

THE RECENT DISCUSSION ON THE FORMATION OF THE PENTATEUCH/HEXATEUCH

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Abstract: *The article aims at introducing into the recent discussion on the formation of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch, which has taken place since the seventies of the last century mainly in Europe and especially in Germany. Observed from other parts of the world, it seems to be rather unclear and difficult to see through. Therefore, an attempt will be made, to investigate this history of research critically from methodological and factual points of view in order to get some indications for its meaningful development. Especially the concepts of Peter Weimar, Erich Zenger, Reinhard G. Kratz, Erhard Blum, and Eckart Otto will be discussed, and my own proposal will be drafted.¹*

1. THE CRISIS OF SOURCE THEORY

As well known, the Source Theory, which had been developed by Karl Heinrich Graf, Abraham Kuenen, and Julius Wellhausen in the last third of the nineteenth century, dominated the scholarly discussion on the emergence of the Pentateuch for about one century.² After several different forerunners, it was Wellhausen, who, in 1878, established it in its classical form, according to which the literary history of the Pentateuch was conceived as the subsequent emergence of three different, separate, but parallel literary works, which were redactionally combined. To sketch it just roughly: First originated the Yahwist in the ninth century BCE, next the Elohist in the eighth century; both were integrated by the so called Yehowist in the seventh century. It was he or a later redactor, who included Deuteronomy in the emerging Pentateuch. Finally, the Priestly

1. An earlier version of this paper was originally read in 2009 at the University of Tel-Aviv. It was first published in Hebrew under the title גישות במחקר המודרני של התורה – תהליך צמיחתה של התורה (The formation of the Torah: Approaches to the recent research) in *Beit Mikra* 55.2 (2010): 5–38. An instructive overview of the modern research on the Pentateuch has recently been given by T. Römer, “Der Pentateuch,” in *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments: Neuausgabe* (ed. W. Dietrich, H.-P. Mathys, T. Römer, and R. Smend; Theologische Wissenschaft 1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), pp. 53–166.

2. Compare, for example, K. H. Graf, “Die s.g. Grundschrift des Pentateuchs,” *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1.4 (1869): 466–477; A. Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch* (London: Macmillan, 1886); J. Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (3rd ed.; Berlin: Reimer 1899; reprint, 4th ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963).

Source originated in the sixth century and was combined with the pre-priestly Pentateuch during the fifth century by a final redactor.

Since the sixties and seventies of the last century, however, this theory got more and more into difficulties. Frederick V. Winnet in Canada, John van Seters in the United States, and Rolf Rendtorff in Germany criticized the Three-Source Hypothesis because of its exaggerated use of literary critical method and its odd mechanical concept of text compilation.³ Often the texts of the Pentateuch were cut into small pieces, just for the reason of gaining three parallel narrative threads required by the theory. Generally the concept of editors or redactors who should have worked likewise with scissors and glue became highly questionable; in many cases the concept of subsequent additions or revisions of an existent text body seemed to be more appropriate. Finally the early date of the Yahwist was questioned, because many texts ascribed to him, such as the dialogue between Abraham and God about Sodom (Gen 18:23–33a) or the call of Moses in Exodus 3–4*, reminded of much later literature such as Job or the prophets and the Deuteronomists.⁴

While a group of scholars tried to defend the Source Theory by conceding a higher portion of later additions to the sources,⁵ other scholars proposed a later dating of the Yahwist,⁶ or converted it in direction to a supplement theory.⁷ Others heavily reduced the body of sources in favor

3. Compare, for example, F. V. Winnet, "Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 (1965): 1–19; J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); R. Rendtorff, "Der 'Jahwist' als Theologe? Zum Dilemma der Pentateuchkritik," *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974* (ed. G. W. Anderson, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 158–166.

4. The asterisk with biblical references indicates that not all of the verses within the range are from the stated layer.

5. See, for example, W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus: 1. Teilband: Exodus 1–6* (BK 2.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988); L. Schmidt, *Das 4. Buch Mose: Numeri, Kapitel 10, 11–36, 13* (ATD 7.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); H. Sebass, *Numeri: Teilband 2* (BK 4.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002); H. Sebass, *Numeri: Teilband 3* (BK 4.3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2007); A. Graupner, *Der Elohist: Gegenwart und Wirksamkeit des transzendenten Gottes in der Geschichte* (WMANT 97; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002).

6. See, for example, H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976); M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist: Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten beider Literaturwerke* (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 67; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981); H. Vorländer, *Die Entstehungszeit des Jehowistischen Geschichtswerks* (Europäische Hochschulschriften Theologie 109; Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1978); J. Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992); J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus–Numbers* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994).

7. See, for example, J. Van Seters, *Abraham*; H. C. Schmitt, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte: Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik* (BZAW 154; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980); C. Levin, *Der Jahwist* (FRLANT 157; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

of several redactional layers.⁸ Weimar and Zenger relinquished the separation of the Yahwist and the Elohist in favor for an expanded Yehowist, which they called “Jerusalemite History.” Finally, an increasing group of present biblical scholars, especially in Germany, but also beyond, gave up the Three-Source Theory more or less completely and are looking for alternative models, which can explain the literary history of the Pentateuch better than that.⁹ Thus, while the Three-Source Theory is still acknowledged by many scholars in the United States, and even some Jewish scholars, who have been more reserved against it in the past, became ready to accept it.¹⁰ It is given up by a majority in Germany. In 2002 a book was published by some of those mentioned before with the programmatic title “Abschied vom Jahwisten,” which has appeared in a

8. Compare, for example, A. Reichert, “Der Jehowist und die sogenannten deuteronomistischen Erweiterungen im Buch Exodus” (Ph.D. diss., Tübingen, 1972); P. Weimar and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung* (SBS 75; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995); F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen* (OBO 45; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1982); J. Vermeulen, “La formation du Pentateuque à la lumière de l’exégèse historico-critique,” *RTL* 12 (1985): 324–346; M. Konkel, *Sünde und Vergebung: Eine Rekonstruktion der Redaktionsgeschichte der hinteren Sinaiperikope (Exodus 32–34) vor dem Hintergrund aktueller Pentateuchmodelle* (FAT 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

9. See E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984); E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* (BZAW 189; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990); D. M. Carr, *Reading Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996); R. G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (UTB 2157; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); J. C. Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch* (FRLANT 186; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); K. Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999); R. Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Studies in Biblical Literature 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), pp. 246–271; German edition: R. Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 7; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), pp. 191–209; E. Otto, “Pentateuch,” *RGG*⁴ 6 (2003): 1089–1102; R. Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte 3, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); J.-L. Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006); T. C. Römer, “Das Buch Numeri und das Ende des Jahwisten: Anfragen an die ‘Quellenscheidung’ im vierten Buch des Pentateuch,” in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J. C. Gertz, K. Schmid, and M. Witte; BZAW 315; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 215–231; C. Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus* (FAT II, 25; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

10. The small group of “New Documentarists“ is even offensively supporting it now in the new look, compare B. Schwartz, “La critica del Pentateuco nell’ebraismo e negli studiosi ebrei moderni,” in *La lettura ebraica delle Scritture* (ed. S. Sierra; Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane), pp. 433–463; J. S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

slightly different English version—including a question mark into the title—in the United States.¹¹

Of course, nevertheless, many textual observations made in connection with this theory remain true. This is especially true for distinguishing between priestly and non-priestly passages, which is mostly still valid. Apart from minor differences, the selection of the priestly material, which was determined by Theodor Nöldeke 1869 or Otto Eißfeldt 1922 is not disputed.¹² Likewise the literary reconstruction of the primeval history of Genesis 1–11 is still valid in many respects. Here two different parallel narrative threads are actually intermingled, probably by an editor; only some scholars are asking whether the whole non-priestly material can still be dated earlier than the priestly narrative.¹³ As is generally known, the Source Theory was developed from these first chapters of Genesis in the eighteenth century; from our present perspective it may have been its main error that one inferred that what has been proven true in those chapters would be likewise true for the rest of the Pentateuch.

