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**An analysis of 'mishchan' and 'ahal moad' in the "Masoretic Text
of Exod 25-40"**

Hendrix, Ralph Edwin, M.A.

Andrews University, 1989

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**Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary**

**AN ANALYSIS OF אהל מועד AND משכן
IN THE MASORETIC TEXT
OF EXOD 25-40**

**A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**

**by
Ralph Edwin Hendrix**

1989

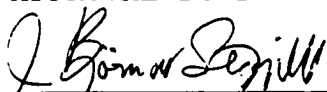
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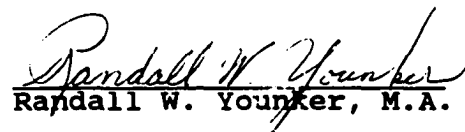
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19 May 1989
Date approved

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ABSTRACT

**AN ANALYSIS OF אהל מועד AND משכן
IN THE MASORETIC TEXT
OF EXOD 25-40**

by

Ralph Edwin Hendrix

Faculty Adviser: J. Bjornar Storfjell

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Thesis

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

**Title: AN ANALYSIS OF מִשְׁכָּן AND מוֹעֵד אֱהִי IN THE MASORETIC
TEXT OF EXOD 25-40**

Name of Researcher: Ralph E. Hendrix

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J. Bjornar Storfjell, Ph.D.**

Date completed: June 1989

Purpose

Sequential listing of מִשְׁכָּן and מוֹעֵד אֱהִי from the Masoretic Text of Exod 25-40 reveals discrete and unique use patterns. Historical and contemporary analyses of the terms and their contexts reveal inadequate explanation. This study seeks within the text for an explanation of these use patterns.

Methodology

Terms are limited, history of analysis is considered, and

the etymologies of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד are determined from lexical, Ugaritic, and Septuagintal sources. Literary structural analysis is used to analyze the context of the terms.

Conclusions

The term מִשְׁכָּן appears in *constructional* contexts (manufacture and assembly of the physical Mosaic Structure) where it has the meaning *dwelling* place with connotations of impermanence and immanence. The phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד appears in *cult-functional* contexts (the cultic function of the Mosaic Structure) where it has the meaning of *tent of assembly* with the connotation of relationship.

DEDICATION

To Wilton M. Hendrix and Evangeline G. Hendrix
and to James C. and Judith H. Hannum: four
individuals whose nurture and support made this
thesis a possibility . . . and most especially to
Carrie Kay Hannum Hendrix.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BCE	Before the Common Era
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques</i>
IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
IDB	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
IVP	InterVarsity Press
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KJV	King James' Version of the Bible
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i>
MT	Massoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBDB	New Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version of the Bible
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library

RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible
TEV	Today's English Version of the Bible
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
UT	<i>Cyrus Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Vulg.	Vulgate version of the Bible
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift Fur Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPEB	<i>Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible</i>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem

A careful reading of the Masoretic text (MT) of Exod 25-40 reveals that the Hebrew words מִשְׁכָּן (dwelling place) and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (tent of assembly) are not used interchangeably. These names for the Mosaic Structure are used discretely and in specific contexts. Historic and contemporary structural analyses of the Exod 25-40 lack sensitivity to this variation in terminology.¹ This study analyzes the contextual relationship of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, showing that there is a variation in the use of these two terms which is associated with the context in which the term is found.

Method

The internal claims of the text in its canonical form demand respect.² The text explains itself through

¹Throughout this study, Structure with a capital S refers to the Mosaic building. Structure with a lower case s is used to describe the form of the text.

²Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old*

its own terminology and structure.³ This study makes use of synchronic literary analysis to understand the message of the text.

A consideration of previous exegetical/hermeneutical methodology (as it relates to Exod 25-40) is the subject of chapter 2. Special attention to a brief history of textual criticism as a basis of previous textual analysis precedes examples of historical and contemporary analyses of Exod 25-40, drawing attention to a general lack of sensitivity on the part of scholarship to the use of the terms in their contexts.

Chapter 3 deals with *The Etymology of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. The lexical definitions of the terms are considered along with data from Ugaritic sources and the Septuagint.

A contextual analysis of Exod 25-40 is presented in chapter 4. A discussion of literary, topical, and terminological maxi- and mini-structures of the passage provides basic insights into its canonical form.⁴

Testament as Scripture (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 73, cf. 100. John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC, vol. 3 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 353, 371. George V. Pixley, *On Exodus: A Liberation Perspective*, trans. Robert R. Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), xvii.

³ Childs, 72-73.

⁴ See appendix A: *Glossary of Terms* for definitions of certain technical terms as defined in this study. The

Occurrences of מִשְׁקָן and מוֹעֵד אֱהָל are analyzed particularly in terms of their context and any nuance of meaning this context may connote.

The final chapter (5) summarizes the findings of the previous chapters, and concludes the study.

Scope

This study deals primarily with the MT of Exod 25-40 with consideration of Ugaritic sources and the Septuagint (LXX) as necessary. The words מִשְׁקָן and מוֹעֵד אֱהָל, which are the key terms used to name the Mosaic Structure in Exodus, are considered.

Exod 25 is the initial chapter of the Bible in which the Mosaic Structure is discussed. Exod 25-40 is concerned specifically with the Mosaic Structure. Other passages which mention the Structure refer to it tangentially while focusing on other issues.⁵ The terms מִשְׁקָן and מוֹעֵד אֱהָל both occur in Exod 25-40 under special circumstances which allow the clear determination of their contextual usage, and hence, a nuance of meaning is

methodology utilized in this study is that of literary analysis and should not be confused with structuralist criticism. See John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook*, rev. ed., (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1987), 110-121.

⁵See appendix C for contexts related to the Mosaic Structure in the Pentateuch.

perceptible in this passage which may not be so apparent in other passages. Therefore, investigation is limited to Exod 25-40.

Limitation of Terms

It is necessary to limit the investigation to relevant terms used as names for the Mosaic Structure in Exod 25-40. The methodology of limitation in this study is based on both the number of times the term occurs in Exod 25-40 and the percentage of Exod 25-40 occurrences relative to total Old Testament (OT) occurrences. These two factors must be associated in order to delimit terminology appropriately. For the purpose of this study, *numerically significant* is used to describe a term which has both frequent and high percentage of occurrences.⁶ A survey of the passage reveals that only two such terms: אֹהֶל and מִשְׁכָּן. These terms, along with הַיְקָל, מִקְדָּשׁ, and בַּיִת are analyzed in the sections that follow.

The term הַיְקָל (*palace, temple, main room of the temple*) occurs eighty times in the Old Testament.⁷ It

⁶The concentration of this study on numerically significant terms is not meant to imply theological importance. The relationship of term-frequency and theological significance must be left to subsequent studies.

⁷William L. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1971), 79. Gerhard Lisowsky and Leonhard Rost, *Konkordanz zum Hebraischen Alten Testament*

first occurs (in terms of canonical sequence) in 1 Sam 1:19. Therefore, it does not occur at all in Exod 25-40 or in the Pentateuch. Its bearing on this study, per se, is minimal, and so it is not considered in the following treatment of the passage. However, this surface treatment is justified since this term is a significant term for the Solomonic Structure and may be confused with terms present in Exod 25-40.

The noun **שְׁמֵרָה** (*holy precinct*) occurs seventy-four times in the OT.⁸ It occurs most often in the book of Ezekiel -- some thirty times (40.5% of its total OT occurrences). It is found sixteen times (21.6%) in the Pentateuch, but only two times (2.7%) in Exodus. Just one occurrence (1.4%) is found in Exod 25-40. It occurs in Exod 25:8: "Then have them make a sanctuary for me, and I will dwell among them."⁹ In Exod 25-40 **שְׁמֵרָה** describes the nature of the area YHWH proposes to have established. It is to be a separate area, a holy precinct, a **שְׁמֵרָה**.

(Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958), 411. The statistical information relating to the terms considered here are all derived from Lisowsky's word lists. Individual citations are given below. The purpose of giving English definitions to the terms at this point is simply to provide a basic English equivalence. More detailed attention to definition is found in chapter 3.

⁸Lisowsky, 854-855.

⁹Emphasis supplied. Bible texts, unless otherwise noted, are from the NIV.

Strictly speaking *מִקְדָּשׁ* does not refer to the physical character or use of the area, but to its ontology. It is by nature to be a *holy precinct*.

Although one occurrence may be theologically significant, on the basis of infrequency, and because the term does not refer to the Mosaic Structure itself but to the nature of the area, *מִקְדָּשׁ* is not considered in the following analysis.

The term *בַּיִת* (*house*) occurs 2,150 times in the OT with 322 (15%) of these occurrences in the Pentateuch.¹⁰ It is found fifty-eight times (2.7%) in the book of Exodus and fourteen times (.6%) in Exod 25-40. Of these fourteen occurrences, it refers to the Mosaic Structure only one time (.05%). It is the phrase *בַּיִת יְהוָה* which occurs in Exod 34:26: "Bring the best of the first fruits of your soil to the house of the Lord your God."¹¹ Since the term *בַּיִת* as related to the Mosaic Structure occurs only once in Exod 25-40, it is not numerically significant. It is not treated in the discussion of these passages which follows.

הַיְקָל does not occur in Exod 25-40. *מִקְדָּשׁ* and *בַּיִת יְהוָה* each occur only once. It is therefore

¹⁰Lisowsky, 213-228. Cf. appendix B, *Occurrences of בַּיִת*.

¹¹Emphasis supplied.

significant that **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל** refer to the Mosaic Structure in Exod 25-40 no less than fifty-eight times each.¹² Clearly the latter two terms are the primary terms used to name the Mosaic Structure, not **בֵּית הַיְקָל** nor **בֵּית**.

The term **מִשְׁכָּן** (dwelling place) occurs 139 times in the OT.¹³ In the Pentateuch is found 104 (74.8%) of these occurrences, fifty-eight of which (55.8%) are in Exodus, four (3.9%) in Leviticus, and forty-two (40.4%) in Numbers. As table 1 shows, the term does not occur in Genesis or Deuteronomy. Importantly, every occurrence of **מִשְׁכָּן** in Exodus (41.7% of all OT occurrences) are found in Exod 25-40. This is highly significant and completely justifies the further analysis of this term.

Table 2 indicates that the term **אֹהֶל** occurs 344 times in the OT.¹⁴ It occurs 214 times in the Pentateuch as **אֹהֶל** (tent), **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (tent of meeting/assembly), **אֹהֶל עַל-הַמִּשְׁכָּן** (tent over the dwelling place), and **אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת** (tent of the testimony). It is used in the Pentateuch to refer to a personal **אֹהֶל** forty-seven times

¹²Lisowsky, 30-33, 873-874.

¹³Ibid., 873-874.

¹⁴Lisowsky, 30-33. See Klaus Koch, "אֹהֶל," *TDOT*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren; trans. John T. Willis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1974), 123-124.

(13.7%). All twenty-three occurrences in Genesis (6.7%) refer to a personal אֱהָלָה.

TABLE 1
OCCURRENCES OF מִשְׁכָּן

Book of the OT	Occurrences in Pentateuch	Percentage of OT Occurrences	Percentage in Pentateuch
Genesis	0	0%	0
Exodus	58	41.7%	55.8%
Exod 25-40	<58>	<41.7%>	<55.8%>
Leviticus	4	2.9%	3.9%
Numbers	42	30.2%	40.4%
Deuteronomy	0	0%	0%
Pentateuch	104	74.8%	100%
Old Testament	139	100%	

In Exodus, the term is found in four ways: as אֱהָלָה four times (6.5%); as אֱהָלָה מוֹעֵד thirty-four times or as an אֱהָלָה whose referent noun is clearly the מוֹעֵד אֱהָלָה three times for a total of thirty-seven times (59.7%); as the אֱהָלָה עַל-מִשְׁכָּן two times or as a אֱהָלָה referring to the אֱהָלָה עַל-מִשְׁכָּן twelve times for a total of fourteen times. (22.5%); and as the אֱהָלָה of Moses in Exod 33 seven times (11.3%). The term אֱהָלָה occurs sixty-two times in Exodus (29.1% of its total OT occurrences), and only twice does it refer to a personal אֱהָלָה. Some form of אֱהָלָה refers to the Mosaic Structure a total of fifty-eight times. The most numerically significant form of אֱהָלָה is in the phrase

אֱהָל מוֹעֵד. To further accentuate the significance of אֱהָל in the אֱהָל מוֹעֵד phrase, note the occurrences of אֱהָל מוֹעֵד in the remainder of the Pentateuch.¹⁵

TABLE 2
OCCURRENCES OF אֱהָל

Book of the OT	אֱהָל	אֱהָל מוֹעֵד	אֱהָל על-משכן	אֱהָל Moses	Total	Percent of OT
Genesis	23				23	6.7
Exod 1-24	2				2	.6
Exod 25-40	2	34 (3)	2 (12)	7	60	17.4
Leviticus	1	43			44	12.8
Numbers	14	56 (6)			76	22.1
Deuteronomy	5	2 (2)			9	2.6
Pentateuch	47	135 (11)	2 (12)	7	214	62.2
Other OT	119	11			130	37.8
Total OT	166	146 (11)	2 (12)		344	100.0

Note: The numbers in brackets indicate an occurrence of אֱהָל which has the אֱהָל-phrase as its referent.

Clearly אֱהָל must be considered numerically significant. Further, the specific form, אֱהָל מוֹעֵד, is the most numerically significant form in which אֱהָל is found. Exod 25-40 has 17.4 percent of the total occurrences of אֱהָל in the OT, and 23.3 percent of the total occurrences of

¹⁵See appendix C.

אהל מועד in the OT.¹⁶ Because of the numerical significance of אהל מועד, this phrase is considered more closely in the following analysis of Exod 25-40.

The numerical frequency of היכל, מקדש, בית יהוה, אהל מועד, אהל על-המשכן, and משכן, has been presented. Table 3 may serve to clarify the relative frequency of these terms and serve to highlight the numerical significance of אהל מועד and משכן.

TABLE 3
OCCURRENCES OF SELECTED TERMS

Nominal Terms	Occurrences			
	OT	Pent	Exod 25-40	% in Exod
היכל	80	0	0	0%
מקדש	74	16	1	1.4%
בית יהוה	252	3	1	.4%
משכן	139	104	58	41.7%
אהל העדות	4	4	0	0%
אהל על-המשכן	2	2	2	100.0%
אהל מועד	146	135	34	24.0%
Total אהל	184	173	58	31.5%

Total reflects uses in any form referring to the Mosaic Structure.

¹⁶Note that 17.4 percent is 60 (total אהל in Exod 25-40) divided by 344 (total in OT), and that 23.3 percent is derived from 34 (actual occurrences of אהל מועד in Exod 25-40) divided by 146 (actual occurrences in OT).

Note that of the four terms which are used in Exod 25-40 (מִקְדָּשׁ, בַּיִת יְהוָה, מִשְׁכָּן, אֱהָל), the former two are found only once each while the latter two are found fifty-eight times each.¹⁷ One must remember that thirty-four of the fifty-eight אֱהָל occurrences are in the phrase אֱהָל מוֹעֵד. While it is true that no term in the text is theo-logically insignificant, this disparity in frequency certainly justifies the narrowing of this study to מִשְׁכָּן and אֱהָל מוֹעֵד.

Table 3 can be used to illustrate the methodology of reduction of terms as follows: the reduction must take into consideration two factors -- total word occurrences and total percentage of occurrences. In Exod 25-40 מִשְׁכָּן occurs 41.7 percent of its total OT occurrences (as based on fifty-eight occurrences). אֱהָל עַל-הַמִּשְׁכָּן occurs 100 percent of its OT occurrences in Exod 25-40, but this is based on only two occurrences. While these two occurrences may be significant for another study, they are not seen as examples of a *numerically significant* term. אֱהָל מוֹעֵד occurs 24 percent of its OT occurrences (based on thirty-four occurrences). When both percentage of occurrences and total occurrences are considered, clearly מִשְׁכָּן and אֱהָל מוֹעֵד present themselves as *numerically significant* terms, indeed, the primary terms used to name

¹⁷Lisowsky, 30-33, 873-874.

the Mosaic Structure in Exod 25-40. Therefore, these two terms are be the objects of further consideration.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF ANALYSIS

Introduction

Historic and contemporary analysis of Exod 25-40 have been insensitive to the discrete contextual use of *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. Since the prevailing understanding of these terms and the exegetical methodology applied to Exod 25-40 derive from the Wellhausian documentary hypothesis, brief background information is provided.¹

Textual Criticism

The documentary hypothesis, as popularized by Julius Wellhausen, sought to identify the source documents of the Pentateuch by referencing to Yahwistic (J), Elohist (E), Deuteronomic (D), and Priestly (P) traditions.² Thus, the sequence is known as JEDP. Because

¹Scholarly consideration of the Pentateuch has developed along several lines during this century. For a brief view of this development, especially the influences of von Rad and Noth, see Douglas A. Knight, "The Pentateuch," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 265-287.

²Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan

such external categorization has acted as the basis for contemporary analysis of Exod 25-40, a review of the characteristics of each source is included.

That body of tradition which "is recognized as setting the basic material and structural parameters for all later work with these related materials: patriarchs, sojourn in Egypt and Exodus, wilderness wanderings including Sinai, occupation of Canaan (at least in its initial stages)," is known as the *Grundschrift (G)* or "foundation source."³ This might include basic oral material which was then written, edited, and compiled successively by a minimum of four sequential traditions or schools (JEDP).

The Yahwist (J) is said to date between 1000 and 922 BCE, about the time of David and Solomon.⁴ The provenance of the Yahwistic tradition is Judah, and it is written by the Yahwists themselves who speak of YHWH as

Menzies (Edinburg: Adam & Charles Black, 1885).

³Terence E. Fretheim, "The Theology of the Major Traditions in Genesis-Numbers," *RevExp* 74 (Summer 1977): 301.

