

Book-Seams in the Hexateuch I

Edited by
CHRISTOPH BERNER
and HARALD SAMUEL

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament
120*

Mohr Siebeck

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Herausgegeben von

Konrad Schmid (Zürich) · Mark S. Smith (Princeton)
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120



Book-Seams in the Hexateuch I

The Literary Transitions between the Books
of Genesis/Exodus and Joshua/Judges

edited by

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with the assistance of

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Preface

The present volume is based on papers presented at the first two conferences of the series “Buchnähte im Hexateuch”, which were held in Göttingen on 24–27 March 2014 and 23–26 March 2015 in cooperation with the Faculty of Theology and the Centrum Orbis Orientalis et Occidentalis. We are especially thankful to Prof. Reinhard G. Kratz, who supported the project in all of its stages, and to the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung for its generous funding. However, this volume is meant to offer more than a mere collection of articles. Rather, it is devised as a comprehensive treatment of the book-seams in Gen/Exod and Josh/Judg and their interrelations, including a documentation of the material evidence in the different textual traditions as well as articles focusing on the earlier history of research and the wider context of the book transitions and their composition-historical implications. To cover this wide range of topics, we also invited some scholars who had not attended the conferences to contribute to the volume. We wish to thank all our authors for their outstanding work and their patience with this ambitious project. Even when it tarried, they waited for it, and in the end it did come, although with some delay.

We also wish to thank the editors Konrad Schmid, Mark S. Smith, Hermann Spieckermann and Andrew Teeter for accepting this volume into the FAT I series and the team at Mohr Siebeck, Katharina Gutekunst, Karen Donskov Felter and Matthias Spitzner, for their constant support. The editorial work of sewing together the different articles into one volume with a unified style and layout was considerably facilitated through the financial support of the Centrum Orbis Orientalis et Occidentalis and the German Research Foundation (DFG). Above all, however, our cordial thanks go to Stephen Germany, who devoted himself to the task of English editing and proofreading. The volume has profited immensely from his meticulous and excellent work.

Göttingen, 31 May 2018

Christoph Berner
Harald Samuel

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Introduction

Christoph Berner / Harald Samuel

When using the term “book-seam” (an English rendering of the German “Buchnaht”), we are referring to the immediate transitions between biblical books, with a special emphasis on their material aspects and implications. More specifically, we are referring to the ancient scribal practice of copying and transmitting the biblical text on separate scrolls, which is well documented in the texts from Qumran. Generally speaking, these scrolls are not identical with books in the modern sense of a coherent and self-contained compositional unit.¹ This distinction becomes clear if one considers the first two parts of the Hebrew Bible, i.e., the Torah (Gen–Deut) and the Former Prophets (Josh–2 Kgs). On the one hand, the events narrated in the respective texts form a continuous sequence of events from the creation of the world until the fall of the kingdom of Judah, and there are several explicit literary cross-references which indicate that there is a deliberate compositional rationale behind this enneateuchal master narrative.² On the other hand, there are no scrolls comprising the entire Enneateuch. Rather, the text is divided into separate scrolls, which can thus be compared to the individual parts of a multi-volume composition.

Considering the significant length of the Enneateuch, its division into separate scrolls must be regarded as a practical necessity, since a single scroll comprising the entire text of Gen–2 Kgs would not only be unwieldy, but simply impossible to produce. As Peter Porzig convincingly argues, it is not possible to imagine a scroll covering the so-called Deuteronomistic History (Deut–2 Kgs),³ and the same applies to the Former Prophets (Josh–2 Kgs). Rather, the earliest available evidence from Qumran shows that despite their obvious thematic interconnections, it was a usual practice to copy the books of Josh, Judg, 1–2 Sam and 1–2 Kgs on individual scrolls, which are separated in accordance with the major narrative *caesurae*. This raises the decisive question of how the distribution of the text to different scrolls relates to its compositional history. Can we assume that the respective books were conceived as physically separate parts of a multi-volume composition from the

¹ See BARTON, ‘What Is a Book?’.

² See, e.g., AURELIUS, *Zukunft*; SCHMITT, ‘Geschichtswerk’. Cf. also BLUM, ‘Pentateuch – Hexateuch – Enneateuch’ for a critical discussion.

³ See PORZIG’s contribution in part II, section 3.2 of this volume.

outset,⁴ or are we dealing with a more complex development of originally independent compositional units (e.g., parts of Josh as the conclusion of an exodus-conquest narrative; a history of the monarchy in 1 Sam–2 Kgs) that were only connected by a later redaction in which the book of Judges served as a narrative link?⁵ In the latter case, one would also have to differentiate between different types of book-seams: While some transitions (e.g., between Judg and 1 Sam) were most likely conceived on separate scrolls, others may have developed only secondarily from a narrative *caesura* within an earlier physical and compositional unit (e.g., the transition between Deut and Josh and certainly between 1 and 2 Sam or 1 and 2 Kgs).

The same basic observations can also be made with respect to the Pentateuch, which was certainly conceived as a distinct compositional unit by the time the earliest extant copies discovered at Qumran were written.⁶ Nevertheless, the Qumran evidence is ambiguous. While some scholars assume the existence of scrolls comprising the entire sequence of Gen–Deut (e.g., 4QRP^c), the basis for this assumption remains vague. In reality, it is an open question when Torah scrolls came into general use.⁷ The recently deciphered Leviticus scroll from En Gedi is apparently just that – a Leviticus scroll.⁸ In contrast, there is ample evidence for scrolls which contained only one, two or possibly even three books (e.g., 4QRP^{b, d}, 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l, 4QExod-Lev^f, 1QpaleoLev-Num^a, 4QLev-Num^a).⁹ However, the scribal practice of leaving several blank lines between different books, as is attested in 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l at the transition between the books of Gen and Exod, suggests that even in the context of a single physical scroll, the book transitions were nevertheless perceived as decisive *caesurae* between major compositional units. At the same time, one must assume that the scrolls that did not contain all five books were not perceived as isolated and self-contained literary units, but as parts of the larger compositional entity of the Pentateuch.

