

Ariel Feldman
The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran

Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

Herausgegeben von
John Barton · F. W. Dobb-Allsopp
Reinhard G. Kratz · Markus Witte

Band 438

De Gruyter

Ariel Feldman

The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran

Texts, Translations, and Commentary

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-028980-0
e-ISBN 978-3-11-029005-9
ISSN 0934-2575

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2014 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
∞ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany
www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations — VIII

Preface — IX

Introduction — 1

1. Joshua and His Book in Second Temple Jewish Literature — 7

- 1.1. Writings Known before the Discovery of Qumran — 7
- 1.2. Qumran Findings — 15
- 1.3. Conclusions — 23

2. The Scroll 4Q378 — 24

- 2.1. The Manuscript — 24
- 2.2. The Contents of 4Q378 — 24
- 2.3. Editions of 4Q378 — 26
- 2.4. Text and Commentary — 26
- 2.5. Discussion — 65
- 2.5.1. Joshua's Succession in 4Q378 — 65
- 2.5.2. Joshua and Moses in 4Q378 — 69
- 2.5.3. Biblical Quotations and Allusions in 4Q378 — 70
- 2.5.4. The Provenance of 4Q378 — 72
- 2.6. Conclusions — 73

3. The Scroll 4Q379 — 74

- 3.1. The Manuscript — 74
- 3.3. The Contents of 4Q379 — 74
- 3.3. Editions of 4Q379 — 75
- 3.4. Text and Commentary — 112
- 3.5. Discussion — 113
- 3.5.1. The Crossing of the Jordan — 119
- 3.5.2. Joshua's Curse — 119
- 3.5.3. The Provenance and the Presumed Authoritative Status of 4Q379 — 125
- 3.6. Conclusions — 127

4. The Scroll 4Q522 — 128

- 4.1. The Manuscript — 128
- 4.2. The Contents of 4Q522 — 128
- 4.3. Editions of 4Q522 — 128

4.4.	Text and Commentary —	129
4.5.	Discussion —	153
4.5.1.	The Geographical Data —	153
4.5.2.	Joshua's Address to Eleazar —	159
4.5.3.	The Place of Psalm 122 in 4Q522 —	165
4.5.4.	The Provenance of 4Q522 —	166
4.6.	Conclusions —	166
5.	The Scroll 4Q123 —	168
5.1.	The Manuscript —	168
5.2.	The Contents of 4Q123 —	168
5.3.	Editions of 4Q123 —	168
5.4.	Text and Commentary —	168
5.5.	Discussion —	173
6.	The Scroll 5Q9 —	176
6.1.	Text and Commentary —	176
6.2.	Discussion —	181
7.	The Scroll Mas 1039-211 —	182
7.1.	The Manuscript —	182
7.2.	Editions of Mas 1039-211 —	182
7.3.	Text and Commentary —	182
7.4.	Discussion —	185
8.	The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls: One Composition or Several Literary Works? —	187
8.1.	Do the Rewritten Joshua Scrolls Overlap? —	188
8.2.	Do the Rewritten Joshua Scrolls Utilize Common Exegetical Techniques? —	190
8.3.	Do the Rewritten Joshua Scrolls Witness to Shared Exegetical Traditions and Motifs? —	191
8.4.	Conclusions —	193
9.	The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls in Their Exegetical Context —	194
9.1.	The <i>Vorlagen</i> of the Rewritten Joshua Scrolls —	194
9.2.	Biblical Exegesis in the Rewritten Joshua Scrolls —	195
9.3.	Topics for Further Study —	200
Bibliography —		202
Index —		221

Abbreviations

Periodicals and Serials

AB	<i>The Anchor Bible</i>
AGJU	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BETL	<i>Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium</i>
BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSS	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
MHUC	<i>Monographs of the Hebrew Union College</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia periodica</i>
PTSDSSP	<i>Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SJJS	<i>Supplements to the Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
SJLA	<i>Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity</i>
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series</i>
STDJ	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
SVT	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>
SVTP	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica</i>
TSAJ	<i>Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>

Reference Works

- ABD* D.N. Freedman, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- EDSS* L.H. Schiffman & J.C. VanderKam, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- EDEJ* J.J. Collins & D.C. Harlow, eds. *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, Michigan, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2010.
- BDB* F. Brown, S.R. Driver, & C.A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996.
- HALOT* L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Transl. and ed. by M.E.J. Richardson et al. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1994-2000.

Preface

The oft-quoted words of John Donne, “No man is an island”, describe well the three years spent researching and writing this monograph. This task would have never been accomplished without the support from my teachers, colleagues, friends, and family members. My thanks to Prof. Devorah Dimant, who not only introduced me to the Dead Sea Scrolls and trained me as a Qumran scholar, but also engaged me in her project for re-editing the Qumran texts rewriting the Pentateuch. The present study of the rewritten Joshua scrolls is a part of her vision of a new edition of all the Rewritten Bible texts from Qumran. A generous grant provided by the Newton International Fellowships, UK, allowed me to work on these scrolls under the guidance of Prof. George J. Brooke. I was most fortunate to have him as my mentor. Prof. Brooke’s expertise in the Dead Sea Scrolls is well-known. Yet, just as well known are his kindness and generosity. I have benefitted immensely from all of these. Many thanks also to Prof. Elisha Qimron who kindly agreed to review my editions of 4Q378, 4Q379, and 4Q522 and shared with me his forthcoming editions of these scrolls. Dr. Noam Mizrahi answered my numerous questions on linguistic matters. Prof. Yoel Elitzur offered several valuable suggestions on the list of toponyms in 4Q522. Prof. Annette Steudel examined some aspects of 4Q378’s reconstruction at my request. Prof. Warren Carter guided me through the final stages of the manuscript preparation. Dr. Nevada DeLapp and Ms. Annelies Moeser proofread it and made countless helpful suggestions. My friends, Eric and Brenda Miller, read the manuscript critically. Prof. Reinhard Kratz supported this research in many ways from its very inception and encouraged me to submit it to the BZAW series. Finally, my deepest thanks to my wife, Faina, and to our two sons, Tal and Jonathan, who have sacrificed a lot to allow me to pursue my academic work. This book is dedicated to the memory of my father-in-law, Mark Altshuler, and my nephew, Almog Dubovi. They are greatly missed.

