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## Between Jacob's Death and Moses' Birth

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*Published in:*  
 Flores Florentino

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

*Document Version*  
 Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

*Publication date:*  
 2007

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

van Ruiten, J. T. A. G. M. (2007). Between Jacob's Death and Moses' Birth: The Intertextual Relationship between Genesis 50:15 – Exodus 1:14 and Jubilees 46:1-16. In A. Hilhorst, Puech, & E. Tigchelaar (Eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Vol. 122, pp. 467 - 489). (Journal for the Study of Judaism). Martinus Nijhoff/Brill.

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BETWEEN JACOB'S DEATH AND MOSES' BIRTH:  
THE INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
GENESIS 50:15–EXODUS 1:14 AND *JUBILEES* 46:1–16

*Jacques van Ruiten*

This paper deals with the rewriting of Gen 50:15–Exod 1:14 in the *Book of Jubilees* 46:1–16. The events of *Jub.* 46 take place after Jacob's death and burial (*Jub.* 45:13–16; cf. Gen 47:28–50:14), and before the return of Amram, which precedes Moses' birth in a situation of distress in which all male first-born children are threatened with death (*Jub.* 47:1–9; cf. Exod 1:15–2:10). During this period, the story changes from one about Jacob's sons to a story of the people of Israel. Central points in this transitional period are Joseph's death and the occurrence of a new king in Egypt. Before these events Israel was prosperous and honored by the Egyptians; thereafter it was put into slavery and detested. It has been suggested that the reduction in Joseph's significance and the elevation of Levi and his line are the chief interests driving the exegesis in *Jub.* 46.<sup>1</sup> This is debatable, however. I hope to show that, with his transformations of Genesis and Exodus, the writer is addressing problems in the biblical text, and not the diminution of Joseph.

The overall structure of *Jub.* 45:13–47:9 is as follows:

45:13–16	Jacob's death
46:1–2	Prosperity of Israel
46:3–11	Death of Joseph and his brothers and new king in Egypt
46:12–16	Slavery of Israel
47:1–9	Moses' birth in situation of distress

1. GEN 50:15–26 AND EXOD 1:1–14

The story from Jacob's death until Moses' birth crosses the boundaries of the biblical books Genesis and Exodus. The final passage of the book of Genesis (Gen 50:15–26), after Jacob's deathbed and subsequent

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<sup>1</sup> See B. Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in *Jubilees* 46," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E.G. Chazon et al.; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 135–52 (152).

death and burial (Gen 47:28–50:14), consists of two parts.<sup>2</sup> First, it tells the story of Joseph and his brothers (Gen 50:15–21), in which the relationship between Joseph and his brothers is put under discussion. After their father's death, the brothers again doubt the kindness and forgiveness Joseph has shown before. But Joseph reassures and comforts his brothers. Gen 50:15–26 is not rendered in *Jub.* 46.

Then the report of Joseph's death is mentioned (Gen 50:22–26). The structure of this passage has some similarities with Jacob's death report (Gen 47:28–50:14), although it is much shorter. The exposition (Gen 50:22) contains a summary of Joseph's life (cf. Gen 47:28). After this, the text tells of Joseph's relationship with the grandchildren of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 50:23; cf. Gen 48:3–12).<sup>3</sup> The farewell speech to the brothers (Gen 50:24) starts with the announcement of the coming death, and contains a promise for the exodus and the possession of the land (cf. Gen 48:21). The burial instructions (Gen 50:25) in the form of an oath (cf. Gen 47:31) do not contain a detailed description of a burial place as in Gen 49:29–32. The passage ends (Gen 50:26) with the explicit mention of Joseph's death, the reference to the total age, and the execution of the burial instructions. The last will of Joseph has not yet been executed (cf. Exod 13:19; Josh 24:32).

Exodus 1 can be divided into two parts.<sup>4</sup> In the first part (1:1–7), the story of the development of the children of Jacob into the people of Israel is told. It begins with a list of names of the sons of Israel who had come to Egypt as free men, seventy people (including Joseph) who became much more numerous. The second part (1:8–22) tells about the measures of oppression undertaken by the new king. First, Israel

<sup>2</sup> For Gen 50:15–21, cf. H. Gunkel, *Genesis: Übersetzt und erklärt* (9th ed.; HKAT 1.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 490–91; G.W. Coats, *Genesis with an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (FOTL 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 311–15; G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC 2; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1994), 489–91; C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (3d ed.; BKAT 1.3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 230–38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen 48:12 for the expression “born on Joseph's knees” in Gen 50:23b.

<sup>4</sup> For the composition of Exod 1, see, e.g., C. Houtman, *Exodus 1* (COT; Kampen: Kok, 1986), 212–17; J.I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987), 2–3, 6–7; W.H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1: Exodus 1–6* (BKAT 2.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 9–16; P. Weimar, “Exodus 1,1–2,10 als ‘Eröffnungskomposition des Exodusbuches,’” in *Studies in the Book of Exodus* (ed. M. Vervenne; BETL 126; Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 179–208 (188–97); J. Siebert-Hommes, *Let the Daughters Live! The Literary Architecture of Exodus 1–2 as a Key for Interpretation* (BIS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 82–83; W.H.C. Propp, *Exodus 1–18* (AB 2; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 119–36.

is oppressed and enslaved (Exod 1:8–14), and then the lives of all first-born males are put under threat (1:15–22).

The opening passage of Exodus (Exod 1:1–7) functions as a transitional unit between the story of the patriarchs and that of the exodus. In a summarizing way, it refers back to the final part of the preceding Genesis.<sup>5</sup> Using few words, the author recalls the entrance of Jacob and his family to Egypt, where Joseph already was.<sup>6</sup> The list of names of Jacob's sons (Exod 1:1–5) occurs four times in Genesis.<sup>7</sup> With regard to the name order, Exod 1:1–5 resembles Gen 35:23–26. The framework, however, has verbal similarities to Gen 46:8–27. Compare Exod 1:1 with Gen 46:8 and Exod 1:5 with Gen 46:27. After the list, Joseph's death is restated briefly (Exod 1:6; Gen 50:26), with the author adding that the entire generation of those who went to Egypt died. With regard to the adventures of the new generation it is said that they were numerous indeed (Exod 1:7). The use of the verb refers back to the promises to the patriarchs.<sup>8</sup>

The second passage (Exod 1:8–14) describes the oppressive measures taken by the new king. After an introduction (1:8–9a), the new king gives a speech to his people, proposing to diminish the people of Israel (1:9b–10). The subsequent narrative (1:11–14) formulates the execution of this plan. First, they make Israel suffer heavy burdens, that is, they make them build cities (1:11). The plan does not have the desired effect; on the contrary, the people increase in number (1:12). Thereupon, they enslave Israel by force using new measures (1:13–14).<sup>9</sup> Exodus 1:13–14 presents a somewhat intensified version of the forced labor of Exod 1:11, taking it to a more severe level. It seems as if the measures taken in 1:15–22 are more suitable than forced labor for achieving the king's goal, the diminishing of Israel.