But if we have a closer look at the classical Source Theory, it becomes apparent that it always had considerable difficulties. Distinguishing the three sources was possible with some degree of plausibility only from Genesis 12 to Exodus 18; from Exodus 19 onwards it became much more difficult; in the Mount Sinai pericope and in the book of Numbers never a broader consensus in ascribing the passages to the three sources was found. For the chapters Exodus 19–34, Erich Zenger has impressively documented the confusing diversity of results.¹⁴ Introducing his commentary on the book of Numbers, Noth already has made his famous statement that the book of Numbers taken for itself would not support the suggestion

11. J. C. Gertz, K. Schmid, and M. Witte, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (BZAW 315; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002); T. B. Dozeman and K. Schmid, eds., *A Farwell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (SBLSymS 34; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

12. See T. Nöldecke, “Die sg. Grundschrift des Pentateuch,” in *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (Kiel: Schwers’sche Buchhandlung, 1869); O. Eißfeldt, *Hexateuchsynopse: Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfange des Richterbuches* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich’sche Buchhandlung, 1922; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962).

13. Compare, for example, M. Witte, *Die biblische Urgeschichte: Redaktions- und theologisch-geschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Gen 1,1–11,26* (BZAW 365; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); M. Ameth, *Durch Adams Fall ganz verderbt: Studien zur Entstehung der alttestamentlichen Urgeschichte* (FRLANT 217; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

14. See E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie: Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1971), pp. 206–231.

of continuous sources, but rather an unsystematic collection of different pieces in accordance with a Fragment Hypothesis.¹⁵

Moreover, the book of Deuteronomy has ever been a foreign body in the Source Theory, because it constitutes no continuous document, but a partial addition to those sources. That only such a few verses of Deuteronomy could be ascribed to the priestly tradition (Deut 1:5; 32:49–52; 34:1*, 7–9)—in sharp contrast to the book of Numbers, where two thirds of which are priestly shaped—was always difficult to explain, especially after Wellhausen had dated P after Deuteronomy.¹⁶ Similar is true for the non-priestly redactional links (Deut 31:14–15, 23; 34:1*–6, 10–12). The question of why the book of Deuteronomy was only integrated in the Pentateuch so sparsely, the Source Theory could never answer. After Martin Noth had developed his thesis of a Deuteronomistic History,¹⁷ a possible answer could be given: Deuteronomy originally belonged to a different literary corpus, the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH: Deuteronomy 1–2 Kings 25). But it was exactly this thesis which heavily damaged the Source Theory. The Pentateuch was no longer to be seen as the result of complete sources, which comprised Israel's entire salvation history, but as an addition of two fragmentary blocs, the Tetrateuch and the book of Deuteronomy cut off from DtrH. That means that either the endings of the older sources, J and E, got lost, or never existed. In his review of the research history from 2003, Otto has pointed out that already Noth's DtrH hypothesis of the year 1943 dealt the Three-Source Hypothesis the deathblow.¹⁸

Finally, the range of the three sources always remained an issue of debate in the Source Theory. That the Elohist was only fragmentarily preserved, was mostly admitted; it perhaps started in Genesis 15, was clearly discernible just in Genesis 20–22 and then only found in some passages of the books of Exodus (3; 18?) and Numbers (20:14–21*; 21:21–31).¹⁹ Thus this source constituted always the weakest link in the hypothesis. Already in 1933 Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph questioned the Elohist

15. See M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri* (ATD 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 8.

16. Thus, strongly emphasized by E. Otto, "Pentateuch," p. 1094.

17. See M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), pp. 2–110.

18. See E. Otto, "Pentateuch," p. 1096.

19. Compare the listing of M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1948), pp. 38–39.

as a continuous source;²⁰ even my conservative teacher Claus Westermann regarded Genesis 20–22 just as a limited later supplement to the Abraham stories of Genesis 12–19*.²¹

The end of the Priestly Source is an open question up to now. It is still debated whether the original P-source (P^G) ends in Exodus 29 (Eckart Otto), or 40 (Thomas Pola, Reinhard G. Kratz), or Leviticus 9 (Erich Zenger), or Leviticus 16 (Christophe Nihan), or Deuteronomy 34 (Christian Frevel).²² Some scholars still prefer to determine its end in the book of Joshua.²³ The so-called priestly passages in Joshua together with the consideration that the salvation history told in the books of the Pentateuch would not have come to end without the book of Joshua, where the promised land was conquered, were the main reasons for the older scholars such as Nöldeke, Kuenen, and with hesitation also Wellhausen to suppose that not only P, but all the sources would run through the book of Joshua, although Nöldeke had already observed that the priestly passages in the book of Joshua were just isolated fragments and constituted no longer a continuous narrative.²⁴

Thus, it became common in the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth centuries to speak of a Hexateuch instead of a Pentateuch. Again, Noth's DtrH hypothesis questioned this wide extension of the Pentateuchal sources. In his commentary on Joshua, Noth already in 1938 had observed that the redactional unit of the book of Joshua was consti-

20. See P. Volz and W. Rudolph, *Der Elohists als Erzähler. Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik* (BZAW 63; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1933).

21. See C. Westermann, *Genesis: 2. Teilband: Genesis 12–36* (BK I.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), pp. 390–391.

22. Compare E. Otto, "Forschungen zur Priesterschrift," *Theologische Rundschau* 62.1 (1997): 1–50, esp. pp. 25–27; T. Pola, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift: Beobachtungen zur Literarkritik und Traditionsgeschichte von P^G* (WMANT 70; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995), pp. 343–349; R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, pp. 230–233; E. Zenger, "Die priesterliche Grundschrift (P⁸)," in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Zenger and C. Frevel; 5th ed.; Kohlhammer Studienbücher 1.1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), p. 164; C. Nihan, *Priestly Torah*, pp. 613–614; C. Frevel, "Ein vielsagender Abschied: Exegetische Blicke auf den Tod des Mose in Dtn 34,1–12," *BZ* (2001): 209–234; his position was still supported by E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken: Untersuchungen zur Komposition und Theologie der priesterlichen Urgeschichte* (SBS 112; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983), pp. 41–43.

23. Compare, for example, N. Lohfink, "Priesterschrift und Geschichte," in *Studien zum Pentateuch* (ed. N. Lohfink; SBAB 4; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), pp. 213–253, esp. pp. 222–224; E. A. Knauf, *Josua* (ZBK.AT 6; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), pp. 19–21;

24. See T. Nöldeke, "Grundschrift," pp. 94–95. I tried to show that the priestly passages in Joshua have to be regarded as alignments to the Pentateuch, which already presuppose the canonization of it, see R. Albertz, "The Canonical Alignment of the Book of Joshua," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), pp. 287–303.

tuted by a Deuteronomistic redaction and not by P or any other Pentateuchal sources.²⁵ Thus, also the debate, whether or not the book of Joshua belongs to the range of Pentateuchal sources questions the basic assumption of the Source Theory that the sources must have comprised the entire salvation story because this history seems to have some continuity with regards to content. But can we simply infer from material to literary continuity? Is it not also possible that different segments of the salvation story were literarily designed by different authors?

2. DISSOLVING THE UNREFLECTED COMBINATION OF THE TRADITION HISTORICAL APPROACH AND SOURCE THEORY

The critical review of the history of research on the Pentateuch of the twentieth century by Rendtorff and Otto has brought to light, that there happened a questionable conflation of methods, which has been veiled for a long time.²⁶ When Hermann Gunkel founded his form critical approach to the narratives of the book of Genesis, he just added his new method on the already existing Source Theory.²⁷ According to Gunkel, Genesis was a collection of sagas, whose extent and structure could be determined by the form critical method (curve of tension consisting of exposition, conflict, climax, and solution). Gunkel was able to show that these sagas originally were individual narratives in many cases, so called “*kleine Einheiten*” (small units), but that they were later arranged to smaller and larger composites, which Gunkel called “*Erzählkränze*,” before these composites were connected to a patriarchal story of some kind.²⁸ Gunkel was not aware that such a form critical and tradition historical model contradicted the older assumption of the Source Theory that the sources constituted continuous stories comprising the whole range of the Pentateuchal story more or less. He was able to combine both diverging conceptions by restricting the tradition historical growth to the oral phase of tradition, which must have predated the earliest source J. For Gunkel, the Yahwist was the collector and editor, who connected all the masses of the oral

25. See M. Noth, *Josua* (HAT 1/7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1938), p. viii.

26. See R. Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch* (BZAW 147; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), pp. 13–78; E. Otto, “Pentateuch,” p. 1095.