Brite Divinity School
Fort Worth, December 2012

Introduction

The Book of Joshua fascinated its ancient readers.¹ Over the centuries, Jews and Samaritans, Christians and Muslims produced a vast exegetical literature on the sixth book of the Hebrew Bible.² Some of these writings have been subjected to a thorough study. Others are still awaiting their turn.³ Among the latter are the recently published Qumran scrolls rewriting the Book of Joshua. Dated to the last two centuries BCE, these texts are among the earliest extant witnesses of the transmission and interpretation of the Book of Joshua in antiquity. As such, they are of primary importance for reconstructing the reception history of this book.

While the story of the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea scrolls is well known and does not need to be restated here, a brief overview of the scholarship on the Rewritten Joshua scrolls (henceforth: RJ) is appropriate.⁴ The earliest printed reference to a text from Qumran rewriting the Book of Joshua seems to be found in John Strugnell's report on his editorial work on the scrolls from Cave

¹ The complex textual and literary history of the Book of Joshua lies outside the scope of this study. For the history of the scholarship on these issues see A.H.W. Curtis, *Joshua* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); E. Noort, *Das Buch Josua: Forschungsgeschichte und Problemfelder* (Erträge der Forschung 292; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998).

² For an overview of the Jewish and Christian exegesis of the Book of Joshua see L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 841-853; J.R. Franke (ed.), *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament IV: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-2 Samuel* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2005), pp. 1-98; T.R. Elssner, *Josue und seine Kriege in jüdischer und christlicher Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008). On the Samaritan sources containing traditions on Joshua see P. Stenhouse, "Samaritan Chronicles", in A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989), pp. 219-264 (with the pertinent bibliography); A.D. Crown, "Was There a Samaritan Book of Joshua?", in T.W. Hillard et al. (eds.), *Ancient History in a Modern University* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 15-22; J. Zsengellér, *Gerizim as Israel: Northern Tradition of the Old Testament and the Early History of the Samaritans* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht 1998), pp. 15-33; I.R.M.M. Bóid, "The Transmission of the Samaritan Joshua-Judges", *Dutch Studies* 6 (2004), pp. 1-30; M. Kartveit, *The Origins of the Samaritans* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 34-43. For a brief summary of the Islamic traditions on Joshua see B. Heller & A. Rippin, "Yusha'", in P.J. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), vol. 11, p. 351.

³ This is the case with the Samaritan traditions on Joshua. On the need for a more detailed study of the Samaritan Joshua lore see E. Nodet, *A Search for the Origins of Judaism*. Transl. E. Crowley (JSOTSS 248; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 195-201; I. Hjelm, "What Do Samaritans and Jews Have in Common? Recent Trends in Samaritan Studies", *Currents in Biblical Research* 3 (2004), pp. 42-44.

⁴ See, for instance, the recent account by W.W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

4 published in 1956, some four years after its discovery. In his brief remarks he mentioned a “poorly preserved pseudepigraph, the *Psalms of Joshua*”. Strugnell further noted that this pseudepigraph is “cited in the Messianic *Testimonia* of Mr. Allegro’s work”, known today as 4Q175 (4QTestimonia).⁵ In his overview of the Qumran findings published a year later, Joseph Milik also mentioned an unpublished scroll containing an interpretation of Joshua’s curse from Josh 6:26, which could have been the source of the fourth quotation in 4Q175.⁶ His statement suggested that the provisional title of this scroll, “Psalms of Joshua”, follows the opening phrase of the 4QTestimonia’s fourth passage: “When Joshua had finished praising and giving thanks with his psalms...” (4Q175 21). In the 1962 edition of the scroll 5Q9, mentioning the names of several geographical localities along with the name of Joshua, Milik again noted the existence of numerous fragments of the “Psalms of Joshua”.⁷ Yet, this time he added that these fragments apparently belong to two manuscripts. The preliminary (“manual”) concordance, prepared between 1957 and 1960, indicates that these two scrolls, known today as 4Q378 and 4Q379, were initially given the sigla SL 14 and SL 15.⁸ Their titles, Psalms of Joshua^a and Psalms of Joshua^b, suggest that already at the early stage of their research Strugnell perceived them to be copies of the same work.⁹ In the same edition of 5Q9, Milik also reported another Hebrew scroll edited by Jean Starcky. Listing names of geographical localities, this scroll mentions Joshua, Eleazar, David, and relates the history of the Jerusalem Temple. This appears to be the earliest printed reference to the scroll 4Q522.¹⁰

For some sixteen years the scroll 5Q9 remained the only published RJ text. In 1978 Émile Puech made available several fragments of 4Q522 containing the

5 P. Benoit et al., “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân”, *RB* 63 (1956), p. 65 (=“Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran”, *BA* 19 [1956], p. 93).

6 J.T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1957), p. 104 (= *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*. Transl. by J. Strugnell [Studies in Biblical Theology 26; London: SCM Press, 1959], p. 63).

7 J.T. Milik, “5Q9. Ouvrage avec Toponymes”, in M. Baillet et al. (eds.), *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 179-180.