Apparently, the different ways in which the books of the Pentateuch were divided into individual scrolls also reflect a certain compositional logic. For instance, concluding a scroll with Gen 50 is quite understandable, since the death of Jacob and Joseph marks a major narrative *caesura*, i.e., the end of the ancestral period. On the other hand, there are also convincing thematic

⁴ Thus, e.g., EDENBURG in her contribution in part II, section 3.2 of this volume.

⁵ See, e.g., KRATZ, *Composition*.

⁶ On what follows, see also GERTZ on pp. 56–60 of this volume.

⁷ Cf. SIRAT, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, 27, and RENDSBURG, ‘Torah Scrolls’.

⁸ Cf. SEGAL et al., ‘Leviticus Scroll’, 33–34. Theoretically it could also have contained Lev–Num or Lev–Deut, but calculations based on the number of lines per column and their respective length make a Leviticus Scroll seem the likeliest option.

⁹ Moreover, the case of 4QGen^d shows that in some instances a scroll could apparently comprise only parts of a biblical book (in this case Gen 1–4 or 5). See BROOKE, ‘4QGen^d’; IDEM, ‘Genesis 1–11’.

and conceptual reasons for composing scrolls that contain more than one book: the tradition- (and literary-) historical connection between creation and the building of the sanctuary (Gen–Exod), the accumulation of texts related to the sanctuary and the sacrificial cult (Exod–Lev) or the narrative context of the wilderness wanderings of the Israelites and their sojourn at Mount Sinai (Exod–Lev–Num). Finally, the apparently fixed scribal custom of copying Deuteronomy separately (about 30 scrolls)¹⁰ can easily be attributed to its stylization as the farewell address of Moses.

In consequence, the different ways of distributing the pentateuchal text onto separate scrolls are not arbitrary but reflect its existing narrative *caesurae*. These *caesurae* are in turn often indicative of the text's preceding redaction history, the final stages of which are attested by the Qumran witnesses themselves. On the one hand, the passages used for defining the beginning and end of a scroll sometimes concur with the transition between texts from different scribal schools, e.g., of priestly and non-priestly (deuteronomistic) provenance, as is most obviously the case with the transition between the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy. On the other hand, they also reflect the existence of potential literary seams where previously independent texts or compositions may have been redactionally combined or literally sewn together (cf., e.g., the transition between Genesis and Exodus). The often ambiguous character of a book-seam, comprising aspects of both narrative continuity and discontinuity, can thus be seen as a potential reflection of the text's earlier compositional history.

The implications of the book-seams for the compositional history of the text are especially obvious in the two cases treated in this volume, i.e., the transitions between Genesis/Exodus and Joshua/Judges:

1. The book-seams coincide with two major narrative *caesurae* between the golden days of Joseph and the oppression of the Israelites and between the time of Joshua and the period of the judges.
2. In both cases, there are significant narrative doublets (esp. the twice-told deaths of Joseph and Joshua), which apparently result from an editorial process.
3. Specific parallels (both Joseph and Joshua die at the age of 110 years, together with their entire generation, and what follows is the rise of new protagonists initiating a period of decline) show that the two book-seams are apparently interrelated and have not developed independently.

For the above reasons, it is apparent that the transitions between the books of Genesis/Exodus and Joshua/Judges represent two compositional hotspots. Their analysis, therefore, not only promises deeper insight into the development of their immediate contexts but has also crucial implications for the large compositional units of the Pentateuch, Hexateuch and Enneateuch.

¹⁰ See TOV, *Revised Lists*, 116–117; ULRICH, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 779–780.

The present volume aims at a comprehensive discussion of the book-seams in Gen 50–Exod 1 (part I) and Josh 24–Judg 2 (part II). Both parts are structured identically. They begin with a presentation of the material evidence (section 1), i.e., the book transition as it is documented by the major textual witnesses: the MT, the LXX and (where available) the SP and the biblical Qumran scrolls.¹¹ This section provides a synopsis of the textual variants and an evaluation of their potential diachronic implications and thus provides the basis for section 2 (literary-historical approaches). This section begins with a history of prior research, followed by articles illustrating a spectrum of contemporary approaches towards the book-seam and its literary development. Section 2 is concluded by a response providing a critical evaluation of the different contemporary approaches against the background of the material evidence outlined in section 1. A third section (the larger context) contains articles addressing issues related to the book-seam and highlighting its implications in the context of its compositional framework and the scholarly theories related to it. The volume is concluded by a third part which provides a brief presentation of the parallels between the two book-seams (section 1: material evidence) and an evaluation from and a redaction-critical and a narratological point of view (section 2: contemporary approaches).

¹¹ While the text of the MT follows the BHS, the LXX is based on the critical edition of the Göttingen Septuaginta. The presentation of the Qumran witnesses follows ULRICH, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*. We wish to express our gratitude to Stefan Schorch for providing us with the unpublished manuscript of his forthcoming critical edition of the SP, upon which the presentation of the SP is based.

The Attestation of the Book-Seam in the Early Textual Witnesses and its Literary-Historical Implications

Christoph Berner

A. Introduction

In modern print editions of the Hebrew Bible, the transition between the books of Genesis and Exodus (and the remaining biblical books) usually coincides with a page break. Thus, the text of Exodus begins at the top of a new page following a superscription giving the book's title. Basically, the same principle is already attested in early Greek codices of the Bible like *Codex Alexandrinus* or *Codex Vaticanus*. Here, the text of Exodus begins in the first line of a new column, while the last lines of the preceding column containing the final verses of Gen 50 were left blank. In addition, the book transition is also highlighted graphically by a concluding scribal remark referring to the end of Genesis¹ and an (ornate) superscription in the top margin above the following column mentioning the title of the book of Exodus.²