27. See H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (3rd ed.; Handkommentar zum Alten Testament I/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910; reprint, 7th ed. 1966), pp. lvi–xcii.

28. Compare H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, pp. li–liii, 214–217, 291–293.

Pentateuchal material with just one strike. With the first written source, the natural growth of narrative and legal traditions had come to an end.

This unreflected combination of two different methodical approaches led to three far reaching consequences, which continue to be effective until today. First, the dating of all the tradition historical growth in a period before the Yahwist provided those oral traditions with a very old age. Second, the form- and tradition historical method was restricted to the oral phase. Third, the possible later stages of the growth and accumulation of narrative and legal material were not really investigated, because the Source Theory was responsible for explaining the literal phase of tradition and seemed to provide an easy model for that.

Nevertheless, already in 1938 Gerhard von Rad had demonstrated that an application of the form- and traditional historical method to the literal phase of the Pentateuchal traditions could lead to new insights. In his study “Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch,” he applied the form critical criteria to the entire Pentateuch including the book of Joshua and discovered an important vertical structure of the material.²⁹ According to him, the center of the Hexateuch was constituted by the exodus-conquest tradition; this was complimented by the Sinai-tradition. In contrast to that, the patriarchal history constituted a tradition of its own, which was only partly related to exodus-conquest tradition (by the topic of the promised land); von Rad spoke here of an extension of the center, “Ausbau.” From that the primeval history can be distinguished as an almost independent tradition; von Rad called it a “porch” of the extended center, “Vorbau.” But this discovery, which anticipated recent insights that the primeval and the patriarchal history had been independent units each for a longer time and were integrated in the emerging Pentateuch not before the Priestly Source,³⁰ became ineffective under the dominance of the Source Theory.

According to Otto, archaeological insights in the likewise primitive social conditions of the Palestinian hill country during the Iron I period destroyed the unreflected synthesis of tradition historical approach with

29. See G. von Rad, “Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch,” in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (2nd ed.; Theologische Bücherei 8; München, Kaiser, 1958), pp. 9–86, especially pp. 58–75.

30. The longer independence of the primeval history was shown by F. Crüsemann, “Die Eigenständigkeit der Urgeschichte: Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion des ‘Jahwisten,’” in *Die Botschaft und die Boten: Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Jeremias and L. Perliitt; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), pp. 11–19, that of the patriarchal history by K. Schmidt, *Erzväter*, pp. 152–153, and J. C. Gertz, *Tradition*, pp. 357–366.

Source Theory, because they questioned the assumption that such a complicated growth and compilation of traditions could have taken place as early as Gunkel had meant.³¹ After it had turned out that it was no longer possible to restrict the growth and accumulation of narrative and legal traditions to the pre-monarchic period, but must be allowed to happen much longer, Rolf Rendtorff pointed out that the tradition historical approach constitutes an alternative model for explaining the emergence and growth of the Pentateuch, which competes with the Source Theory.³² In this new definition, the form- and tradition historical methodology comprises both the oral and the literal stage of tradition. Following Rendtorff, Erhard Blum elaborated in detail how Genesis 12–50 emerged step by step from a separate Jacob narrative, which was complimented by the Joseph story and interconnected with the Abraham-Lot and Isaac story by redactional links, without assuming Yahwistic or Elohist sources;³³ P was shown by Blum to be an almost editorial reshaping of the given patriarchal tradition, not an independent source.

Thus in the present discussion on the Pentateuch, two different and competing concepts are present. One concept presupposes that each source or redactional layer, because the Pentateuchal narrative constitutes a continuous narrative, contained more or less the entire salvation history, from the creation or the patriarchs up to the death of Moses or the conquest of the promised land. I would like to label this concept as the “highway model”; two, three, or more parallel roads run through the whole area and were later intermingled and reworked. Obviously this concept derives from the Source Theory, but it is also vivid in Supplement Theories. In contrast, the second concept conceives of several smaller and larger compositions, which has emerged independently from each other in different times until they were interconnected and thus increased to larger and larger entities. This concept derives from the form- and tradition historical approach but can also be used in redaction historical theories. I would like to label this concept as an “island-bridge model”; former separate sequences of the Pentateuchal story were more and more interconnected by redactional links.

31. See E. Otto, “Pentateuch,” p. 1096.

32. See R. Rendtorff, *Problem*, pp. 147–151.

33. See E. Blum, *Komposition*, pp. 66–361.

3. LOOKING AT NEW MODELS

After having clarified the material difficulties and the theoretical framework we have to deal with, I would like to give you a short view of the most important models in the present discussion.

3.1. Peter Weimar and Erich Zenger

The model, which was elaborated by the two scholars from the Catholic Theological Faculty in Münster with some variants during the last decades, is still obliged to the classical Source Theory in many respects.³⁴ It still reckons with two continuous literary sources, first, the so-called “Jerusalemite History”—corresponding to the Yehowist of the Source Theory, which Weimar and Zenger have earlier dated to the end of the eighth century, but now prefer to situate it in the beginning of King Josiah’s reign (after 650 BCE). According to them, it constituted an early Hexateuch (Genesis 2–Joshua 24*). Second, there was the Priestly Source from the beginning of the Second Temple period (after 520 BCE), which originally comprised the priestly material between Genesis 1 and Leviticus 9, and was secondarily expanded to Deuteronomy 34.

Weimar and Zenger took up the idea of Konrad Schmid and others that the Hexateuch soon was integrated in a comprehensive historical work during the period of exile, which they call “Big (Deuteronomistic) Exilic History.”³⁵ It comprised most of the non-priestly material between Genesis 2 and 2 Kings 25. Assuming that the Deuteronomistic corpus (Deuteronomy 5–28), which originally emerged under the later reign of King Josiah, was not integrated into the Hexateuch before this exilic stage, Zenger adheres to Noth’s insight that its compositional frame (Deuteronomy 1–3 and 29–34*) belongs to the exilic Deuteronomistic historian.³⁶

This Deuteronomistically inspired Enneateuch was combined with the Priestly Source in the midst of the fifth century BCE. The result was the “Big post-exilic history” comprising most of the texts between Genesis 1

34. Compare the description of the model given by E. Zenger in *Einleitung*, pp. 100–106, and diagram 1 below. Diagrams 1–4 are taken from *Einleitung*, pp. 105, 111, 117, and 123 with the courtesy of Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany.

35. Compare K. Schmid, *Erzväter*, pp. 273–290. K. Schmid, however, dates the emergence of the Enneateuch not before the first half of the fifth century BCE, because according to him the connection of patriarchal and exodus tradition was first done by the priestly source (see pp. 152–153).

36. Compare M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 27–40.

and 2 Kings 25, which tries to create a compromise between priestly and Deuteronomistic theologies under the reign of Nehemiah. Half a century later, under Ezra, the Pentateuch concluding with “Moses’s epitaph” (Deut 34:10–12) was cut from this comprehensive history and solemnly promulgated around 400 BCE.

The advantage of this model compared with the classical Source Theory is that it relinquishes splitting up the non-priestly text into two different sources and that it dates the first literal source no longer in the ninth, but in the seventh century. That opens much more space to the tradition historical growth. Thus the complicated process of the emergence, growth, and joining of the different Pentateuchal traditions is allowed to continue for the almost entire monarchic period.