<sup>5</sup> See the repetition of "And Joseph died" of Gen 50:26 in Exod 1:6 and the mention of "in Egypt" in Gen 50:26 and Exod 1:5. Cf. M. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), 63; Siebert-Hommes, *Let the Daughters Live*, 82–83; Weimar, "Exodus 1,1–2,10," 197–200. Cf. Houtman, *Exodus*, 212; Durham, *Exodus*, 2–3.

<sup>6</sup> See Gen 37–49; compare especially Exod 1:1, 5 with Gen 46:8a, 27b.

<sup>7</sup> See Gen 29:32–30:24; 35:23–26; 46:8–24; 49:3–27.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gen 17:20; 28:3; 35:11; 47:27; 48:4; see also: Gen 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:1, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Note that in the Masoretic text of Exod 1:9–12, singular pronouns and verbs are used (referring to "people" in 1:9b), whereas in 1:13–14, plural forms are used.

2. AN OVERALL COMPARISON BETWEEN GEN 50:15–EXOD 1:14  
AND *JUB.* 46:1–16

The following outline facilitates comparison between Gen 50:15–Exod 1:14 and *Jub.* 46:1–14.

<i>Gen 50</i>	<i>Jub. 46</i>
15–21 JOSEPH AND HIS BROTHERS	
22–26 <u>Joseph's death with instruction for burial</u>	
 <i>Exod 1</i>	
1–5 JACOB'S SONS TO EGYPT	
6 Joseph's death and death of his brothers	1–2 <u>Prosperity of Israel</u>
7 <u>Prosperity of Israel</u>	3–4 Joseph's death and death of his brothers
8 New king	5–6c <u>Joseph's instruction for burial</u>
	6d–7 New king AND WAR STORY
	8ab <u>Joseph's death and burial</u>
	8c–11 <u>Death brothers, THEIR BURIAL AND WAR STORY</u>
9–14 Oppression and slavery of Israel	12–16 Oppression and slavery of Israel
15–22 THREATENING FIRST-BORN SONS	

The overview shows that the rewriting in *Jub.* 46 starts after Jacob's death with a description of the events in Exod 1:6–7 stated in reverse order. First, the prosperity of the children of Israel in Egypt during Joseph's lifetime is described, followed by Joseph's death. The passages Gen 50:15–21 (“Joseph and his brothers”) and Exod 1:1–5 (“Jacob's sons to Egypt”) are omitted in *Jub.* 46. Joseph's death report (Gen 50:22–26) is combined with the death report in Exod 1:6 and integrated in a completely new story in which, however, both texts are distinctly recognizable. Examples include the occurrence of Gen 50:24–25 in *Jub.* 46:5–6c; of Gen 50:26 in *Jub.* 46:3a, 8ab; and Exod 1:6 in *Jub.* 46:4, 8c. Because of the reversal of Exod 1:6 and 1:7, the events of Exod 1:6 (death and burial of Joseph and his brothers) and 1:8 (the rise of a new king) are strongly related and reworked and integrated into a war story (*Jub.* 46:3–11). The passage about Israel's oppression (Exod 1:9–14) is rewritten quite closely in *Jub.* 46:12–16, whereas Exod 1:15–22 is integrated in the rewriting of the story of Moses' birth (*Jub.* 47:1–9).

3. AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GEN 50:15–EXOD 1:14  
IN *JUB.* 46:1–16<sup>10</sup>

*The Omission of Gen 50:15–21*

It has been suggested that the family story of Jacob's children has been omitted intentionally by the author of *Jubilees* and replaced by the national story of Israel in *Jub.* 46:1–2, in which there is a harmonious relationship among fellow Israelites and between the Israelites and the Egyptians. The substitution avoids a problematic scene. The elevation of Joseph takes place in the public domain and not in the context of the family, and the author of *Jubilees* is interested in downplaying Joseph's role in the family.<sup>11</sup>

In my opinion, the non-elevation of Joseph in the context of his family cannot be based on the omission of Gen 50:15–21. The passage of the prosperity of Israel (*Jub.* 46:1–2) does not replace Gen 50:15–21 but is based on a reworking of Exod 1:7. Moreover, other passages in *Jubilees* stress family harmony and the sincerity of Joseph's reconciliation. For the author of *Jubilees*, there seems to be no contradiction whatsoever between his public and private appearances.

One could interpret the scene in Gen 50:15–21 as if previously there had never been a genuine reconciliation between Joseph and his brothers. In this interpretation, the text is in contradiction with Gen 45:1–15; 46:28–47:12, 27, in which the reconciliation of Joseph with his family is described extensively. The author of *Jubilees* summarizes this in *Jub.* 43:14–20; 45:1–7, in which the emotional and familial character of the events is stressed. The unity and harmony of all of Jacob's sons seems to be a central issue for the author of *Jubilees*.

The fear of Joseph's brothers and their submission (Gen 50:18–21) is partly based on Joseph's dreams (Gen 37:5–11). These dreams are not taken over by *Jubilees*, and therefore the passage Gen 50:18–21 misses a contextual reference. In *Jub.* 46:1–2, the author stresses the mutual

<sup>10</sup> The narrative of the story of the children of Israel after Jacob's death until the arrival at Mount Sinai (Gen 47:28–50:26 and Exod 1:1–19:1) is rendered very summarily in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 45:13–50:13). Moreover, in this abbreviated rendering, much attention is paid to the description of the Pesach in *Jub.* 49 (using Exod 12:1–50) and the description of the sabbath in *Jub.* 50:6–13. In addition, the abbreviated rendering of the biblical text is interwoven with the use of other traditions. Because of this heavily abbreviated rewritten story, one should be very cautious of drawing far-reaching conclusions, especially with regard to the omissions.

<sup>11</sup> Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers," 137, 139.

love of the children of Israel (46:1c–e: “All of them were of the same mind so that each one loved the other and each one helped the other”) that continued after Jacob’s death (46:2a: “There was no Satan or any evil throughout all of Joseph’s lifetime after his father Jacob”).

In conclusion, the omission of Gen 50:15–21 is not motivated by the non-elevation of Joseph in the context of his family. *Jubilees* stresses the harmony of the family. It is more plausible that the author of *Jubilees* considered Gen 50:15–21 as somewhat redundant and containing elements contradicting other biblical passages.