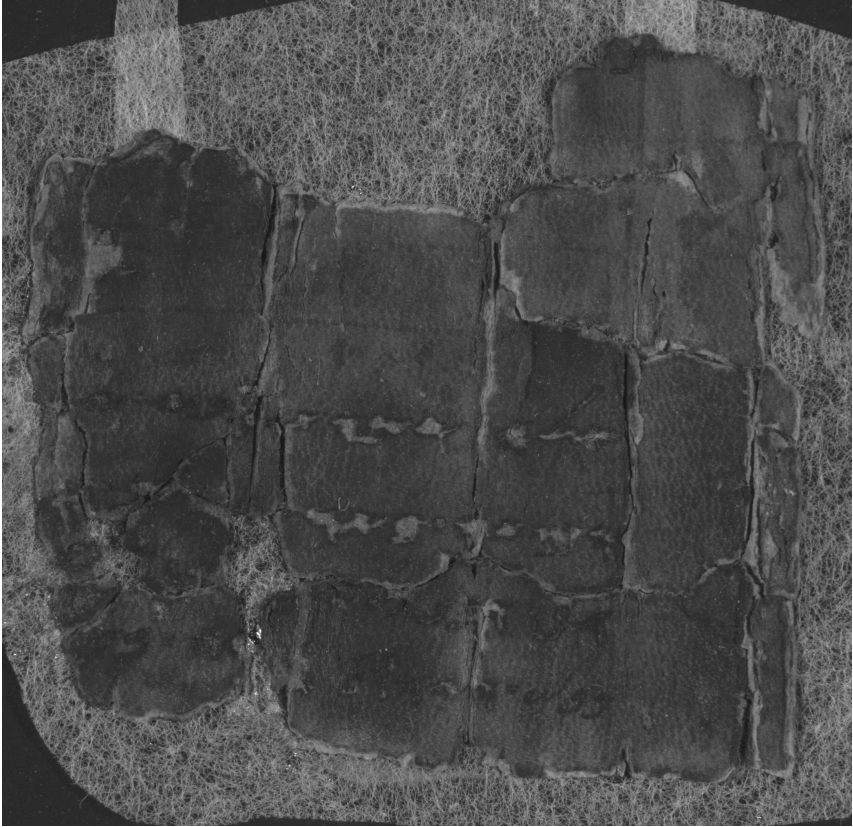
Compared to the above examples, the material evidence attested by the earliest Hebrew copies of the books of Genesis and Exodus from Qumran is more diverse. Of the three fragmentary scrolls containing the first verses of Exod 1, none has preserved a reference to the title of the book, although the example of 4QGen^h-Title shows that, in principle, such references could already be employed by the Qumranic scribes.³ Moreover, it is noteworthy that most of the Qumranic witnesses to the book of Exodus apparently contained no further books of the Pentateuch,⁴ while in some instances, there is also evidence of scrolls covering Genesis and Exodus (4QGen-Exod^a; 4QExod^b;

¹ There is a high degree of variation with respect to these scribal remarks. Thus, *Codex Vaticanus* has γενεσις κατα τους εβδομηκοντα, while *Codex Alexandrinus* reads γενεσις κοσμου. For further manuscript evidence, see WEVERS, *Genesis*, 475.

² Again, these superscriptions are not standardized. Cf., e.g., εξοδος in *Codex Vaticanus*, or εξοδος αιγυπτου in *Codex Alexandrinus*. For further variants, see WEVERS, *Exodus*, 66.

³ The fragment preserves the title of the book of Genesis (ברשית), which was most likely written on the reverse side of the scroll to allow for a quick identification of its contents. See the contribution of Jan Christian Gertz in this volume, p. 56.

⁴ Cf. 1QExod, 2QExod^a, 2QExod^b, 2QExod^c, 4QExod^c, 4QExod^d, 4QExod^e, 4QExod^e, 4QExod^f, 4QExod^g, 4QExod^h, 4QExodⁱ, 4QExod^k, 4QpaleoExod^m.



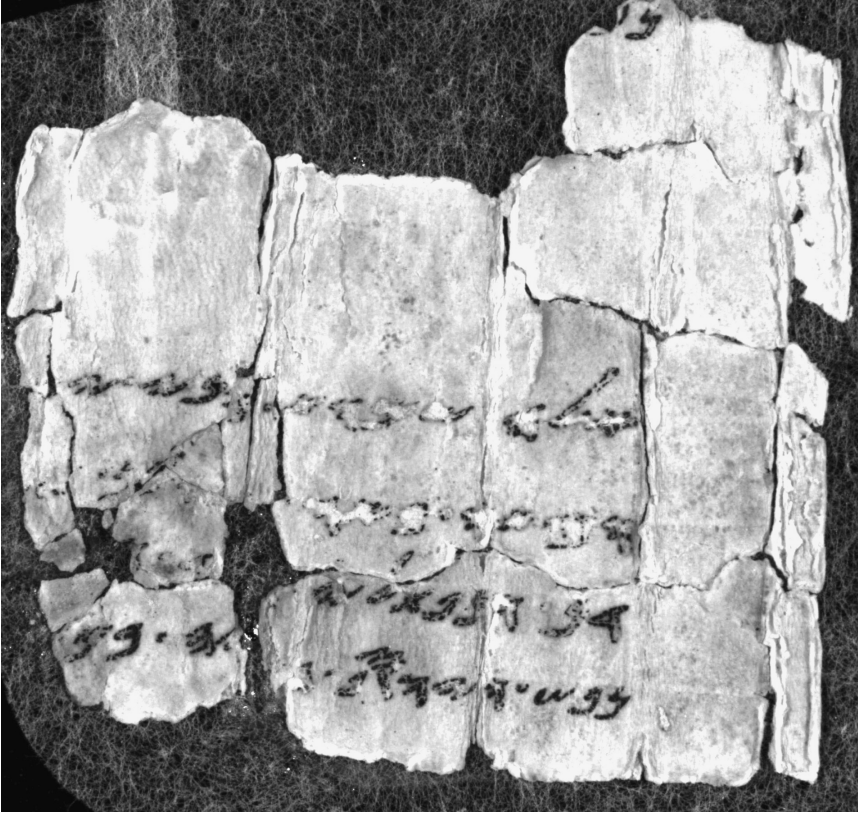
4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ frgs. 1, 39

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4QpaleoGen-Exod¹) or Exodus and Leviticus respectively (4QExod-Lev^f). It is conceivable that in these latter cases we are in fact dealing with scrolls that, originally, comprised the text of all five books of the Pentateuch.⁵

Due to the fragmentary state of most scrolls, the transitions between the individual books are usually lost. It is, therefore, a lucky coincidence that 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ frgs. 1, 39 has preserved the book transition between Genesis and Exodus.

⁵ See, e.g., SKEHAN et al., DJD 9, 20. The existence of scrolls containing all five books from Genesis to Deuteronomy might be attested by 4QRP^s and MurGen-Exod-Num^a; see BENOIT et al., DJD 2/1, 75.