Nevertheless, the model has several difficulties. The existence of the pre-Deuteronomistic book of Joshua, which should have been early related with the book of Numbers without the bridge of the book of Deuteronomy, is difficult to prove. The historical retrospect of Deuteronomy 1–3 makes much more sense as a beginning of a separate DtrH than as a mere repetition in the continuous historical report of the Enneateuch. Since Weimar and Zenger emphasize the broad historical perspective of an Enneateuch, the legal portions of the Torah remain rather beyond their focus. Thus, the question of why narrative and legislative materials were as closely connected in the Pentateuch as we characteristically find it, is not really answered by their model.

3.2. Reinhard G. Kratz

More than Weimar and Zenger, Reinhard G. Kratz deviates from the Three-Source Theory.³⁷ He only reckons with a single source, the priestly one, but reduces its range from Genesis 1 to Exodus 40 in its original, and from Genesis to Leviticus in its secondary stage. For all the non-priestly material, he prefers to use concepts along the Supplement or Fragment Theories, thus providing its growth and compilation with a much wider space.³⁸

According to Kratz, in the seventh century, three different foundation stories were created from older narratives and smaller compositions, the Primeval–Patriarchal Story (Genesis 2–35*), the Exodus Story (Exodus

37. See R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, pp. 226–331; see diagram 2.

38. Thus, R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 251.

2–Joshua 12*), and the Story on the Early Kingdom (1 Samuel 1–1 Kings 2). A little bit confusingly, Kratz labels the first J “Jahwistic foundation story,” and the second E “Exodus-Story,” although these labels have nothing to do with J and E of the Source Theory.³⁹ Following the narrative sequence, Kratz is convinced that the Exodus Story already comprised the conquest and tried to reconstruct a tiny narrative thread between the book of Numbers and the book of Joshua by using the place name Shittim, which occurs in Num 25:1a and Josh 2:1 and 3:1, as a possible link. From the book of Deuteronomy only the short report of Moses’ death (Deut 34:5–6) would have belonged to it. During the period of exile, according to Kratz, this Hexateuchal Exodus story was subsequently amplified by the book of the covenant, an early form of Deuteronomy (Deut 5:1a α^1 ; 6:4–5; 12–21*), and the Decalogue, until it was connected with the Deuteronomistic monarchic history on the one hand, and the primeval-patriarchal story, supplemented by the Joseph story meanwhile, on the other hand. Thus at the end of the exile, there existed a first Enneateuch starting with the creation of man and ending with the destruction of the Judaeian kingdom.

After the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple, the Priestly work was written, comprising the story from the creation of the world up to the construction of the tabernacle (P^G: Genesis 1–Exodus 40*) primarily, and was later amplified by the priestly ritual and legal material of the book of Leviticus (P^S: Genesis 1–Leviticus 26*). Kratz still regards P as a separate literary work, but, according to him, it was written under the knowledge of the older non-priestly material and, at the same time, aimed at interpreting and correcting it (*Lesehilfe* ‘reading glasses’).⁴⁰ Thus it was not really independent. Therefore, it was logical to integrate the Priestly Work in the pre-priestly Enneateuch during the fifth and fourth centuries. In the process of this redaction, many post-Deuteronomistic and post-priestly supplements—especially in Numbers—were added, until the Pentateuch was separated from the rest of the Enneateuch.

More than Weimar and Zenger, Kratz allows a long and vivid growth of different traditions in his model, until they were integrated in larger literary works. Rightly he distinguished between two different foundation stories, the patriarchal and the Exodus one. Anyhow his reconstruction of

39. Each of them were again subdivided into J^G and J^S or E^G and E^S for the primary and the secondary layers.

40. See R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 328.

an early “Hexateuch” past Deuteronomy is audacious;⁴¹ from Joshua 1–12, Kratz is able to identify just twenty-four verses which could have belonged to the exodus-conquest story and not to the Deuteronomistic redaction of that book.⁴²

Bringing the emergence of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets in close connection, both, Kratz and Zenger, regard the Pentateuch as the latest literary unit of all the others; its separation from the Enneateuch seems to have happened just by chance. Why just the Pentateuch of all possible units, be it the Hexateuch or the Enneateuch, became authoritative in the fourth century is not made plausible from its genesis. In the model of Kratz, however, the Priestly source or redaction has provided the books from Genesis to Leviticus or Numbers with some predominance.

3.3. Erhard Blum

In contrast to Weimar and Zenger and Kratz, Erhard Blum had already developed in 1984 and 1990 a tradition historical and redaction historical model of the formation of the Pentateuch, which went without the assumption of Pentateuchal sources.⁴³ Especially concerning the earlier phases of tradition, his insights have influenced all the other alternative models more or less. Blum’s most important insight was the result that the patriarchal narratives and compositions emerged and grew independently from the Exodus-Moses story up to the exilic period.

According to Blum, the oldest literary units of the later Pentateuch were the Jacob narrative (Genesis 25*, 27–33*) and the Abraham-Lot narrative (Genesis 13*+18–19), the former coming from the northern, the latter from the southern state of the ninth century BCE. Amplified by the Joseph story from the eighth century, the Jacob story (Genesis 25–50*) constituted the first complete biography of a patriarch and a foundation history of Israel. During the exilic period, the Abraham and Jacob stories supplemented by a short Isaac tradition (Genesis 26) were interconnected by the topic of promise of land and constituted a comprehensive foundation history of united Israel.⁴⁴

41. Compare his own judgment in R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 220.

42. Compare his listing of passages in R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 321 n. 22.

43. See E. Blum, *Komposition*; E. Blum, *Studien*, and diagram 3.

44. Compare E. Blum, *Komposition*, pp. 66–361. Originally Blum had assumed an additional patriarchal history, which was already composed in the pre-exilic time, but later he gave this up, see E. Blum, *Studien*, p. 215 n. 35.

In the early post-exilic period a late Deuteronomistic editor compiled a large Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness composition, covering the life of Moses from his birth to death (Exod 1:1–Deut 34:10), called by Blum KD (Late Deuteronomistic composition).⁴⁵ While Blum originally regarded KD as that composition, which connected the patriarchal with the Moses story, he later was convinced by Schmid and Gertz that this was done by the priestly editor.⁴⁶ Thus it was the Priestly Composition KP from the first half of the fifth century, which connected the primeval, patriarchal, and Moses story for the first time and created most of the present Pentateuch in the midst of the fifth century BCE. Thus, in Blum's view, the Pentateuch, which deliberately combines priestly and late Deuteronomistic theological concepts and obligations, constitutes a compromise between different Judean groups and was written to become authoritative.⁴⁷

Beyond this decisive Priestly Composition, Blum discovered two additional editions of the Pentateuch, which are not specified by Zenger in diagram 3. First, there was the so called Mal'ak redaction, characterized by the introduction of a heavenly messenger of god, who conducted Israel in the wilderness and would drive out the Canaanites from the promised country only step by step (Exod 23:23–33; 33:2).⁴⁸ Thus Israel should strictly separate itself from the remaining nations and should not venerate their gods; thus, Blum ascribed also the so-called cultic decalogue (Exod 34:11–27) to this late redaction. Since it extends to Judg 2:1–5; 6:7–9, it demonstrates that the Pentateuch and the subsequent Deuteronomistic History were not totally divided at that time.

Second, Blum described a Joshua 24 redaction,⁴⁹ which he is now ready to accept as a late Hexateuch redaction.⁵⁰ By creating the chapter, Joshua 24, as a summary of the salvation history of the Pentateuch, which he had already prepared by the motives of the burial of Joseph's bones in Shechem (Gen 33:19; 48:22; 50:24–26; Exod 13:19), the editor included the Deuteronomistic book of Joshua in the foundation document. By

45. Compare E. Blum, *Studien*, pp. 101–207.

46. Compare E. Blum, "Die literarische Verbindung von Erzvätern und Exodus: Ein Gespräch mit neueren Endredaktionshypothesen," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J. C. Gertz, K. Schmid, and M. Witte; BZAW 315; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 119–156, esp. pp. 145–151.