### *The Omission of Exod 1:1–5*

Exodus 1:1–5 has no parallel in *Jub.* 46. This omission seems not to be due to the strategy of the author of *Jubilees* to put the transition of a family into a people during Joseph’s life.<sup>12</sup> This reversal of the order of the events (the prosperity of Israel before Joseph’s death) offers hardly any clues for the omission of Exod 1:1–5. The author could have combined the rewriting of Exod 1:7 with Exod 1:1–5 and put it before the description of Joseph’s death. The reason for the omission of this opening passage therefore seems to be a different one, namely the fact that no new information is given. The first pericope of the book of Exodus (Exod 1:1–7) has a clear transitional purpose and functions as the opening of a new book. It refers back to the final part of Genesis and serves as a prelude to the subsequent exodus. For the author of *Jubilees*, Exodus is not a separate book; it contains the continuation of the story begun in Genesis. In this respect, the references to Genesis are redundant. The list of names of Jacob’s sons occurs several times in Genesis.<sup>13</sup> One of these lists (Gen 46:8–27) is rewritten quite closely in *Jub.* 44:11–34. Apart from the sons’ names (cf. Exod 1:2–4), I refer especially to the rewriting of Gen 46:8a (cf. Exod 1:1) in *Jub.* 44:11 (“These are the names of Jacob’s children who went to Egypt with their father Jacob”) and of Gen 46:27b (cf. Exod 1:5) in *Jub.* 44:33 (“All the persons of Jacob who entered Egypt were 70 persons”). The insertion of Exod 1:1–5 seems therefore unnecessary.

<sup>12</sup> According to Halpern-Amaru, the chronological order of Exodus (a family went to Egypt, Joseph’s death, growth of the family into a people) is changed in *Jubilees* (a family went to Egypt and became a people; Joseph’s death).” Cf. Halpern-Amaru, “Burying the Fathers,” 136.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. above, n. 7.

*Jub. 46:1–2 and Exod 1:7*

*Jubilees* 46:1–2 can be considered an addition with regard to the text of Gen 50:15–26 and Exod 1:1–14. At the same time, however, it is clear that the theme of the multiplication of the children of Israel is taken from Exod 1:7.<sup>14</sup>

<i>Exod 1:7</i>	<i>Jub. 46:1–2</i>
7a The children of Israel became numerous	1a AFTER THE DEATH OF JACOB, the children of Israel became numerous
b <i>and brought forth abundantly;</i>	
c <i>they multiplied</i>	
d <i>and grew exceedingly strong;</i>	IN the land of EGYPT.
e SO THAT the land WAS FILLED WITH THEM	b <i>They became a populous nation,</i>
	c AND ALL OF THEM WERE OF THE SAME MIND
	d SO THAT EACH ONE LOVED THE OTHER
	e AND EACH ONE HELPED THE OTHER.
	f <i>They became numerous</i>
	g <i>and increased very much—EVEN FOR TEN WEEKS OF YEARS (= 70 YEARS) FOR ALL OF JOSEPH'S LIFETIME.</i>
	2a THERE WAS NO SATAN OR ANY EVIL ONE THROUGHOUT ALL OF JOSEPH'S LIFETIME THAT HE LIVED AFTER HIS FATHER JACOB
	b BECAUSE ALL THE EGYPTIANS WERE HONORING THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL FOR ALL OF JOSEPH'S LIFETIME.

<sup>14</sup> Quotations from the biblical text follow the Revised Standard Version, with slight modifications, whereas quotations from *Jubilees* are according to J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: II* (CSCO 511; Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). *Jub. 46:1–16* is partly preserved in Latin (*Jub. 46:1, 12–16*). Both the Latin and Ethiopic translations go back to a Greek translation of the Hebrew original. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: II*, vi–xxxi; K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSRZ 2.3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981), 285–94. The edition of the Latin text of *Jub. 16:1–9* can be found in J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: I* (CSCO 510; Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 87; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 298. The text-critical value of the Latin text of *Jub. 46:1, 12–16* is discussed in the notes to the translation of the Ethiopic text in VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: II*, 300, 302–4. The text of *Jub. 46:1–3* is partly preserved in 2Q20. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1977), 88–91.



Exod 1:7 is taken up in *Jub.* 46:1a, b, f, g.<sup>15</sup> Whereas Exod 1:7 uses four different verbs to describe the growing of the children of Israel (עצם, רבה, שרץ, פרה), *Jub.* 46:1–2 uses only two different verbs: *bazha* (“be numerous”; “increase”) occurs three times in *Jub.* 46:1, f, g and *fadfada* (“increase”; “multiply”) once in *Jub.* 46:1g. Whereas the biblical text states that the children of Israel became numerous “so that the land was filled with them,” the text of *Jubilees* merely states that they became numerous “in the land.” The passage in *Jubilees* describes the ideal conditions for Jacob’s descendants during the days of Joseph’s life.<sup>16</sup> Israel not only multiplied greatly and lived in mutual love (*Jub.* 46:1c–e), but also “all the Egyptians were honoring the children of Israel” (*Jub.* 46:2).

The author puts the multiplication of the children of Israel (Exod 1:7) *before* Joseph’s death (Exod 1:6). In this sense, one can speak of a rearrangement of Exod 1:7. The author of *Jubilees* stresses that Israel’s growth into a nation took place during Joseph’s lifetime (cf. *Jub.* 46:1g, 2a, 2b: “for all of Joseph’s lifetime”). The rearrangement of Exod 1:7 does not necessarily mean that the author of *Jubilees* changes the chronology of the biblical story. The multiplication of the people of Israel in Egypt is already mentioned in Gen 47:27 (“Thus *Israel* dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen; and they gained possessions in it, and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly”). Interestingly, Gen 47:27 is put immediately before Jacob’s deathbed (Gen 48:1–49:33). Although the author of *Jubilees* does refer to Gen 47:13–26 in *Jub.* 45:8–12 and to Gen 47:28 in *Jub.* 45:13, he does not refer there to Gen 47:27. It is true that in the rewriting of *Jubilees* the growth of the children of Israel is put after Jacob’s death.<sup>17</sup> The importance of this notion is even stressed in *Jub.* 46:2a (“all of Joseph’s lifetime *that he lived after his father Jacob*”). For the author of *Jubilees*, Jacob’s death seems to be of importance for the growth of a family into a nation. However, one should not overlook the mention of “ten weeks of years” that Israel increased (*Jub.* 46:1g). This refers not to the period after Jacob’s death, but to the period from the entrance of Jacob and his family into Egypt

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also Exod 1:9, 12, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 81.

<sup>17</sup> So Halpern-Amaru, “Burying the Fathers,” 136–37.

until Joseph's death.<sup>18</sup> It seems therefore somewhat exaggerated to stress the fact that Jacob's death replaces Joseph's death with regard to the periodization of Israel's history.<sup>19</sup> The author of *Jubilees* emphasizes that before Joseph's death Israel was prospering and growing, whereas after his death, Israel was threatened.