8 R.E. Brown et al., *Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran II-X* (Published privately, Göttingen, 1988). Strugnell’s preliminary transcription of 4Q378 and 4Q379 embedded in this concordance was utilized in B.Z. Wacholder & M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995), vol. 3, p. 167ff.

9 See E. Tov & S.J. Pfann, “List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert”, in E. Tov et al. (eds.), *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 63.

10 Milik, “5Q9”, p. 179.

remains of Psalm 122 (frgs. 22-25).¹¹ In this preliminary edition he remarked that this psalm is integrated into a non-biblical work featuring Jerusalem. However, this section of 4Q522 would be published only fourteen years later.

Meanwhile, sometime in the mid-nineties, Strugnell invited Carol Newsom to assist him in editing the scrolls 4Q378 and 4Q379. Relying on his transcription and notes, Newsom published in 1988 a preliminary edition of the selected fragments of 4Q378-379. She described these two non-overlapping scrolls as copies of the same literary work. Already in this publication Newsom noted that the provisional title of 4Q378-379, “Psalms of Joshua”, may not be appropriate for the entire work.¹² Later on, in her comprehensive 1996 preliminary edition of these scrolls, she rejected this title, observing that “the content of the text is largely narrative and hortatory rather than poetic”, and suggested a new one, Apocryphon of Joshua.¹³ In the final edition that she published in the same year the scrolls 4Q378 and 4Q379 appear as Apocryphon of Joshua^{a-b}.¹⁴

Soon after Newsom’s initial publication of 4Q378-379,¹⁵ Shemaryahu Talmon edited two fragments of a scroll from Masada, Mas 1039-211. He perceived this scroll to be an apocryphal work based on the Book of Joshua and suggested that it is closely related to the Qumran scrolls 4Q378-379.¹⁶ In 1992, Eugene Ulrich and Judith Sanderson published a paleo-Hebrew scroll 4Q123. Belonging to the lot assigned to Patrick Skehan, this badly damaged scroll paraphrases Josh 21.¹⁷

In the same year, Puech made available a preliminary edition of another section of 4Q522, frg. 9 ii. In this study he suggested that frg. 9 ii is concerned with

11 É. Puech, “Fragment du Psaume 122 dans un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte IV”, *RevQ* 19 (1978), pp. 547-554. Another fragment of 4Q522 containing Ps 122 was later identified and published by Puech in his “Un autre fragment du Psaume 122”, *RevQ* 20 (2001), pp. 129–32.

12 C.A. Newsom, “‘The Psalms of Joshua’ from Qumran Cave 4”, *JJS* 39 (1988), pp. 56, 58.

13 C.A. Newsom, “4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua”, in H.-J. Fabry & A. Lange (eds.), *Qumranstudien* (SIJD 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), p. 35.

14 C.A. Newsom, “4Q378-379. Apocryphon of Joshua^{a-b}”, in G. Brooke et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 237-288.

15 Newsom, “Psalms of Joshua”, pp. 56-73.

16 Sh. Talmon, “A Fragment of the Apocryphal Joshua Scroll from Masada”, in M. Goshen-Gottstein et al. (eds.), *Shai Le-Hayyim Rabin* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1991), pp. 147-157 (Hebrew); idem, “Fragments of a Joshua Apocryphon—Masada 1039-211 (final photo 5254)”, *JJS* 47 (1996), pp. 128-139; idem, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada: (b) Mas 1039-211”, in idem et al. (eds.), *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-65 Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 105-116.

17 P. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 201-203.

David, Solomon, and the building of the First Jerusalem Temple.¹⁸ Concurrently, Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise released an edition of both columns found in this fragment. Since it mentions the High Priest Eleazar (col. ii) and localities referred to in the Book of Joshua (col. i), they entitled this scroll as “Joshua Apocryphon”.¹⁹ Soon after, Elisha Qimron re-edited 4Q522 9 ii and demonstrated that it contains a discourse by Joshua. He also suggested that 4Q522 is related to 4Q175 (4QTestimonia), 4Q378, 4Q379, and 5Q9.²⁰ In his final edition of this scroll in 1998, Puech accepted the interpretation of 4Q522 as pertaining to the days of Joshua, but, as the title, 4QProphétie de Josué (4QapocrJosué?), indicates, he questioned its affinity to 4Q378 and 4Q379.²¹

Although the similarities between some of these texts (particularly, 4Q378, 4Q379, and 4Q522) were noted soon after their discovery, it was Emanuel Tov who proposed in a 1998 article that the scrolls 4Q123, 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q522, 5Q9, and Mas 1039-211 are copies of the same composition, Apocryphon of Joshua.²² Criticized by some, this proposal is now widely accepted.²³

The next fifteen years saw a number of studies on the RJ scrolls. In a series of articles Devorah Dimant offered improved editions and in-depth discussions of several key passages from 4Q378, 4Q379, and 4Q522.²⁴ Her study of the reworking of the crossing of the Jordan in 4Q379 12, its actualizing interpretation of Joshua’s curse (frg. 22 ii), and of the prophetic discourse by Joshua in 4Q522 9 ii led her to conclude that the Apocryphon of Joshua, along with the Book of Jubilees,

18 É. Puech, “La Pierre de Sion et l’autel des holocaustes d’après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522)”, *RB* 99 (1992), pp. 676-696.

19 R.H. Eisenman & M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury, Dorset, Rockport, Massachusetts: Element, 1992), pp. 89-92.

20 E. Qimron, “Concerning ‘Joshua Cycles’ from Qumran”, *Tarbiz* 63 (1993-94), pp. 503-508 (Hebrew).

21 É. Puech, “4Q522. 4QProphétie de Josué (4QapocrJosué?)”, in idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 39-74.