4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ frgs. 1, 39 (infrared image)

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By leaving three and a half empty lines between the end of Gen 50:26⁶ and the beginning of Exod 1:1, the writer of 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ has marked a major *caesura* between the two verses, which is unparalleled in the remaining parts of the scroll.⁷ The design of the transition thus seems to reflect the awareness that Genesis and Exodus represent two distinct compositional units, which are nevertheless continuous from a narrative perspective and could, therefore, be included within the same physical unit of a single scroll. At the same time, the many examples of scrolls apparently containing only

⁶ Since only two letters of the last word of Gen 50:26 (במ[צרים]) are preserved in 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ fig. 1 1, this passage has not been included in the following synopsis in section B.

⁷ A similar case is also attested in 4QExod^b fig. 1, where the text of Exod 1:1–6 begins in the middle section of the column following two lines which were ruled but left blank. Apparently, these blank lines indicate the book transition. See ULRICH et al., DJD 12, 79–80.

the book of Exodus show that the transition between Gen 50:26 and Exod 1:1 was even more frequently realized through the creation of separate physical units. In sum, the material evidence of the early textual witnesses from Qumran highlights the ambiguity of the transition between the books of Genesis and Exodus, which includes aspects of narrative continuity and discontinuity alike and apparently results from the complex redaction history of the section that shall be analyzed in the following sections of this volume.

B. Synopsis: Gen 50:22 – Exod 1:10

	MT	SP	LXX
50,22	וַיֵּשֶׁב יוֹסֵף בְּמִצְרַיִם הוא ובית אָביו	וישב יוסף במצרים הוא ובית אביו	καὶ κατώκησεν Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πανοικία τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
	וַיְחִי יוֹסֵף מֵאָה וָעֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים	ויחי יוסף מאה ועשר שנים:	καὶ ἔζησεν Ἰωσήφ ἔτη ἑκατὸν δέκα
50,23	וַיֵּרָא יוֹסֵף לְאֶפְרַיִם בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים גַם בְּנֵי מְכִיר בֶן־מְנַשֶּׁה יָלְדוּ עַל־בְּרָכִי יוֹסֵף	וירא יוסף לאפרים בנים שלישים גם בני מכיר בן מנשה ילדו בימי יוסף	καὶ εἶδεν Ἰωσήφ Εφραϊμ παιδία ἕως τρίτης γενεᾶς καὶ υἱοὶ Μαχίρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μανασση ἐτέχθησαν ἐπὶ μηρῶν Ἰωσήφ
50,24	וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אֶחָיו אָנֹכִי מֵת	ויאמר יוסף אל אחיו אנכי מת	καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐγὼ ἀποθνήσκω
	וְאֱלֹהִים פָּקַד יַפְקֹד אֶתְכֶם וְהֶעֱלָה אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וְלַיַּעֲקֹב	והאלהים פקד יפקד אתכם והעלה אתכם מן הארץ הזאת אל הארץ אשר נשבע לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב	ἐπισκοπή δὲ ἐπισκέπεται ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀνάξει ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὤμοσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν Αβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ
50,25	וַיִּשְׁבַּע יוֹסֵף אֶת־בְּנָיו יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר פָּקַד יִפְקַד אֱלֹהִים אֶתְכֶם	וישביע יוסף את בני ישראל לאמר פקד יפקד אלהים אתכם והעליתם את עצמתי מזה אתכם	καὶ ὄρκισεν Ἰωσήφ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἣ ἐπισκέπεται ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός καὶ συνανοίσετε τὰ ὀστᾶ μου ἐντεῦθεν μεθ' ὑμῶν
50,26	וַיָּמָת יוֹסֵף בְּנֵי־מֵאָה וָעֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים וַיַּחַנְטוּ אֹתוֹ וַיִּשֶׂם בָּאָרוֹן בְּמִצְרַיִם	וימת יוסף בן מאה ועשר שנים ויחנטו אתו ויושם בארון במצרים	καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰωσήφ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκον ἐν τῇ σορῷ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

	MT	SP	LXX
1.1	וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַבָּאִים מִצְרַיִם אֶת יַעֲקֹב אִישׁ וּבֵיתוֹ בָּאוּ	ואלה שמות בני ישראל הבאים מצרימה את יעקב איש וביתו באו	ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ τῶν εἰσπεπορευμένων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἅμα Ἰακωβ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος πανοικία αὐτῶν εἰσήλθουσαν
1.2	רְאוּבֵן שְׁמֵעוֹן לֹוִי וַיהוּדָה	ראובן ושמעון ולוי ויהודה	Ρουβην Συμεων Λευι Ιουδας
1.3	יִשְׂשַׁכָּר זְבוּלֹן וּבְנִימִן	ויששכר וזבולן ובנימין:	Ἰσσαχαρ Ζαβουλων και Βενιαμιν
1.4	דָּן וְנַפְתָּלִי גַּד וְאָשֶׁר	דן ונפתלי גד ואשר	Δαν και Νεφθαλι Γαδ και Ασηρ
1.5	וַיְהִי כֹל־נַפְשׁ יִצְחָק יֶדְיָ־יַעֲקֹב שִׁבְעִים נֶפֶשׁ	ויהיו כל נפש יצאי ירך יעקב שבעים נפש	Ιωσηφ δὲ ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἦσαν δὲ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἕξ Ἰακωβ πέντε και ἑβδομήκοντα
1.6	וַיֹּסֶף הָיָה בְּמִצְרַיִם וַיָּמָת יוֹסֵף וְכָל־אָחִיו וְכָל הַדּוֹר הַהוּא	ויסף היה במצרים: וימת יוסף וכל אחיו וכל הדור ההוא	ἔτελετύτησεν δὲ Ιωσηφ και πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ και πᾶσα ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη
1.7	וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל פָּרוּ וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ וַיִּרְבּוּ וַיַּעֲצְמוּ בְּמַאֲד מַאֲד וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם	ובני ישראל פרו וישרצו וירבו ויעצמו במאד מאד ותמלא הארץ אתם	οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἠϋξήθησαν και ἐπληθύνθησαν και χυδαῖοι ἐγένοντο και κατίσχυον σφόδρα σφόδρα ἐπλήθυνεν δὲ ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦς
1.8	וַיִּקַּם מֶלֶךְ־חֲדָשׁ עַל־מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדַע אֶת־יוֹסֵף	ויקם מלך חדש על מצרים אשר לא ידע את יוסף	ἀνέστη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὃς οὐκ ἤδει τὸν Ιωσηφ
1.9	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲמוֹ הִנֵּה עִם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רַב וְעֲצוּם מִמֶּנּוּ	ויאמר אל עמו הן עם בני ישראל רב ועצום ממנו	εἶπεν δὲ τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ ἰδοὺ τὸ γένος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ μέγα πλῆθος και ἰσχύει ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς
1.10	הֲבֵה נַתְחַכְמָה לוֹ פְּוִי־רִיבָה וְהִיָּה כִי־תִקְרָאנָהּ מִלְחָמָה וְנוֹסֵף גַּם־הוּא עַל־שָׂנְאֵינוּ וְנִלְחַם־בָּנוּ וְעֵלָה מִן מִן־הָאָרֶץ.	הבה נתחכם לו פן ירבה והיה כי תקראנו מלחמה ונוסף גם הוא על שנאינו ונלחם בנו ועלה מן הארץ	δεῦτε οὖν κατασοφισώμεθα αὐτοῦς μήποτε πληθυνθῆ και ἡνίκα ἂν συμβῆ ἡμῖν πόλεμος προστεθήσονται και οὔτοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους και ἐκπολεμήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἐξελεύσονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς

4QGen-Exod ^a frgs. 17+18	4QpaleoGen- Exod ¹ frg. 39	4QExod ^b frg. 1	
	אלה שמות בני יש[ראל הבאים מצר[ימה [את יעקב אביהם	[אלה שמות בני ישראל הבאים מצרימה [את יעקוב אביהם	1,1
	איש [וביתו באו	איש [וביתו באו]	
	ר[א]ובן ש[מעון לוי ויהודה	ראובן שמעון לוי ויהודה	1,2
[ויששכר זו]בולן	[ויששכר] זבולן ובנימן]	[ויששכר זבולון יוסף ובני]מין	1,3
	דן ונפתלי]	דן ונפתלי	1,4
	ג[ד]ו[אשר	גד ואשר	1,5
שבעים] וחמש נפש	ויהי כל נפש י[צא ירך י]עקב שבעים] נפש	ויהי כל נפש ליעקוב] חמש ושבעים נפש	
ויוסף] היה במצרים	ויוסף היה במצ[רים	וימת] יוסף]	1,6
הה[וא] ובני ישראל פרו וישר]צו			1,7
	א]תם		
	[ויקם מ]לך חדש על מצרים אשר לא]		1,8
			1,9
[ישראל]ל רב ועצום ממנו			
	הבה נתחכמה]		1,10
ונו]סף גם הוא על שנאינו			
ונלחם בנו ועלה מן ה[ארץ			

C. Description of Variants

Almost nothing of the section Gen 50:22–26 has been preserved in the Qumran manuscripts. Only 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ frg. 1 1 seems to contain a very small portion of Gen 50:26 (the first two letters of the final word of the verse, i.e., *במ[צרים]*), but this highly fragmentary passage provides no significant readings and has therefore not been included in the above synopsis. In contrast, the comparison of the MT, the LXX and the SP versions of Gen 50:22–26 shows at least some minor variants. To begin with, there are two instances where the LXX has a more elaborate text than the Hebrew witnesses. In Gen 50:22, it reads “he *and his brothers* and the *entire* household of his father” (instead of “he and the house[hold] of his father” in the MT and the SP),¹ which can be explained by assuming either a change in the process of translation² or an (earlier) adjustment to the similar sequence in Exod 1:6 (“he *and his brothers* and this *entire* generation”).³ In Gen 50:24, the LXX repeats the subject from the main clause in the ensuing relative clause (“which *God* has sworn *to your fathers* Abraham and Isaac and Jacob”), while the Hebrew witnesses are less explicit and lack the explicit designation of the three patriarchs as “your fathers” (“which *he* has sworn to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob”). A further plus of the LXX, this time also shared by the SP, is attested in Gen 50:25. In both versions, Joseph’s request “you shall carry up my bones from here” (MT) is followed by an additional “with you”. This text is more in line with Exod 13:19, which contains a verbatim quotation of Joseph’s request including the prepositional phrase in question.⁴

An additional set of variants is attested in Gen 50:23. Apart from a variation in the reference to the offspring of Ephraim in 50:23a,⁵ the versions dif-

¹ A similar plus occurs in Gen 50:8 LXX (“the entire household of Joseph *and his brothers* and his entire paternal house”).

² According to KARRER/KRAUS, *Erläuterungen*, 256, the rendering of Heb. בית with Gk. *πανοικία* (signifying the household of Jacob in a narrow sense) necessitated an additional reference to Joseph’s brothers.

³ As WEVERS, *Notes*, 851, has correctly observed, “the *πᾶσα* modifying *πανοικία* is certainly otiose” in the Greek text. This is most easily explained by assuming the verbatim translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that read *בית אביו* and *וכל בית אביו*; cf. Gen 50:8.

⁴ The syntactic construction of Gen 50:25ba in the LXX differs considerably from the Hebrew witnesses. Theoretically, it could be based on a different Hebrew *Vorlage* (*בפקדה*) *אשר יפקד אתכם אלהים* (אשר יפקד אתכם אלהים), although it is perhaps more likely to assume that it merely reflects a stylistic adaptation by the hand of the Greek translator. Cf. WEVERS, *NOTES*, 853.