47. Compare E. Blum, *Studien*, pp. 330–360.

48. See E. Blum, *Studien*, pp. 365–377.

49. See E. Blum, *Studien*, pp. 363–365.

50. Compare E. Blum, "Der kompositionelle Knoten am Übergang von Josua zu Richter: Ein Entflechtungsvorschlag," in *Textgestalt und Komposition: Exegetische Beiträge zur Tora und Vordere Propheten* (FAT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), pp. 249–280, esp. pp. 262–274.

moving the note on Joshua's death from Judg 2:7–9 backwards to Josh 24:29–21, he cut the book from the subsequent Deuteronomistic History. And by telling that Joshua had written “all these words” into a book called סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים ‘book of the Torah of God’ (Josh 24:26), the author created an alternative to the סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה ‘book of the Torah of Moses’ (Josh 8:31; 23:6; Neh 8:1; cf. Deut 31:9), which meanwhile did not only denote Deuteronomy, but also the entire Pentateuch. According to Blum, this late Hexateuch aimed at a stronger integration of the Samaritans in the foundation history of Israel.⁵¹ This alternative document, however, could not assert itself over the Pentateuch; with the mission of Ezra, the Pentateuch without the book of Joshua was finally carried through.

Blum's model promised to offer a better alternative to the Source Theory. But it has not been completely worked out so far. Blum could demonstrate the benefit of the traditional historical approach for reconstructing the patriarchal history. But for the books from Exodus to Deuteronomy he restricted himself to describing only the latest layers, KD and KP, which resembles JE and P in some way. Although he suggested an earlier Moses story, which comprised the exodus, the wanderings in the wilderness, and the revelation at Mount Sinai, he did not work it out so far.⁵² More than Zenger and Kratz, however, he was able to explain why just the Pentateuch became authoritative. But he already noticed that KP was not the final edition. Anyhow, the thesis of a late Hexateuch as an alternative to a nearly fully elaborated Pentateuch, which was also supported by Thomas Römer, seems to me much more plausible than the thesis of an early one defended by Weimar and Zenger and Kratz.⁵³

3.4. Eckart Otto

Methodically, Eckart Otto is still obliged to the Source Theory only with regard to the Priestly Source. In all other cases he prefers to use the tradition historical approach or the Supplement Theory.⁵⁴ Otto's main

51. Compare E. Blum, “Der kompositionelle Knoten,” p. 266.

52. See E. Blum, *Studien*, pp. 216–217.

53. Compare T. Römer, “La fin de l'historiographie deutéronomiste et le retour de l'Hexateuque,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 57 (2001): 269–280, esp. pp. 278–280.

54. Compare E. Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch: Studien zur Literaturgeschichte von Pentateuch und Hexateuch im Lichte des Deuteronomiumrahmens* (FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), pp. 234–265; E. Otto, “Pentateuch,” pp. 1098–1102; E. Otto, “Deuteronomiumstudien III: Die literarische Entstehung des Buches Deuteronomium als Teil der Tora,” *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 17 (2011): 79–132, esp. pp. 88–108. See diagram 4.

contribution to the Pentateuchal research is the insight that the Pentateuch did not emerge just from one, but from two different centers, Deuteronomy on the one hand, and the Priestly Source or Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, on the other hand. According to Otto, the Pentateuch started to emerge in the oldest parts of the books of Deuteronomy (Deuteronomy 13, 28), when the idea of Assarhaddon's vassal treaties in Judah was transferred into the religious realm in order to express the people's loyalty to its national god YHWH. By this external evidence, this starting point can be fixed in the second part of the seventh century BCE. From the Josianic reform onward, the oldest Deuteronomistic legislation (6:4–5; 12:13–28:44*) was developed. During the period of exile this legislation was transformed into a speech, which Moses had given at Mount Horeb; this "Horeb redaction" or "Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy" (DtrD: Deut 4:45–28:68) was historized and expanded by a narrative frame (Deuteronomy 1–3*+28–31*) and the conquest story (Joshua 1–11*, 23; Judg 2:6–9), which localized the promulgation of the Deuteronomistic law in the plains of Moab given for the life in the land ("Moab redaction"). Here, Otto took over the thesis of Norbert Lohfink that Deuteronomy and Joshua constituted an older sequence of the Deuteronomistic History, the so-called DtrL (DtrL: Deuteronomy 1–Joshua 23*).⁵⁵ From this starting point, the emerging Pentateuch was already provided with a normative claim.

The second center of the later Pentateuch came into being similar to the concept of Blum. During the ninth and the eighth centuries, the Jacob and Joseph narratives were composed (Genesis 25–35, 50*). According to Otto, the Moses-Exodus story (Exodus 2–34*) was designed as a subversive counter narrative to the propaganda of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century.⁵⁶ During the late exilic and early post-exilic period, the Priestly Work was created as a competing foundation history to that of DtrL. For the first time, it joined the primeval, the patriarchal, and the Exodus-Sinai traditions to a continuous sequence of periods; but because Otto still conceived it as an independent source, it did not include the non-

55. Compare N. Lohfink, "Kerygmata des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," in *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur* (SBAB 12; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991), pp. 125–142; N. Lohfink, "Die Schichten des Pentateuch und der Krieg," in *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im Alten Testament* (ed. N. Lohfink; QD 96; Freiburg: Herder, 1983), pp. 51–110, esp. pp. 66–75.

56. Compare E. Otto, "Mose und das Gesetz: Die Mose-Figur als Gegenentwurf politischer Theologie zur neuassyrischen Königsideologie im 7. Jh. v.Chr.," in *Mose, Ägypten und das Alte Testament* (SBS 189; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000), pp. 43–83.

priestly material. Otto limited the range of the original P source from Genesis 1 to Exodus 29, its secondary extension (P^S) to Leviticus 9.

In Otto's view, the most important event in the development of the Pentateuch happened in the fifth century, when—under the reign of Nehemiah—the two foundation histories, P^G+P^S and DtrL, containing different theological concepts and diverging normative claims, were interconnected. According to Otto's more recent opinion, this was done by the Hexateuch redaction, because DtrL already included the books of Joshua.⁵⁷ Otto ascribed a lot of functions to it. It created a textual bridge between the two works, especially in the book of Numbers (Numbers 10–14, 20–21, 32). Apart from that, it included all the older non-priestly material of Genesis and Exodus. It put in compositional pillars (Genesis 15; Joshua 24) in the extended building (Gen 1:1–Judg 2:9) and supported an inclusive concept of Israel.

Similar to the views of Blum and Römer, the Hexateuch redaction, however, was not permanently successful. Around 400 BCE, it was followed and corrected by the Pentateuch redaction, which introduced an exclusive Diaspora and Judahite perspective under Ezra. It cut off the book of Joshua; it balanced the competing priestly and Deuteronomistic legal traditions by creating the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–29); and it inserted the Decalogue (20) and book of the covenant (Exodus 21–23) into the Mount Sinai narrative according to the model of Deuteronomy 5, thus stressing the salvific gift of the Torah instead of the land. By adding the Moses's epitaph Deut 34:10–12, it restricted the revelation to the time of Moses.

Anyhow, in Otto's view the dispute between those priestly scribes, who supported the Hexateuchal or the Pentateuchal perspective, continued during the fourth and the early third century. They produced late additions to the books of Leviticus and Numbers, which Reinhard Achenbach meanwhile has ascribed to three different "Theocratic Editions."⁵⁸ Thus, according to Otto and his pupils, there was never a final redaction.

Otto's model has the advantage of focusing on the legal material of the Pentateuch and its competing normative claims; thus it is able to explain why just these five books of the nine, which tell Israel's pre-exilic history, could become authoritative, although Otto seems to deny their final promulgation. His idea that the Pentateuch emerged out of two different

57. Before Otto had adopted the thesis of DtrL from Lohfink, he ascribed the connection to the Pentateuch redaction.

58. Compare R. Achenbach, *Vollendung*, pp. 629–638.

centers offers a solid explanation of why the book of Deuteronomy occupies such a special position within the Pentateuch.