*Jub. 46:3–11 and Exod 1:6, 8*

*Jubilees* 46:3–11 can be considered the rewriting of Exod 1:6, 8, making use of Gen 50:24–26 and extensively of non-biblical traditions. In the following synopsis, I put Exod 1:6–8 and *Jub.* 46:3–11 side by side:<sup>20</sup>

<i>Exod 1:6–8</i>	<i>Jubilees 46:3–8</i>
[cf. Gen 50:26]	3a <u>Joseph died when he was a hundred and ten years old.</u>
	b HE HAD LIVED FOR 17 YEARS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN;
	c FOR TEN YEARS HE REMAINED ENSLAVED;
	d HE WAS IN PRISON FOR THREE YEARS;
	e AND FOR 80 YEARS HE WAS RULING THE ENTIRE LAND OF EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOH.
6a [ ] <i>Joseph</i> died and all his brothers and all of that generation.	4a <i>He</i> died and all his brothers and all of that generation.
7a <u>The children of Israel became numerous</u>	[cf. <i>Jub.</i> 46:1–2]

<sup>18</sup> R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Black, 1902), 244–45.

<sup>19</sup> See Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers," 136. She writes that for the author of *Jubilees*, "the death of Joseph is neither a turning point in the narrative nor of major significance in Israelite history... The author of *Jubilees* retains the biblical notice of the growth of the Israelite population as the primary marker for the shift to a new epoch, but detaches that notice from its association with the deaths of Joseph, his brothers, and the emigrant generation in Exodus 1 and moves it to immediately after the death of Jacob."

<sup>20</sup> In the synoptic overviews, I have tried to present a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Exodus and *Jubilees*. I have used small caps and square brackets to highlight those elements of Exodus which do not occur in *Jubilees*, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and additions. Small caps in one text correspond to square brackets in the other. I have used normal script for the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotations of one or more words from the source text in *Jubilees*. I have used italics to indicate the variations between Exodus and *Jubilees*, other than additions or omissions. Sometimes there is a rearrangement of words and sentences. I have underlined those elements.

## Table (cont.)

*Exod 1:6-8**Jubilees 46:3-8*

- b *and brought forth abundantly;*  
 c *they multiplied*  
 d AND GREW EXCEEDINGLY STRONG;  
 e SO THAT THE LAND WAS FILLED  
 WITH THEM.

[cf. *Gen 50:24-25*]

[ ]

- 8a [ ] A new king ruled Egypt,  
 WHO DID NOT KNOW JOSEPH.  
 [ ]

[cf. *Gen 50:26a*]

[cf. *Gen 50:26b*]  
 [cf. *Exod 1:6*]

- 5a BEFORE HE DIED  
 b *he ordered the children of Israel to take  
 his bones along at the time when they  
 would leave the land of Egypt.*  
 6a *He made them swear about his bones*  
 b BECAUSE HE KNEW THAT THE EGYPTIANS  
 WOULD NOT AGAIN BRING HIM  
 OUT  
 c AND BURY HIM ON THE DAY IN THE  
 LAND OF CANAAN,  
 d SINCE MAKAMARON, THE KING OF  
 CANAAN—WHILE HE WAS LIVING  
 IN THE LAND OF ASUR—FOUGHT  
 IN THE VALLEY WITH THE KING OF  
 EGYPT  
 e AND KILLED HIM THERE.  
 f HE PURSUED THE EGYPTIANS AS FAR  
 AS THE GATES OF ERMON.  
 7a HE WAS UNABLE TO ENTER  
 b BECAUSE ANOTHER new king ruled  
 Egypt [ ].  
 c HE WAS STRONGER THAN HE,  
 d SO HE RETURNED TO THE LAND OF  
 CANAAN  
 e AND THE GATES OF EGYPT WERE  
 CLOSED WITH NO ONE LEAVING OR  
 ENTERING EGYPT  
 8a *Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in  
 the sixth week, during its second year  
 (2242).*  
 b *He was buried in the land of Egypt,*  
 c *and all his brothers died* AFTER HIM.

Table (cont.)

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*Jubilees 46:9–11 (No Parallel in Exodus)*

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9a	THEN THE KING OF EGYPT WENT OUT TO FIGHT WITH THE KING OF CANAAN IN THE FORTY-SEVENTH JUBILEE, IN THE SECOND WEEK, DURING ITS SECOND YEAR (2263).
b	THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL BROUGHT OUT ALL THE BONES OF JACOB'S SONS EXCEPT JOSEPH'S BONES.
c	THEY BURIED THEM IN THE FIELD, IN THE DOUBLE CAVE IN THE MOUNTAIN.
10a	MANY RETURNED TO EGYPT
b	BUT A FEW OF THEM REMAINED ON THE MOUNTAIN OF HEBRON.
c	YOUR FATHER AMRAM REMAINED WITH THEM.
11a	THE KING OF CANAAN CONQUERED THE KING OF EGYPT
b	AND CLOSED THE GATES OF EGYPT.

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*Jubilees* 46:3–11 can be divided into two units. The first part deals with Joseph's death and burial (*Jub.* 46:3–8), the second part with the transfer of the bones of Joseph's brothers to Canaan (*Jub.* 46:9–11). Both parts are interrelated by the mention of Joseph's brothers (cf. *Jub.* 46:4a, 8c, 9bc) and by the mention of a war between the king of Egypt and the king of Canaan (cf. *Jub.* 46:6d–7, 9a, 11).

The specific way in which Exod 1:6, 8 is rewritten in *Jub.* 46:3–11 is in my opinion at least partly caused by some problems in the biblical text, such as the fact that Joseph is not buried in Canaan immediately after his death (Gen 50:24–26), the unmotivated mentions of a new king (Exod 1:8) and a war (Exod 1:10), the unexplained change in the attitude of the Egyptians with regard to the children of Israel (Exod 1:9–12), and finally the somewhat odd formulation of the journey of Moses' father before his birth (Exod 2:1: "A man from the house of Levi went"). The author of *Jubilees* tries to solve these problems, and probably makes use of non-biblical traditions to achieve his aim.

It is striking that the author of *Jubilees* mentions three times that Joseph died (*Jub.* 46:3a, 4a, 8ab), because he has considerably abbreviated the text of Gen 45–Exod 19. Moreover, he usually avoids repetitions.

This shows that Joseph's death was an important issue for him.<sup>21</sup> The first mention (*Jub.* 46:3a) is a quotation of the death report of Gen 50:26a, in which his age is given. The second mention (*Jub.* 46:4) is a quotation of Exod 1:6, in which additional information is given in that "all his brothers and all of that generation" also died. Finally, the formulation of the death report in *Jub.* 46:8 combines Gen 50:26 and Exod 1:6. Here, Joseph's total age (Gen 50:26a) is formulated according to the absolute chronology of the book (*Jub.* 46:8a). The statement that he is buried "in the land of Egypt" (*Jub.* 46:8b) refers to Gen 50:26bc ("and they embalmed him and he was put in a coffin in Egypt"), although it does not mention that they embalmed him and put him in a coffin. Again it mentions that "all his brothers" died, but new information is also given. They died "after him" (*Jub.* 46:8c).

