorpost, he/she would realize that a married lady lives inside and would not ask her or her husband for love.

**Answer:** Respondents in this group had mixed feelings about the *Kwagghir*. To some, *Kwagghir* is a good way of preserving Tiv culture and history of origin. Others especially those of the Reformed Christian tradition, said that Tiv *Kwagghir* is entertaining but it contains elements of magic and unexplainable manipulation of nature. Thus, they consider it as evil. Five respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years indicated that they attended the annual Tiv *Kwagghir* recently while others said they are bound by Christian values not to attend such forums. Those who said they are prohibited by Christian values were Christians from the Reformed faith tradition and the Pentecostal movement. The researcher observed that religion and culture appear to be in conflict as those respondents with Christian backgrounds are influenced by their context in their understanding of the Tiv culture and values.

The Ipav clan, being the major missionary station for Christianity among the Tiv people, is somehow influenced by Christian doctrines, which forbid their participation in Tiv rituals and festivals. Nevertheless, Tiv cultural dances, songs, *Kwaghhir*, etc., help to recall the past heritage of the Tiv people.

### **A3.5 Focus group interviews with the Masev clan and the Ipav clan**

#### **MASEV CLAN**

##### **Exodus 12:1-28**

The above passage describes the celebration of the Passover under the leadership of Moses who was instructed by God.

##### **Q: Are you familiar with the Passover feast?**

**Answer:** Respondents in the age group of 60-100 years said to them as Tiv people the Passover is comparable to *kwan nahan* (ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor or malnutrition commonly found among Tiv children).

**Answer:** Other respondents between the ages of 40 and 60 years said the Passover is similar to the Tiv Day Celebration or the annual Tiv *Kwaghhir*, which is a public festival just like the Tiv Day Celebration, which reflects the identity and culture of the Tiv people. Elderly respondents above 71 years old said the Passover is *adzov* an annual thanksgiving offering to unseen spirits for the protection and good harvest enjoyed by the people.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents compared the Passover to the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the sky God for granting fertility and bountiful harvest. Like the Passover meal, the New Yam celebration is restricted to the family and to those who have dwelled long in the family as sojourners or strangers.

##### **Probing question: *When last did you participate in the Passover feast?***

Answers: Christian respondents in the age group of 40-60 years said they have celebrated the Passover on a monthly basis in church in the form of Holy Communion. Others said they attended the Tiv Day end of the year celebration while others said they recently partook in the *Kwaghhir* festival at the clan level. The rest of the respondents said they participated in the New Yam festival in September.

**Probing question: *Does the Passover have any bearing on your identity as a Tiv Christian man/woman?***

**Answer:** Most of the Christians respondents said the Passover reminds them of God's salvation to humankind. It also reminds them of their identity, which is distinct from those of other Nigerian peoples. Participating in the annual Tiv Day Celebration or New Yam festival, in a sense, reminds them of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific act and providence to Israelites. They also said the Passover helps them to unite as a people or a family cared for by God.

**Answer:** The non-Christian respondents in the age group of 60-100 years, on the other hand, said the biblical Passover reminds them that they are also children of the God in the sky. As they attend the Tiv Day and *Kwagghir* celebrations to dance, sing, and engage in other performances, they are reminded of the wonders of the Passover in Egypt. They believe that they are the same people that are referred to in the Bible by a different name, Israel.

**Q: Rethink or interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in the light of the Tiv traditions of *adzov*, New Yam festival, Tiv Kwagghir and Tiv Day Celebration.**

The researcher reminds the people of the Passover celebration of Exodus 12 to refresh their memories. Answers generated here were analyzed for possible connections between the biblical Passover to the Tiv ritual tradition.