22 E. Tov, “The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada”, in M.E. Stone & E.G. Chazon (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 233-256 (= *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran: Collected Essays* [TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], pp. 72-91).

23 See, for instance, E. Tigchelaar, “The Dead Sea Scrolls”, *EDEJ*, pp. 169-170; C. Evans, “Joshua, Apocryphon of”, *ibid.*, p. 841.

24 D. Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i-ii)”, *RevQ* 23 (2007), pp. 43-61; idem, “The Apocryphon of Joshua—4Q522 9 ii: A Reappraisal”, in S.M. Paul et al. (eds.), *Emanuel* (SVT 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 179-204; idem, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua”, in idem et al. (eds.), *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 105-134; idem, “Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran”, *REJ* 168 (2009), pp. 387-389.

the Temple Scroll, and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, belong to an intermediate sub-group of the Qumran literature. In her view, since these compositions share some ideas and exegetical techniques with the Qumran sectarian scrolls yet lack their peculiar worldview and terminology, they stand between sectarian and non-sectarian Qumran texts.²⁵ Michaël van der Meer reviewed the significance of the RJ scrolls for the reconstruction of the literary history of the Book of Joshua.²⁶ Katell Berthelot dealt with the representation of Joshua in the RJ texts.²⁷ Florentino García Martínez explored their contribution for the study of the formation of the Book of Joshua.²⁸ Finally, Elisha Qimron currently is preparing a revised edition of selected fragments of 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q522, and 5Q9.

This overview of the scholarship on the RJ scrolls suggests several directions in which this study should proceed. First, since the majority of these scrolls were edited separately from each other, with some being accompanied by only brief comments, there is a need for a detailed and up-to-date discussion of each of these texts and of all of them as a group. Second, there is a place for a careful analysis of the relationships between the RJ manuscripts. Third, the exegetical traditions embedded in these scrolls have to be placed within the Second Temple exegesis of the Book of Joshua. The present monograph addresses these needs.

The first chapter of this book offers an overview of the Second Temple literature dealing with the figure of Joshua and the events related in the book bearing his name. Its goal is to provide the background against which the RJ scrolls are to be studied.

Chapters 2-7, the bulk of this monograph, are devoted to the analysis of the scrolls 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q522, 4Q123, 5Q9, and Mas 1039-211. Each scroll is treated in a separate chapter. A brief discussion of the physical peculiarities of a manuscript is followed by a revised Hebrew text, notes explaining and justifying the

²⁵ See, especially, Dimant, “Between Sectarian”, pp. 105-134; idem, “Criteria for the Identification of Qumran Sectarian Texts”, in M. Kister (ed.), *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 83-85 (Hebrew).

²⁶ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation* (SVT CII; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 105-114 (esp. p. 114).

²⁷ K. Berthelot, “Joshua in Jewish Sources from the Second Temple Period”, *Meghillot* 8-9 (2010), p. 97-112 (Hebrew).

²⁸ F. García Martínez, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Joshua”, in N. Dávid & A. Lange (eds.), *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), pp. 97-109; idem, “Light on the Joshua Books from the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in H. Ausloos et al. (eds.), *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books* (BETL; Leuven-Paris-Walpole, Peeters, 2012), pp. 145-159.

newly proposed readings, a translation, and a commentary.²⁹ Each chapter concludes with a discussion of broader questions posed by a scroll, particularly, of exegetical matters.

Utilizing the data culled from the study of each scroll, Chapter 8 explores the relationships between the RJ scrolls. The concluding chapter, Chapter 9, assesses the contribution of the RJ scrolls for the study of the ancient interpretation of the Book of Joshua.

²⁹ For the detailed physical description of the scrolls the reader is referred to their respective *DJD* editions.

1 Joshua and His Book in Second Temple Jewish Literature

Several Second Temple Jewish writings refer to the figure of Joshua and to the events related in the sixth book of the Hebrew Bible.³⁰ The following survey of these sources provides the literary and exegetical context for the study of the RJ scrolls.³¹ It addresses first the texts that have been known to the scholars prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls and then proceeds with the new Qumran documents.

1.1 Writings Known before the Discovery of Qumran

Any survey of the Second Temple Jewish writings dealing with the Book of Joshua ought to begin with its translation into Greek. Made sometime around 200 BCE, the Septuagint (henceforth: LXX) version of Joshua often differs from the Masoretic Text (henceforth: MT).³² The question of whether these differences originate with the translator or his Hebrew *Vorlage* has dominated the modern study of the Greek Joshua.³³ While there is no consensus on the issue among the scholars, several studies of its translation technique suggest that the LXX Joshua follows its Hebrew base text more or less faithfully.³⁴ While this implies that a significant number of the divergences between the MT and the LXX illuminate the literary processes that shaped this book, many others shed precious light on the translator's interpretation of the Book of Joshua.³⁵

30 This survey includes works that are dated after the destruction of the Second Temple, such as several of the New Testament writings, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, and 4 Ezra.

31 See discussions by Elssner, *Josue*, pp. 22-128; N.J. Hofmann, *Die Assumptio Mosi: Studien zur Rezeption massgültiger Überlieferung* (SJSJ 67; Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 191-227; Berthelot, "Joshua".

32 M.N. van der Meer, "Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua", in M.K.H. Peters (ed.), *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden 2004* (SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 55-80, argues that the translation was accomplished in Egypt in the last decades of the 3rd century BCE.

33 For a survey of scholarship see van der Meer, *Formation*, pp. 21-91; E. Tov, "Literary Development of the Book of Joshua as Reflected in the Masoretic Text, the LXX, and 4QJosh", in E. Noort (ed.), *The Book of Joshua and the Land of Israel* (forthcoming). I thank Prof. Tov for making his article available to me prior to its publication.