It is clear that *Jub.* 46:5–6a refers to Gen 50:24–25 with variations. The biblical text is clearly structured in two speeches of Joseph to his brothers (the children of Israel):

- |    |     |   |
|----|-----|---|
| A  | 24a | And Joseph said to <i>his brothers</i> :                        |
|    | b   | "I am about to die;   |
| B  | c   | but God will visit you,   |
| C  | d   | and bring you up from this land                                 |
|    |     | to the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob." |
|    |     |   |
| A' | 25a | And Joseph made <i>the children of Israel</i> swear, saying:    |
| B' | b   | "God will visit you,  |
| C' | c   | and you will bring up my bones from here."                      |

In the first speech, Joseph announces that he is about to die, but he reassures his brothers by saying that God will take care of them; he will lead them out of Egypt and bring them to the promised land. In the second speech, Joseph makes the children of Israel swear an oath that they will carry his bones with them when they leave Egypt. The phrasing of both speeches is quite parallel, especially the phrasing of 50:24d ("He will bring you up from this land") and 50:25c ("You will bring up my bones from here").

The author of *Jubilees* refers to this passage in *Jub.* 46:5–6a.

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 5a | Before he died   |
| b  | he ordered the children of Israel to take his bones along at the time when they would leave the land of Egypt. |
| 6a | He made them swear about his bones   |

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, n. 19.

The direct speech of Gen 50:24–25 is not taken over. Moreover, the author of *Jubilees* concentrates mainly on the second speech, the oath to carry his bones, which he even mentions twice. From the first speech, he takes over the reference to the exodus in *Jub.* 46:5b (“at the time when they would leave the land of Egypt”). The active part of God in the exodus (“God will visit you”; “God will bring you up”) seems to be of no relevance in this part of the rewriting. The author integrates Gen 50:24–25 in his rewriting to solve a problem. The biblical text does not make clear why Joseph did not ask for his bones to be taken to Canaan right away, as was the case with the bones of Jacob (Gen 49:29–33; 50:1–14).<sup>22</sup> The author of *Jubilees* suggests an answer to this question. A war had caused the border between Egypt and Canaan to be closed. That is why his bones could not be transported immediately to Canaan. Therefore, Joseph asked his brothers to make sure that he would be buried in Canaan. Gen 50:24–25 refers forward to the exodus out of Egypt. In the biblical text, Joseph’s request is executed by Moses during the exodus from Egypt (Exod 13:19; cf. Josh 24:32). In his rewriting, the author of *Jubilees* explains that Joseph knew what would happen in the near future (“Because *he knew* that the Egyptians would not bring him out again and bury him on the day in the land of Canaan”).<sup>23</sup> The impossibility of transferring Joseph’s bones is not attributed to a change in the attitude of the Egyptians with regard to the children of Israel. This is in accordance with the description of the positive relationship between Egypt and Israel (*Jub.* 46:1–2). The reversal takes place at a later stage, after Joseph’s death (*Jub.* 46:12–16; Exod 1:9–14).

The insertion of a war story offers an opportunity to explain the postponement of Joseph’s funeral in Canaan. He also uses this war story to examine the rise of a new king. The text of Exod 1:8 looks straightforward.<sup>24</sup> However, the failure of the writer to mention the death of the previous king and his subsequent succession led the author of *Jubilees* to

<sup>22</sup> See also the burial of Sarah (Gen 23:1–20), Abraham (Gen 25:1–11), and Isaac (Gen 35:27–29) in Hebron.

<sup>23</sup> The author of *Jubilees* speaks about a Joseph who *knew* what the Egyptians would do in the near future, whereas in the biblical text it is said that the new king did *not know* Joseph. *Jubilees* omits this qualification of the new ruler.

<sup>24</sup> According to A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSM 15; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), 63, the mention of a “different” (דִּיפֶּרֶט) king would have been more obvious.

introduce a story in which the old king died in the war between Egypt and Canaan and in which a new king was appointed.<sup>25</sup>

The second part of the addition deals with the burial of the bones of all of Jacob's sons, except those of Joseph, in Hebron (*Jub.* 46:9–11). The transfer of these bones is linked to the mention of their death (*Jub.* 46:4; *Exod.* 1:6). The author of *Jubilees* specifies that they died after Joseph (*Jub.* 46:8c). This is not said explicitly in the biblical text, although it can be inferred from *Gen.* 50:24–25. The burial of the bones is made possible by yet another battle between the king of Egypt and the king of Canaan. The burial of the bones was executed by the children of Israel (*Jub.* 46:9b), who are not specified, but are meant to be the children and grandchildren of the patriarchs. After the burial of the patriarchs, most of the Israelites returned to Egypt. A few, however, remained on the mountain of Hebron, among whom was Moses' father Amram, the grandson of Levi (cf. *Exod.* 6:16–20; *Num.* 26:58–59).

The mention of Amram is justified by *Exod.* 2:1 (“And a man from the house of Levi went”). The author of *Jubilees* interprets this phrase as “your father came from the land of Canaan” (*Jub.* 47:1). The location of Amram on the mountain of Hebron is motivated by the activities that have taken place, that is, the burial of the bones of Joseph's brothers at Hebron.<sup>26</sup>

The reason why Amram and the others stayed in Canaan is not made clear. Possibly, it may have been because after a while the king of Canaan prevailed over Egypt: “The king of Canaan conquered the king of Egypt and closed the gates of Egypt” (*Jub.* 46:11). It is not said for how long the gates of Egypt remained closed. In any case, Amram stayed 40 years in Canaan. He arrived in Canaan in the second year

<sup>25</sup> In rabbinic literature, there are arguments as to whether this king was really a different king or merely the same one implementing different policies with respect to the children of Israel. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* 1:8. Some of the ancient versions of the biblical text seem to reflect the same problem: LXX reads ετερος (“other”), Aquila αλλος (“other”), and Symmachus δευτερος (“second”). Josephus mentions that the king passed to another dynasty (*Ant.* 2.202). See Salvesen, *Symmachus*, 63. *Jubilees* reads “another new king.”

<sup>26</sup> According to Halpern-Amaru, Amram was placed on the mountain because the author of *Jubilees* wished to put Amram on one line with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. By placing Amram on the mountain of Hebron, the author of *Jubilees* assigns to Amram the role that he has taken away from the biblical Joseph. *Jubilees* consistently deconstructs the biblical characterization of Joseph. See Halpern-Amaru, “Burying the Fathers,” 144–45. I am not convinced that a deconstruction of Joseph and an elevation of Levi at the expense of Joseph has influenced the rewriting here.

of the second year-week of the 47th jubilee, which is *a.m.* 2263 (cf. *Jub.* 46:9), and he arrived back in Egypt in the seventh year of the seventh year-week of the 47th jubilee, which is *a.m.* 2303 (cf. *Jub.* 47:1a).