⁴*Ibid.*, 305. See also Lloyd R. Bailey, *The Pentateuch* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1981), 38; and Frank E. Eakin, Jr., "The Plagues and the Crossing of the Sea," *RevExp* 74 (Summer 1977): 475; Cuthbert A. Simpson, "The Growth of the Hexateuch," *IB* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1:194. These may be taken as representative of those who see a more complicated process in J with J¹ being written ca. 1000 BCE and J² about 930 BCE.

the executor of action.⁵ The J document begins with Gen 2:4b-25 and is found periodically through Josh 1-12.⁶ According to T. Fretheim, "J is concerned to show that fulfillment was truly to be found in the kingship of David," and that its "most pervasive word" is "promise."⁷

The Elohist (E) tradition is fragmentary, not a "fully unified narrative."⁸ It dates between 922 and 700 BCE, with varying estimates reflected among scholars.⁹ The provenance of the E tradition is as Ephraim.¹⁰ The E material is attributed to Elohist writers who saw Moses as the primary executor of action, and who refer to the Deity as "God."¹¹ The E material commences with the covenant with Abram (Gen 15), continues with the covenant

⁵Eakin, 475; Bailey, 37.

⁶Fretheim, 305.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., 311.

⁹Ibid., Fretheim puts E sometime during the period of the divided kingdom, 922-721 BCE. Bailey, 38, dates it to ca. 850 BCE. Simpson, 197, puts E ca. 700 BCE because it reflects the politics of the 8th century in his estimation. Eakin, 475, puts E between 850 and 750 BCE.

¹⁰Bailey, 38. Eakin, 475, refers to Ephraim as "Israel," i.e., the northern kingdom.

¹¹Eakin, 475; Bailey, 38.

at Shechem (Josh 24), and climaxes with the covenant at Sinai (Exod 19-24).¹²

L. Bailey points out that E may not be a source per se, but a "gradual addition of individual stories to J."¹³ The J and E documents are said to have "conflated" as a result of the desired unity between the northern and southern kingdoms between 722 and 586 BCE.¹⁴

The Deuteronomist (D) "was firmly anchored to the reform of Judean religion carried out by Josiah."¹⁵ As such, D was compiled after 722 BCE and moved south where it was taken up by those wishing to purge the syncretistic religions accepted there after 586 BCE.¹⁶ The Deuteronomist was primarily responsible for the book of Deuteronomy from which the source gets its name.¹⁷

¹²Fretheim, 311.

¹³Bailey, 38.

¹⁴Simpson, 197. John H. Hayes, *An Introduction to Old Testament Study* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979), 166. Here, Hayes states: "It was assumed that the parallel sources of J and E were combined sometime before the reform of Josiah and then subsequently combined with D by another redactor." See also Wellhausen, 322.

¹⁵Hayes, 166.

¹⁶Simpson, 198. Bailey, 38, dates D to ca. 700 to 621 BCE, during Hezekiah's reign.

¹⁷Bailey, 38.

The Priestly (P) source was comprised of Yahwistic priests writing in Babylon and/or Jerusalem ca. 550-450 BCE, who saw Aaron as the primary executor of action.¹⁸ "The Priestly material was related to the reconstitution of Judaism after the return from Babylonian exile."¹⁹ It basically concerns the "duties of Aaronite priests and rituals to be carried out in the Sanctuary."²⁰ In the words of Fretheim, the members of these traditions were "preachers" or "teachers" who were "concerned with shaping the received tradition in such a way that it would speak to the special needs of the people of their own time."²¹

An in depth analysis of each tradition goes beyond the scope of this paper; however, excellent synopses may be readily found.²² It has sufficed to present this brief account of these traditions simply to serve as background for understanding contemporary analyses of Exod 25-40. When these categories are applied to this passage, certain

¹⁸Eakin, 475; Simpson, 198; Bailey, 38.

¹⁹Hayes, 166.

²⁰Bailey, 38.

²¹Fretheim, 302.

²²For charts detailing the four major sources, see Bailey, 40, or Hayes, 161. For greater depth, see R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1969): 501-502; and Joe O. Lewis, "The Ark and the Tent," *RevExp* 74 (1977): 537-538; also Durham, 352.

inconsistencies become readily apparent. To highlight the nature of these inconsistencies and to trace their development, it is necessary to consider the history of the analysis of Exod 25-40.

The Basis of Textual Analysis

One must realize from the onset that historic and contemporary analyses of Exod 25-40 are based on categories external to the text. These analyses have a heritage in the Wellhausian documentary hypothesis.²³

Julius Wellhausen in his famous *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* was arguing, fundamentally, for Deuteronomic precedence before Priestly, namely: J/E D P and not J/E P D (which had been accepted before his decisive work).²⁴ Because he was primarily arguing for law before cult (D before P), his treatment of

²³Hayes, 118. For example, John Hayes suggests five pillars upon which documentary criticism is based: (1) use of divine names, [that is, terminology], (2) language and style, (3) contradictions and divergencies within the text, (4) duplication and repetition of material, and (5) evidence of combination of different accounts. Using these types of categorizations, analysts have sought to isolate key phrases, terms, subjects, etc., and attribute them to sources. Sometimes the lines become very dogmatically drawn. For a synopsis of external "presuppositions" and "axioms" which affect source criticism, see Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 55-61.

²⁴Wellhausen, 51, 296; Durham, 352.

Exod 25-40 must be seen in light of his overall attempt, not to exegete the passage, but to prove that thesis.²⁵

After part I of his chapter "The Place of Worship," where he postulated a history in which there were originally numerous sanctuaries, he stated as his opening sentence: "For the earliest period of the history of Israel, all that precedes the building of the Temple, not a trace can be found of any sanctuary of exclusive legitimacy."²⁶ That is, in Wellhausen's thought, there was no central sanctuary as suggested in Exodus. He proceeded to trace this history from the "multiplicity of sanctuaries" (which were "taken over from the Canaanites by the Hebrews") to the time of the reform of Josiah in 621 BCE, arguing that only in the time of the exiles was the attempt to stamp out all other places of worship but Jerusalem really successful.²⁷

Having postulated this historical reconstruction, he began his second part with: "Such was the actual historical course of the centralisation of the cultus. . . . The question now presents itself, whether it is possible to detect a correspondence between the phases of the actual course of events and those of the legislation

²⁵ Knight, 265.

²⁶ Wellhausen, 17.

²⁷ Ibid., 28; cf. 17.

relating to this subject."²⁸ Wellhausen continued: "It may, however, seem as if hitherto it had only been asserted that the tabernacle rests on an historical fiction. In truth it is proved."²⁹

In short, Wellhausen's methodology was to separate the historical and legal genres, propose a reconstruction of history, and then see if the legal material reflected his reconstruction. His methodology was precisely backward. It had a tendency to evaluate the textual material on the basis of the proposed reconstruction, rather than base a reconstruction on the textual material as it reads. To Wellhausen's thinking, regardless of the textual evidence, he had reconstructed the actual course of events, and any further analysis *must* be measured relative to that reconstruction.

Wellhausen continued: "The tabernacle is not narrative merely, but, like all narratives in that book, law as well; it expresses the legal unity of the worship as an historical fact, which from the very beginning, ever since the exodus, has held good in Israel."³⁰ Note that Wellhausen carefully stated that the narrative "expresses" the worship "as" a historical fact, that is, the worship

²⁸Ibid. (emphasis supplied).

²⁹Ibid., 39 (emphasis supplied).

³⁰Ibid., 34.

is not really historical, but is merely expressed as history. This he made very plain: "For the truth is, that the tabernacle is the copy, not the prototype, of the temple in Jerusalem."³¹ Wellhausen suggested: "By the simple historical method which carries the central sanctuary back into the period before Solomon does the Priestly author abolish the other places of worship."³²

Wellhausen's arguments are based entirely on his preconception of Israel's history and on the a-priori dating of a postulated P source. What Wellhausen has done is reconstruct a history (based tenuously on selected texts) to his own taste (to support his D before P thesis) and then eliminate any opposition by reinterpreting texts which suggest errors in his reconstruction.³³ In the narrative of building the *הֵיכָל*, not one hint suggested its being a copy of the Solomonic temple. Rather, it is

³¹Ibid., 37. Here he follows Graf's arguments: (1) reference to south, north, and west sides takes for granted a fixed building (namely, the temple), (2) a wooden altar covered with brass is a "perfectly absurd construction" which was an attempt "to make the brazen altar which Solomon cast transportable." Harrison, 527, argues against the Wellhausian retrospection on the basis of the absence of singers in the tabernacle, which were extremely important in the pre- and post-exilic temple (and presumably would have been retrojected onto the tabernacle tale as well).

³²Wellhausen, 37.

³³Ibid., 44, where he states that "if the Ohel Moed is . . . the tabernacle . . . then the verse is . . . an interpolation." No further solution was sought.

explicitly stated to be constructed after the תבנית shown to Moses by YHWH (Exod 25:9).

J. Rylaarsdam states the impact of Wellhausen's retrospective origin for the תבנית: "Ever since the days of Wellhausen it has been commonly recognized that the tabernacle of Exodus is an ideal structure. The Temple of Solomon was its structural model."³⁴ J. Durham has noted the same phenomenon. He writes in his commentary on Exodus: "The assumption that P is exilic and so Ex 25-31" is far later than its context suggests, "is an oversimplification [which] was popularized first by Wellhausen and has been followed, often with only cosmetic modification, by the majority of scholars since."³⁵ Rylaarsdam continues the movement of Wellhausen and states in good Wellhausian form: "The tabernacle here presented [Exod 26:1-37] never actually existed. It is a product of

³⁴J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Introduction to the Book of Exodus," *IB* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1:845.

³⁵Durham, 352. Durham proceeds to cite Wellhausen, McNeile, Driver, Fohrer, and Vink. See also Jack P. Lewis, "Mo'ed," *TWOT*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 1:389, "Literary critics have traditionally explained these passages [Exod 33:7-11; Num 11:24-30; cf Exod 25:8] as coming from two sources, E and P, with P not reflecting a historical situation." Or James Muilenberg, "The History of the Religion of Israel," *IDB*, ed. G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 308-309, where he states: "A later age naturally adorned these places [sanctuaries at Hebron, Bethel, Beersheba, Dan, Gilgal, Ophrah, Shechem, Shiloh] with etiological narratives, but in no case perhaps is the story pure fancy."

the priestly imagination, an ideal structure."³⁶ He continues by postulating that "P^A" had the original tent idea while "P^B" added information regarding a "rectangular wooden structure" and a "goat's hair tent."³⁷ In his view, "the wooden structure represents an attempt to make the tent-tabernacle conform to the Solomonic temple."³⁸

According to this view, the redaction of the text by P is quite understandable if the character of those writers is taken into account. Fretheim notes that P passages are concerned with Abraham's descendants, the land, and YHWH's promise to be "the Lord their god."³⁹ This third concern of P, according to Fretheim, includes YHWH's acts of deliverance and his promise of continual presence.⁴⁰ It is voicing this concern that the Priestly writers are seen as inventors of the history of a non-existent tabernacle, fused to a tent tradition, and retrofitted to conform to the Solomonic temple.⁴¹

³⁶J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Exegesis of the Book of Exodus," *IB* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1:1027.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 1:1027. That is, Exod 26:7-14 is P^A to which vss. 1-6 and 15-30 (both P^B) were added.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 1:1030.

³⁹Fretheim, 315-316.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 316.

⁴¹Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, trans. J. S. Bowden, *OTL* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 211.

Therefore, Exod 25-40 is seen as a Priestly retrofit of old tent traditions, the Ark, and a contemporary need to express the immanence of God.⁴² Or as G. Pixley states the issue: "We may conclude, then, that the tabernacle of the sacerdotal traditions was an eclectic structure, bringing together various traditions of the past, some of which (the ark, or the tent, for example) dated from the pre-Israelite wilderness history."⁴³

Analysts have themselves practiced manipulation in an attempt to sort out the sources. Rylaarsdam suggests that the altar of incense (Exod 30:1-38) was "probably introduced in the second temple."⁴⁴ The lampstand (Exod 25:31-40), as Noth would have it, really dates to the time of Zerubabel.⁴⁵ "This kind of source-critical analysis has led to very subjective and often conflicting results, and increasingly scholars have turned to a much broader analysis of the P material, one informed more by

⁴²For data on the old tent tradition, see von Rad, 236; Rylaarsdam, *Introduction*, 845; Harrison, 587. This is largely based on material in Exod 33:7-11. Regarding the Priestly concern for the immanence of God, see Rylaarsdam, *Introduction*, 845; and Nathaniel Micklem, "Exegesis and Exposition of the Book of Leviticus," *IB* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 2:127-128.

⁴³Pixley, 190.

⁴⁴Rylaarsdam, *Exegesis*, 1:1053.

⁴⁵Noth, 207.

tradition-history techniques than by source criticism," says Durham of the Wellhausian approach.⁴⁶

B. Childs is careful to point out the difficulties in attempting to divide Exodus by "formal literary markers."⁴⁷ Noth held a similar opinion for he noted:

Attempts have been made to make a literary distinction between these two contradictory elements [tent of meeting and temple] and to argue that an original literary stratum knew only of a real tent sanctuary, while the wooden construction and the complicated nature of the whole were only introduced in a secondary literary stratum. But the transmitted wording offers no plausible scope for such a literary distinction.⁴⁸

Noth continued by postulating that the strata cannot be unraveled on a literary level because the difficulties are "inherent in the history of the tradition as it has been described."⁴⁹ In other words, Noth recognized the limits of source criticism and suggested the problem was at the historical level, not the literary level.

Scholarly reactions to the problems of identifying source limitations has led in two directions, both away from the source issue. Tradition history reflects a

⁴⁶Durham, 352.

⁴⁷Childs, 170-171.

⁴⁸Noth, 211.

⁴⁹Ibid.

desire to learn the process by which the source came about. It accepts the idea of sources but leaves the issue of *what* in favor of *how*. Secondly, the emphasis on finding an Oral precursor has led to a de-emphasis on source determination. As these two latter developments have not so directly influenced the terminological analysis of Exod 25-40, this study has dealt with their Wellhausian precursor. The question naturally arises concerning what effect this background has had on the literary analysis of Exod 25-40.

Examples of Analysis

Durham presents a comprehensive assignment of Exod 25-40 to its assumed sources.⁵⁰ He shows that Exod 25:1-31:18, 34:29-35, 36:8-40 are P; Exod 35:1-36:7 are P²; and Exod 32:1-6 belong to the "basic sources" of Exod 32-34, and Exod 32:7-34:28 are mostly ascribed by scholars to J or E.⁵¹ In short, all the material relating to the *מִשְׁקַן* and to the *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* belongs to the P source, according to this assessment, and is assigned to ca. 550-450 BCE.⁵² Only the episodes of the Golden Calf (Exod

⁵⁰Durham, 350-499. See also appendix D.

⁵¹Ibid., 417, 427-465.

⁵²See Fretheim, 316; Hayes, 118; Harrison, 502; Durham, 350, 380; Pixley, xvii; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row Pub. Co., 1962), 236. Cf. Eakin, 475; Simpson, 198; Bailey, 38; Rylaarsdam, *Exegesis*,

32:1-33:6), the account of the Mosaic אֱלֹהִים (Exod 33:7-11), the Theophany of Exod 33:12-23, and the giving of the second tablets (Exod 34:1-35) are assigned to non-priestly sources.⁵³

Comparison of the structures assigned to Exodus by Cole, Durham, Harrison, Hurowitz, Kearney, Lewis, Noth, Rylaarsdam, the author, and the paragraphing of the MT is shown in appendix D.⁵⁴

Using the source assignments from Durham as a base, one can observe that there is general agreement on the structural limitations of Exod 25-40 only in three places. All ten analyses end a unit with either Exod 31:17 or 18. Eight of ten end a unit at 34:35. Six of ten end a unit at 39:43. These are the only generally agreed-upon structural limits.

On the issue of source assignment and structural analysis, the data are mixed. Exod 25-40 is composed of

1027; *idem.*, *Introduction*, 846; Wellhausen, 353; P. J. Kearney, "Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex 25-40," *ZAW* 89 (1977): 386; and Noth, 17.

⁵³Durham, 417.

⁵⁴R. Alan Cole, *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary*, vol 2., TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1973), 52; Durham, ix-x; Harrison, 567; Victor (Avigdor) Hurowitz, "The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle," *JOAS* 105 (1985): 22; Kearney, 375-378; Lewis, *Ark*, 537; Noth, 5-6; and Rylaarsdam, *Introduction*, 847-848. These references should be noted in the following discussion.

two P blocks separated by a J/E block. Exod 31:18 marks the first P unit and all ten analyses end a unit there. P material resumes with 34:29, yet only one analysis divides the structure there; the other eight prefer to include J/E material in the latter P unit. Without more detailed data upon which the structures were determined, no valid conclusion concerning the relation of source assignment and structure can be drawn from the figure.

It is interesting to note that only this author's structural analysis respects the change in terminology from *מִשְׁכָּן* to *מִוֶּטֶד אֱהֵל* which is found in Exod 27:19-20. Since scholarly analysis has not shown terminological sensitivity on the structural level, the issue of such sensitivity at other levels should be investigated.

*Sensitivity to Terms
in Their Context*

The Mosaic Structure discussed in Exod 25-40, and known in lay parlance as the *sanctuary* or *tabernacle* and occasionally as the *temple*, is equally inconsistently termed by professional scholars, in spite of the clarity of the text. Most insensitivity involves the crossing of *מִשְׁכָּן* with *מִוֶּטֶד אֱהֵל* or vice-versa. Cole speaks of Exod 40:1-38 as "Consecration of the Tent," when *אֱהֵל* occurs twelve times and *מִשְׁכָּן* seventeen times in the passage.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Cole, 52.

Further, Cole titles his comments on Exod 26:1-37, "The Tent"; however, the term אֹהֶל does not occur in the passage at all.⁵⁶ That he was referring to the tabernacle as a "tent" is clear as he quotes Exod 26:1: "You shall make the tabernacle (tent). . . ."⁵⁷ In short, Cole shows an insensitivity in his use of the terms.