34 See, for instance, the description of the LXX translation technique in Tov, *ibid*.

35 On the exegesis embedded in the LXX Joshua see, among others, J. Moatti-Fine, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Jésus (Josué): Traduction du texte grec, introduction et notes* (Paris: Cerf, 1996);

Writing in the beginning of the second century BCE, Ben Sira provides a detailed portrayal of Joshua in his “Praise of the Fathers” (44:1-50:24).³⁶ Joshua, placed between Phineas and Caleb (46:1-8), is praised as “a valiant warrior” and an “aide” (מִשְׁרָת; Ms B³⁷) to Moses “in the prophetic office” (46:1).³⁸ Playing on the meaning of his name, Ben Sira refers to Joshua as “the great savior (תְּשׁוּעָה גְדֹלָה) of God’s chosen ones”. As he glorifies Joshua for “fighting the battles of the Lord”, Ben Sira selects three episodes: Joshua’s brandishing his sword against Ai (Josh 8:18), the miraculous stopping of the sun (10:12-13), and the divine response to Joshua’s plea (missing from the biblical account) with the hailstones in the war against the southern Canaanite coalition (10:11).³⁹ Ben Sira also hails Joshua’s faithfulness (אֱלֹהִים מְלֵא אֱהָרִי [cf. Num 32:12]) and piety (עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד) in the twelve spies’ episode (Num 14:6-10).⁴⁰ Since he and Caleb stood against the “rebel assembly”

A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauē in Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005).

³⁶ The English translation follows P.W. Skehan & A.A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), p. 515, with slight alterations.

³⁷ Joshua is referred to as Moses’ servant (מִשְׁרָת) in Exod 24:13, 33:11; Num 11:28; Josh 1:1. In light of the Greek rendering “successor”, M.Z. Segal, *The Complete Book of Ben Sira* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1997), p. 318 (Hebrew), suggests that the original Hebrew might have read מִשְׁנֶה, while A. Rofé, “Joshua Son of Nun in the History of Biblical Tradition”, *Tarbiz* 73 (2004), p. 342 note 45 (Hebrew), proposes מורשׁ or מורשׁת.

³⁸ For the rendering of נְבוּאָה as “a prophetic office” see P.C. Beentjes, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben Sira”, in M.H. Floyd & R.D. Haak (eds.), *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), pp. 139-140. On Joshua as a prophet in Ben Sira see further Rofé, “Joshua”, *ibid*; A. Goshen-Gottstein, “Ben Sira’s Praise of the Fathers: A Canon-Conscious Reading”, in R. Egger-Wenzel (ed.), *Ben Sira’s God* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 250-254; E. Koskeniemi, *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism* (WUNT 2. Reihe, 206; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 28-31; J. Corley, “Canonical Assimilation in Ben Sira’s Portrayal of Joshua and Samuel”, in J. Corley & H. van Grol (eds.), *Rewriting Biblical History* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 57-77; M. Witte, “Der ‘Kanon’ heiliger Schriften des antiken Judentums im Spiegel des Buches Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach”, in E.-M. Becker & S. Scholz (eds.), *Kanon in Konstruktion und Dekonstruktion* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), p. 241.

³⁹ Berthelot, “Joshua”, p. 103, observes that, unlike Qumran texts, Ben Sira’s description of Joshua emphasizes the latter’s miracles and battles. Yet, B.L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira’s Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 206, notes that Ben Sira presents Joshua as a “composite figure”, serving in a prophetic office, but also a warrior and a ruler. J. Corley, “Joshua as a Warrior in Hebrew Ben Sira”, *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook* (2010), pp. 207-248; *idem*, “Assimilation”, pp. 64-66, suggests that Ben Sira’s depiction of Joshua as a prophet, an intercessor, and a warrior reflects an assimilation of his figure with other biblical figures, especially Moses and David.

⁴⁰ On חֶסֶד as piety, rather than loyalty, in Second Temple texts see M. Kister & E. Qimron, “Observations on 4QSecond Ezekiel (4Q385 2-3)”, *RevQ* 15 (1992), p. 596.

of 600,000 infantry, they were spared and brought “into their inheritance in the land flowing with milk and honey”.

The Jewish historian Eupolemus (c. 150 BCE) mentions Joshua in his now almost completely lost work, *Concerning the Kings in Judaea*.⁴¹ One of its extant quotations presents Joshua as a prophet in a succession of prophets, situating him between Moses and Samuel.⁴² He is reported to have prophesied for thirty years and to have lived one hundred and ten years (Josh 24:29).⁴³ Of all Joshua’s deeds this passage mentions only the establishment of the tabernacle in Shiloh (Josh 18:1).⁴⁴

Calling for a zeal for the Torah and the covenant, Mattathias’ farewell speech in 1 Maccabees 2:49-70 (end of 2nd century BCE) exhorts his sons to remember the deeds of the ancestors (vv. 50-51).⁴⁵ Among other exemplary figures from the past, it mentions Joshua, placing him between Phineas and Caleb (v. 55), as does Ben Sira. Highlighting his obedience to “the Word”, 1 Maccabees calls him “a Judge in Israel”.⁴⁶ Thus it (anachronistically) links Joshua to the succession of the charismatic leaders whose deeds are recorded in the Book of Judges.⁴⁷

41 See C.B. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors: Volume 1: Historians* (SBL Texts and Translations 20; Pseudepigrapha 10; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), pp. 93-104.

42 Frg. 2=Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.30.1-34.18. On Moses, Joshua, and Samuel as a succession of ruling prophets see W. Horbury, “Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch”, in M.A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL 195; Leuven, 2006), p. 110.