Nowhere in the biblical literature does it state that the brothers of Joseph were also to be buried in Canaan. According to the author of *Jubilees*, this must have been quite natural. Not only the patriarchs and Joseph were to be buried in Canaan, but also his brothers. This seems to be in line with the family harmony mentioned earlier. Both Joseph and his brothers are treated equally, but that is not the same as a diminution of Joseph. Moreover, it is important for the author of *Jubilees* that all the children of Israel were liberated from Egypt and that all could enter Canaan.<sup>27</sup>

The second part of the war story possibly also tries to explain the change in the mind of the Egyptians with regard to the children of Israel. Until that moment the children of Israel were prospering in Egypt. They were honored greatly by the Egyptians. When, for example, Jacob was buried at Canaan, all the servants of Pharaoh went with him, and the inhabitants of Canaan said: "This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians" (Gen 50:11). The biblical text does not work out the reasons for this change in attitude of the Egyptians after Joseph's death and after the rise of a new king. According to the author of *Jubilees*, the king of Egypt went out to fight with the king of Canaan in a second stage of the war, twenty-one years after Joseph's death. This enabled the Israelites to transport the bones of the sons of Jacob outside Egypt in order to bury them in Canaan (*Jub.* 46:9–10). The king of Egypt was afraid of the Israelites because of the fact that they went to Canaan to bury their forefathers. This showed that "their minds and faces look toward the land of Canaan" (*Jub.* 46:13). The king was not only afraid that Israel would fight against Egypt and unite with the enemy, that is, the king of Canaan, but also that they would leave the land. The motivation for this statement could have been that some of them remained in Canaan. Therefore, he conceived an evil plan against Israel (cf. *Jub.* 46:12). Thus the longing of the children of Israel for Canaan, which finds concrete expression in their crossing the border to bury their fathers, is the motivation for this fear.

I have tried to show that the particular way Exod 1:6–7 is rewritten in *Jub.* 46:3–11 seems to serve several goals. It explains why Joseph was

<sup>27</sup> *Jub.* 44:33–34 mentions that five of the grandsons of Jacob died in Egypt and were buried there.



not buried in Canaan immediately after his death, and it contextualizes the rise of a new king and the changed attitude of Egypt with regard to the children of Israel. It also makes clear why the bones of Joseph's brothers could have been transferred to Canaan at a later stage. Finally, it makes explicit that Amram, Moses' father, had to make a journey before impregnating Jochebed.

The fact that the author of *Jubilees* opted for a war story could reflect a historical situation, according to some exegetes. The kings of Canaan and Egypt might reflect the conflicts between the Seleucides who controlled Palestine and the Ptolemies in Egypt.<sup>28</sup> It might, however, be legendary. It is possibly motivated by the text of Exodus, which speaks about a war (Exod 1:10: "if war comes").<sup>29</sup> The biblical text states that the new king of Egypt is afraid that Israel will unite with the enemy and fight against Egypt, but the war is not elaborated as such.

The author of *Jubilees* could himself have invented the legend about a war between Egypt and Canaan in relation with the postponement of Joseph's burial and the transport of the bones of Joseph's brothers from Egypt to Canaan. However, it is also possible that he used an already existing tradition not found in the Bible that connects the transport of the bones with a war between Egypt and Canaan. Although the rewriting of *Jubilees* answers several questions concerning the biblical text, it opens up some new questions, which remain unanswered. Why was it possible to transport the bones during a war between Egypt and Canaan? Who was involved in the funeral? Why did many return to Egypt but not all? Why did Amram and some unnamed others remain in Hebron?

Halpern-Amaru rightly states that this war legend acquired the status of a tradition with its own literary history.<sup>30</sup> The story about the transport of the bones of Joseph's brothers, sometimes in relation to a war, can be found in several other texts, for example 4Q543–548 (*4QVisions of Amram*), the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Flavius Josephus, and the New Testament.

In the case of *4QVisions of Amram*, we are dealing with a fragmentary and reconstructed text. There are several copies of the same composi-

<sup>28</sup> Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 537–38; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 81–82. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 245–46, points to an earlier period in history.

<sup>29</sup> So also Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 537.

<sup>30</sup> Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers," 145.

tion, sometimes with additional information. Here is the translation of one of the copies (4Q544 1).<sup>31</sup>

- 1 Qahat there to stay and to dwell and to bui[ld the tombs of our fathers...many from the sons of my uncle together ...]
- 2 a man, and about our work it was very much un[til the dead were buried...rumor of war, frightening those returning from here to the land of Egypt ...]
- 3 quickly, and they did not build the tombs of their fathers. [And my father Qahat let me go...and to build and to obtain from them...from the land of Canaan ...]
- 4 until we build. *Blank* And war broke out between [Philistea and Egypt and was winning...]
- 5 And they closed the b[ord]er of Egypt and it was not possible to [...]
- 6 forty-one years, and we could not [...]
- 7 between Egypt and Canaan and Philistea. *Blank* [...] And [during all] th[is...]
- 8 she was not. *Blank* I, myself, [did not take] ano[ther] woman [...]
- 9 all: that I will return to Egypt in peace and I will see the face of my wife [...]
- 10 in my vision, the vision of the dream.

In this fragmentarily preserved text, we can read that Amram went together with his father Qahat from Egypt to Canaan “to stay and to dwell and to build” the tombs for the burial of their fathers. The reconstructed part of line 1 adds that Amram also went together with the sons of his uncle (cf. 4Q545 1a–b ii 14). This work was interrupted by a rumor of war (thus the reconstructed part of line 2; cf. 4Q545 1a–b ii 16: “rumor of war”). It is possible that Amram went back to Egypt together with the others after these rumors (4Q544 1 3: “quickly, and they did not build the tombs of their fathers”), but this is not completely certain. It is also possible that he did not go back to Egypt with the others. After a while, Amram received permission from his father to remain or to go back to Canaan (the reconstructed text of line 3 “And my father Qahat let me go” is taken from 4Q546 2 3) to finish the work (“until we build”). When he was there, war broke out between Philistea, Canaan, and Egypt, and because of this war the borders were closed (line 5) for forty-one years (line 6), during which

<sup>31</sup> The translation is taken from F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:1086–89. Most reconstructions are taken from the other manuscripts. The official publication of the manuscripts is by É. Puech. Cf. *DJD* 31:322–24.

he did not take another woman (line 8). Line 9 seems to contain a reference to his wife. Apparently she did not go with him to Canaan, and during his stay there he did not see her.