**Answer: *Adzov*** - Worshipers of *adzov* (spirits of the underworld or unseen spirits) believe that their god is similar to the heavenly God who hates evil and deserves sacrifices. Every year, they would go to a certain place with pure white lambs to sacrifice to the *adzov*. Only the leaders who are regarded as their priests performed the ritual on behalf of celebrants. The animals are killed and the blood sprinkled on the wooden gods, *adzov*, as a mark of salvation for all that partake in the celebration. They then spray some perfume on all participants and on the meat before eating. Everything has to be consumed in the same place and whatever remains will be left there for vultures to consume. According to the respondents, this ritual also sought salvation, peace, and liberation from the forces of evil and this is similar to the Exodus Passover that was meant for the liberation of the people of God from slavery.

**Answer: *Yam festival*** - The New Yam festival is celebrated among the Tiv at the family level in a similar way to the Exodus Passover. The meal is eaten in the evening at sunset and the blood of the animal is sprinkled on a stick or pot that is left on the farm as a mark of purifying the farm

for bountiful yield. The entire meal is eaten at once for it is believed that if any part is left the yams will never grow big enough (*akor a ile*). This ritual echoes the Passover of Exodus 12 in which the meal was eaten at twilight and consumed at once with the leftover burnt or buried. The use of blood in the Passover for salvation is similar to that of the yam festival in which the blood is meant to guarantee bountiful harvest that would liberate the Tiv from hunger. Moses led the people in celebrating the Passover just as elderly Tiv men lead their family members in celebrating the yam festival.

**Answer: *Kwaghhir*** (puppet art) - This is a drama set up by the Tiv to portray all essential elements of Tiv culture and values. Tiv politics, agriculture, religion, and economic activities are all acted out skilfully by the *Kwaghhir* group just like Western movies. The *Kwaghhir* conveys much of Tiv identity and it can be compared to the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 that brought to light the identity of Israelites as God's chosen people, who were distinct from other nations. The Tiv *Kwaghhir* festival is also celebrated once a year like the Passover of Exodus 12. Just as God, in the Exodus Passover, used nature to enact salvation for Israel and this reflects on their identity, in a similar way, the skilful man (*Tor Kwaghhir*) uses nature to act out the Tiv life situation and history as portrait of the Tiv identity.

**Answer: *Tiv Day Celebration***- this is an annual celebration like the Passover of Exodus 12. It is meant to enhance unity, peace, cultural values, and laws among the Tiv. It is the celebration of a people who had once suffered in the hands of their enemies when in search of freedom but are now free in their own land. On that day, Tiv sons and daughters come together to dance, sing, enjoy Tiv cultural music, and eat. The Tiv believe that the Exodus Passover is similar to the Tiv Day Celebration, which is a celebration of freedom for the people.

From the responses noted above, the researcher was able to ascertain the extent to which the Masev clan understood the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in their own context.

**Probing question: *Establish a link between a familiar Tiv festival and the Exodus origin and migration episode.***

**Answer:** Respondents said the Tiv *Kwaghhir* recounts the history and experiences of the Tiv people through performances. The *Kwaghhir* helps the Tiv to recollect their origin and migration stories through songs, proverbs, dances, etc., just as the Passover was celebrated to

commemorate the exit of the Israelites from Egypt, the wandering, and the inheritance of the Promised Land.

## **IPAV CLAN**

### **Exodus 14:21-29**

The Passover text of Exodus 12:1-28 was read aloud in Tiv to the respondents before they were reminded of their narratives of origin, migration, rituals and identity. Their previous knowledge was then used to test their biblical knowledge of the Passover of Exodus 12 as follows.

#### **Q: Are you familiar with the Passover feast?**

**Answer:** Respondents above 71 years old said the Passover is *kwan nahan* – a ritual meal prepared with grains, meat and oil for the treatment of kwashiorkor or malnutrition which is common among Tiv children. Others of the same age group said the Passover is *adzov* in which a thanks offering was made annually to unseen spirits for granting them protection and good harvest.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents in the age group of 50-71+ years said the Passover is Tiv Day Celebration and the Tiv *kwagghir* both of which are public festivals staged to celebrate Tiv identity and culture just as the Passover of Exodus 12.

**Answer:** Respondents from the Christian tradition mention the Holy Communion, which is celebrated in a similar way to the Passover of Exodus 12.