In its present form, however, the model has several problems. By adhering to the Source Theory with regard to P, Otto has difficulties to explain, why the older non-priestly material was included in the priestly foundation history at all. With all that material included, the priestly dominated books from Genesis to Leviticus would constitute a much better alternative to the Deuteronomistic foundation history. The textual difference between Hexateuch and Pentateuch redaction is difficult to establish; Otto goes without stylistic criteria and ascribes passages of the same style to the one or the other redaction, just according to their tendency. Thus, his redaction critical analysis is sometimes difficult to follow and not always convincing. Otto strictly separated the book of Joshua from the rest of the Deuteronomistic edited books, but both passages, Joshua 23 and Judg 2:6–9, are not only final statements, but also refer to the following events. Adopting the DtrL thesis of Lohfink, Otto felt forced to reject Noth's hypothesis of the existence of a Deuteronomistic History.⁵⁹ But the special position of Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch would also be explained by its former integration into the Deuteronomistic History.

4. CONVERGENCES AND IMPORTANT NEW INSIGHTS

At first glance, the four models presented above seem to diverge in many different directions. This is the reason why we have started a research project, "Pentateuch models in discourse," in Europe, where some scholars from Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, who are involved in the new debate, attempted to bring the different points of view in line with each other. We have frankly discussed our different approaches in three conferences in Münster, Zürich, and Paris and developed some new perspectives.⁶⁰

On a closer inspection, the different models show some surprising convergences. First, in all the models, the Source Theory is more or less reduced for the benefit of a tradition historical and a redaction historical approach. In Blum's model it is nearly completely dropped.

59. Compare E. Otto, "Forschungen zum nachpriesterschriftlichen Pentateuch," *Theologische Rundschau* 67 (2002): 125–155, esp. pp. 154–155; see R. G. Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 221, who has already called Noth's hypothesis "einen Irrweg der Forschung" (a wrong track of research).

60. Since the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)" refused to approve a public funding for the project, the group fell apart in 2011.

Second, in all the models, the earlier phases of the literary history of the Pentateuch are explained with Gunkel's form- and tradition historical approach; but these phases are no longer restricted to oral tradition and the pre-state period, but cover the entire emergence and growth of oral and literal composites, which filled up almost the monarchic (seventh century) or even the exilic periods (sixth century).

Third, the Priestly Source or edition is no longer placed at the end or near the end of the literary history of the Pentateuch; it has become more and more just a phase in between. In all the models after P^G and P^S, more or less extended redactions took place.

Fourth, the awareness of late redactions requires more detailed distinctions of the priestly material. The old distinction between P^G and P^S and sometimes P^{SS} is no longer sufficient. Here distinctions like those of Israel Knohl between Priestly and Holiness School or of Achenbach between late "Theocratic Editions" may point to the right direction.⁶¹

Fifth, more and more scholars reckon with post-priestly redactions, which partly include priestly concepts, but do not speak the typical priestly language. Also this late "mixed" non-priestly layers require a better differentiation and identification. The labels "late Deuteronomistic" or "post-Deuteronomistic" are not sufficient.

Sixth, all the models discuss the emergence of the Pentateuch in a wider context, be it the Hexateuch or the Enneateuch. How the connections are to be described is still an issue of debate; but it has become clear that the literary history of the Torah cannot totally be separated from that of the Former Prophets.

In my view, the most important insights of the recent discussion are the following two. First, apart from Weimar and Zenger, all other models support the insight that the patriarchal story and the exodus story originally constituted two separated foundation histories, which went through their own literary history for a long time, until they were literally connected. This view is also supported by Thomas Römer, Albert de Pury, and Konrad Schmid.⁶² Since Konrad Schmid and Jan Christian Gertz have

61. Compare I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995; reprint, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007); R. Achenbach, *Vollendung*, pp. 629–638.

62. Compare T. Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition* (OBO 99; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1990), pp. 568–575; A. de Pury, "Le cycle de Jacob comme légende autonome des origines d'Israël," in *Congress Volume Leuven 1989* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 78–86; K. Schmid, *Erzväter*, pp. 56–129.

independently shown that the connection between the patriarchal and the exodus narrative was created by P, this view is now nearly established.⁶³ Also Blum, who had earlier ascribed it to KD, has agreed with it.⁶⁴ The same is true for the primeval history.⁶⁵ In both cases, it has turned out that not the whole of the Pentateuchal story, but just a single sequence of it had literarily been worked out, before it was joint later with other sequences. Thus, we have to reckon that this may be true also for other parts of the Pentateuch.

Second, Otto has demonstrated that also the book of Deuteronomy went through a tradition and redaction historical growth of its own, which was totally different from that of the books ahead. According to him, the Pentateuch emerged from two different literary units, DtrL and P. This idea converges in some way with the observation of Römer that the book of Numbers, which presents itself as a supplement to the revelation on Mount Sinai (Num 1:1) and contains a lot of additional legal material to subjects already dealt with in the books of Exodus and Leviticus, looks like a late bridge between an almost closed Triteuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus), which has heavily been priestly edited, and the book of Deuteronomy, as the legal basis of the DtrH.⁶⁶ Therefore, for the literary history of the Pentateuch, three main steps become conceivable: The emergence of the Deuteronomistic Deuteronomy, the emergence of the priestly composed Triteuch, and the emergence of the book of Numbers as the bridge between the two.

5. AN OUTLINE OF A POSSIBLE NEW MODEL

Taking up the ideas mentioned before, I finally want to describe the outline of my own model.⁶⁷ On the top of diagram 5, one can see the vertical divisions of tradition, which almost correspond to the later books: Genesis, subdivided in primeval and patriarchal tradition, Exodus plus Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In the upper third of the diagram, I tried to indicate the emergence and growth of composites up to the time of the exile, separated in different sequences. From the pre-exilic time, the primeval story, and the Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph story emerged, on the

63. See K. Schmid, *Erzväter*, pp. 152–153; J. C. Gertz, *Tradition*, pp. 357–366.

64. See E. Blum “Verbindung,” pp. 145–151.

65. Compare F. Crüsemann, “Eigenständigkeit,” pp. 26–28.

66. See T. Römer, “Buch Numeri,” pp. 220–229.

67. See diagram 5.

one hand, a small Moses story, the Plague cycle, and a first theophany story framing the book of the covenant (Exodus 19–24*), on the other hand. These composites were expanded during the exilic period: the patriarchal story in two editions (Genesis 12–50*) and a late exilic exodus composition (Exodus 1–34*).⁶⁸ Independent from these traditions on the left hand, the growth of the book of Deuteronomy took place, indicated on the right hand. The latter was integrated into the DtrH, perhaps in two steps. In my view, the DtrH constituted the earliest comprehensive history of Israel including its legal foundation.

In the early post-exilic time, the first priestly editor (PB¹) created his view of Israel's foundation history running from the creation of the world (Genesis 1) to the construction of the tabernacle (Exodus 40) and the first acts of worship (Leviticus 9, 16); he connected the primeval, patriarchal, and exodus-Sinai sequences and included most of the earlier non-priestly stories.⁶⁹ In a second phase, the second priestly editor (PB²)—corresponding in some way to Knohl's "Holiness School"—amplified the first priestly composition (Genesis 1–Leviticus 16*) by adding some legal material, especially the Holiness Code at its end (Leviticus 17–26). This Triteuch (Genesis 1–Leviticus 26*), which ended solemnly with the announcement of blessings and curses like the Deuteronomic legislation (Deuteronomy 28), was intended to be an alternative foundation history competing with the Deuteronomic legislation and the DtrH. When in the midst of the fifth century the leading priests and laymen of the post-exilic Judean community planned to create an authoritative foundation document, which could meet the consensus of all the groups, they decided that the Deuteronomy, which had already become authoritative in the seventh century, must be included. The first bridge was constructed by a late Deuteronomistic redaction, which corresponds to Blum's KD, but has been dated post-priestly (PB¹ + PB²). The main redactional link was the tent of meeting (Exod 33:7–11; Deut 31:14–15, 23), which also shaped the first narratives of the book of Numbers (Numbers 11, 12, 13–14*). One can label D as the first Pentateuch redaction (Gen 1:1–Deut 34:10*).⁷⁰ This D redaction was followed by a priestly one (PB³), which set some additional

68. Compare now R. Albertz, *Exodus 1–18* (vol. 1 of *Exodus*; ZBK.AT 2.1; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2012); R. Albertz, *Exodus 19–40* (vol. 2 of *Exodus*; ZBK.AT 2.2; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2015).