The similarities with the second part of the additions in *Jub.* 47 (v. 8–11) are clear. Both have to do with a burial in Canaan; in both cases this burial is associated with a war between Canaan and Egypt. In both cases Amram is participating, and in both cases the border (or gates) between Egypt and Canaan is closed. There are however also some differences. In *4QVisions of Amram*, Amram's father and his wife are explicitly mentioned. In *4QVisions of Amram*, it is not clear if there are two wars, as is the case in *Jubilees*. The text speaks first about the "rumor" of war (4Q544 1 2; 4Q545 1a–b ii 16) and later about the outbreak of the war (4Q544 1 4; cf. 4Q543 4 3; 4Q545 1a–b ii 19). With regard to the rumor of war, the fear of the people and their returning is mentioned (4Q544 1 2; 4Q545 1a–b ii 16). The border of Egypt is closed only after the war (4Q544 1 4). A closing of the gates is not mentioned in relation to the rumor of war. Finally, Amram remains forty-one years in Canaan according to *4QVisions of Amram*, whereas according to *Jubilees* he remains forty years (*Jub.* 46:9 and 47:1).

Based on the similarities and dissimilarities between *Jub.* 46:5–11 and *4QVisions of Amram*, one can suggest that the author of *Jubilees* probably knew of a comparable tradition, as found in *4QVisions of Amram*, that he integrated into his rewriting of the Exodus story. At the same time, he seems to have adapted this tradition in that he created two wars, each time with a closing of the gates. The first war is antedated and put in relation to Joseph's death. In *4QVisions of Amram* the rumor of war is mentioned in relation to building the tombs in Canaan, which causes the return to Egypt. In *Jubilees*, a second war takes place twenty-one years later. *4QVisions of Amram* does not disclose the distance in time between the rumor and the outbreak of the war. *Jubilees* suggests that the second war opened up the possibility for the burial in Canaan. This cannot be found in *4QVisions of Amram*.

Elements of this tradition can also be found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. There, too, it is said that the bones of all the patriarchs were buried in Hebron.<sup>32</sup> In the case of Simeon and Benjamin, a war between Egypt and Canaan is also mentioned (*T. Sim.* 8:2; *T. Benj.* 12:3). It is not clear whether, according to the *Testaments of the Twelve*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *T. Reu.* 7:1–2; *T. Sim.* 8:1–2; *T. Levi* 19:5; *T. Jud.* 26:4; *T. Zeb.* 10:6; *T. Dan* 7:2; *T. Naph.* 9:1–2; *T. Gad* 8:3–4; *T. Ash.* 8:1; *T. Benj.* 12:1–4.

*Patriarchs*, the bones of all the patriarchs, with the exception of Joseph, were transported at the same time to Hebron, as *Jubilees* puts it, or at different times. Whereas with regard to Simeon and Benjamin the text speaks about a war, with regard to Gad the text speaks about a period of five years after his death before his bones were transported (*T. Gad* 8:4), and in the case of Levi, Zebulun, and Dan it is said that they were transported "later" (cf. *T. Levi* 19:5; *T. Zeb.* 10:6; *T. Dan* 7:2).<sup>33</sup>

The tradition that the bones of Joseph's brothers were brought from Egypt to Canaan before the bones of Joseph is also found in Flavius Josephus, although no war is mentioned: "His brothers also died in Egypt, after a rich and prosperous life. Their bodies were taken later by their descendants and buried in Hebron. The bones of Joseph were carried away to Canaan much later, when the Hebrews moved away from Egypt" (*Ant.* 2.199–200).

Acts also speaks about the transport of the bones, but does not mention a war: "And Jacob went down into Egypt. And he died, himself and our fathers, and they were carried back to Shechem and laid in the tomb that Abraham had bought for a sum of silver from the sons of Hamor in Shechem" (Acts 7:15–16).<sup>34</sup>

#### *Jub. 46:12–16 and Exod 1:9–14*

The author of *Jubilees* connects the rise of a new king (Exod 1:8) strongly with rewriting the death and burial of Joseph and his brothers (*Jub.* 46:3–11), whereas he integrates Exod 1:15–22 in the rewriting of the story of Moses' birth (*Jub.* 47:1–9). Therefore, we will confine ourselves here to the rewriting of Exod 1:9–14 in the last section of *Jub.* 46. As can be seen in the following synopsis, *Jub.* 46:12–16 follows the text of Exodus quite closely.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 245.

<sup>34</sup> Likewise, in rabbinic literature it is said that the bones not only of Joseph but also of his brothers were eventually taken for burial to Hebron. Cf. *Mek. R. Ishmael, Beshallah*, Introduction; *Mek. R. Shimon bar Yohai* 14; *Gen. Rab.* 100:11.

<sup>35</sup> It seems as if the author of *Jubilees* was not aware of the ambiguity of the reference to "he" in *Jub.* 46:12 when he returned to the biblical text after the digression of the war story. In Exod 1:9a, it is quite clear that the subject is the new king who ruled Egypt (Exod 1:8), but in *Jub.* 46:12 it could refer either to the "king of Egypt" or to the "king of Canaan" of the preceding sentence (*Jub.* 46:11). The Latin text of *Jub.* 46:12 reads *rex chanaam* which is accepted by Berger. See Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 537, 539. *Jub.* 46:13i ("they leave our land because their minds and faces look toward the land of Canaan") makes clear, however, that the king of Egypt is speaking here. So does VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: II*, 302.

## Exod 1:9–14

## Jub. 46:12–16

[ ]

9a He said to *his people*:b “Behold, the people of the children of Israel *are too many*

[ ]

AND TOO MIGHTY FOR US.

10a Come on,

b let us act wisely with *it*,c *lest it* increases.

[ ]

d *If* war comes [ ],e and *it*, too, will unite with our enemiesf and it fights against us.g and *goes up from the land* [ ].”1a *They* appointed taskmasters over *it* to make *it* suffer *with their burdens*.b *It* built *store* cities for the pharaoh, Pithom and Ramses.

[ ]

[cf. Exod 1:13a]

12a But *the more* they make *it* suffer,b the more *it* would multiplyc and the more *it* would increase.d *They were in dread of* the children of Israel.13a *The Egyptians* were enslaving the children of Israel by force,

14a AND MADE THEIR LIVES BITTER WITH HARD SLAVERY, IN MORTAR AND BRICK, AND IN ALL KINDS OF WORK IN THE FIELD;

b IN ALL THEIR WORK THEY WERE ENSLAVING THEM BY FORCE.

12a HE CONCEIVED AN EVIL PLAN AGAINST THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL TO MAKE THEM SUFFER.

b He said to *the Egyptians*:13a “Behold, the people of the children of Israel *has now grown* AND INCREASED MORE THAN WE.

[ ]

b Come on,

c let us act wisely with *them*d *before they* increase.

e LET US MAKE THEM SUFFER IN SLAVERY

f *before* war comes TO USg and *they*, too, fight against us.h OTHERWISE *they will unite with the enemy*i and *leave our* land BECAUSE THEIR MIND(S) AND FACE(S) LOOK) TOWARD THE LAND OF CANAAN.”14a *He* appointed taskmasters over *them* to make *them* suffer *in slavery*.b *They* built *fortified* cities for the pharaoh—Pithom and Ramses.

c THEY BUILT EVERY WALL AND ALL THE FORTIFICATIONS WHICH HAD FALLEN DOWN IN THE CITIES OF EGYPT.