⁵ While the construct chain in the MT (“the sons/offspring of the third generation”) literally refers to Ephraim’s offspring of the fourth generation or his great-great-grandchildren, the chain of descendants only counts three generations in the LXX version (“the children up to the third generation”). The SP seems to reflect a similar reading (“third generation children;” see Wevers, *Notes*, 852), with *שלישיים* being used either as a predicative accusative or as an apposition.

fer especially with respect to the peculiar circumstances of the birth of the sons of Machir in 50:23b. While the MT states that they were born “on Joseph’s knees”, thus reflecting the notion of adoption expressed in Gen 30:3, the LXX locates their birth “on Joseph’s thighs”. The variant may be due to a deliberate exegetical change in order to emphasize the notion of fertility,⁶ although it could also result from the confusion of Heb. ברך and ירך, either by the Greek translator or in his Hebrew *Vorlage*. The SP, on the other hand, reads that the sons of Machir were born “in Joseph’s days”. It thus avoids the physical (and legal) implications of the MT (and LXX) reading(s) in favor of a purely chronological understanding, which is more in line with Gen 50:22–23a. Finally, mention should be made of a thematic variant in Gen 50:26, where the LXX reads that Joseph was buried, while he was embalmed according to the Hebrew witnesses. In light of the fact that Jacob’s embalmment in 50:2 is faithfully rendered by the LXX, it is worth considering whether in 50:26 the Hebrew *Vorlage* used by the translator may have read ויקברו (“and they buried”) instead of ויחנטו (“and they embalmed”).⁷ Perhaps the variant results from the attempt to reserve this special treatment of the corpse for Israel’s ancestor Jacob alone.⁸

Compared with Gen 50:22–26, the textual evidence for Exod 1:1–10 is considerably more complex.⁹ For one thing, this is due to the fact that the passage in question is at least partly preserved by three different manuscripts from Qumran: 4QGen-Exod^a (125–100 BCE), 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ (100–50/25 BCE) and 4QExod^b (30 BCE–20 CE).¹⁰ However, these witnesses neither represent the same textual tradition, nor does one of them fully conform with the versions attested in the MT, the SP or the LXX.¹¹ At the same time, it is noteworthy that especially some of the more specific LXX readings are supported by the Qumran evidence. Already in Exod 1:1, this applies to two different instances. While in the MT and the SP the beginning of the verse

⁶ Thus the suggestion in KARRER/KRAUS, *Erläuterungen*, 257.

⁷ Note also that the LXX continues in Gen 50:26b with another verb in the 3rd p. pl. (“and they buried”), whereas the Hebrew witnesses switch to the 3rd p. sg., although the specific forms differ. While the MT has the Qal וַיִּשָׂם (G-K 73f suggests a passive form of the Qal), the SP reads the Hofal וַיִּשָּׂם.

⁸ Differently KARRER/KRAUS, *Erläuterungen*, 257, who ascribe the change to the Greek translator (cf. Gen 50:3).

⁹ Strictly speaking, this applies mainly to Exod 1:1–5. In contrast, the variants in Exod 1:6–10 are not only less in number, but also different in character. They reflect grammatical and orthographic changes, which are rather insignificant from a literary historical point of view. Consequently, these variants will not be discussed in the following.

¹⁰ On the palaeographic datings of the manuscripts see DAVILA, DJD 12, 8; SKEHAN et al., DJD 9, 21; CROSS, DJD 12, 79.

¹¹ On the textual character of the manuscripts see the summaries provided by SKEHAN et al., DJD 9, 23–25, and CROSS, DJD 12, 84, as well as the notes by DAVILA, DJD 12, 8–30.

reads “*And* these are the names ...”, the transitioning copula is missing in the LXX¹² and in 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ (“These are the names ...”).¹³ Moreover, both 4QExod^b and 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ agree with the LXX by concluding Exod 1:1 with the apposition “their father”, which is absent from the MT and the SP. The respective plus is meant to clarify that Jacob is the same person that the verse initially referred to when using the honorary title “Israel”. Conversely, this implies that “the sons of Israel” mentioned here are Jacob’s physical sons, not the Israelites.¹⁴

The list containing the sons’ names (Exod 1:2–4) shows a certain fluctuation with respect to the use of the copula. This, however, only applies to the sons of Leah and Rachel (1:2–3), who are either presented as one large group (SP and LXX)¹⁵ or subdivided into two sub-groups (MT: “Reuben, Simeon, Levi *and* Judah. Issachar, Zebulun *and* Benjamin.”). In contrast, the names of the sons of the maidservants Bilhah and Zilpah (1:4) are consistently set apart as pairs of two (“Dan *and* Naphtali, Gad *and* Asher”) towards the end of the list in all extant witnesses.¹⁶ While the sequence of the eleven names is the same in the different textual versions, 4QExod^b preserves one significant plus. Only here, Joseph is included within the list between the last of Leah’s sons, Zebulun and Rachel’s second son Benjamin (1:3). Therefore, the list in 4QExod^b presumably contained the names of all twelve sons of Jacob in their proper genealogical order.¹⁷ Conversely, the reference to Joseph already being in Egypt when his family arrived (1:5b) is not attested in 4QExod^b, where Joseph’s death (1:6) is mentioned immediately after the final census of the immigrants in 1:5a.¹⁸

¹² Note that in the course of the textual transmission, the LXX reading has been sporadically adjusted to the MT (ταῦτα δε = הָלְאִי).

¹³ CROSS, DJD 12, 85, suggests the same reading for 4QExod^b, but this is purely conjectural, since the part of the fragment containing the beginning of Exod 1:1 has been completely destroyed. The sole basis for this reconstruction is the observation that the Qumran manuscript frequently conforms with the LXX. Whether or not the manuscript followed the reading without the copula, cannot be decided.

¹⁴ See WEVERS, *Notes*, 1.

¹⁵ Note the consistent use of the copula as a connecting element in the SP. In contrast, the respective section in the LXX is characterized largely by an asyndetic style, and only the last name of the section (Benjamin) is connected with an “and”.

¹⁶ This includes the Qumran manuscripts 4QExod^b and 4QpaleoGenExod¹. Unfortunately, the preceding section (Exod 1:2–3) is too fragmentary to permit reliable conclusions with respect to its structure.

¹⁷ Note, however, that in 4QExod^b only four of the names have been partly preserved.