B. Levine is similarly insensitive.⁵⁸ He writes in regards to Exod 36:8-38:20 as referring to "the sanctuary and its vessels."⁵⁹ No nominal form of קֹדֶשׁ appears in that passage. When commenting on Exod 29:7 he writes: "The limitation of unction to the High Priest (29:7) indicates that Exodus 29 is a later addition to the tabernacle texts."⁶⁰ His use of tabernacle is mischosen, for Exod 29:7 is in the middle of an אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד section (Exod 27:20-33:11) where the term מִשְׁכָּן does not occur.

Pixley also mixes terminology. He equates the מִקְדָּשׁ and the מִשְׁכָּן.⁶¹ Also, regarding Exod 30:17-21, he

⁵⁶Ibid., 194.

⁵⁷Ibid. (emphasis in original). See also Cole, 194-239 passim, for many such occurrences.

⁵⁸Baruch A. Levine, "The Descriptive Tabernacle Texts of the Pentateuch," *JAOS* 85 (1965): 307-318.

⁵⁹Ibid., 309.

⁶⁰Ibid., 312.

⁶¹Pixley, 195.

states "as with the other texts dealing with instructions for the court or atrium (...Ex 27:9-19), the preferred name for the dwelling is 'tent of meeting'."⁶² Whereas "tent of meeting" does not occur in Exod 27:9-19, neither does any term for dwelling occur in Exod 30:17-21.

J. O. Lewis suggests a non-textual solution: "the names 'tabernacle,' 'tent of meeting,' and 'tabernacle of the tent of meeting,' are used synonymously but perhaps reflected different Priestly hands at work."⁶³ U. Cassuto declares "the word מִשְׁכָּן miškan serves as a synonym of אֹהֶל 'ohel."⁶⁴ Regarding Exod 27:20-28:5, Cassuto parallels the terms and gives precedence to מִשְׁכָּן even when commenting on passages in which the term does not occur.⁶⁵ Wellhausen sees the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד as the מִשְׁכָּן.⁶⁶ J. Davis continuously uses *tabernacle* or *sanctuary* in a non-specific sense when referring to the Mosaic Structure.⁶⁷ C. Feinberg in his

⁶²Ibid., 209.

⁶³Lewis, *Ark*, 539.

⁶⁴U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), 346.

⁶⁵Ibid., 370, "In the tent of meeting--that is, the Tabernacle" (emphasis in original). Also *ibid.*, 393.

⁶⁶Wellhausen, 44.

⁶⁷John J. Davis, *Moses and the Gods of Egypt: Studies in Exodus*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 255.

article on the Tabernacle also mixes terms *tent of meeting, tabernacle, and sanctuary* in non-specific ways which are insensitive to the contexts in which *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* are found in Exod 25-40.⁶⁸

The general tendency of scholarship is to remain insensitive to the textual and contextual uses of *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. Childs, Cole, Levine, Pixley, Lewis, Cassuto, Wellhausen, Davis, and Feinberg have all shown themselves to use the terms in non-specific and non-contextual ways.⁶⁹ The response of scholars has been to provide non-textually based solutions to the problem of variation by those who recognize its existence.⁷⁰ The meaning of the variation of the terms in Exod 25-40 is not clearly understood by contemporary scholars. This is due primarily not to problems "inherent in the history of the tradition" as Noth postulated, nor to the absence of "formal literary markers" as Childs suggests, but to insensitivity to those "literary markers" (the uses of *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*) resulting in a hypothetical history of the tradition.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Charles L. Feinberg, "Tabernacle," ZPEB, ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. Co., 1975), 5:572, 573.

⁶⁹ Note the individual references cited above.

⁷⁰ Pixley, 202.

⁷¹ Noth, 211; Childs, 170-171.

Summary

Wellhausen's JEDP version of the documentary hypothesis has provided the dominant force in the hermeneutical methodology applied to the analysis of Exod 25-40 even after the methodology has yielded somewhat to tradition history and oral approaches. It is ironic that Wellhausen was not attempting to exegete Exod 25-40 so much as use that passage to support his thesis of D-source precedence. Nevertheless, his theory that the Mosaic Structure is a retrospective emendation of P material into the J or E materials has been accepted by the majority of scholars to date.

The J source was dated to the time of David or Solomon, ca. 1000-922 BCE. The E source was estimated to have arisen between ca. 922 and 700 BCE. The J and E materials were combined between 722 and 586 BCE. The Deuteronomic revision occurred during this same period (722-586 BCE), and the Priestly writers made their impact felt between 550 and 450 BCE. None of this is taken from textual evidence in the MT, but is based on a construction of history founded largely on the postulations of source critics, using Wellhausen's example. His reconstruction provided the basic framework for subsequent analysis (Rylaarsdam, Durham, Lewis, and

Muilenberg).⁷² This has led to the opinion that the Mosaic Structure is an etiological reconstruction of a postulated tent-structure retroactively introduced into the text in order to support the Priestly temple reform. Bearing in mind the severity of such a claim, it is important to note that this interpretation is based on an external historical reconstruction and not on the parameters of the text itself. This methodology has become so problematic to some (Noth, Childs) that the whole problem is neatly sidestepped on the basis of lack of data.⁷³

Structural analyses of contemporary scholars has shown a lack of sensitivity to terminology. Consideration of selected statements by these scholars has also shown an insensitivity to terms within the text. This has been shown to be true of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. The terms are repeatedly used inconsistently with no basis on textual occurrence or frequency (Cole, Lewis, Pixley, Cassuto, David, and Feinberg).⁷⁴ The terms are often seen as mere synonyms (Pixley, Joe Lewis, Cassuto, and Wellhausen).⁷⁵ Besides resulting in uneven analysis of the text, such

⁷²Rylaarsdam, *Exegesis*, 1:1027; Durham, 352; Lewis, *Mo'ed*, 1:389; and Muilenberg, 308-309.

⁷³Noth, 211; Childs, 173.

⁷⁴See individual citations above.

⁷⁵See individual citations above.

methodology overlooks the key to the solution to the problem.

CHAPTER III

THE ETYMOLOGY OF מִשְׁכָּן AND אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

The Etymology of מִשְׁכָּן

The noun מִשְׁכָּן is understood to mean dwelling place.¹ Holladay shows it to be used also for home, tomb, and (central) sanctuary.² It is often translated tabernacle which is derived from the Vulgate tabernaculum, an ill-chosen word meaning tent.³ Such terminology serves to confuse the distinction between the Hebrew terms.

מִשְׁכָּן is a מ-noun (maqtil) form of שָׁכַן which has the meaning of self-submission, settle, rest, stop, live-in, inhabit, sojourn, dwell (qal); let/make to live/dwell (piel); settle, let/make to live/dwell

¹Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *The New Brown, Driver and Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Lafayette, IN: Associated Publishers and Authors, 1981), 1015; Davis, 254.

²Holladay, 219.

³See modern English translations. re: Vulgate, see also: G. Henton Davies, "Tabernacle," *IDB*, ed. G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 4:498-506. *Tabernaculum* is "ill-chosen" because the connotation of "tent" has led to confusion of the מִשְׁכָּן with the אֹהֶל.

(*hiphil*).⁴ Its Assyrian cognate is šakanu (*set, lay, deposit*) which yields the nominal form maškanu (*place, dwelling place*).⁵

J. O. Lewis points out that שָׁכַן is "rooted in the nomadic past of Israel and literally means 'to pitch a tent.'"⁶ He continues by noting that יָשַׁב is the normal term used for "dwelling in houses," meaning "to sit down."⁷ From this it is clear that שָׁכַן refers to non-permanent dwelling activity, and יָשַׁב (therefore) to an impermanent dwelling-place; the emphasis being on the activity and not the duration or the location.

R. Friedman defines יָשַׁב as the "inner fabric" over which is the "outer fabric" (אֹהֶל), both comprising a

⁴Holladay, 369-370. Brown, 1014. Lewis, Ark, 545; Ernest Klien, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1987), 391.

⁵Ibid., 1014.

⁶Lewis, Ark, 545.

⁷Ibid. Cf. Holladay, 146. F. M. Cross points out that the usual "Priestly" word for men "dwelling" was יָשַׁב , that is never used of YHWH except when referring to His "throne" or "to enthrone" (F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Tabernacle," *BA* 10 (1947): 67). See also M. Haran, "The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions," *Biblica* 50 (1969): 259, who concurs with a differentiated use of שָׁכַן and יָשַׁב in the deuteronomic writings where שָׁכַן speaks of "god's presence in a close place" whereas יָשַׁב refers to "his staying in heaven."

"single structure."⁸ F. Cross defines מִשְׁכָּן as "to encamp" or "to tent," therefore, he suggests that מִשְׁכָּן originally meant "tent" and later came to mean the "tent" par excellence.⁹ On the basis of Ras Shamra evidence, G. Wright defined מִשְׁכָּן as "tent-dwelling."¹⁰ G. Davies takes a broader view defining the מִשְׁכָּן as "tabernacle, dwelling, dwelling-place, habitation, abode, encampment," but he allows that the term may refer to the "shrine as a whole" (Exod 25:9) or "virtually the holy of holies" (Exod 26:1).¹¹

In addition to the definition of מִשְׁכָּן , it is important to consider the description of the מִשְׁכָּן as a symbolic residence.¹² This similarity is the reason for

⁸R. E. Friedman, "The Tabernacle in the Temple," *BA* 43:4 (1980): 243, 245. He is arguing that the Mosaic Structure was just the right size to fit into the Most Holy Place of the Solomonic Temple.

⁹Cross, 65-66.

¹⁰G. E. Wright, "The Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East, Part III: The Temple in Palestine-Syria," *BA* 7:4 (1944): 72.

¹¹Davies, 498. The breadth of this definition is not justified in Exod 25-40. Certainly Exod 26:1 is not only the "holy of holies" as Davies suggests. The larger context of which Exod 26:1 is a part (namely, Exod 26:1-37; especially vs. 33) includes both the הַקֹּדֶשׁ (holy place) and $\text{קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדְשִׁים}$ (holy of holies). In Exod 26:1 מִשְׁכָּן refers to the two-compartment unit.

¹²This is the two-compartment מִשְׁכָּן as opposed to the more general use of the term, (see pp. 51, 86-87).

the consideration of *הַיְקָל* in chapter one. F. Holbrook has briefly pointed out the parallels.¹³ An earlier and more detailed version is that of M. Haran:

All of them [accessories] are shaped as furniture of a dwelling-place and testify that the house is really arranged as a habitation: the lamps for light, the tables for bread, the small altar for incense (an item which is not lacking in any luxurious residence in antiquity), the altars bearing the epithet of God's tables (Ez 41,22; 44,16; Mal 1,7), the sacrifices being called God's bread (Lv 21,21-22; Nm 28,2), the typical image of the gods as eating the fat of sacrifices and drinking the libations of wine (Dt 32,38) and the like.¹⁴

The significance of this for the present study is that *מִשְׁכָּן* must be seen as a physical dwelling place with the connotations of immanence and emphasis on the action rather than the place.¹⁵ With this basic definition of *מִשְׁכָּן* established, a consideration of *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* is in order.

The Etymology of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

The phrase *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* is a genitival construct of its two terms: *אֹהֶל* and *מוֹעֵד*, often translated "tent of

¹³ Frank B. Holbrook, "The Israelite Sanctuary," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Co., 1981), 23; (see also Hurowitz, 28).

¹⁴ Haran, 255.

¹⁵ Holbrook, 23.

meeting."¹⁶ The word אֹהֶל is simply tent.¹⁷ Variations of the term are found in Aramaic (אֹהֶלָא), Phoenician (אֹהֶל), Ugaritic ('hl), and Egyptian ['(a)har(u)].¹⁸ The Assyrian cognate is alu.¹⁹ The Vulgate translates אֹהֶל, tabernaculum, and occasionally, tentorium, therefore making אֹהֶל indistinguishable from מִשְׁכָּן.²⁰

The term מוֹעֵד has a basic meaning of appointed time/place/sign, or meeting place, place of assembly, to meet by appointment.²¹ It is the maqt'il form of the verb יָעַד (designate, appear, come, gather, summon, reveal oneself).²²

¹⁶See NIV, RSV. KJV = "tent of the congregation."

¹⁷Holladay, 5-6. Cf. Klien, 9; Brown, 14; Jack P. Lewis, "'Ohel," TWOT, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 1:35; Davis, 254.

¹⁸Klien, 9. Here Klien disallows a connection between the Hebrew אֹהֶל and the Arabic 'ahl. See Cross, 59-60; Koch, 123; Davies, 499.

¹⁹Brown, 13.

²⁰Davies, 498.

²¹Ibid., 498; Holladay, 186; Klien, 327; Brown, 417; and Lewis, 'Ohel, 388.

²²Davies, 254; Holladay, 137-138; Klien, 327; E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 24 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980; reprint, *The Assembly of the Gods* (n.p.: Scholars Press, 1986), 174-175.

Combining these terms, the phrase אֶתֶל מוֹעֵד carries the notion of tent of the appointment, or tent of meeting/assembly. This was the place of the gathering of the Divine and the human.²³ Hence, it was the location of the ultimate cult event, namely, the interface of the Divine and the human.²⁴

Parallel Terms in Ugaritic Sources

With the discovery of tablets at Ras Shamra in 1928, and the subsequent decipherment of the Ugaritic language, a linguistic cross-reference has arisen for documents written in the Late Bronze Age time frame.²⁵ This is not the place for an in depth consideration of all

²³Paul F. Kiene, *The Tabernacle of God in the Wilderness of Sinai* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. Co., 1977), 16.

²⁴A reading of R. J. Clifford, "The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 227, greatly aided in clarification of this cult-relationship.

²⁵For a brief account of the discovery of the Ugaritic materials, see Peter C. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1983), 7-25; and Adrian Curtis, *Cities of the Biblical World: Ugarit Ras Shamra* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1985), 18-33. By "Late Bronze Age" the Late Bronze II (ca. 1400-1200 BCE) archaeological period is meant. See Henry O. Thompson, *Biblical Archaeology* (New York: Paragon House Pub., 1987), xxv. These dates correspond to level I.3., at Ras Shamra (ca. 1365-1185 BCE), the latest occupation of Ugaritic civilization at the site. These dates also correspond to the internal textual claims of the Pentateuch, hence, the opportunity for linguistic cross-reference.

the many facets of the Ugaritic culture, its literature, and its potential for use in biblical studies. The following assessment is limited to the consideration of cognates for אֱהָל מוֹעֵד and מִשְׁכָּן in the Ugaritic corpus.²⁶

Although the verb form škn occurs sixteen times in Ugaritic literature, the noun form mškn occurs only twice.²⁷ Both of these occurrences are plural and both refer to the gods' dwelling places.²⁸

²⁶Referencing and cross-referencing Ugaritic texts can be very confusing. This study follows the numbering system of André Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Découvertes à Ras Shamra - Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, Mission de Ras Shamra, 10, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), quoted in Adrian Curtis, *Cities of the Biblical World: Ugarit Ras Shamra* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1985), 80, 82. This is abbreviated CTA. Ugaritic sources cited in the style of this document would be, for example, CTA 15.III.18-19. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1955) uses his own numbering system "UT," for example: UT 128.3.18-19. Additionally, the name of the literary work is also used as its denominator, hence, the second of three parts of "The Story of Keret" may be referred to as KRT B or KERET B. As it happens, CTA 15:III.18-19, UT 128.3.18-19, and KRT B (iii) 18-19 are the same. This is a simple example which serves to betray the possibility of many greater confusions. There are many other numbering systems and the numbers do not always correspond so neatly. In the relevant literature, these particular two lines may be referred to in any of the many ways without further explanation. As stated above, this study uses the CTA system.

²⁷For a list of occurrences of škn, see Richard E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 594.

²⁸CTA 17.V.33 (2 AQHT 5.33) and CTA 15.III.19 (UT 128.3.19), cf. Whitaker, 436. See also Stanislaw Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: With Selected*

The Ugaritic equivalent of מוֹעֵד is m'd, and is limited to the phrase puhru mo'idu meaning "the gathered assembly."²⁹ The hypothetical 'hl m'd does not appear in Ugaritic texts, therefore a direct equivalent to אָהֶל מוֹעֵד does not occur. מוֹעֵד is found in the *Tale of Wen-Amon* (ca. 1100 BCE) referring to a city assembly, and in a document from Byblos (7th cent. BCE).³⁰

The equivalent term for אָהֶל ('hl) does occur in Ugaritic and, especially important for this study, it occurs in parallel formation with mšknt in each of the only two occurrences of that latter term.³¹ CTA

15.III.18-19 reads:

ti'tayu 'iluma la-'ahalihum
daru 'ili la-miškanatihum³²

Texts and Glossary (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 193. Also Gordon, *Manual*, 327.

²⁹Mullen, 117, 129 (CTA 2.I.14, 15, 16-17, 20, 31). Also Clifford, 224, 225. See Izz-al-Din Al Yasin, *The Lexical Relation Between Ugarit and Arabic*, Shelton Semitic Series, no. 1 (New York: Shelton College, 1952), 75. For a note on 'hl, see *ibid.*, 37.

³⁰Cross, 65; Clifford, 225.

³¹Whitaker, 436, reads: tity. ilm.l ahl hm / dr il.l mšknt hm. . . . 'hl [cf. ahl] occurs in CTA 17.5.32; CTA 15.3.18; CTA 19.4.214; CTA 19.4.222; CTA 19.4.212; *ibid.*, 9. Mšknt occurs in CTA 17.5.32 and CTA 15.3.19, *ibid.*, 436.

³²Also UT 128.3.18-19 or KRT B (iii) 18-19. See Mullen, 135.

Mullen provides the following translation, noting the parallelism between la-'ahalihum // la-miškanatihum:

The gods proceed to their tents
The assembly of 'El to their dwellings.³³

Here the 'ahalihum are personal dwelling tents and are paralleled with miškanatihum dwelling places. Notice the absence of an equivalent Ugaritic phrase for אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. The movement in CTA 15.III.18 is a plural number of gods going to their plural number of tents. In line 19, the parallel is an assembly of gods going to a plural number of dwelling places. The 'ahalihum are not tents of assembly, but simply personal tents.