69. Only within the primeval sequence (Genesis 1–11) was the older non-priestly primeval narrative (prior J) later inserted into the priestly story by a different redactor.

70. Compare R. Albertz, "Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichte von Num 20–24," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 171–183, 336–347.

links to the book of Deuteronomy (Num 20:1–13, 22–29; Deut 32:48–52) and heavily amplified the priestly material in Numbers (Numbers 1–10* and others).⁷¹

The next two redactions are already known by Blum's investigation: The Mal'ak redaction, which extends further into the DtrH (Judg 2:1–5*; 6:7–9?), and the Hexateuch redaction, which includes not only the book of Joshua (Joshua 24), but also some other passages in order to structure the salvation history better.⁷² Since the latter tried to realize a pro-Samaritan concept, it can be dated in the twenties of the fifth century, when a pro-Samaritan High Priest held the office (Joiada) and the first sanctuary of Mount Gerizim was built. But this attempt was not successful; when the authorities in Jerusalem, in the Diaspora, and in Samaria decided to restrict the foundation document to the Pentateuch, late priestly editors (PB⁴ and PB⁵) included—besides additional legal material—the topic of the distribution of the land belonging to the book of Joshua, into the Pentateuch with an ideal prospective form (Numbers 25–36*). Finally, the final redaction, which can be connected with the mission of Ezra lately dated in 398 BCE, created a new book ending in Deut 34:11–12 and included the blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33, constituting a frame with Genesis 49) and the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), which referred to Israel's further history in place of the DtrH cut off.⁷³

71. According to my opinion, the additional cross-reference to the death of Moses in Num 27:12–33 comes through a very late priestly redactor (PB⁵), which seems to be responsible for the final priestly redaction of the Pentateuch; compare R. Albertz, "A Pentateuch Redaction in the Book of Numbers? The Late Priestly Layers of Num 25–36," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 220–233.

72. Compare the forsoights in Gen 15:13–17a; 50:24–26; Exod 13:17–19; 15:13–18, retropective views in Exod 18:1–12; Num 20:14–21; Deut 23:5b–6; Josh 2:9aβ–11; 24:1–13, and the newly constructed transition from Genesis to Exodus in Exod 1:1b, 5b–6, 8. For my present view on the Hexateuch redaction see R. Albertz, "The Formative Impact of the Hexateuch Redaction: An Interim Result," in *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch: New Perspectives on Its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles* (ed. F. Giuntoli and K. Schmid; FAT 101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), pp. 53–74.

73. The loose syntactical connection and the long-winded style of Deut 34:11–12 show that these verses did not originally belong to the short statement of verse 10, where the D-redactor praised Moses's unique status as the super-prophet. Referring back to the signs and wonders, which YHWH did by him during the exodus events, verses 11–12 function to complete the Pentateuchal narration and remove it a bit from that, which is told in the book of Joshua.

Even this little complex model can depict only a rough draft of the complicated literary historical processes, which probably has taken place in fact. It seems, however, to come closer to reality than the rather inflexible and quite simple model of Source Theory.⁷⁴

74. The presumption that the degree of complexity of the Source Theory may not be sufficient to explain the complex feature of Pentateuchal texts, is supported by the fact that many of its followers felt themselves compelled to assume a multitude of supplements apart from the three sources, see already M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 17–40. The model is now elaborated in detail; see R. Albertz, *Pentateuchstudien* (ed. J. Wöhrle; FAT 117; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

Diagram 1: Model of the Pentateuch according to Münster (P. Weimar/E. Zenger)