43 The reference to the length of Joshua’s life, 110 years, points to Josh 24:29. The thirty years of his prophesying are, apparently, based on Caleb’s remark that Joshua was forty years old when sent to spy the land (Josh 14:7). According to Num 14:32, the disobedient wilderness generation spent forty years wandering in the desert. Thus, thirty years remain for Joshua’s service as the leader of Israel. See Holladay, *Fragments*, p. 139.

44 J.R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristaeus, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 62, suggests that this event is included as it points to the future temple

45 U. Rappaport, “Maccabees, First Book of”, *EDEJ*, p. 904, dates it to the last decade of John Hyrcanus’ rule (134-104 BCE).

46 The English translation is by J.A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), p. 238. Note also an allusion to Josh 24:14-15 in 1 Macc 2:19-20. Goldstein, *ibid.*, p. 230.

47 See Elssner, *Josue*, p. 59. Several scholars suggest that this description draws a parallel between Joshua and the Hasmonean rulers, such as Judas and, particularly, Jonathan (1 Macc 9:73). See Goldstein, *ibid.*, p. 240; A. Chester, “Citing the Old Testament”, in D.A. Carson et al. (eds.), *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 151; T. Hieke, “The Role of the ‘Scripture’ in the Last Words of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:49-70)”, in G. Xeravits & J. Zsengellér (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology* (JSJS 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 67-68.

2 Maccabees (sometime between 160-124 BCE) alludes to the Book of Joshua in its account of Judas' attack against Kaspin (=Kisfin) in 12:13-16.⁴⁸ While the dwellers of this strongly fortified town reviled and blasphemed Judas and his men, the latter "prayed to the great Master of the universe Who overthrew Jericho in the time of Joshua without battering rams or siege engines".⁴⁹

A reference to the crossing of the Jordan, the conquest of the Promised Land and the dispossession of the Canaanite nations is found in the historical summary in Judith 5:15-16 (Maccabean-Hasmonean era).⁵⁰ The extermination of the Canaanites is also featured in the Wisdom of Solomon (30 BCE-40 CE), claiming that God provided them with an opportunity to repent and to avoid the divine punishment (12:3-11).⁵¹

The Assumption of Moses (beginning of the first century CE⁵²), presented as a farewell prophetic speech of Moses to Joshua, depicts Joshua as "a man deemed worthy by the Lord to be (Moses') successor for the people", entrusted with "the tabernacle of the testimony" (1:5-7).⁵³ Expanding on the scriptural account of Joshua's appointment, the Assumption of Moses describes Moses outlining Joshua's role as the one who will lead the people to the Promised Land, apportion it to them, found a kingdom, and establish a local rule (1:8-9, 2:1-2). The bulk of the Mosaic speech to Joshua contains a revelation of the course of history, culminating in the Day of Judgment (2:3-10:10). Following his prophetic discourse, Moses commands Joshua to keep these words and "this book" and "to be strong", as God chose him to be Moses' "successor to his covenant" (10:11, 15). Next comes a non-biblical scene, in which a terrified Joshua tears his clothes and falls to Moses' feet (11:1), questioning Moses about the place of his burial and expressing doubts

⁴⁸ D.R. Schwartz, "Maccabees, Second Book of", *EDEJ*, p. 907. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 36, proposes a later date, after 78/77 BCE.

⁴⁹ Quoted from J.A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), p. 430. It has also been suggested that the description of several battles in 1-2 Macc allude to the Book of Joshua. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 381; B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 155; Chester, "Citing", p. 151. For a different view, see K. Berthelot, "The Biblical Conquest of the Promised Land and the Hasmonaeon Wars according to 1 and 2 Maccabees", in G. Xeravits & J. Zsengellér (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology* (JSJS 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 45-60.

⁵⁰ B. Halpern-Amaru, "Judith, Book of", *EDEJ*, p. 857.

⁵¹ R.D. Chesnutt, "Solomon, Wisdom of", *EDEJ*, p. 1243.

⁵² J. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 78-85, 116. The English translation is from this edition.

⁵³ On the figure of Joshua in As. Mos. see Hofmann, *Assumptio*, esp. pp. 191-194. According to Tromp, *ibid.*, p. 137, the reference to the Tabernacle reflects a merging of Joshua and Eleazar.

as to whether he can replace Moses (11:5-19). The book in its present incomplete state ends abruptly with Moses reassuring Joshua (12:2-13).

Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE-ca. 50 CE) in his numerous works refers several times to Joshua and his book.⁵⁴ Describing the battle with Amalek (Exod 17:9), he reports Moses' appointment of Joshua, one of his lieutenants, as the military commander (Life of Moses 1.216). Philo notes Moses' altering of Joshua's name (On the Change of Names 121).⁵⁵ Dealing with the twelve spies episode (Num 13), he highlights Joshua and Caleb's "courage and hopefulness" (Life of Moses 1.220-236). While praising Moses' virtue as a leader who did not succumb to the natural desire to appoint a successor from among his own children or close family, Philo describes Joshua as Moses' "friend, whom he had known well almost from his earliest year" (On the Virtues 55-70). He is "almost his lieutenant, associated with him in the duties of government". Moses has "carefully tested his excellence in word and deed, and, what was most vital of all, his loyal affection for the nation".⁵⁶ For Philo, Joshua is Moses' "disciple", "who modeled himself on his master's characteristics with the love which they deserved".⁵⁷

The New Testament writings (ca. 60-100 CE) contain several references to the Book of Joshua.⁵⁸ Thus, Stephen in his speech in Acts 7:45 mentions that the Israelites led by Joshua brought the Tent of Meeting to the Promised Land. The Epistle to Hebrews refers to Joshua's leading the people into the Land in a passage dealing with entering God's rest (4:8). It also mentions the faith demonstrated by the Israelites during the siege of Jericho and the faith of Rahab, who welcomed the spies (11:30-31). There are two more references to Rahab in the New Testament.