The only other passage in which mškt appears in the Ugaritic literature is CTA 17.V.31-33.³⁴

h.tb'.ktr. l ahl
h.hyn.tb'.l mškt³⁵

H. Ginsberg provides the following translation:

³³Ibid. Notice his footnote (n. 42, p. 135) wherein Mullen states "note here the parallelism of 'ahalihum and miškanatum, thus equating the tent with the tabernacle structure. The same parallelism is common in Hebrew literature (cf. Num 24:5; Isa 54:2; Jer 30:18; etc, where 'ohel and miškan are in parallel)." This parallel of 'ahalihum and miškanatihum in CTA 15.III.18-19 is evident; however, this parallelism does not hold true in Exod 25-40 where the phrase is not אֹהֶל but מוֹעֵד אֹהֶל.

³⁴Also AQHT A 5.31-33.

³⁵Whitaker, 436.

Kothar departs for (from) his tent,
Hayyin departs for (from) his tabernacle.³⁶

Again the parallel of 'hl to mšknt relates to private personal tent in linguistic parallel to a private and personal dwelling place. The lines do not refer to the equivalent of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, but simply a private 'hl.

So in the Ugaritic corpus, mšknt appears only twice, both times in parallel with 'hl. Yet since the phrase 'hl m'd does not occur in Ugaritic (even though its individual component terms do) there is no direct equivalent for the Hebrew phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. This conclusion is supported by both Ugaritic passages which are concerned with personal, private 'hlhm rather a (hypothetical) 'hlhm of assembly which the Hebrew phrase would require.

To the definition of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, little additional insight is added from Ugaritic sources. No occurrence of tent of assembly (hypothetically: 'hl m'd) is currently witnessed in Ugaritic. The parallel use of 'hlhm and mškntm does not explain their nuance of meaning as Exod 25-40 has clearly done for the Hebrew cognates, but it shows a certain equivalence similar to that found

³⁶H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed., ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 149. See his n. 19 for the "for/from" alternative reading.

in Exod 40:34, 35, where the Hebrew terms have separate meaning in parallel grammatical construction. In short, the Ugaritic evidence shows a similarity in basic meaning between the Hebrew and Ugaritic cognates, but does not offer additional definition to the Hebrew terms.

Parallel Terms in the Septuagint

Although this work is concerned primarily with the contextual uses of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד in the MT, cognate terms in the LXX are briefly considered.

In Exod 25-40, מִשְׁכָּן is translated exclusively with σκηνη.³⁷ The phrase most often used for אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is σκηνη του μαρτυριου.³⁸ Hence, both מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל (in the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) is translated by the same word: σκηνη.

W. Bauer defines σκηνη as "tent" or "booth."³⁹

J. Thayer agrees with this definition -- "a tent" or

³⁷ Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2 vols. (Gruy-Austria: Akademische Druck-Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 1271. Also Davis, 498.

³⁸ Hatch, 1271. Also Lewis, *'Ohe!*, 389; and Davies, 498.

³⁹ Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* [A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature], 5th ed.; trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich; 2d rev. ed. F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 754.

"tabernacle" -- and adds that σκηνη is used "chiefly for אֹהֶל" in the LXX and "often also for מִשְׁכָּן."⁴⁰ Bauer notes the use of σκηνη for both מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל in his definition of ἡ σκηνη του μαρτυριου, "the tabernacle or Tent of Meeting."⁴¹

The LXX, then, shows no differentiation in its choice of cognate terms for מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.⁴² This circumstance bears little impact on this study; however, it may be important to a broader study of terminology on the theological level or in interpreting correctly pertinent passages in the NT.⁴³

Summary

The noun מִשְׁכָּן (derived from the verb שָׁכַן) means *dwelling place*. It carries connotations of impermanence.

⁴⁰Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American Book Co., 1886), 577.

⁴¹Bauer, 754 (emphasis in original).

⁴²The argument could be made that מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד are synonymous, and therefore the single Greek term is adequate for both. This argument is unsound based on the following analysis of Exod 25-40, an analysis which clearly shows the terms to be similar but not synonymous.

⁴³For a more comprehensive view of the occurrences of σκηνη in Exod 25-40, see George Morrish, ed., *A Concordance of the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1976; reprint, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1887), 222-223 (pages in reprint).

It should not be confused with a specific form of dwelling (a tent or tabernacle) as this leads to confusion in terminology. The two-compartment מִשְׁכָּן strongly resembles ancient Neareastern palatial residences in its furnishings. The phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is a construct chain meaning *tent of assembly*. It is the name of the location where Divine and human met.

In the Ugaritic corpus, mškn appears twice; 'hl occurs five times. The hypothetical 'hl m'd does not occur in Ugaritic. Both times mškn appears it is in parallel with 'hl, showing that *tent* has an associated meaning to *dwelling place*. However, the usefulness of this parallel for the present study is minimal because the Ugaritic 'hl in question does not equate with the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד of the Hebrew.

The LXX, in translating both מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד by σκαηνη, obscures the term variation present in the MT. Therefore the LXX does not provide pertinent data for the present study.

In short, מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד are similar but not synonymous terms. The Ugaritic corpus evidences this similarity in the Late Bronze II literary context; the LXX obscures the terms. In order to establish the more specific definition of the terms, a close analysis of a broad context in which the terms occur is necessary.

CHAPTER IV

A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF EXODUS 25-40

*Introduction*¹

The Masoretic text of Exod 25-40 has structural integrity along several axes.² Over-arching (*maxi-*) structures link smaller (*midi-* and *mini-*) structures. The literary *maxi-*structure is the most over-arching, including lesser *topical* and *terminological* *midi-*structures. Any of the three may include *mini-*structures. Grammatical structure is a *mini-*structure (a structure which is limited in scope), often limited to a phrase within a verse.

Literary structure betrays the importance of

¹The use of the structural terms described in this introduction is justified in the analysis of Exod 25-40 which follows. Consult appendix A for definitions of the terms introduced herein.

²John H. Stek, "The Bee and the Mountain Goat: A Literary Reading," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 59; here Stek compares these dimensions to a "hologram" rather than a "photograph." See also S. Bar-Efrat, "Some Observations on the Analysis of Structure in Biblical Narrative," *VT* 30 (1980): 170, where he discusses "structural patterns" which belong to various "structural levels."

studying the text in its canonical form. It is inappropriate to discount the structural boundaries of the text and expect to decode the meaning held within. This is because the structure of the text betrays the intentions of the writer.³ A complex, inverted, parallel structure is hardly happenstance. Its presence argues that the canonical form of the text is intended to make a certain point.

The literary axis concerns the overall form of the passage and may include variations such as lists, parallels, inverse parallels (chiasms), etc.⁴ The structure of Exod 32:1-33:6 is a five-level inverted parallel structure. Exod 40:1-8 is a simple list of nine elements, which is included in a larger parallel structure with Exod 40:17-33 which lists the same nine elements in the same order. Exod 35:1-36:7 is a two-level inverted parallel structure with an internal grammatical structure based on $\overline{A}B\overline{A}$ with a postlude. Literary structure may be very complex or very simple.

The topical axis follows a topic, theme, or

³Elmer B. Smick, "Architectonics, Structural Poems, and Rhetorical Devices," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 93; Stek, 59; Bar-Efrat, 172-173.

⁴Bar-Efrat, 170, lists "parallel" (AA^1), "ring" (AXA^1), "chiastic" (ABB^1A^1), and "concentric" ($ABxB^1A^1$) patterns.

subject of the passage.⁵ In Exod 25:23-30, is located the command to construct the "Table." Exod 25:31-40 concerns the command to construct the "Lampstand." The topical structure is associated with such factors as "Table" or "Lampstand," etc., meaning that the immediate context concerns those topics. In Exod 25-40, most topical elements are found in midi-structural lists of six or nine sections, as is demonstrated in this chapter.

The *terminological* axis reveals the occurrence of a particular term through the passage.⁶ The major attention of this study is focused on the terminological axes of *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. Note table 4.⁷

The use of *מִשְׁכָּן* continues uninterrupted from Exod 25:9 through 27:19. With Exod 27:21, there is an abrupt shift to *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* which continues through to Exod 33:7.⁸ Exod 35:11-38:31 is a second predominantly *מִשְׁכָּן* passage. In it *מִשְׁכָּן* occurs nineteen times while *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* occurs three. The fourth passage is a combined *מִשְׁכָּן* and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* passage encompassing Exod 39:32-40:38. Here *מִשְׁכָּן* occurs

⁵This is Bar-Efrat's "level of conceptual content" (ibid., 168-169).

⁶This is Bar-Efrat's "verbal level" (ibid., 157).

⁷Lisowsky, 30-33, 873-874.

⁸Pixley, 199.

TABLE 4

OCCURRENCES OF מִשְׁקָן AND אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

	מִשְׁקָן	אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד	מִשְׁקָן	אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד
Exod	25:9		35:11	
	26:1		:15	
	:6		:18	
	:7			35:21
	:12		36:8	
	:13		:13	
	:15		:14	
	:17		:20	
	:18		:22	
	:20		:23	
	:22		:25	
	:23		:27	
	:26		:28	
	:27 (2x)		:31	
	:30		:32 (2x)	
	:35			38:8
27:9			38:20	
:19			:21 (2x)	
	27:21			:30
	28:43		:31	
	29:4		39:32	39:32
	:10		:33	
	:11		:40	:40
	:30		40:2	40:2
	:32		:5	
	:42		:6	:6
	:44			:7
30:16				:9
:18				:12
:20			:17	
:26				:18
:36			:19	
31:7			:21	
33:7 (2x)			:22	:22
			:24	:24
				:26
			:28	
			:29	:29
				:30
				:32
			:33	
			:34	:34
			:35	:35
			:36	
			:38	

twenty times and אהל מועד fourteen times. In nine verses both terms occur together. Based on the occurrences of משכן and אהל מועד, the terminological maxi-structure of Exod 25-40 is a compound of four units: משכן only, אהל מועד only, משכן-dominant, and אהל מועד/משכן combined. The latter two midi-structures refer to various degrees of mixed terms.⁹

This study proceeds with a structural analysis of Exod 25-40 paying attention to the various literary, topical, and grammatical dimensions, focusing especially on the terminological axes of משכן and אהל מועד. The points of terminological transition receives additional analyses.

The structural analysis which follows is not presented as an exhaustive analysis (the extent of which would go beyond the scope of this study), but rather a limited discussion of the basic structural elements which affect the term-context relationship.

Instructions to Make the משכן:
Exod 25:1-31:18

Exod 25:1-27:19. This passage is the beginning of the instructions to make the מקדש (holy precinct) for YHWH. This מקדש is to be המושכן (the dwelling place) because YHWH ישכןתי (will dwell) among His people.

⁹Theoretically there could be a "אהל מועד-dominant" passage, but none exists in Exod 25-40.

The name for the Mosaic Structure in this passage is מִשְׁכָּן which occurs nineteen times exclusive of any other name. The structure of the passage includes two introductory statements followed by six topical elements: Ark, Table, Lampstand, the two-compartment מִשְׁכָּן, Altar of Burnt Offering, and Courtyard. See table 5.¹⁰

TABLE 5
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 25:1-27:19

	25:1	Lord said to Moses
	:2-7	Bring offerings
	:8-9	Make (general) מִשְׁכָּן
A	:10-22	Ark
B	:23-30	Table
C	:31-40	Lampstand
D	26:1-37	(two-compartment) מִשְׁכָּן
E	27:1-8	Altar of Burnt Offering
F	:9-19	Courtyard

The concern of this passage is the commands for making the Mosaic Structure: its size, pattern, materials. Instructions are given pertaining to the various elements of the מִשְׁכָּן. The purpose of the מִשְׁכָּן (dwelling place) is for YHWH to שָׁכַן (dwell) among His people, hence, inherent in the Mosaic Structure is the concept of the immanence of YHWH: His dwelling amid His people.

¹⁰Lisowsky, 30-33, 873-874.

In Exod 25:8, **מִשְׁכָּן** refers generally to the dwelling area "and its furnishings." In Exod 26:1-37, **מִשְׁכָּן** occurs in a narrower sense. It names the two-chambered Mosaic Structure (excluding the courtyard mentioned in 27:9-19). This is also true of its parallel manufacture passage (36:8-38) which also excludes the courtyard (see 38:9-20). So in Exod 25:8, **מִשְׁכָּן** refers to the general area, the dwelling place of YHWH. In Exod 26:1-37, it refers to the specific two-compartment unit. In Exod 40:1-8, it refers to the general area of the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (as is shown in the analysis of this passage below).¹¹

Exod 27:20-21. At this point the use of terms switches from **מִשְׁכָּן** to **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (tent of assembly). Between Exod 27:19 and 35:11, the preferred term for the Mosaic structure is the latter. Exod 27:20-21 is the transition phrase. It marks not only the transition from **מִשְׁכָּן** to **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** but also a transition from a construction context to a function context.

Exod 27:19 instructs that the tent pegs for the courtyard be made of bronze. Exod 27:20-21 gives instructions on how the sons of Israel are to bring olive oil for the lamp so that it can burn continually before the Lord in the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**. The context switches from one

¹¹See pp. 86-87 below.

of construction to one of function (cultic function to be precise). Not only is oil to be brought, but it is to be used in worshipping the Lord in a certain specified manner. At the point where there is a contextual change from construction to function, there is a terminological change from *מִשְׁכָּן* to *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. The structure of Exod 27:20-21 is shown in table 6.

TABLE 6
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 27:20-21

1	27:20	Command to bring oil
2	:21a	Explanation of cultic function
3	:21b	Lasting ordinance

Here the structure is characterized by three elements: command, explanation, and time duration. This passage introduces the contextual use of *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* with its cult-functional aspects.

Exod 28:1-43. This passage considers making the priestly garments, particularly the Ephod, Breastpiece, Robe, Turban, Tunic (and other small garments), and Undergarments. Each topical element includes the command to make it and an explanation of its function. The six items are preceded by the commands to bring the priests and to make garments, hence, the structure is very similar to Exod 25:1-27:19. See table 7.

TABLE 7

STRUCTURE OF EXOD 28:1-43

	28:1	Bring priests
	:2-5	Make garments
1	:6-14	Ephod
2	:15-30	Breastpiece
3	:31-35	Robe
4	:36-38	Turban
5	:39-41	Tunic, etc
6	:42-43	Undergarments

Exod 28:1-43 emphasizes the function of each item. The Ephod was to act as a memorial (Exod 28:12). The Breastpiece with its Urim and Thummim was to be Aaron's means of making decisions (Exod 28:29-30). The Robe with its bells was to preserve Aaron's life (Exod 28:35). The Turban and plate enabled Aaron to bear the guilt of the sacred gifts (Exod 28:38). The Tunic, headbands, and sashes were to bring the priests "dignity and honor" (Exod 28:40). The Undergarments were to be worn by the priesthood as they ministered so that they would not "incur guilt and die" (Exod 28:43). The Mosaic Structure is called the אֵהָל מוֹעֵד in this passage. As in Exod 27:20-21, the context of cult-function and the phrase אֵהָל מוֹעֵד are associated.

The parallel literary structure of the two larger passages is visible in table 8.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF EXOD 25:1-27:19 AND EXOD 28:1-43

Exod 25:1-27:19		Exod 28:1-43	
25:1	Lord said to Moses		
:2-7	Bring Offerings	28:1	Bring Priests
:8-9	Make מִשְׁכָּן	:2-5	Make garments
1 :10-22	Ark	1 :6-14	Ephod
2 :23-30	Table	2 :15-30	Breastpiece
3 :31-37	Lampstand	3 :31-35	Robe
4 26:1-37	מִשְׁכָּן	4 :36-38	Turban
5 27:1-8	Burnt altar	5 :39-41	Tunic
6 :9-19	Courtyard	6 :42-43	Undergarments

Both Exod 25:1-27:19 and Exod 28:1-43 are prefaced by a command to *bring* (**וַיִּקְרָב**, **וַיִּקְחֵי**, respectively) and a command to *make* (**וַיַּעֲשֶׂה**, **וַיַּעֲשִׂה**, respectively) a general category of items, followed by six specific items. Between these two passages is a short transitional passage: Exod 27:20-21.

The parallel structure is evident: *bring* :: *bring* (two different roots, but similar meanings), *make* :: *make* (same roots), *six elements* :: *six elements*. The significance of this structure which joins these sections into one literary unit must not be missed. Since the first passage is strictly a **מִשְׁכָּן** passage, and the latter is exclusively a **מוֹעֵד אֶתֵּל** passage, the intentional use of two very different terms within a single literary structure is apparent. The fact that **מִשְׁכָּן** is associated with the

construction of the Mosaic Structure and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד with its functional (cultic) aspect suggests a contextual selection of term usage, that is, two terms used to describe the same Mosaic Structure, the choice of which is determined by the context. A construction context opts for מִשְׁכָּן. A cult-function context suggests אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. The textual data at this point reveals such a term-context relationship. Analysis of the following passages is necessary to investigate more fully this hypothesis.

Exod 29:1-46. This passage is still within the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד section. The phrase occurs seven times. The topic of these verses is the consecration of cultic things. Note that the presentation of the priests (vs. 4), the presentation and slaughter of the bull (vss. 10-11), the wearing of the garments (vs. 30), the eating of the ram by the priests (vs. 32), and the making of the burnt offering (vs. 42) all occur at the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד or at the פֶּתַח (entrance) to the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. *Exod 29:44* speaks of the consecration of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, the altar, Aaron, and sons. Even though the verb שָׁבַן (from which מִשְׁכָּן derives) is found in both vss. 45 and 46, the preferred term for the Mosaic Structure here is not מִשְׁכָּן (which is nowhere present) but אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.

This passage clarifies the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד by associating it with instructions concerning the cultic functions of the Mosaic Structure. Further, the structure

of the text (table 9) shows a parallel with the preceding six-element passages. Exod 29:1-46 has two preliminary points: (1) the command to **לְקַדְּשׁ** (29:1a) the priests (put into a state of holiness), that is make holy the priests, and (2) to **בְּקָרְבָּן** (bring) priests and sacrifices (29:1b-4).¹² These are followed by six distinct component elements. The literary structure differs from that of Exod 25:1-27:19 and Exod 28:1-43 in the addition of an epilogue and in the inversion of the preliminary points. The structure is similar in that six elements are treated in the body of the passage.