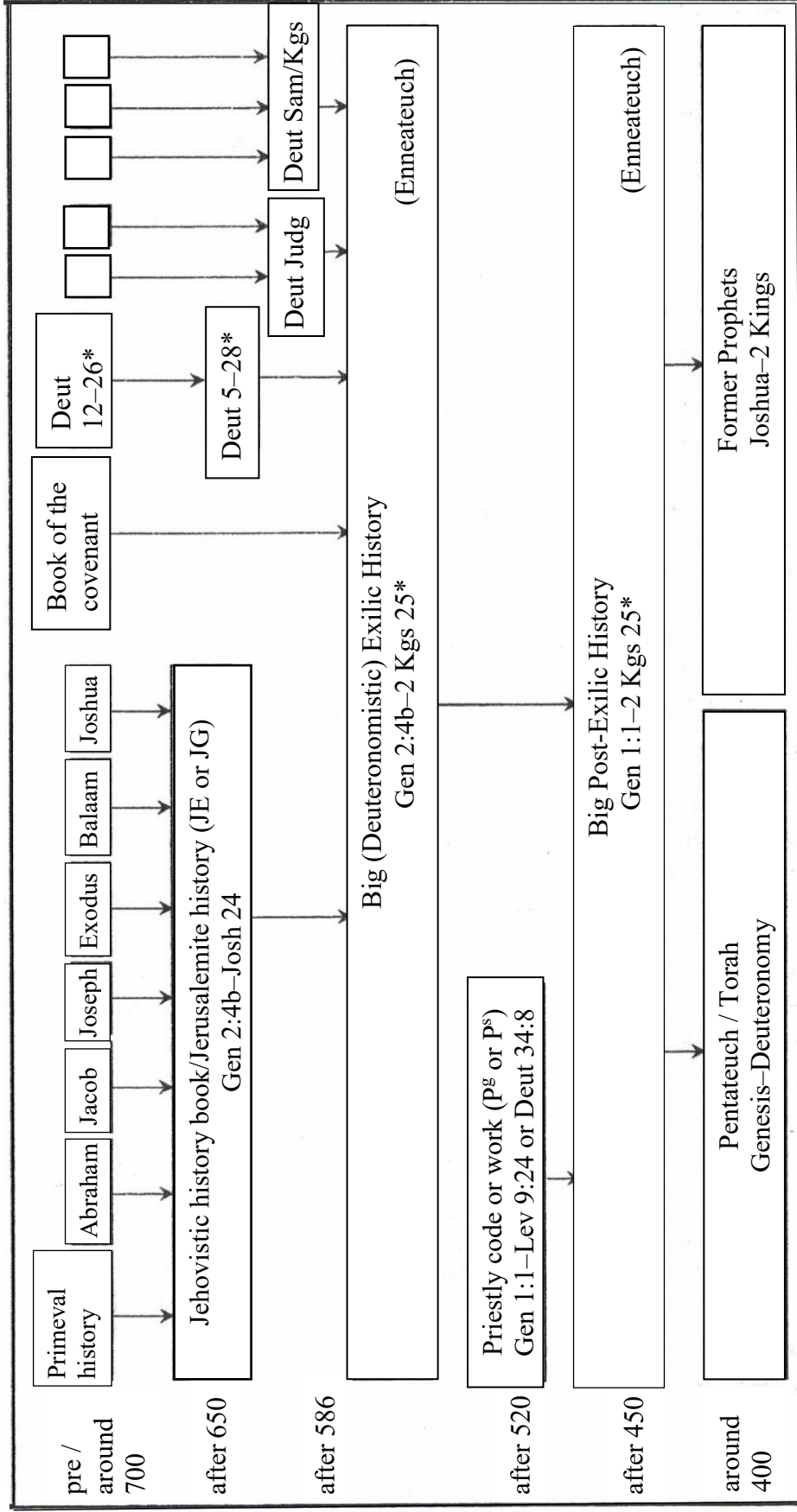


Diagram 2: Model of the Pentateuch according to R. G. Kratz

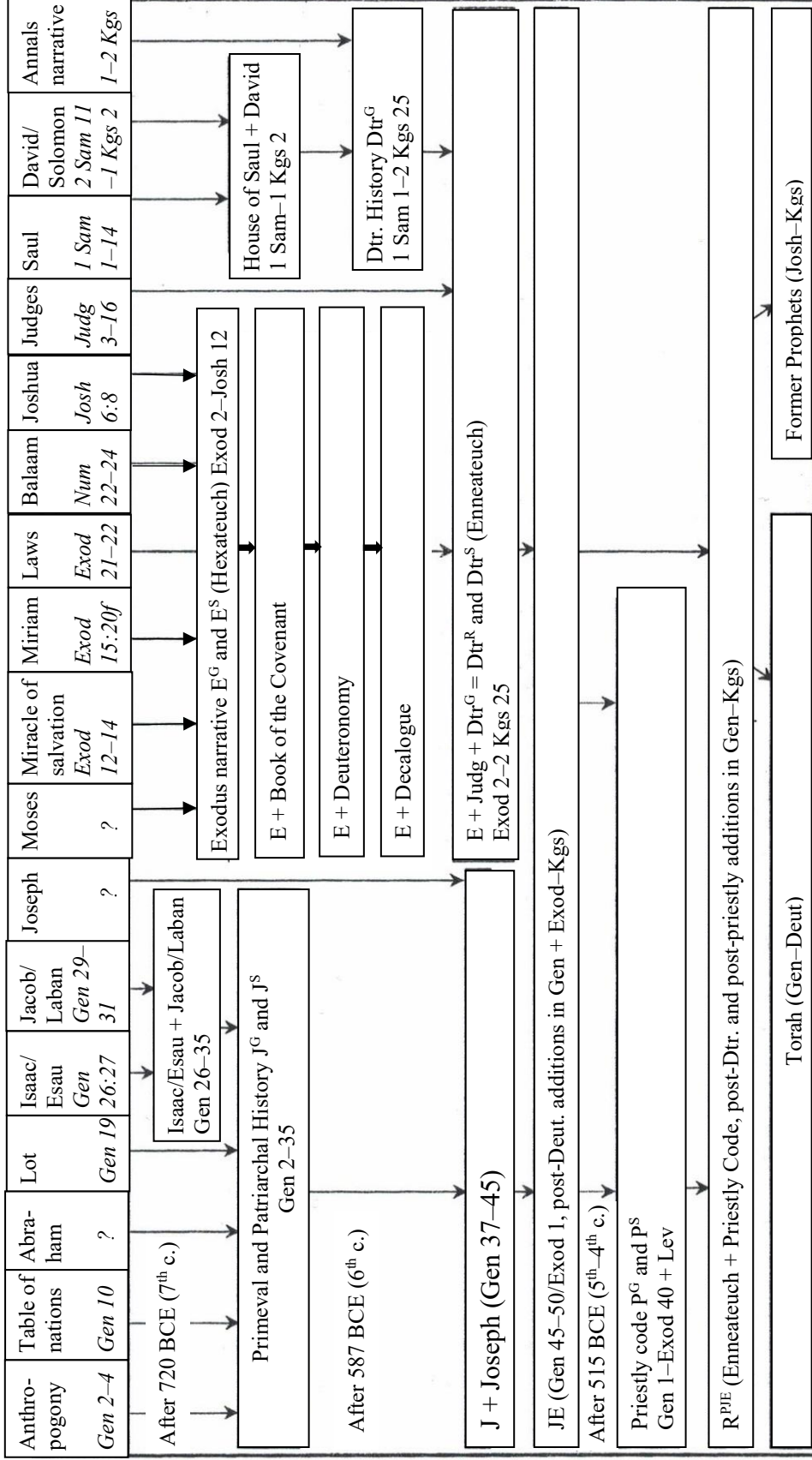


Diagram 3: Model of the Pentateuch according to E. Blum

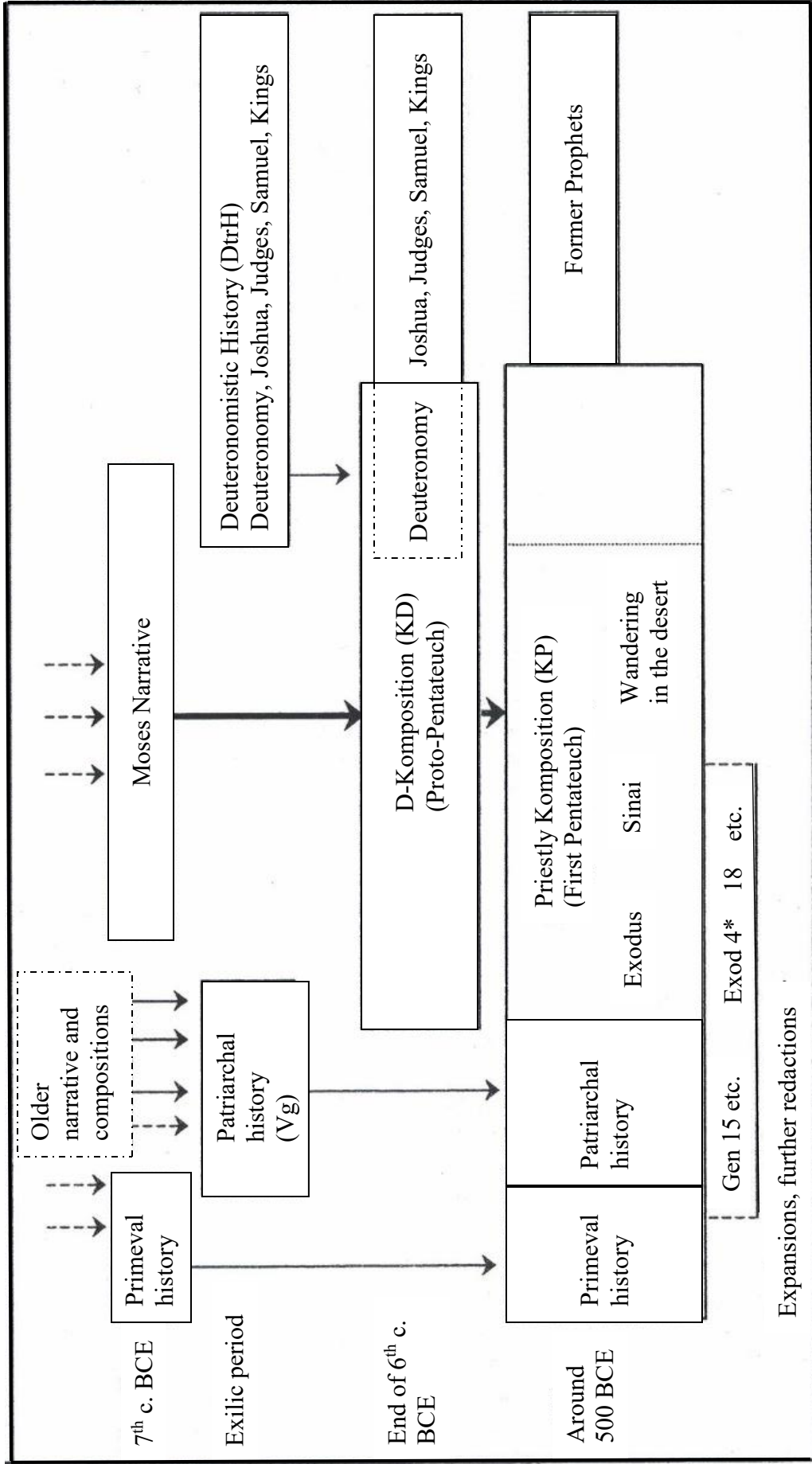


Diagram 4: Model of the Pentateuch according to E. Otto