**Answer:** Some of the respondents above 60 years old said the Passover is the New Yam festival that is celebrated annually at the family level to thank the sky God for granting fertility and bountiful yields. The meal just like the Passover meal is restricted to the family and to sojourners or strangers who have dwelled long in the family.

#### **Probing question: *When last did you participate in the Passover feast?***

**Answers:** Respondent between the ages of 40 and 100 years with Christian background said they celebrated the Passover on monthly basis in church in form of the Holy Communion. Others who have attended the annual Tiv Day Celebration also claimed that it is their Passover celebration. Some respondents, on the other hand, said they have attended the *kwagghir* festival at the clan level, recently, and it is similar to the biblical Passover. The rest of the respondents said they participated in the New Yam festival in September; and this, to them, is a family Passover.

**Probing question:** *Does the Passover have any impact on your identity as a Tiv Christian man/woman?*

**Answer:** To some of the respondents who were Christians from different denominations, the Passover reminds them of God's salvation to humankind. It also reminds them of their identity and that they were different from other Nigerian peoples. Partaking in the annual Tiv Day or New Yam celebration, reminds them, in a sense, of the biblical Passover that was celebrated in commemoration of God's salvific act and providence to Israelites. They also said the Passover helped them to unite as people of one family who are taken care of by God.

**Answer:** Traditionalists or non-Christian respondents in the age bracket of 60-100 years said the biblical Passover is similar to some of their festivals and ritual performances such as the Tiv Day and *kwagghir* celebration. They believe that they are also God's children and are doing what the Israelites also did.

**Q: Re-think or interpret the Passover tradition of Exodus 12 in light of the Tiv traditions of *adzov*, New Yam festival, Tiv *kwagghir* and Tiv Day Celebration.**

**Answer:** To worshippers of *adzov*, the biblical Passover meant the same thing only performed by different people at different times and places. The lamb is used in *adzov* just as in the biblical Passover. The biblical Passover was performed under the leadership of Moses just as the *adzov* ceremony is led by *Tor Idzov* (literally the chief of the unseen spirits). To its worshippers, *adzov* is god just as Yahweh is God to Israel and to Christians. In addition, the Passover was done to honour God just as the *adzov* are worshipped in honour of unseen spirits or gods. The *adzov* ceremony is performed at the family, clan and national levels just as the Passover of Exodus 12. At the national level, it is held at Swem Mountain where all worshippers have to go to worship the great *Idzov* who gave the Tiv a pot during their migration episode from Swem. This is parallel to the Passover that was centralized at a later stage in the temple in Jerusalem.

**Answer:** The Passover in Egypt parallels the New Yam festival since both were celebrated at the family level in the evening at sunset with only family members.

**Answer:** The Passover in Egypt parallels the Tiv *Kwagghir*, which is a display of Tiv magical arts and culture. Both the Passover of Egypt and the Tiv *Kwagghir* involved the manipulation of nature for a particular effect. This in a sense portrays the identity of the performer as a great or unique person. In the case of the Passover, God the performer, through Moses, brought ten plagues on Egypt before he finally liberated Israel from slavery. The *Tor Kwagghir* (chief of



puppet art performance) leads the magical performance to declare the identity of the Tiv as a great people in Nigeria.

**Probing question:** *Establish a link between a familiar Tiv festival and the Exodus origin and migration episode.*

**Answer:** Respondents claimed that at the national level, *adzov* ceremonies are held on Swem Mountain, enabling the Tiv to recollect their memories of origin and migration. This, according to respondents above 71 years old, is similar to the Passover that commemorates the origin and migration of Israelites from Egypt as God's chosen and covenant people.

From the above responses, one could ascertain the extent to which members of the Ipav clan among whom Christian missionaries first settled, understood and interpreted Exodus in their own context. Most of the responses generated from this clan were influenced by the identity of the respondents as practising Tiv Christians who were in the majority and ordinary Tiv Church goers in the minority. The researcher then understood that the advent of Christianity in 1911 in this clan had influenced the ideology of men and women who are middle-aged and older.