TABLE 9
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 29:1-46

	29:1a	Consecrate priests (make holy)
	:1b-4	Bring priests and sacrifices
1	:5-9	Dress priests
2	:10-14	Bull (sin offering)
3	:15-18	Ram (burnt offering)
4	:19-24	Ordination ram (wave offering)
5	:25-37	Ordination ceremony
6	:38-41	"Daily" offering
	:42-46	Epilogue

¹²Holladay, 313. Although the terms differ here from those of the preceding passages, the idea of make and bring are clearly present. The root **קָרַב** (bring) in Exod 29:4 is the same as the root in Exod 28:1.

Exod 30:1-10. Exod 30:1-10 is another transitional passage similar to Exod 27:20-21. There is no change in terminology as in the former passage (neither term is present), yet it does serve to link two parallel structural patterns.

A similarity can be seen with the subject matter of Exod 27:20-21. The oil in Exod 27:20-21 serves a similar cultic role as the incense. The incense was burned at the time of the morning and evening offerings in conjunction with lighting the oil lamps (Exod 30:8).

Significant is the parallel literary structure of the two passages. The structure of Exod 30:1-10, as shown in table 10, includes four sections: a command to make the altar of incense (vss. 1-5), a command concerning its proper placement (vs. 6), an explanation of how the altar of incense functions in the cult (vss. 7-10b), and a reference to the perpetuity of its offering (vs. 10c). Exod 27:20-21 has three sections: a command, an explanation, and a lasting ordinance (see table 6).

TABLE 10
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 30:1-10

A	30:1-5	Command: make incense altar
B	:6	Command: placement
C	:7-10b	Explanations of use
D	:10c	Generations to come

The structural similarities of Exod 27:20-21 and 30:1-10 include three levels. Both begin with a command (27:20, *bring* :: 30:1, 6, *make, put*), followed by an explanation (27:21a, 30:7-10b), and concluded with a reference to perpetuity (27:21b, 30:10c, with root *דרת*).

Exod 30:11-31:18. This is the final passage of those which deal with instructions concerning the Mosaic Structure. It is similar in structure to the previous three, six-element passages treated above. Verse 18 is an epilogue concerning the end of the first Sinaitic theophany. Exod 30:11-31:18 is clearly a *אָהֵל מוֹעֵד* passage, for the phrase appears exclusively six times.

A unique structural feature of the passage is that each of the six elements begins with YHWH speaking to Moses.¹³ The MT varies slightly in phraseology, but the structural similarity is plain.¹⁴ Note table 11.

Summary of Exod 25:1-31:18. The maxi-structure of this passage is built around four sections each composed of six elements. The first two and the latter two units

¹³Exod 30:11, 17, 22, 34; 31:1, 12.

¹⁴Exod 30:11, 17, 22 and 31:1 is *וַיִּדְבֹר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר*, and YHWH spoke to Moses saying. Exod 30:34 has *וַיִּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר*, and YHWH said to Moses. While Exod 31:12 combines elements of the two: *וַיִּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר*, and YHWH said to Moses saying. The terminology is slightly different; the parallel meaning is apparent.

are each divided by a small transitional unit which has at least three parallel elements.

TABLE 11
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 30:11-31:18

1	30:11-16	Atonement money
2	:17-21	[Wash] basin
3	:22-33	Anointing oil
4	:34-38	Incense
5	31:1-11	Craftsmen
6	:12-17	Sabbath(s)
	:18	Epilogue

Note that the terminological structure is independent of the literary structure. Both the **מִשְׁכָּן** section of Exod 25:1-27:19 and the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** sections of Exod 27:20-31:18 are part of the same literary maxi-structure. A terminological division cannot be made on the basis of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** which would fracture the well-balanced literary maxi-structure. Table 12 shows the literary structure of Exod 25:1-31:18.

From a close analysis of context, the term **מִשְׁכָּן** is seen to appear in construction contexts where the emphasis of the text is on form, specification, materials, etc., of the Mosaic Structure. The phrase **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** is associated with a cult-functional textual emphasis: offerings, for example, are always offered before the

אֶהָל מוֹעֵד, never before the מִשְׁכָּן. Exod 27:20-21 is especially helpful in noting this shift in term-use, as it includes the first transition from מִשְׁכָּן to אֶהָל מוֹעֵד.

TABLE 12
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 25:1-31:18

Exod 27:20-21		Exod 30:1-10	
Command		Command	
-----		Command	
Explanation		Explanation	
Perpetuity		Perpetuity	
Exod 25:1-27:19 מִשְׁכָּן	Exod 28:1-43 אֶהָל מוֹעֵד	Exod 29:1-46 אֶהָל מוֹעֵד	Exod 30:11-31:18 אֶהָל מוֹעֵד
Lord Said			
Bring	Bring	Bring	
Make	Make	Make	
Ark	Ephod	Dress	Money
Table	Breastpiece	Bull	Washbasin
Lampstand	Robe	Ram	Oil
מִשְׁכָּן	Turban	Ord. Ram	Incense
Altar	Tunic	Ceremony	Craftsmen
Courtyard	Garments	Daily	Sabbath(s)
		Postlude	Postlude

Noteworthy is the fact that this terminological structure, the topical structure, and the literary structure do not contradict each other, but rather co-exist along different dimensional axes simultaneously. It is the networking of these structures that accounts for the complexity of the overall text. For example, one may be both "Dr. Smith" and "darling" (terminological

structures) and both professor of economics and spouse (physical "literary" structures) at the same time. Yet it is helpful to realize that "Dr. Smith" is a term most appropriately associated with the context of professional life, and "darling" with that of personal life.

Similarly, מִשְׁכָּן is associated with the constructional "life" of the Mosaic Structure while אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is associated with the functional "life."

The Golden Calf Episode:
Exod 32:1-33:6

Exod 32:1-33:6 is concerned with the episode of the Golden Calf. Neither מִשְׁכָּן nor אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד occur in the passage. It is preceded by an אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד sequence of passages and is succeeded by another אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד passage (Exod 33:7-11). In Exod 32:15-16, reference is made to the tablets of the Testimony written by God, an event which is related in the last verse of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד passage immediately preceding this episode (Exod 31:18).¹⁵ Thus contextual continuity argues somewhat in favor of inclusion of this as אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד material.

The passage, along with Exod 33:7-11 (the Mosaic Tent), Exod 33:12-23 (the Theophany), and Exod 34:1-35 (the Second Tablets) provides a historic interlude between

¹⁵The fact that the events up to this point occur on Sinai and that Exod 33:6, the final verse of the Golden Calf episode, refers to Horeb must be taken into account.

the *commands* to establish the *מִשְׁכָּן* and the *manufacture/assembly* of the *מִשְׁכָּן*. The Golden Calf episode makes a statement about the condition of Israelite spirituality even as YHWH initiated preparations for His dwelling among them. The description of the Mosaic Tent provides insight into the cultic precedence for the new *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, filling the gap in cultic history. The Theophany and the Second Tablets provide the outcome of the Golden Calf episode.¹⁶ With the exception of Exod 33:7-11, none of these passages include either *מִשְׁכָּן* or *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, although thematically they do concern cultic circumstances, and therefore, may be seen as being in the *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* stream of thought.

The episode of the Golden Calf is striking when seen in terms of the establishment of a community cult.¹⁷ At the very time when YHWH is revealing His plans to *שָׁכֵן* (*dwell*) amid His people with the result of establishing a *מִשְׁכָּן* (*dwelling place*), which serves the function of an *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* (*tent of assembly*), Aaron (soon to be High Priest) is in the process of establishing a rival cult form. Yet the focus of Exod 32:1-33:6, as the literary

¹⁶Childs, 175, sees that "the canonical function of Ex.32-34 is to place the institution of Israel's worship within the theological framework of sin and forgiveness."

¹⁷Ibid., 173, "The whole point of the tabernacle [sic] tradition culminates in Moses' ancient office of mediator being replaced by the newly constituted priestly function of Aaron and his sons." See also *ibid.*, 175.

structure in table 13 shows, is not on this sacrilege, YHWH's anger, or even Moses' intercession (all of which are major themes). The focus of the inverted parallelism is vss. 21-29: Moses' investigation of the sacrilegious deed and the resulting execution of judgment by Levites.

TABLE 13
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 32:1-33:6

A	32:1-6	Introduction: people seek (false)
B	:7-10	YHWH speaks (2x): וַיִּתְּקַר -- וַיִּתְּקַר
C	:11-14	Moses intercedes
D	:15-20	Moses goes down
E	:21-25	Moses investigates
E ¹	:26-29	Moses executes
D ¹	:30-31a	Moses goes up
C ¹	:31b-32	Moses intercedes
B ¹	:33-33:3	YHWH speaks (2x): וַיִּתְּקַר -- וַיִּתְּקַר
A ¹	33:4-6	Epilogue: people seek (true)

Moses' Tent: Exod 33:7-11

There is disagreement over the relationship of the מוֹעֵד אֱהָל מוֹעֵד used in Exod 27:20-31:18, Exod 35:1-40:38 (passim) and the same term in Exod 33:7-11. Scholars have recognized a difference between the two in terms of size and structure, location, availability to the people, and who ministered there.¹⁸ Those who follow the Wellhausian

¹⁸Lewis, *Mo'ed*, 339; Holbrook, 3; Lewis, *Ark*, 539; Childs, 173; Rylaarsdam, *Introduction*, 845;

approach separate the two according to source or tradition with Excd 33:7-11 seen as an earlier E tradition and the other as a later (exilic) P overlay.¹⁹ Other scholars argue for one historical, successive אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.²⁰ The problem is clearly defined, but has defied a consensus solution. This study leaves the theological and historical issues for consideration in another forum. The present concern is for מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. Table 14 represents the structure of Exod 33:7-11.

The structure of the passage is linear and is divided on the basis of its verbs. In terms of this study, the emphasis on אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is obvious. The phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד occurs only two times (vss. 7c, 7d), אֹהֶל alone occurs nine times (at least once in each verse). Seven of these occurrences refer to the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (vss. 7a, 8a, 8c,

Harrison, 587; von Rad, 236.

¹⁹Brown, 13-14; von Rad, 1:236; Rylaarsdam, *Exegesis*, 1:1072. See Julian Morgenstern, "The Tent of Meeting," *JAO* 38 (1918): 134. Typical of this line of interpretation may be that of Lewis, *Ark*, 539: "The core ideas formed the nucleus of the ancient tradition of the tent of meeting, which the Priestly community used as the basis of their programmatic work."

²⁰Holbrook, 3, suggests that the new אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד "maintained the simple worship system of the patriarchs." Harrison, 587, recognizes that the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד "applied to a structure that antedated the Tabernacle [sic] proper." Lewis, *Mo'ed*, 339: "It is, however, entirely possible that there were two successive tents called 'ohel mo'ed. The first was Moses' tent, which was used before the completion of the tabernacle [sic], which was called 'ohel mo'ed, as well as miškan."

9a, 9b, 10a, 11c). Twice the אָהֶל refers to the people's personal tents (vss. 8b, 10c). Therefore, the phrase אָהֶל מוֹעֵד or אָהֶל with אָהֶל מוֹעֵד as its reference noun occurs nine times.

TABLE 14

STRUCTURE OF EXOD 33:7-11

7a	Moses took an אָהֶל
b	pitched it outside of camp
c	called it the אָהֶל מוֹעֵד
d	All inquiring of YHWH went to אָהֶל מוֹעֵד
8a	When Moses went to the אָהֶל, people arose
b	each person stood at their own אָהֶל
c	they watched Moses enter the אָהֶל
9a	When Moses went to אָהֶל, Cloud Pillar came
b	it stayed at entrance of אָהֶל
c	it spoke with Moses
10a	All saw Cloud stand at entrance of אָהֶל
b	all stood
c	all worshiped at entrance of own אָהֶל
11a	YHWH spoke with Moses face-to-face
b	he (Moses) returned to camp
c	Joshua did not leave אָהֶל

The context of Exod 33:7-11 is undoubtedly one of cult-function. Neither the cultic priesthood nor offerings are mentioned in the passage, yet Moses acts in the priestly role as representative of the people. The idea of the immanence of the עַמּוּד הַקֶּלֶן (Pillar of Cloud) may be similar to the immanence associated with the term

מִשְׁכָּן; however, close analysis reveals that the Pillar of Cloud did not dwell (root: שָׁכַן), but rather stayed (vs. 9b) or stood (vs. 10a) (root: עָמַד). Further, this activity occurred at the פֶּתַח (entrance) to the אֹהֶל. This פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is precisely the same location at which the cultic ministration took place.²¹

The phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד has been associated with cult-functional contexts, namely Moses' discussions with YHWH. The emphasis of Exod 33:7-11 is clearly on the function of the אֹהֶל, not on the constructional aspects of the structure, nor on the ontological nature of the precinct. Thus, once more, the inclination to associate אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד with the cult-functional context is legitimized.

The Theophany: Exod 33:12-23

Exod 33:12-23 treats the episode during which

²¹See especially Exod 29:1-46 above where the phrase occurs four times (vss. 4, 11, 32, 42) and Lev 8 (which parallels Exod 29:1-46 regarding the ordination of the Priests) where the phrase occurs five times (vss. 3, 4, 31, 33, 35). The phrase occurs 23 times in Leviticus, invariably in the context of cultic ministration (see Lisowsky, 1197). The presence of פֶּתַח אֹהֶל (vss. 8b, 10c) in reference to private tents may refer to a previous historical practice where the people met YHWH at the entrance of their own tents. In Exod 33:7-11 is given an example of the intermediate practice where one representative of the community (Moses) meets with YHWH at the entrance to the community tent. Exod 25-40, therefore, reflects the development of a legitimate sacerdotal institution which represents the community at the entrance to the community cult complex. This shows the progressing complexity of the cult as YHWH developed His theocracy.

Moses glimpses the פָּנֵי (faces) of YHWH.²² For the present purpose it is enough to note that as with the episode of the Golden Calf, neither pertinent term appears in the passage. The context of Moses' seeing the faces of God may hint at an אֱלֹהִים מוֹעֵד context since מוֹעֵד carries with it the connotation of relational confrontation. The structure of the passage is straightforward dialogue, and since it does not illuminate the subject of this paper, in depth analysis is dispensed with. However, the entire passage may be seen to be a more detailed account of Exod 34:5-9 which appears to be a complimentary description of the same event.

The Second Tablets: Exod 34:1-35

Exod 34:1-35 is the last portion of the historico-theological interlude which began in Exod 32. It provides a reconciliation to the estrangement of Israel from YHWH.²³ It provides historically and theologically important information which precedes the resumption of the process of establishing the Mosaic Structure. The terms מִשְׁכַּן and אֱלֹהִים מוֹעֵד do not appear in the passage and, therefore, the passage has little relevance to this present study.

²²Holladay, 293-294.

²³Notice the reference to Sinai, Exod 34:32.

**Making and Assembling the Components:
Exod 35:1-40:38.**

Exod 35:1-40:38. These chapters in Exodus provide a second maxi-structure which is a linkage of midi-structures similar to that found in Exod 25:-31:18. Here the number of topical elements in each midi-structure is nine (rather than six). There are four such nine-element sections which generally alternate with smaller midi-structures. These structures and their significance for **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** is the subject of the following pages.

Exod 35:1-36:7. Exod 35:1-36:7 forms an introduction to the task of actually making the components of the Mosaic Structure which were commanded in Exod 25-31.²⁴ This pertains to the offerings and the craftsmen along with the inclusion of a Sabbath reminder and the account of actually bringing offerings of raw materials. The same or similar information is here arranged to apply to the manufacture or assembly context of Exod 35-40. Note the literary structure of the passage in table 15.

The first element deals with the Sabbath and specifically mentions a prohibition against lighting

²⁴Exod 35:4-9 very closely parallels Exod 24:2-7, both enumerating the specific offerings of raw material in some detail. Exod 35:30-36:1a parallels Exod 31:1-11 regarding the craftsmen Bezalel and Oholiab. The Sabbath reminder of Exod 35:1-3 is generally equivalent to Exod 31:12-17, though the Exod 35 section has a more specific focus (see the body of the paper for analysis of the special focus of Exod 35:1-36:7).

fires, a prohibition which is unremarkable in the context of construction (especially fires for smelting ore for making gold, silver, and bronze fixtures). This may have been especially necessary if the zeal of the Israelites in providing the raw materials was representative of their zeal in the whole manufacture/assembly process. According to the literary structure of this passage, this reminder to keep the upcoming work in perspective is paralleled with the provision of workmen: Bezalel, Oholiab, and their helpers (work limits :: work provisions).

TABLE 15

STRUCTURE OF EXOD 33:5:1-36:7

A	35:1-4a	YHWH הִצַּו Sabbath (no work)
B	:4b-19	YHWH הִצַּו offerings
B ¹	:20-29	People bring offerings as YHWH הִצַּו
A ¹	:30-36:1	Workers given ability as YHWH הִצַּו
	36:2-7	Epilogue: abundance of offerings

The appeal for raw material offerings in vss. 4b-19 have their parallel in the bringing of those offerings by the people in vss. 20-29. Overall structure is given by the phrase YHWH הִצַּו (YHWH commanded), these appear at the beginning of elements A and B, and at the end of elements A¹ and B¹ exhibiting the inverted parallel structure of the passage. Verses 2-7 provide an epilogue regarding the response to the call for materials.

מִשְׁכָּן appears three times in this passage (35:11, 15, 18) and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד appears once (35:21). This is the first passage in which both terms occur together in the same literary unit. This mixture of terms is the rule rather than the exception through the end of Exod 40.

Judging by the context (preparation for the construction of the components of the Mosaic Structure) and by the parallels between this passage and Exod 25:1-31:18 (already identified as a מִשְׁכָּן passage), one would expect this to be a resumption of מִשְׁכָּן material. The presence of the term מִשְׁכָּן three times confirms this evaluation. Why then does אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד appear in the passage? The association of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד with a cult-functional context provides a solution.