⁵⁴ See L.H. Feldman, "Philo's Interpretation of Joshua", *JSP* 12 (2001), pp. 165-178.

⁵⁵ The English translation of Philo's works is cited from F.H. Colson & G.H. Whitaker, *Philo* (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), vols. 1-10.

⁵⁶ And yet, in On Drunkenness 96 Philo offers an allegorical interpretation of Exod 32:17, where Joshua appears to "represent one's subjective feeling toward the tumult" (Feldman, "Philo's Interpretation of Joshua", p. 170).

⁵⁷ One may also mention Philo's summary of the conquest of the Promised Land in Hypothetica, presented "not so much by the historical narrative, as by what our reason tells us about them". Philo suggests that the Israelites "were unwarlike and feeble, quite few in numbers and destitute of warlike equipment, but won the respect of their opponents who voluntarily surrendered their land to them". See K. Berthelot, "Philo of Alexandria and the Conquest of Canaan", *JSJ* 38 (2007), pp. 39-56; idem, "The Canaanites Who 'Trusted in God': An Original Interpretation of the Fate of the Canaanites in Rabbinic Literature", *JJS* 62 (2011), pp. 254-259. For another perspective on this topic, see L.H. Feldman, "The Portrayal of Sihon and Og in Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus", *JJS* 53 (2002), pp. 264-272; idem, "The Command, according to Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus, to Annihilate the Seven Nations of Canaan", *AUSS* 41 (2003), pp. 14-16; idem, "Remember Amalek!" (MHUC 31; Hebrew Union College, 2004).

⁵⁸ For a discussion see Elssner, *Josue*, pp. 82-104.

Matthew 1:5 lists her name among Jesus' ancestors, while James 2:25 evokes her "works", when she "received the messengers and sent them out another way".

Josephus' rewritten version of the Pentateuch in *Jewish Antiquities* 1-4 (93/94 CE⁵⁹) provides several insights into his view of Joshua.⁶⁰ He first mentions Joshua in his account of the battle with Amalek (Exod 17:9). Josephus explains why Moses selected Joshua as a military commander, describing him as "a man of extreme courage, valiant in endurance of toil, highly gifted in intellect and speech, and withal one who worshipped God with a singular piety which he had learnt from Moses, and who was held in esteem by the Hebrews" (3.49).⁶¹ Josephus observes that having received a "thorough training in the laws and in divine lore under the tuition of Moses", ⁶² Joshua succeeded Moses "both in his prophetic functions and as commander-in-chief" (4.165).⁶³

Further insights into Josephus' interpretation of Joshua and the Book of Joshua can be gleaned from his rewriting of this book in *Jewish Antiquities* 5.1-120.⁶⁴ The most detailed recasting of the Book of Joshua in Second Temple literature, this

⁵⁹ S. Mason, "Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*", *EDEJ*, p. 835.

⁶⁰ On Josephus' portrayal of Joshua see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Joshua", *HTR* 82 (1989), pp. 351-376; P. Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible* (TSAJ 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 147-152. Josephus' selective rewriting skips over several references to Joshua in the Pentateuch. He omits Joshua's role during the Sinai revelation (Exod 24:13, 32:17), his constant presence in the Tent (Exod 33:11), Joshua's role in the episode with the seventy-two elders (Num 11), the renaming of Joshua, and the reward for his faithfulness in the twelve spies episode (Num 14:30, 38).

⁶¹ The translation is from H.St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books I-IV* (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1930), p. 343. Other quotations from Josephus are also from the LCL edition. On Joshua as possessing four cardinal virtues see Feldman, "Joshua", p. 355.

⁶² On Joshua as a disciple of Moses, see also *J. Ant.* 6.84. See further Feldman, *ibid.*, p. 358.

⁶³ On Joshua as a general, see also *War* 4.459; *J. Ant.* 3.59, 4.165, 4.324, 6.84, 7.68, 7.294, 9.207, 9.280, 11.112. On his prophetic gift, see further *J. Ant.* 4.311.

⁶⁴ On Josephus' rewriting of the Book of Joshua see F.G. Downing, "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' *Antiquities* and the Synoptic Gospels", *JSNT* 8 (1980), pp. 46-65; Elssner, *Josue*, pp. 114-128; C.T. Begg, "Israel's Treaty with Gibeon according to Josephus", *OLP* 28 (1997), pp. 123-145; *idem*, "The Transjordanian Altar (Josh 22:10-34) according to Josephus (*Ant.* 5.100-114) and Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 22.1-8)", *AUSS* 35 (1997), pp. 5-12; *idem*, "The Ai-Achan Story (Joshua 7-8) according to Josephus", *Jian Dao* 16 (2001), pp. 1-20; *idem*, "The Rahab Story in Josephus", *Liber Annuus* 55 (2005), pp. 113-130; *idem*, "The Fall of Jericho according to Josephus", *Estudios Bíblicos* 63 (2005), pp. 323-340; *idem*, "The Crossing of the Jordan according to Josephus", *Acta Theologica* 26 (2006), pp. 1-16; *idem*, "Joshua's Southern and Northern Campaigns according to Josephus", *BZ* 51 (2007), pp. 84-97; *idem*, "The Demise of Joshua according to Josephus", *HTS* 63 (2007), pp. 129-145. Many of Begg's insights are incorporated in his *Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 5-7* (Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 4; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

work frequently omits,⁶⁵ summarizes,⁶⁶ and rearranges the scriptural account.⁶⁷ In several occasions it also expands its base text. This is the case with the description of the Jordan's powerful current at the time of the crossing (5.16), the prayer after the defeat at Ai (5. 39-41), the speeches in the Transjordanian altar episode (5.93-114), and Joshua's epitaph, praising him as "a man not wanting either in intelligence or in skill to expound his ideas to the multitude with lucidity ... stout-hearted and great daring ... a most dexterous director of affairs, adapting himself admirably to every occasion" (5.118).