¹⁸ Although one can exclude the possibility that 4QExod^b contained Exod 1:5b directly before or after 1:5a, it cannot be completely ruled out that the verse was attested in a different context. Interestingly, there is a free space at the beginning of line 4 (in a lacuna), which might have contained a few additional words between Exod 1:1 and 1:2. Theoretically,

Although the specific textual sequence reflected by 4QExod^b is unparalleled in the other extant witnesses of Exod 1,¹⁹ it is to a certain degree similar to the LXX version. Here, Exod 1:6 also connects directly with 1:5a. However, unlike in 4QExod^b, Exod 1:5b is not missing in the LXX version, but occurs prior to Exod 1:5a. This textual arrangement creates a direct connection between the list of the eleven sons who immigrated with Jacob (1:1–4) and the reference to Joseph's sojourn in Egypt (1:5b). It has the effect that the names of all twelve sons are grouped together, although, in contrast to 4QExod^b, Joseph is not fully integrated into the genealogical sequence. Still, despite these differences, 4QExod^b and the LXX are distinctly set off from the remaining textual witnesses where the first reference to Joseph (1:5b) is separated from the list of his brothers (1:1–4) by the census of the immigrants in 1:5a (MT, SP, 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l).

Finally, it stands to reason that the question of whether Joseph belongs with his brothers or not must have also (at least indirectly) affected the respective census. While 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QExod^b,²⁰ and the LXX provide the number of 75 people (obviously including Joseph and his descendants),²¹ the MT, the SP and 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l arrive at the lower count of 70 people. This fits well with the fact that the last three witnesses mention Joseph separately and only after the census, while the first two place him in the immediate context of his brothers prior to the census. However, 4QGen-Exod^a does not suit the above pattern, as the text reflects the sequence census (1:5a) – Joseph (1:5b) and still arrives at the higher count of 75 descendants.²² Besides the divergences in the number of descendants, there are also variants concerning their specific designation.²³ While the MT, the SP and 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l

cally, it is conceivable that (an abbreviated version of) Exod 1:5b was moved to this position, although there is no literary evidence to support this hypothesis.

¹⁹ Note, however, that it fully conforms with the sequence of the short list of Jacob's twelve sons in Gen 35:23–26.

²⁰ Note that the composite numeral is construed differently in 4QGen-Exod^a ([שבעים] and חמש) and 4QExod^b (חמש ושבעים).

²¹ This calculation conforms with the LXX version of Gen 46, which not only mentions Joseph's two sons (thus the MT and the SP), but also five of their descendants: Manasse's son Machir and his grandson Gilead as well as Ephraim's sons Shuthelah [Σουταλααμ] and Tahan [Τααμ] together with his grandson Eran [Εδεμ] (46:20; cf. Num 26:28–37). In this way, the LXX reaches an overall count of 75 people belonging to Jacob's household (46:27) – in contrast to the 70 people mentioned in the MT and the LXX.

²² Unfortunately, in 4QGen-Exod^a the text prior to Exod 1:5 is almost completely lost. Therefore, it remains unclear whether the count of 75 people was connected to the preceding verses in a specific way.

²³ Moreover, there is a slight variation in the use of the numerus: In the MT, Exod 1:5a is introduced by the verb היה in the 3rd p. sg., whereas the SP and the LXX have the 3rd p. pl. However, this grammatical difference does not affect the meaning of the text.

refer to “the souls/people who came out of Jacob’s loins”,²⁴ the LXX uses a more neutral definition (“all souls/people from Jacob”), which avoids the bodily connotations. Evidently, a similar short reading was also attested in 4QExod^b. Although the respective passage is not preserved, the lacuna is too short to have contained the long reading of the MT and the SP. However, the reconstruction proposed by Cross (“all souls/people of Jacob” – כל נפש (ליעקוב) seems awkward from a grammatical and stylistic point of view. Alternatively, one could consider reconstructing the text as כל נפש אשר ליעקוב (although the lacuna might be too short for this reading) or כל נפש מיעקב (cf. the LXX).

D. Literary-historical Implications

Among the textual variants discussed above, the ones related to the person of Joseph are of immediate significance for the literary history of the passage in question. The fluctuating position of Exod 1:5b suggests that the early tradents employed different reading strategies to make sense out of a text which shows clear traces of being composite. On the one hand, Exod 1:1–4, 5a, 7 form a matching thematic unit, which relates how 70 (or 75) immigrants became an immense people. It is interwoven with a different narrative thread in Exod 1:6, 8(–10), where the death of Joseph and his entire generation prepares for a drastic shift of the Israelites’ fortunes under the new Egyptian king “who did not know Joseph”. In the textual tradition reflected by the MT and the SP as well as 4QGen-Exod^a and 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l, Exod 1:5b establishes the transition between the list and census of the immigrants in 1:1–5a and the death of Joseph in 1:6. In the LXX, however, the verse serves a different purpose. Here, Exod 1:5b merely completes the list of Jacob’s sons, before 1:5a gives the count of all immigrants (including Joseph and his family).

When it comes to reconstructing the literary history of Exod 1, one not only has to decide which of the two positions of Exod 1:5b is the more original one. It is also imperative to establish how these two versions relate to the one attested in 4QExod^b where 1:5b is missing altogether and the name of Joseph is included in the list. Does the Qumran manuscript reflect an earlier stage in the literary history of the text, when the list still mentioned all twelve of Jacob’s sons in their proper order?²⁵ Or should it rather be judged as the late harmonization of a composite text, with the effect of neutralizing a more

²⁴ As 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l reads יצא ירך יעקב instead of יצאי ירך יעקב (MT and SP), it could reflect a singular form. Note, however, that the variant might also be purely orthographic.

²⁵ Thus CROSS, DJD 12, 85; cf. ALBERTZ, *Exodus 1–18*, 43.

original distinction between Joseph and his eleven brothers? In the light of the overall character of the manuscript, the latter appears to be the more likely alternative. 4QExod^b not only contains several of the pluses of the other versions²⁶ but also contains a number of longer readings unattested elsewhere. Those encompass harmonistic readings²⁷ as well as exegetical embellishments, most notably in Exod 2:3, where it is not the mother, but her maid-servant who puts the child in the basket.²⁸ As a result, it seems likely that the peculiar version of Exod 1:1–5 attested in 4QExod^b reflects a late harmonization, which is why the manuscript is an unlikely candidate for a first-hand witness on the early literary history of Exod 1.