Exod 35:21 reads ". . . and everyone who was willing and whose heart moved him came and brought an offering to the Lord for the work on the Tent of Meeting, for all its services, and for the sacred garments." The word *service* (here: עֲבֹדָתוֹ) is found in אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (service of the tent of assembly) in Exod 30:16, an אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד passage. The phrase וְלִבְגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ (sacred garments) recalls the sacred garments of Exod 28:2, 4; 31:10, both אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד passages.²⁵ Clearly then, the use of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is very much in keeping with a cult-functional

²⁵Exod 28:2, 4 has בְּגָדֵי-קֹדֶשׁ; Exod 31:10 has בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

use of the term.²⁶ This single use of אהל מועד in an otherwise מִשְׁכָּן-oriented passage provides a test of the term-context association postulated to this point, and gives strong corroboration to the theory of context as a determiner of terminology.

Making the מִשְׁכָּן: Exod 36:8-38:20. The account moves directly to making the components. Exod 36:8- 38:20 closely parallels Exod 25:8-27:19. The call to construct the מִשְׁכָּן in Exod 25:8 with its resulting treatment of six elements (Ark, Table, Lampstand, מִשְׁכָּן Structure, Altar of Burnt Offering, and Courtyard) is here augmented with three additional elements not found in the earlier passage: the Altar of Incense (seen in the transitional passage Exod 30:1-10, esp. vss. 1-5); the Anointing oil and incense (from Exod 27:20-21; 30:34-38); and the Wash basin (found in Exod 30:17-21). All together, the passage is a list of nine elements of the מִשְׁכָּן as is seen in table 16.

The order of the elements is nearly identical in both passages except for the rearrangement of the "מִשְׁכָּן Structure" element from the fourth to the first place, and the addition of three new elements. The terminology of the passages is also very similar. This is the manufacture of those objects commanded in earlier chapters.

²⁶Holladay, 261. Lev 1-7 provides a strong connection between service and the term אהל מועד.

TABLE 16

STRUCTURE OF EXOD 36:8-38:20

Exod 36:8-38:20			Order in Exod 25:8-31:18
1	36:8-38	מִשְׁכָּן Structure	4
2	37:1-9	Ark	1
3	:10-16	Table	2
4	:17-24	Lampstand	3
5	:25-28	Altar of Incense	(Exod 30:1-5)
6	:29	Oil/Incense	(Exod 27, 34)
7	38:1-7	Altar of BO	5
8	:8	Wash basin	(Exod 30:17-21)
9	:9-20	Courtyard	6

Since this passage is paralleling a previous מִשְׁכָּן passage, one would expect the terminological choice to be parallel. It is. The term מִשְׁכָּן occurs thirteen times and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד only once.²⁷ The context is the manufacture (construction) of the מִשְׁכָּן components. Therefore, it is not surprising that the dominant term is מִשְׁכָּן. Again there is one single אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד occurrence to account for.

Exod 38:8 reads: "And he made the bronze basin and its bronze stand from mirrors of the serving-women who served at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting." The use of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is completely understandable in this passage.

²⁷The former in Exod 36:8, 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32(2x), and 38:20; the latter only in 38:8.

The association of *service* (here from the root *עָבַד* not *עָבַד*) with *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* is understandable, particularly at the *פְּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*.²⁸

In the consideration of the three inserted elements, another parameter in the term-context association is revealed. The inserted element "Altar of Incense" (Exod 37:25-28) is associated with the term *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* in Exod 30:1-10. Yet Exod 30:1-10 is amid an *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* passage and Exod 37:25-28 is a *מִשְׁכָּן* passage.

A closer reading of Exod 30:1-10 reveals two levels: a constructional level and a cult-functional level. Exod 30:1-6 deals with constructing the incense altar, and vss. 7-10 with its cult-function. Exod 30:7-10 is clearly cult-functional, but *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* does not appear. Exod 30:1-6 and Exod 37:25-28 are definitely constructional, but *מִשְׁכָּן* does not appear. A similar situation occurs with the next added element. The *Anointing oil/incense* occurred initially in *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* contexts.²⁹ In Exod 37:29, the context is cult-functional, but *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* does not occur. Clearly, while a term is related to a particular context, that context does not require the presence of one particular term.

²⁸Holladay, 302. The form in Exod 38:8 is *הַצְּבֹאֵת*.

²⁹The *Anointing oil* (Exod 27:20-21) had one exclusive use of *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. The *Incense* (Exod 30:34-38) also had one exclusive use of the term.

The third added element [Wash] basin has been treated above under the issue of the single occurrence of אֶהָל מוֹעֵד in the passage. In summary, this element occurs in אֶהָל מוֹעֵד contexts in both places where it previously occurred (Exod 30:17-21; 38:8).³⁰

What then has been learned from the additional elements in Exod 36:8-38:20? The *Altar of Incense* had no occurrence of אֶהָל מוֹעֵד in either Exod 30:1-10 or Exod 37:25-28. Neither this passage nor its parallel had its key term. The *Anointing oil/incense* element had אֶהָל מוֹעֵד in its previous parallels, but not in this passage. The [Wash] basin element had אֶהָל מוֹעֵד in both its previous parallel, and its present context. One can conclude that given a set of parallel contexts, the primary term may be found in neither, one, or both, yet the contexts may remain the same. The term-context relationship is flexible amid its structure.

The term-context relationship of מִשְׁכָּן and אֶהָל מוֹעֵד is verified by subsequent textual data. Context determines term choice but does not require term presence. There has been no cross-over between term and context in parallel passages. In the text, מִשְׁכָּן remains associated with a *constructional* context and אֶהָל מוֹעֵד with a *cult-functional* context.

³⁰Exod 30:16, 18, 20; 38:8.

Amounts of materials: Exod 38:21-31. Now follows the second short passage of the Exod 35:1-40:33 maxi-structure. It contains an account of the gold, silver, and bronze used in the manufacture process of the *מִשְׁכָּן* components. The term *מִשְׁכָּן* appears three times in the eleven verses, and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* occurs once. Each use of the terms is understandable within the theorized term-context parameters.

Verse 21 has two uses of *מִשְׁכָּן*, the second in apparent apposition to the first: *הַמִּשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן הָעֵדוּת* (the dwelling place, the dwelling place of the testimony). The context is concerned with the materials used for its construction. The third use of *מִשְׁכָּן* (vs. 31) is similarly construction-related, referring to the surrounding courtyard.

אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד occurs only in vs. 30 in the context of the amount of bronze used for the bronze altar with its utensils and grating (here the Altar of Burnt Offering: as the Incense Altar was made of gold; Exod 27:1-4, 38:1-4; cf. Exod 30:1-3; 37:25-26), and for the bases of the *פְּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* (entrance of the tent of assembly). The discussion of Exod 29:1-46 and Exod 33:7-11 has shown this to be a cult-functional phrase. The bronze altar (of Burnt Offering) is a cult item, and although only its construction had been mentioned in previous passages, the appearance of *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* here is not surprising or awkward.

Exod 38:21-31 is not the ideal passage for explicitly seeing the term-context relationship. Such a relationship is barely visible when one diligently searches for it, yet the term-context relationship revealed in previous texts is not repudiated by the data in this passage.

Making the garments: Exod 39:1-43. Here is the second, nine-element passage. Each element except the last ends with the phrase: צָנָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי מֹשֶׁה (YHWH commanded to Moses). The final element which ends the passage conveys essentially the same meaning but in grander style:

צָנָה יְהוָה כִּן יָשׂוּ וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם מֹשֶׁה ([as] YHWH commanded, thus they did, and Moses blessed them). Each element ends with a צָנָה יְהוָה phrase, as table 17 illustrates.

TABLE 17
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 39:1-43

Exod 39:1-43			Order in Exod 28:1-43
1	39:1	Introduction (צָנָה יְהוָה)	-
2	:2-5	Made ephod (צָנָה יְהוָה)	1
3	:6-7	Assembled stones (צָנָה יְהוָה)	-
4	:8-21	Made breastpiece (צָנָה יְהוָה)	2
5	:22-26	Made robes (צָנָה יְהוָה)	3
6	:27-29	Made tunic, etc (צָנָה יְהוָה)	5
7	:30-31	Made plate, etc. (צָנָה יְהוָה)	4
8	:32-42	Present מִשְׁכָּן (צָנָה יְהוָה)	-
9	:43	מִשְׁכָּן inspected (צָנָה יְהוָה)	-

Here it is evident that there are nine elements in this passage just as there were nine elements in Exod 36:8-38:20 (the first long section of Exod 35:1-40:39). A difference should be noted that the former passage dealt with nine items of the **אֲשֶׁר**; this latter passage deals with seven **אֲשֶׁר** items and brings the total to nine through the literary emphasis of events rather than of objects. In other words, the previous passages showed their structure in terms of a number of physical objects (Ark, Table, Lampstand, etc). Here in Exod 39:1-43 the literary structural emphasis is on the number of items in the passage, not on the number of objects in the passage. Hence, one can see that the passage was written to include a certain number of elements (six each in Exod 25:1-27:19; 28:1-43; 29:1-46; 30:11-31:18; and nine each in Exod 36:8-38:20; 39:1-43. Also see Exod 40:1-8; 16-33 which are analyzed below). This may involve a combination of tangible objects and literary items considered topically which combine to make a total number of elements. In the case of Exod 39:1-43 where elements of different character were combined, the terminating phrase **וְעָנָה אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה** serves as a control, allowing clear demarcation of the passage, and therefore, accurate numbering of the elements.

This passage also yields much insight into the nature of the term-context relationship. Considering this

relationship one must remain mindful of the multi-dimensional structure of literary passages as noted above. These multiple dimensions include literary, topical, terminological structural axes. Exod 39:1-43 provides opportunity to study how these dimensions may interface in a given passage. The passage exhibits a literary dimension (signified by צִנֹּתָהּ יְהִי), topical dimension (*Garments, Ephod, Stones, etc.*), and terminological dimension (both מְשָׁקֵן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד). These multiple dimensions have been present in earlier passages, but not in the complexity that is found here.

Exod 39:1-31 incorporates the first seven literary elements. As seen before, these are tangible objects: *Garments, Ephod, Stones, Breastpiece, Robe, Tunic, and Plate/turban*. While each item has its cult-function, the context of this passage is not on how they are used but their construction. One immediately thinks of מְשָׁקֵן. This initial association is supported by the command parallel to this *manufacture* passage which is found in Exod 28:1-43. The elements in the two are largely identical with minor re-ordering and re-emphasis. Note table 7 above.

Exod 28:1-43 is unquestionably a מְשָׁקֵן passage. The context of Exod 39:1-43 is also construction. While מְשָׁקֵן does not appear in Exod 39:1-31, vs. 32 introduces a totally new phenomena: both מְשָׁקֵן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד in the same verse.

The term *מִשְׁכָּן* occurs three times in Exod 39:1-43 (vss. 32, 33, 40). The phrase *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* occurs twice (vss. 32, 40), both in close grammatical construction with *מִשְׁכָּן*. Analysis of Exod 39:33 reveals that *מִשְׁכָּן* is used as a general term, for its specific components are enumerated in a style reminiscent of the construction context witnessed before in Exod 28:1-43. This use of *מִשְׁכָּן* in a construction context need not be treated in depth again.

The two terms appear together in vss. 32, 40. Theoretically, they could have no particular association with each other (which would be unlikely, but could occur if there was a major change in context and hence terminology in the middle of a verse).³¹ It is expected that the terms would have literary or grammatical association. One can see examples of a literary association in Exod 40:22, 24, 34, 35 which are treated below. Grammatical association is seen in these two verses (vss. 32, 40) as well as Exod 40:2, 6, and 29.

The phrase in Exod 39:32 is *מִשְׁכָּן אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* (*dwelling place of the tent of assembly*). The association of the terms is genitival construction (*construct chain*). Here *מִשְׁכָּן* is in the construct state and *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* (itself in grammatical construct) is its genitive.³² The

³¹That the verse-divisions are not part of the original text is unquestioned.

³²J. Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar for Classical*

association of the terms is not apposition as the NIV and JB read: "the tabernacle, the Tent of Meeting," but rather as in the NASB: "the tabernacle of the Tent of Meeting."³³

The emphasis here is on the dwelling place of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, that is, the environment where the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד dwells with all its components. The difficulty in understanding this comes in the use of *tabernacle* for מִשְׁכָּן (with its inappropriate connotation of *tent*). Since the meaning of מִשְׁכָּן is simply *dwelling place*, the difficulty is removed when one thinks: "dwelling place" and not "tabernacle." In the phraseology postulated in this study, this is the *constructional* aspects of the *cult-functional* Mosaic Structure. Verse 32 concerns the completion of work on the dwelling place of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, not the Dwelling Place of YHWH.

Hebrew, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 43-47. Cf. Holladay, 219. The construct state is witnessed by the shortening of the *gametz* to *pathach* in the final syllable. As a feminine noun with *gametz* in the final syllable, the repointing caused by the construct state affects only that final syllable.

³³The KJV reads: "the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation." NEB reads: "the Tabernacle of the Tent of the Presence." RSV reads: "the tabernacle of the tent of meeting." The TEV reads: "the Tent of the Lord's presence," thus eliminating reference to the tabernacle. More to the point may be the author's translation: *temporary dwelling place of the tent of assembly which replaces the inaccurate tabernacle with a more accurate: temporary dwelling place.*

Here the text presents a third use of **מִשְׁכָּן**. In Exod 25:8-9, the **מִשְׁכָּן** refers generally to YHWH's dwelling place, including the courtyard. In Exod 26:1-37, the term **מִשְׁכָּן** refers specifically to the two-compartment building, excluding the courtyard. Here in Exod 39:32 it refers generally to the dwelling place of the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**.

By understanding the genitival association of **מִשְׁכָּן** and the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** one can see that the terms are not in apposition and are not synonymous. Rather Exod 39:32 implies the primacy of the the dwelling place in its use of the term **מִשְׁכָּן**, both because of a contextual emphasis on its components and because of the genitival grammatical construction.

Now Exod 39:40 has another grammatical construction involving **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**. The construction reads: **הַמִּשְׁכָּן לְאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**. Here **מִשְׁכָּן** is not in construct state and is prefixed with the definite article. The construct **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** is prefixed by the dative prefix **לְ** which often means to or for, although prepositions are notoriously elusive.³⁴ Here the preposition **לְ** carries the genitival idea of and results in a grammatical variation, but retains the same meaning as that found in Exod 39:32,

³⁴Holladay, 167-170, from which the essence of the following discussion is taken. Holladay presents twenty-five uses of this dative prefix.

namely, the dwelling place of the tent of assembly.³⁵ The use of ל in this fashion supports the idea that the emphasis of Exod 39:32, 40 is on the dwelling place of the tent of assembly rather than on the Dwelling Place of YHWH.³⁶ This reflects the beginning of a shift from מִשְׁכַּן to אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד which is quite evident in Leviticus.³⁷ However, the terms remain quite mixed through the remainder of Exodus.

Exod 39:1-43 has offered additional insight into the term-context relationship adding to the basic context relationship noted in Exod 25:1-31:18 (construction/מִשְׁכַּן, cult-functional/אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד), and to the nuance noted in Exod 35:1-36:7 wherein the terms are associated but have a meaning which can only be detected by close grammatical

³⁵Holladay, 169, notes two circumstances where ל takes on a genitival meaning. It could be "genitive of relationship for indef[inite] nouns" if one wished to argue that מִשְׁכַּן is indefinite (the context of Exod 39:40 very plausibly supports this). Or, according to Holladay, it could "replace gen[itive]" either "after a noun or noun-substitute wh[ich] cannot be (specifically) in the c.s. [construct state]" or "instead of 2 gen[itive]s." Since מִשְׁכַּן has a construct form (Exod 39:32) and since the association of two genitives was not avoided in Exod 39:32, one can reason that the choice of this prepositional construction was to emphasize the indefinite nature of מִשְׁכַּן as used here. In other words, מִשְׁכַּן refers not to the Dwelling Place, but to the dwelling place (of the tent of assembly). This choice of construction reflects an emphasis on the environment of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.

³⁶See above footnote.

³⁷See appendix C.

analysis. What began as a simple association of term and context has now developed into complex forms.

Command to assemble: Exod 40:1-8. Exod 40:1-8 forms a third, nine-element passage as is visible in table 18. The literary elements are generally components of the two-compartment *קִשְׁטָן* with the exception of the literary introductions. It is apparent by comparison that the order of the elements is generally the same in each of the three passages included in the table. The *קִשְׁטָן* element in Exod 40:2 is rearranged as it was in Exod 36:8-38:20. The anointing oil/incense element is not present. An element of introduction is added. Still the major components of the *קִשְׁטָן* are included and generally retain the order of appearance as in parallel passages.

TABLE 18
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 40:1-8

	Exod 40:1-8		Order of Exod 25:1-19	Order of Exod 36:8-38:20
1	40:1	Introduction	-	-
2	:2	<i>קִשְׁטָן</i>	4	1
3	:3	Ark	1	2
4	:4a	Table	2	3
5	:4b	Lampstand	3	4
6	:5	Incense Altar	-	5
7	:6	Altar of BO	5	7
8	:7	[Wash] basin	-	8
9	:8	Courtyard	6	9

The term **מִשְׁכָּן** and the phrase **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** both occur in this passage. Each occurs alone (vss. 5, 7, respectively) and in genitival construct with the other (vss. 2, 6). This provides three sets of terms: **מִשְׁכָּן** alone, **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** alone, and the two grammatically linked. Additionally, **מִשְׁכָּן** is used both generally and specifically in the passage.

The grammatical construction of Exod 40:2, 6 is that of Exod 39:32, namely: **מִשְׁכָּן אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (*dwelling place of the tent of assembly*). As noted above, the emphasis of this statement is on the general dwelling of the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**.

In Exod 40:3-8, the phrase is associated with the commands to place component objects in relation to one another. Although cult articles are mentioned, the context is that of construction (here, assembling the whole from component parts). Verse 5 mentions **הַפֶּתַח לְמִשְׁכָּן** (*the entrance of/to the dwelling place*), a phrase very similar to the cult-related **פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** discussed above. Verse 7 references the placement of the [wash] basin to the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**, not to the **מִשְׁכָּן** as in vs. 5 or the **מִשְׁכָּן אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** as in vss. 2 and 6. Clearly, the text does not explicitly witness a wide differentiation in terminology. The terms, while not in apposition and not strictly parallel, are used so similarly as to invite the question, "Why?"