15a *They* were enslaving *them* by force,b but *however much* they make *them* sufferc the more *they* would multiplyd and the more *they* would increase.16a *The Egyptians* considered the children of Israel *detestable*.

[cf. Jub. 46:15a]

[ ]

The author of *Jubilees* makes some small but interesting alterations with regard to the biblical text. In the first place, the rewriting of *Jubilees* characterizes right from the beginning the plan of the new king as “an evil plan” and specifies its goal (*Jub.* 46:12a: “in order to make them suffer”). The description of the goal is also mentioned within the direct speech of the king (*Jub.* 46:13e: “Let us make them suffer in slavery”) and in the execution (*Jub.* 46:14a, 15ab). The formulation of this plan differs from the formulation in Exodus. It is not so much the “birth control” (Exod 1:10c), but the suffering of Israel in slavery.<sup>36</sup> In the second place, the unmotivated fear of the king for an Israel that would fight with the enemy and leave the country (Exod 1:10e–g) is motivated in *Jubilees*: “because their minds and faces look toward the land of Canaan” (*Jub.* 46:13i). In the preceding passage, the king of Canaan is presented as the principal enemy of the king of Egypt (*Jub.* 43:3–11). In the third place, the addition in *Jub.* 46:14c is related to the “fortified cities” (*Jub.* 46:14b) and may be motivated by Exod 1:14a (“mortar and brick”), but it is probably also influenced by the preceding war stories. In the fourth place, one can point to the fact that first in Exod 1:11–12 ענה Piel (“to afflict”) is used and then in Exod 1:13–14 עבד Hiphil (“to cause to serve; enslave”). In the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees*, both *hamama* (“to suffer”) and *qanaya* (“cause to serve”) are put together (*Jub.* 46:13e, 14a, 15ab).<sup>37</sup> Finally, whereas in Exodus the plot of the story develops from plan (Exod 1:9b–10) to execution (Exod 1:11) to failure (Exod 1:12) followed by a new, more severe execution (Exod 1:13–14), in *Jubilees* it develops from plan (*Jub.* 46:12–13) to execution (*Jub.* 46:15b) to failure (*Jub.* 46:15c–16).

Many small deviations in *Jub.* 46:12–16 with regard to the Masoretic text of Exod 1:9–14 are due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* uses a biblical text different from the Masoretic one. In these cases, deviations in *Jubilees* vis-à-vis the Masoretic text can also be found in the biblical texts of, for example, the Septuagint or the Samaritan Pentateuch. In these cases, we cannot consider this deviation as a variation of the bibli-

<sup>36</sup> Related to this, one can point to the difference of “lest it increases” (Exod 1:10c; MT, SP, LXX) and “before they increase” (*Jub.* 46:13d). However, the Peshitta of Exod 1:10 also has the reading in *Jubilees*. We cannot be sure, therefore, that the author of *Jubilees* changed his biblical *Vorlage*.

<sup>37</sup> See, however, the Latin version of *Jubilees*, which reads in *Jub.* 46:13e: *humiliemus eos in operibus ipsorum* (“let us humble them through their works”) and in *Jub.* 46:14a: *ut adfligant eos in operibus ipsorum* (“to make them suffer through their works”). Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: II*, 303.

cal text. VanderKam suggests that in Palestine there was a biblical text of Genesis-Exodus that agreed more often with the LXX and SP than with the MT but that was an independent witness.<sup>38</sup> Mostly, it concerns small variations. In *Jub.* 46:12–16, there are plural forms, whereas the MT reads in the singular. In all cases, the plural is attested to in one of the versions: *Jub.* 46:13b–d, 13g–i, 14a–b, 15cd.<sup>39</sup> The versions, however, do not consistently use either plural or singular. The diversity within the textual tradition is probably due to the expression “the people of the children of Israel” (Exod 1:9), to which one can refer with a singular (“the people”), but also with a plural (“the children of Israel”). From Exod 1:12d–13a onwards (where the phrase “the children of Israel” is used twice), the MT also uses the plural (Exod 1:14). In one case *Jubilees* uses a singular (*Jub.* 46:14a). The MT, the SP and the Peshitta have a plural (Exod 1:11), but the singular is attested in the LXX, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic. *Jubilees* 46:13f has the small addition “to us,” which is also found in the SP, the LXX, the Peshitta, and the Ethiopic. In *Jub.* 46:13a, two items are mentioned (“grown”/ “increased”), which reflects the double reading of the LXX of Exod 1:9b, where the MT has only one item (“many”). The second adjective of the MT (עצום), which is presented as the third element in the LXX, is not taken over by *Jubilees*. *Jubilees* 46:14b reads “fortified cities,” where the MT of Exod 1:11b has “store cities,” but where the Septuagint reads: πόλεις ὀχυράς.

### CONCLUSIONS

The comparison between *Jub.* 46:1–16 and Gen 50:15–Exod 1:14 shows that the author of *Jubilees* reorganized the sequence of events. He omits passages that can be considered redundant (e.g., Exod 1:1–5) or contradictory to other scriptural passages (e.g., Gen 50:15–21). He rearranges material with regard to Israel’s prosperity to the period before Joseph’s death (*Jub.* 46:1–2), and this relocation is in line with records in the book of Genesis. At the same time, he stresses the importance of Joseph’s death by taking the references to his death in Genesis and

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., J.C. VanderKam, “Jubilees and the Hebrew Texts of Genesis-Exodus,” *Textus* 14 (1988): 71–85; repr. in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 448–61 (460).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: II*, 302–4.

Exodus together while reworking it into a new story, integrating it with non-scriptural material (*Jub.* 46:3–11). I have tried to show that this reworking was motivated by problems in the biblical text, such as the fact that Joseph is not buried in Canaan immediately after his death, the unmotivated mentions of a new king and a war, the unexplained change in the attitude of the Egyptians with regard to the children of Israel, and finally the somewhat odd formulation of a journey of Moses' father before Moses' birth. The effect of the reorganization is, in the first place, to provide a smooth transition from Genesis to Exodus. There is no break between the two biblical books. In the second place, there is a highly organized sequence of events, from Israel's prosperity to Joseph's death and the rise of a new king and Israel's enslavement.

The special treatment of Levi at Jacob's deathbed, which is heavily abbreviated in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 45:13–16), immediately preceding *Jub.* 46, and the equal treatment of all Jacob's sons with regard to their burials does not mean a reduction of Joseph's significance in the context of his family. The author of *Jubilees* stresses the harmony of the family of which Joseph is also a full member. Thanks to the efforts of Joseph described in the preceding chapter, the family is able to survive in Egypt and even to prosper. It is only after his death that the misery for Israel begins.



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# Flores Florentino

Dead Sea Scrolls  
and Other Early Jewish Studies in  
Honour of Florentino García Martínez

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Eibert Tigchelaar



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