The second major issue which is inseparably connected to the compositional history of Exod 1:1–10 is the literary relationship between this section and the concluding verses of Gen 50. On the one hand, it is undeniable that the list in Exod 1:1–5a, together with the description of the people's immense proliferation in 1:7, establishes a fitting introduction to the book of Exodus, whereas Joseph's final words and his death in Gen 50:24–26 form a succinct conclusion to the book of Genesis. On the other hand, it is crucial to determine whether the present function of the two passages is the one intended from the very beginning. Can one assume that Gen 50:24–26 and Exod 1:1–5a, 7 were initially conceived to create a major *caesura* within the narrative sequence in order to facilitate the attribution of two self-contained narrative units to two separate scrolls, or was the original purpose of the two passages a different one? Should the latter be the case, this would call for a clarification of the literary relationship between the two passages, as they need not necessarily be the work of a single author.

Unfortunately, the textual transmission of the respective sections provides little help to clarify these literary-historical issues. The only variant with potential significance is the use or omission of the copula at the beginning of Exod 1:1. Generally speaking, the version without the copula would seem more appropriate for the opening section of a new scroll or the beginning of a new narrative sequence after a major *caesura* (thus 4QpaleoGen-Exod!). While openings with a *wayyiqtol* form are very common in the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible,²⁹ there are only two instances where the first

²⁶ E.g., Exod 1:1 (+ “their father”) par LXX; Exod 2:6 (+ “Pharaoh’s daughter”) par SP and LXX; Exod 2:16 (+ “herding [his flock]”) par LXX (with an even longer reading).

²⁷ E.g., Exod 1:18 (+ “Hebrew”); also attested by the Sahidic Coptic version), an adjustment to 1:15. Moreover, Exod 4:8 (+ “so that”) reflects a harmonization with Exod 4:5 that would even necessitate further syntactical adjustment of the remaining part of 4:8. Unfortunately, this section is not preserved in the manuscript.

²⁸ See ROFÉ, ‘Moses’ mother’, 38–43.

²⁹ Cf. Lev; Num; Josh; Judg; Ruth; 1 Sam; 2 Sam; 2 Kgs; 2 Chr; Esther.

word is a noun or a prepositional phrase introduced by the copula.³⁰ At first glance, the MT and SP version of Exod 1:1 appears to be similar, as it combines the copula with a demonstrative pronoun. However, its contextual purpose is quite distinct, since the phrase does not initiate a narrative sequence, but rather introduces the following genealogical list (“*And* these are the names ...”). In this respect, it also differs from Deut 1:1 (“These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel ...”), which unmistakably serves as a superscription for the entire book and thus goes far beyond an introduction of the immediately following verses. Even the version of Exod 1:1 that lacks the copula (LXX; 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹) does not change this fundamental difference, since the exact parallel with the first word of Deut 1:1 exists on a purely formal level and does not affect the contextual purpose of the entire verse.

As a result, the comparative evidence suggests that Exod 1:1 (regardless of the textual version) is a rather unusual candidate for a book opening. Its uniqueness becomes even more apparent when one takes into account that introductory phrases of the type “(And) these are ...” are frequently attested elsewhere throughout the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible, but never introduce a major narrative sequence or even a book. Rather, they are a very common literary means for connecting a list of names, items etc. to a preceding (usually narrative) context.³¹ For instance, the introduction of the elaborate list of immigrants in Gen 46:8 (“*And* these are the names of the Israelites, Jacob and his offspring, who came to Egypt”) connects smoothly to the preceding verse Gen 46:7, which states that “... he (i.e., Jacob) brought with him all his offspring into Egypt.” The transition from Gen 50:26 (Joseph’s death in Egypt) to Exod 1:1 (the introduction of the list of Jacob’s sons who accompanied him on his trip to Egypt) is certainly not identical, yet there is an undeniable similarity, since in both cases the lists are thematically linked with their preceding narrative context.

At the same time, Gen 46:8 is more than a mere analogy for the contextualization of the genealogical list in Exod 1:1(–5a). The two verses show several verbatim parallels, which suggests that there is a literary dependency between the two (and the following lists). Interestingly, the textual transmission of Gen 46:8 is characterized by the same fluctuation as in Exod 1:1, with the LXX omitting the copula (“These are the names”), while it is attested both in the MT and the SP (“*And* these are the names”). As a result, it is imperative to consider the relationship between Gen 46 and Exod 1, not only for

³⁰ Cf. 1 Kgs 1:1 (“*And* king David was old ...”) and Ezra 1:1 (“*And* in the first year of king Cyrus”).

³¹ Cf. Gen 10:1; 11:27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9 (with various similar subdivisions in 36:13–40); Exod 6:16; 21:1; 28:4; Num 1:5; 3:1–2, 18; 13:4; 26:36, 57; 33:2; 34:19; Josh 12:1, 7; 14:1; Ruth 4:18; 1 Sam 6:17; 2 Sam 5:14; 23:1; 1 Kgs 4:2, 8; 20:19 (with several additional occurrences in 1–2 Chr, Ezra and Neh). In some instances, the phrase can also be used in retrospect as a concluding statement.

determining which of the two readings in Exod 1:1 is more original, but also for drawing literary-historical conclusions with respect to the development of the transition between Gen 50 and Exod 1.

It is beyond the scope of the present section to provide a detailed diachronic analysis of the book transition in question. However, at least a few basic observations should be mentioned. First, it is obvious that the introductory reference to Joseph's age in Gen 50:22b requires 50:22a and is presupposed throughout 50:23–25 (and at least paralleled in 50:26). Yet, this does not necessarily mean that all parts of the respective sections belong to the same literary level. Obviously, there is a thematic break between the genealogical reflections in 50:23 and Joseph's final words in 50:24–25, which would connect more smoothly to 50:22b. This may imply that at least 50:23 is a later addition.³² Second, it is clear that Gen 50:22b would be incomplete without a concluding reference to Joseph's death. Consequently, the verse must have been written with either Gen 50:26 or Exod 1:6 in view and therefore must either be contemporaneous with or later than one or both of the latter verses. Third, one can safely assume that the two references to Joseph's death in Gen 50:26 and Exod 1:6 do not belong to the same compositional level and that there was never a direct transition from the one to the other. Fourth, it is certain that the list of immigrants in Exod 1:1–5a can be connected only to Gen 50:22a or 50:26. It is within the above parameters that the literary history of the transition between the books of Genesis and Exodus should be assessed.

³² The striking fluidity in the textual transmission of Gen 50:23 may be taken as additional evidence for this suggestion.