A close look at the context of Exod 40:1-8 (and the same holds true through the remainder of the chapter)

reveals no false categorization of terminology. Simply stated, the author of Exod 40 does not provide a strict separation of terminology as has been witnessed in Exod 25:1-27:19 where the only term used was מִשְׁכָּן, or as in Exod 27:20-31:18 where the sole term was אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. Instead, the terms blend and remain just one step short of interchangeable. The reason is simple.

When dealing with construction of the Mosaic Structure, including the command to construct (Exod 25:1-27:19) and the command to manufacture (Exod 36:8-39:43), a term associated with the idea of a physical place of immanence was appropriate. Of the two terms, מִשְׁכָּן was preferred in those contexts. However, when instructions regarding the cult-function of the Mosaic Structure was the context, either in terms of commands (Exod 28:1-37:18) or in carrying out those commands as seen in Leviticus (Lev 8-9), the preferred term is אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. This has been clearly demonstrated in Exod 28:1-31:18 and is apparent in the appendix material on Leviticus.³⁸

³⁸See appendix C. This link of Exodus with Leviticus is legitimized on textual bases. The first word in Lev 1:1 is וַיִּקְרָא, a qal imperfect with ו conjunctive prefix, "and he [Moses] called"; hence, the Hebrew name of Leviticus: וַיִּקְרָא (And He Called). This provides a continuation of Exodus material on a grammatical level. Further the MT shows in its paragraphing a continuation from Exod 40:34-Lev 1:1, the next reading begins with Lev 1:2. Therefore Leviticus is a literary continuation of Exodus on at least two textual bases.

This separation of terminology is easy when the contexts are kept separate. As we noted, the terms follow their contexts even when the two contexts are associated in the same topical or literary structure. However, despite the separation, it must be born in mind that only a single Mosaic Structure was built: a single structure with both immanence (construction) and cultic (functional) aspects. The writer could keep them separate when writing of one or the other, but when writing of the assembling of the single Mosaic Structure, the aspects necessarily co-mingle and result in a co-mingling of terms. The terms remain discrete in meaning and connotation but must necessarily be mixed when the contextual emphasis is on a single, multi-faceted Structure.

Here in Exod 40:1-8, the account of the command to assemble the Mosaic Structure, the two terms are found in close order. If not for the clear term-context associations noted above, the exegete may be at a loss to note much difference in the meaning of the terms as they appear here. But by using the nuance of meaning discerned in previous unambiguous passages, the terms can be followed through the the ambiguous passages.

Command to anoint: Exod 40:9-16. This short passage regarding the anointing of the *כִּשְׁתֹּף*, its furnishings, the *Altar of Burnt Offerings* with its utensils, the *Wash Basin* and stand, along with Aaron and the priests, represents just such a co-mingling of terms

as described above. Except for the atypical context of this passage (assembly), the exegete would be highly surprised to see the command to *וְקִשְׁחָהּ אֶת-הַמִּשְׁכָּן* (anoint the dwelling place). This cultic action performed on the Mosaic Structure is not surprising in light of YHWH's original command in Exod 25:8: *וַעֲשׂוּ לִי מִקְדָּשׁ* (and they shall make for me a holy precinct). It is the dwelling place of the *מוֹעֵד אֶהְיֶה* which gets anointed in preparation for becoming the dwelling place of YHWH, and by reason of this indwelling, a holy precinct. It is the anointing which signifies the anticipated holiness.³⁹

The remainder of the passage (Exod 40:10-16, esp. 12-16) is unremarkable. Aaron and his sons are to present themselves at the *פֶּתַח אֶהְיֶה מוֹעֵד* (entrance to the tent of assembly). This is the expected term-context relationship of cult-function and *מוֹעֵד אֶהְיֶה*.

Action of assembling: Exod 40:17-33. This passage rounds out the group of four passages each of which has nine elements. As shown in table 19, it is virtually a rehearsal of the commands to assemble given in Exod 40:1-8.

In keeping with the co-mingled usage of *מִשְׁכָּן* and *מוֹעֵד אֶהְיֶה* wherein the two aspects of the Mosaic Structure come together, this passage is an excellent witness to the

³⁹The Mosaic Structure may be called *הַמִּשְׁכָּן* in order to provide a linguistic link with the Exod 25:8 command.

unified nature of the Mosaic Structure. The term **מִשְׁכָּן** occurs nine times.⁴⁰ The phrase **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** occurs six times.⁴¹ In vss. 22, 24, and 29, the terms are found together. So **מִשְׁכָּן** alone appears six times, **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**, three times, and together they appear three times.

TABLE 19
STRUCTURE OF EXOD 40:17-33

			Order of Exod 40:1-8
1	40:17	Introduction	1
2	:18-19	מִשְׁכָּן	2
3	:20-21	Ark	3
4	:22-23	Table	4
5	:24-25	Lampstand	5
6	:26-28	Golden Altar	6
7	:29	Altar of BO	7
8	:30-32	[Wash] basin	8
9	:33	Courtyard	9

מִשְׁכָּן is the primary term of the passage as vs. 17 indicates. **מִשְׁכָּן** is used as a specific term for the two-compartment Structure. Verses 18-21, which include three more uses of **מִשְׁכָּן**, reflect the well-known construction context with reference to subsidiary components.

⁴⁰Exod 40:17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 33.

⁴¹Exod 40:22, 24, 26, 29, 30, 32.

Verses 22-24 witness a close association of the terms, yet not in a grammatical construction as in Exod 39:32, 40. The association shows that both aspects exist in the same physical place. The Table is placed in the אהל מועד on the north side of the משכן; the Lampstand is placed in the אהל מועד on the south side of the משכן. The object is placed in the cult area, in a particular spot of the physical place. Verses 26-28 may be seen as an extended version of the same dual/single character.

Verse 29, in which both terms occur, is similar to Exod 39:32 and carries with it the connotation of dwelling place of the tent of assembly.⁴² There the emphasis was on the environment of the אהל מועד. This may be doubly the case since Exod 40:29 is more completely פתח משכן אהל מועד (entrance of the dwelling place of the tent of assembly). This is a rather complex genitival construction which incorporates the פתח (entrance) idea associated with the cult when in grammatical construction with אהל מועד.

Verses 30-32 are straightforward cult-functional verses related to where, with what, and when the priests were to wash their hands. Interestingly, vs. 33 provides one last switch to a constructional context and one last use of משכן before the passage closes. These movements back and forth between terminology, rather than invalidate

⁴²The phrase is משכן אהל מועד, lacking only the definite article on משכן to be identical with Exod 39:32.

the witness of other scripture to the term- context relationship, instead uphold the separateness and uniqueness of each term despite the tensions which make these passages complex.

The Epilogue: Exod 40:34-38

One final passage remains for consideration. Exod 40:34-38 provides an epilogue to the accounts of Exod 25:1-40:33. Verses 36-38 discuss the movement of the Mosaic Structure with no hint of cult concern. **מִשְׁכָּן** is used twice by itself (predictably) in Exod 40:36-38. Only two verses, 40:34-35, are devoted to the actual account of the indwelling of YHWH in the Mosaic Structure. Each verse contains both **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**, and in both cases the terms appear in parallel. Note the structure of Exod 40:34-38 as seen in table 20.

TABLE 20

Structure of Exod 40:34-38

A	40:34a	Cloud covered אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד
B	:34b	Glory filled מִשְׁכָּן
A ¹	:35a	Not enter אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד because Cloud
B ¹	:35b	Glory filled מִשְׁכָּן
	:36-37	Cloud directs movement
	:38	Cloud by day :: fire by night

Clearly the **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** and the **מִשְׁכָּן** are associated in parallel. In light of the differences in the terms

evidenced by previous passages, they are not identical or synonymous terms. What is portrayed through the parallelism is simply that both terms are truly separate aspects of one physical structure, each affected by the presence of the Cloud. The glory of YHWH occurred inside the *כִּשְׁפָן* at the same time the Cloud hovered above the entrance of the *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. The intention is to describe one flow of events at one physical location, yet retain a separation in the terminology. The reason for doing this is an aspect of biblical theology which exceeds the limits of this paper. That it, in fact, occurs is evident in the structure of the text itself and is thusly warranted for inclusion in this study.

The literary maxi-structure of Exod 35:1-40:38 can be seen in table 21.

Summary

The biblical text has at least three *maxi-structural* axes: literary, topical, and terminological; and at least one *mini-structural* axis: grammatical. The structural integrity, particularly that integrity demanded by the presence of maxi-structures, has given strong argument for approaching the biblical text in its canonical form.

TABLE 21

STRUCTURE OF EXOD 35:1-40:38

35:1-36:7 מִשְׁכָּן-domin		38:21-31 מִשְׁכָּן-domin		40:9-16 Mixed terms		40:34-38 Mixed terms	
A	Sabbath	1	Intro.	1	מִשְׁכָּן	1	Coming
B	Offering	2	Workers	2	Altar	2	Function
B ¹	Offering	3	Amounts	3	Basin	3	Duration
A	Work			4	Priests		
	Epilogue			5	Epilogue		
36:8-38:20 מִשְׁכָּן-domin.		39:1-43 מִשְׁכָּן-domin.		40:1-8 Mixed terms		40:17-33 Mixed terms	
1	מִשְׁכָּן	1	Intro.	1	Intro.	1	Intro.
2	Ark	2	Ephod	2	מִשְׁכָּן	2	מִשְׁכָּן
3	Table	3	Stones	3	Ark	3	Ark
4	Lamp	4	Breast	4	Table	4	Table
5	Incense	5	Robe	5	Lamp	5	Lamp
6	Oil	6	Tunic	6	Incense	6	Incense
7	Burnt	7	Plate	7	Burnt	7	Burnt
8	Basin	8	Present	8	Basin	8	Basin
9	Court	9	Inspect	9	Court	9	Court

The four terminological structures on the terminological axis defined by the occurrences of מִשְׁכָּן and מוֹעֵד אֱהִל co-existed with topical structures related to individual components of the מִשְׁכָּן, etc., and literary structures such as parallelism, inverted parallelism, and lists. In their co-existence, no structures are negated; rather each axis exists along a different dimension. The four terminological structures found in the text are: מִשְׁכָּן alone, מוֹעֵד אֱהִל alone, מִשְׁכָּן dominant, and both terms

mixed. Attention was first given to terminological structure as it related amid literary and topical structures. The quest was for improved understanding of the term-context relationship.

Exod 25:1-31:18 exhibits six literary maxi-structures: four with topical midi-structures of six elements each, and two small literary midi-structures each with three parallel elements.⁴³ The elements show a pattern: 6-3-6-6-3(4)-6. This literary structure with topical elements provides continuity within which the terminological structure weaves. This overarching literary structure incorporates one unit in which מִשְׁכָּן is the exclusive term used to name the Mosaic Structure, and one unit in which אֶתֶל מוֹעֵד is used to name the Mosaic Structure. It is important to note that the term variation occurs within the literary maxi-structure, thereby minimizing the likelihood of an intentional source seam between literary structures. The overarching literary maxi-structure argues strongly in favor of a unified literary product.

It has been shown that the first passage, a מִשְׁכָּן unit (Exod 25:1-27:19), is most clearly a physical, construction-oriented context with special connotations of indwelling immanence. This explains the choice of the

⁴³Consult table 12.

term **מִשְׁכָּן** as the name of the Mosaic Structure in this passage. Further, the latter five passages (Exod 27:20-31:18), and most especially the first of these five (the transitional unit, Exod 27:20-21), has exhibited a different context. These passages show a functional context with special focus on the cultic functions of the components of the Mosaic Structure. This explains the choice of the phrase **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** as the primary name for the Mosaic Structure in these contexts.

The episode of the Golden Calf (Exod 32:1-33:6) has deep theological significance. Its literary structure focuses attention on its bi-elemental center; namely, the investigative and executive Mosaic judgments in Exod 32:21-29. However, for this term-context study, the episode provides little additional insight since neither term occurs in the passage.

Insight into the older cultic form of the tent of Moses, superseded by the more elaborate **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** discussed in surrounding chapters of Exodus, was provided in Exod 33:7-11. Clearly, the term **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** appears in a cult-functional context here.

The theophany recorded in Exod 33:12-23 was seen to have no occurrence of either selected term. Exod 33:12-23 is a more detailed account of Exod 34:5-9. The giving of the second tablets (Exod 34:1-35) attracted little notice as neither of the selected terms appear in the passage.

Exod 35 begins the second major maxi-structure of the Exod 25-40 complex.⁴⁴ In Exod 35:1-40:38, there are eight literary structures, four of which are very short and four which exhibit the nine-element topical form. In terms of numbers of topical elements, these eight structures follow a 5-9-3-9-9-5-9-3 pattern. The first four structures are **מִשְׁכָּן**-dominant; the last four are **מִשְׁכָּן/מוֹעֵד** **אֶהָל** mixed. The uses of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֶהָל מוֹעֵד** remain context-related. Each term remains distinct. The terminological variation occurs within the structures, both at a maxi- and mini-structural level, precluding a simplistic division of along terminological lines.

The association of both terms in the same verse is witnessed nine times. Four times the association is at a grammatical level (genitival construct) which emphasizes the dwelling place of the **אֶהָל מוֹעֵד**; once the terms are associated in a prepositional phrase, resulting in a meaning very similar to the genitival construction. Twice the terms are associated, but not parallel; twice the terms are clearly parallel.⁴⁵ Although the terms are closely associated, it is evident that they are used no differently than in the previous passages. It is more

⁴⁴See table 21.

⁴⁵The verses in order of their treatment above is as follows: Exod 39:32; 40:2, 6, 29; Exod 39:40; Exod 40:22, 24; Exod 40:34, 35.

difficult to arrive at the clear contextual nuance found in previous passages, but by using clear texts, it is apparent that the more obscure texts of Exod 35:-40:38 do not deny the same contextually related nuance of meaning. The terms are used discretely, specifically, and intentionally through a range of topical and literary maxi-structures without losing their uniqueness.

CHAPTER V

SYNTHESIS AND SUMMARY

Summary

Chapter I introduced the subject of this study as an analysis of the contextual relationship of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** in the MT of Exod 25-40. The basis of such delimitation was provided as follows:

Of the Hebrew terms which may seem relevant names for the Mosaic Structure, the following was noted: **הֵיכָל** does not appear at all in the Pentateuch and occurs first (in terms of canonical order) in 1 Sam 1:9. The nominal form **מִקְדָּשׁ** occurs only once in Exod 25-40 and appears 40.5 percent of its total OT occurrences in Ezekiel. The term **בְּיָרֵחַ**, which occurs 2,150 times in the OT, refers to the Mosaic Structure in Exod 25-40 only once. It occurs much more frequently (66.7% of its OT occurrences) in the books of Kings and Chronicles. These terms were eliminated from detailed analysis in this study.

Analysis of the frequency of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (in the phrase **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**) found that they refer to the Mosaic Structure in Exod 25-40 fifty-eight and thirty-four times, respectively. These were revealed to be the primary names

for the Structure. Two lines of data came together to support the contention that **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** are the most numerically significant terms used to name the Mosaic Structure in this passage. First, the absence of significantly numerous occurrences of **הֵיכָל**, **בַּיִת**, and **מִקְדָּשׁ**, and second, the sizable number of occurrences of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**. Having limited the terms, the direction of the study turned to an analysis of scholarly opinion on the aspects of these selected terms.

A review of scholarly treatment of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** in Exod 25-40 (considered in chapter 2) revealed that Wellhausen's JEDP version of the documentary hypothesis provided the dominant force in the hermeneutical methodology applied to the analysis of Exod 25-40. His theory that the Mosaic Structure is a retrospective emendation of P material into the J, E, or perhaps G materials, has been accepted by the majority of scholarship to date.

The reconstruction of Biblical history based on the postulations of source critics, Wellhausen in particular, yielded the following: The J source was dated to the time of David or Solomon, ca. 1000-922 BCE. The E source was estimated to have arisen between ca. 922 and 700 BCE. The J and E materials were combined between 722 and 586 BCE. The D revision occurred during this same period (722-586 BCE), and the P writers made their impact

felt between 550 and 440 BCE. Since the textual material concerning the building of the Mosaic Structure was assigned to the P writers, this led to the majority opinion that the Mosaic Structure was an etiological reconstruction of a postulated tent-structure retroactively introduced into a text in order to support the Priestly temple reform. It was noted that this interpretation is based primarily on a historical reconstruction and not on the parameters of the text.

More current scholarship has developed the Wellhausian notions with increasing complexity and, consequently, noted that separating the sources is much easier said than done. They have not, however, rejected the basic methodology of Wellhausen, namely, postulate a history, then so interpret the text as to make it conform with that postulation. This problematic methodology has become so frustrating to some that the whole problem is neatly sidestepped on the basis of lack of data.

The Wellhausian approach has resulted in an insensitivity to terms within the text. In scholarly assessments, *אֱהֶל מוֹעֵד* and *מִשְׁכָּן* are repeatedly used inconsistently with no basis on textual occurrence or frequency. The terms are often seen as mere synonyms. The response has been to provide non-textually based solutions to the problem of variation by those who recognize its existence. Such methodology has overlooked

the key to understanding the variation in the selection of terms in Exod 25-40.

In order to understand the phenomenon of term variation in Exod 25-40, the terms were defined lexically, and this general meaning was overlaid with the nuance derived from the context in which the terms were found. This was the focus of chapter 3. Appropriate methodology also involves literary structural analysis of Exod 25-40.

It was noted in chapter 3 that, as used in Exod 25-40, מִשְׁכָּן is the general name for the temporary, physical, dwelling place of God. In Exod 25:1-27:19 the term מִשְׁכָּן is the exclusive name for the Mosaic Structure. The context of this passage is the command to construct the physical Structure. The contextual nuance revealed in this passage is also present in the "manufacture" passage of Exod 35:1-39:43 where מִשְׁכָּן appears as the dominant name for the Mosaic Structure, as well as in the "assembly" passage of Exod 40:1-38 where the term is thoroughly mixed with אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. Therefore, the context in which מִשְׁכָּן is found is one of construction, manufacture, and assembly of the physical Structure and its components.

In terms of its application, מִשְׁכָּן is used to refer to three discrete entities. In Exod 25:9, 40:1, 17, the term refers generally to the dwelling place (including the courtyard) of YHWH to be built. In Exod 26:1-37, 36:8-38,

40:18-33, it refers specifically to the two-compartment unit with its furnishings, excluding the courtyard. In Exod 39:32, 40; 40:2, 6, 29, the term refers generally to the dwelling place of the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. In each case, מִשְׁכָּן retains its contextual nuances.

The first use of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד in Exod 25-40 is in Exod 27:21. It occurs simultaneously with a change in context from constructional (where מִשְׁכָּן is the unique term) to cult-functional -- in this case, the procedure for supplying oil for the lampstands on a continual basis. From Exod 27:21 through 33:11, it is אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד which is the unique name of the Mosaic Structure and is used consistently in a cult-functional context. In the predominant מִשְׁכָּן passage of Exod 35:1-38:31, each occurrence of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is associated with a cult-functional context. This is also true of the fourteen occurrences in the mixed term section, Exod 40:1-38, including the verses where the terms appear together. Therefore, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד appears in Exod 25-40 as a specific relational term which deals with the functioning of the cult.

Little additional insight is added from Ugaritic sources to the lexical definition and contextual nuance of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. Mškn occurs twice; m'd occurs five times, as does 'hl. The grammatical construct 'hl m'd does not occur in the Ugaritic corpus. It has been noted that whereas the gods (t'ty) have tents ('hlhm), it is the

assembly (dr) who have dwellings (mšknthm). No occurrence of tent of assembly (hypothetically: 'hl m'd) is currently witnessed in Ugaritic.

Both occurrences of mškn are in parallel to 'hl. This parallelism does not explain their nuance of meaning as Exod 25-40 has clearly done for the Hebrew cognates. It does present an equivalence similar to that found in Exod 40: 34, 35, where the Hebrew terms occur in parallel grammatical construction yet retain distinct meanings. In short, the Ugaritic evidence shows a similarity in basic meaning between the Hebrew and Ugaritic cognates, but it does not offer additional definition to the Hebrew terms.

The Ugaritic terminological analysis suggests the presence of mškn and 'hl in similar religious contexts and used in a similar parallel manner as in Exod 25-40. While the Ugaritic material is not as detailed, and does not explain the nuance of meaning between the terms, their use in literary material from a Late Bronze II strata (strata I.3., dated to 1363-1185 BCE) must be considered when assigning a date to the Exod 25-40 material.

The LXX shows no differentiation in its choice of cognate terms for מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, both of which are translated with σκηνη. Since the LXX obscures the difference between מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, it bears little relevance to a study of these terms. The argument that

the terms are synonymous, hence a single Greek term suffices for both, fails on the basis of the contextual analysis of Exod 25-40 found in chapter 4.

In order to facilitate structural analysis while avoiding confusing semantics and terms with hidden connotations, terminology was suggested -- the definition of which may be found in both chapter 4 and the glossary in appendix A. The text was described as a network of literary structures which simultaneously co-exist along different dimensional axes, but without contradiction. There is revealed a complexity of structures which argue for the essential unity of the text.

The terminological maxi-structure formed by the succession of occurrences of **מִשְׁכָּן** and **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** form the literary dimension of primary importance to this study. As presented in table 4, Exod 25-40 exhibits four distinct variations in terms used to name the Mosaic Structure: **מִשְׁכָּן** only, **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** only, **מִשְׁכָּן**-dominant, and mixed terms.

This large, over-arching literary structure encompasses six midi-structures: the second and fifth of which are transitional passages, and the first, third, fourth, and sixth of which are formed into four passages of six major elements each (see table 12). The structure presented by Exod 25:1-31:18 which bond together the exclusively **מִשְׁכָּן** and exclusively **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** into one

seamless unit suggests a provenance inconsistent with Wellhausian source criticism.

The exclusive use of terminology allows for a clear determination of contextual nuance. From the context of Exod 25:1-31:18, מִשְׁכָּן means *dwelling place*. This may be the general *dwelling* place of YHWH (including the courtyard), the general *dwelling* place of the *tent of assembly*, or the specific two-compartment *dwelling* place (excluding the courtyard). In all circumstances, it is used exclusively in the context of constructing the physical aspects of the Mosaic Structure. This has been termed a *constructional* context. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is a *tent of assembly*. No subdivision of application has been noted in the text. This phrase is used when the function of the Mosaic Structure is in question, specifically the cultic function of the Structure. This has been termed the *cult-functional* context.

The Mosaic מִשְׁכָּן is also called the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, so it is called God's *dwelling place*, but it is simultaneously the *tent of assembly*, the place where God met with the people. Each term carries its own connotations and is used in its own contexts but refers to the single structure. One may hypothesize a primitive time when two divergent physical structures were known, a מִשְׁכָּן and a אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, but this is unnecessary and contradicts the evidence in the text.

This *two-names-for-one-structure* aspect of the text accounts for the mixture of terms found in Exod 40:1-38. When writing of the construction of the Mosaic Structure, the author could easily choose a single *constructional* term. When writing of the cultic function of that Structure, a choice of a single *cult-functional* term was simple. But Exod 40:1-38 does not speak to only one or the other context, it speaks of assembling a single Structure. Therefore, using only one or the other term throughout the whole passage would not serve to represent both aspects present in the single Structure. Hence, the author associated the terms, not interchangeably, but in parallel. This parallelism exhibits the essential uniqueness of the terms while recognizing the unified Structure to which they refer.

Conclusions

That אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד and מִשְׁכָּן are used contextually in Exod 25-40 is clear. That their contexts lend to them a nuance of meaning has been demonstrated above. The terms are used discretely, specifically, and intentionally through a range of topical and literary maxi-structures without losing their uniqueness. But beyond these conclusions, the methodology used in this study must be addressed. A methodology which comes from within the text which is based on literary structures, word-frequency, and contextual nuance which sets forth a challenge to

succeeding studies. This challenge involves both the development of the methodology and its application to other Biblical passages. That such development and application will help make the message of the Biblical text as clear to the contemporary reader as to its author is my sincere desire.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Axis. That plane along which the text divides itself structurally. Also called "dimension" or "dimension of existence."

Element. One stratum in the literary text form.

Literary structure. The literary form of the text as determined by the order of component elements of the text.

Maxi-structure. Large, overarching literary forms which encompass smaller units.

Midi-structure. The literary form which is part of a larger structure (its maxi-structure) and which includes or encompasses a smaller structure (its mini-structure).

Mini-structure. Small literary forms as determined by individual phrases. Normally components of larger structures.

Structure. The literary form of the text as determined by internal parameters.

Sub-structure. The literary form of the text within another form.

Terminological structure. The form of the text as determined by the pattern of occurrence of a particular term or phrase.

Topical structure. The literary form of the text as determined by a common theme or topic.

APPENDIX B

OCCURRENCES OF בֵּית

TABLE 22

OCCURRENCES OF בֵּית IN THE PENTATEUCH

Book	בֵּית	בֵּית יְהוָה	בֵּית אֱלֹהִים
Gen	109	0	2
Exod	58	2	0
Lev	54	0	0
Num	56	0	0
Deut	45	1	0
Total Pent.	322	3	2
Other OT	1828	249	62
Total OT	2150	252	64

TABLE 23

OCCURRENCES OF בֵּית IN KINGS AND CHRONICLES

Kings and Chronicles	בֵּית	בֵּית יְהוָה	בֵּית אֱלֹהִים
Occurrences	681	168	37
% of Total in OT	31.9	66.7	57.8

TABLE 24

OCCURRENCES OF בֵּית יְהוָה IN SECOND CHRONICLES

Second Chronicles	בֵּית	בֵּית יְהוָה	בֵּית אֱלֹהִים
Occurrences	218	75	24
% of Total in OT	10.1	29.8	37.5

TABLE 25

OCCURRENCES OF בֵּית יְהוָה IN EXOD 25-40

Exod 25-40	בֵּית	בֵּית יְהוָה	בֵּית אֱלֹהִים
Occurrences	14	1	0
% of Total in OT	.6%	.4%	0%

The term בֵּית יְהוָה occurs 252 times (11.7%) as בֵּית יְהוָה (house of YHWH); 64 times (3%) as בֵּית אֱלֹהִים (house of God).

By far most of the occurrences of בֵּית יְהוָה are found in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The word בֵּית occurs 681 times (31.7%) in these four books, 168 times (24.7%) as בֵּית יְהוָה; 75 (11.0%) are found in the single book of 2 Chronicles.

The phrase בֵּית אֱלֹהִים occurs 64 times in the OT (3% of its total occurrences), but does not occur at all in Exod 25-40. The phrase occurs most frequently in Kings and Chronicles, 37 times (57.8%) and most often in the book of 2 Chronicles (24 times, 37.5%).

APPENDIX C

OCCURRENCES OF אֱהָל מוֹעֵד AND מִשְׁכַּן, מִקְדָּשׁ
IN LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, AND DEUTERONOMY

TABLE 26

OCCURRENCES OF SELECTED TERMS IN LEVITICUS

מִקְדָּשׁ	מִשְׁכַּן	אֱהָל מוֹעֵד	מִקְדָּשׁ	מִשְׁכַּן	אֱהָל מוֹעֵד
		1:1			9:5
		:3			:23
		:5			10:7
		3:2			:9
		:8	12:4		
		4:4			12:6
		:5			14:11
		:7			:23
		:7			15:14
		:14			:29
		:16		15:31	
		:18			16:7
		:18			:16
		6:9			:17
		:19			:20
		:23			16:23
		8:3	16:33		:33
		:4		17:4	17:4
	8:10				:5
		:31			:6
		:33			:9
		:35			19:21
			19:30		
			20:13		
			21:12		
			:12		
			:23		
					24:3
			26:2		
				26:11	
			26:31		

TABLE 27

OCCURRENCES OF SELECTED TERMS IN NUMBERS

מקדש	משכן	מועד	אהל	מקדש	משכן	מועד	אהל
			1:1				8:9
	1:50						:15
	:50						:19
	:50						:22
	:51						:24
	:51						:26
	:53 (2x)				9:15 (2x)		
		2:2			:18		
		:17			:19		
	3:7	:7			:20		
	:8	:8			:22		
	:23					10:3	
	:25	:25			10:11		
		:25			:17		
	:26				:17		
	:29			10:21			
	:35				10:22		
	:36					11:16	
3:38	:38	:38				12:4	
		4:3				14:10	
		:4			16:9		
		:15				16:18	
	4:16					:19	
	:25	:23			16:24		
		:25			:27		
	:26	:25				17:7	
		:28		18:1		:8	
		:30				18:4	
	:31	:31				:6	
		:33				:21	
		:35				:22	
		:37				:23	
		:39		:29			
		:41				:31	
		:43				19:4	
		:47			19:13		
	5:17			19:20			
		6:10				20:6	
		:13			24:5		
		:18				25:6	
	7:1					27:2	
	:3				31:30		
		:5			:47		
		:89				31:54	

TABLE 28

OCCURRENCES OF SELECTED TERMS IN DEUTERONOMY

מקדש	משכן	מועד	אהל
			31:14 :14

The term **משכן** (*dwelling place*) occurs 139 times in the OT. In the Pentateuch is found 104 (74.8%) of these occurrences. Of the 104 pentateuchal occurrences, 58 of these (55.8%) are in Exodus, 4 (3.9%) in Leviticus, and 42 (40.4%) in Numbers.

Of the total 214 occurrences of **אהל**, 146 (68.2%) occur as **אהל מועד** or with **אהל מועד** as its referent phrase. It occurs 41 times (19.2%) as a personal **אהל**, 14 times (6.5%) as the **אהל על-המשכן**, 7 times (3.3%) as the **אהל** of Moses in Exod 33, and 6 times (2.8%) as the **אהל העדות**.

אהל occurs 44 times in the book of Leviticus, 43 times (97.7%) as **אהל מועד**. Only once (2.3%) does it refer to the personal **אהל**. In Numbers, **אהל** occurs 76 times. Fifty-six of these (73.7%) as **אהל מועד**, and 6 as **אהל** with **אהל מועד** as its referent phrase for a total of 62 times (81.6%). Eight times (10.5%) **אהל** refers to a personal **אהל**. Four times (plus an additional two by context) it refers to the **אהל העדות** (*tent of testimony*) for a total of 6 times (7.9%). In Deuteronomy, **אהל** occurs 9 times, 5

(55.6%) as a personal אֱהָל, and 4 (2 plus 2 more by context) as the אֱהָל מוֹעֵד (45.4%).

אֱהָל occurs 130 times in the rest of the OT. Significantly for this study, the phrase אֱהָל מוֹעֵד occurs only eleven times outside of the Pentateuch.¹ Therefore, אֱהָל מוֹעֵד occurs significantly more often in the Pentateuch than in the remainder of the OT.

¹Josh 18:1; 19:51; 1 Sam 2:22; 1 Kgs 8:4; 1 Chr 6:17; 9:21; 23:32; 2 Chr 1:3,6,13; 5:5.

APPENDIX D

OUTLINES OF EXOD 25-40

TABLE 29

COMPARATIVE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF EXOD 25-40

Source Divisions	משכן	אהל מועד	Cole	Harrison	Hendrix	Kearney
25:1-9	1		25:1-	25:1-	24:1-	25:1-
:10-22			31:18	27:21	27:19	30:10
:23-30						
:31-40						
26:1-37	16					
27:1-8						
:9-19	2					
20-21		1		28:1-	27:20-	
28:1-43		1		31:11,	28:1-	
29:1-46		7		18	29:1-	
30:1-10					30:1-	
:11-16		1			30:11-	30:11-
:17-21		2			31:18	30:17-
:22-38		2				30:22-
31:1-11		1		31:12-		30:34-
:12-18				17		31:1-
32:1-6			32:1-	32:1-	32:1-	31:12
:7-35			33:23	35	33:6	17
33:1-6				33:1-		
:7-11		2		23	33:7-	
:12-17					33:12-	

TABLE 29 -- Continued

COMPARATIVE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF EXOD 25-40

Source Divisions	משכן	אהל מועד	Cole	Harrison	Hendrix	Kearney
:18-34:9			34:1-	34:1-	34:1-	
34:10-28						
:29-35			35	35	35	
35:1-36:7	3	1	35:1-	35:1-3	35:1-	
36:8-38	12		39:43	35:4-	36:7	
37:1-29				36:38	36:8-	
38:1-20	1	1	37:1-	38:20		
:21-31	3	1	38:31	38:21-		
39:1-31			39:1-	39:1-		
:32-43	3	2	43	43		
40:1-38	17	12	40:1-	40:1-	40:1-	
			38	33	40:9-	
				40:34-	40:16-	
				38	40:34-	

The regular-faced numbered "Source Divisions" are those assigned to P according to Durham.² The bold-faced numbered divisions are those assigned to J/E. The numbers in the *משכן* and *אהל מועד* columns reflect the number of times the term or phrase occurs in the "Source Division." The divisions of Hurowitz, Cassuto, Durham, Rylaarsdam, Lewis, and Noth have not been included in the table

²Durham, ix-x. Sources for the other divisions are as follows: Cole, 52; Harrison, 567; Kearney, 375-378.

because their brevity precludes that necessity. Their divisions are as follows. Hurowitz: Exod 24:15-31:18; 34:29-35:19; 35:20-36:7; 40:1-34; Cassuto, Durham and Rylaarsdam: Exod 25:1-31:18; 32:1-34:35; 35:1-40:38; Lewis: Exod 25-27, 28-29, 30, 32-34, 35-39, 40; Noth: Exod 24:12-31:17; 31:18-34:35; 35:1-39:43; 40:1-8.³

³Hurowitz, 22; Cassuto, xiv-xv; Durham, ix-x; Rylaarsdam, *Introduction*, 847-848; Lewis, *Ark*, 537; Noth, 5-6.

TABLE 30

MASORETIC READINGS

Exod 25:1-9	0	34:1-26	0
:10-22	00	:27-35	00
:23-30	000	35:1-3	000
:31-40	0000	:4-29	0000
26:1-6	00000	:30-36:7	00000
:7-14	000000	36:8-13	000000
:15-30	0000000	:14-19	0000000
:31-37	00000000	:20-38	00000000
27:1-8	000000000	37:1-9	000000000
:9-19	0000000000	:10-16	0000000000
:20-21	00000000000	:17-24	00000000000
28:1-5	000000000000	:25-29	000000000000
:6-12	0000000000000	38:1-7	0000000000000
:13-14	00000000000000	:8	00000000000000
:15-30	000000000000000	:9-20	000000000000000
:31-35	0000000000000000	:21-23	0000000000000000
:36-43	00000000000000000	:24-39:1	00000000000000000
29:1-37	000000000000000000	39:2-7	000000000000000000
:38-46	0000000000000000000	:8-26	0000000000000000000
30:1-10	00000000000000000000	:27-29	00000000000000000000
:11-16	000000000000000000000	:30-31	000000000000000000000
:17-21	0000000000000000000000	:32	0000000000000000000000
:22-33	00000000000000000000000	:33-43	00000000000000000000000
:34-38	000000000000000000000000	40:1-16	000000000000000000000000
31:1-11	0000000000000000000000000	:17-19	0000000000000000000000000
:12-17	00000000000000000000000000	:20-21	00000000000000000000000000
:18-32:6	000000000000000000000000000	:22-23	000000000000000000000000000
32:7-14	0000000000000000000000000000	:24-25	0000000000000000000000000000
:15-35	00000000000000000000000000000	:26-27	00000000000000000000000000000
33:1-11	000000000000000000000000000000	:28-29	000000000000000000000000000000
:12-16	0000000000000000000000000000000	:30-32	0000000000000000000000000000000
:17-23	00000000000000000000000000000000	:33	00000000000000000000000000000000
		:34-Lev 1:1	000000000000000000000000000000000

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