The account of the biblical history from Adam to David in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* (70-150 CE) offers another extensive rewriting of Joshua materials.⁶⁸ Of the Pentateuchal references to Joshua, LAB deals only with the twelve spies story (15:3).⁶⁹ As it rewrites the Book of Joshua, like Josephus, it omits,⁷⁰

65 Among the omitted passages are God's speech to Joshua in Josh 1, three days wait for the spies, Joshua's instructions on the crossing of the Jordan, various details pertaining to the crossing, the appearance of the captain of the Lord's host, the circumcision, the divine instructions before the siege on Jericho, the instructions in the second attack on Ai, and the description of the land allocated to Caleb. Also, Josephus seems to avoid anything that has to do with miracles and magic, e.g., Jordan's water standing in a heap, Joshua's gesture with a sword towards Ai, and the standing still of the sun. On the latter feature see L.H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 210-212.

66 He summarizes the account of the Cave of Makeda (J. Ant. 5.61), Joshua's conquests (5.67), the list of the defeated kings (5.73), tribal allotments (5.81-87), the cities of refuge (5.91), the Levitical cities (5.91), and Joshua's farewell discourses (5.115-116).

67 Thus, the two spies are sent out to Jericho before Joshua's speech to the two and a half tribes (J. Ant. 5.2-3). Joshua departs to the Jordan prior to the arrival of the spies (5.4-15). The ceremony on Mts. Ebal and Gerizim occurs next to the establishing of the Tent at Shiloh (5.69-70). The latter event comes after the conquests in the north of Canaan (5.68). The reference to the "land that yet remains" (Josh 13:1-6; J. Ant. 5.71) comes after the setting of the Tent at Shiloh, during the assembly that takes place there (Josh 18:1; J. Ant. 5.72). All the tribal allotments, including those of Judah and of Ephraim and Manasseh, are given next to the description of the dispatching of the surveyors (5.79). The order of the tribes in the description of the allotments is also different.

68 For the dating see H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (AGJU 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 199-210. For the discussion of LAB's rewriting of the Book of Joshua see F.J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 96-115; Jacobson, *ibid.*, pp. 658-735; B.N. Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo* (JSPSS 37; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 282-313; E. Reinmuth, "Zwischen Investitur und Testament: Beobachtungen zur Rezeption des Josuabuches im Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum", *SJOT* 16 (2002), pp. 24-43; C.T. Begg, "The Ceremonies at Gilgal/Ebal according to Pseudo-Philo", *ETL* 73 (1997), pp. 72-83; *idem*, "The Transjordanian Altar", pp. 12-18;

69 Joshua's genealogy provided there does not match that of 1 Chr 7:20-27.

70 LAB omits the two spies' journey, the crossing of the Jordan, the account of the circumcision, the celebration of the Passover, the appearance of the captain of the Lord's hosts, Achan's story and the two battles at Ai, the allocation of the cities of refuge and of the Levitical cities.

summarizes,⁷¹ rearranges,⁷² and expands the biblical account. For instance, it elaborates on the brief scriptural description of Joshua's succession of Moses. LAB introduces God's covenant with Joshua (20:1), his mourning for Moses (20:2), his clothing himself with Moses' garments, leading to a prophetic inspiration (20:3),⁷³ and Joshua's Moses-like address to the people (20:3).⁷⁴ In its description of the ceremony at Gilgal, LAB includes offerings on the altar at Gilgal, lifting of the ark, praises, and Joshua's blessing of the people (20:9-10). In the case of the Trans-Jordanian altar it amplifies the biblical account with offerings, fasting, prayer, and a destruction of the altar (22:5-7). Joshua's deathbed scene is also expanded: he prophesies to Phineas, kisses and blesses him (25:4-5).⁷⁵ Like Josephus, LAB cites the people's epitaph for Joshua, recalling his being "a leader like him (Moses) for forty years" (24:6).

Differing in scope, worldview, and agenda, Jewish Antiquities and Biblical Antiquities employ a similar set of exegetical techniques while recasting scriptural texts.⁷⁶ As such, both works belong with a wider group of Second Temple writings commonly designated as the Rewritten Bible.⁷⁷

71 The descriptions of Jericho's fall (20:7b), Caleb's allotment (20:10), Joshua's wars, and the apportioning of the land (20:9) are briefly summarized.

72 LAB places the ceremony at Mts. Ebal and Gerizim after the conquest is complete (21:1, 7) and the setting of the Tent of Meeting in Shiloh after the episode with the Transjordanian altar (22:8-9).

73 See J.R. Levison, "Prophetic Inspiration in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*", *JQR* 85 (1995), p. 314.

74 Fisk, *Do You Not Remember*, pp. 282-293, suggests that LAB is influenced here by the biblical depictions of Saul and Solomon as they assumed power.

75 On Joshua as a prophet in LAB see also 21:6, 23:12-13, 24:4.

76 On the rewriting techniques and strategies in Josephus and LAB see Z. Rodgers, "Josephus's Biblical Interpretation", and H. Jacobson, "Biblical Interpretation in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*", in M. Henze (ed.), *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2012), pp. 180-199, 436-463.

77 Coined some sixty years ago by G. Vermes to describe the relation of such works as Jubilees and LAB to the biblical text, this term and what it stands for continues to be the subject of intensive scholarly discussion. Some question its usefulness. Others criticize both the descriptive "rewritten" and the canon-oriented "Bible". Still others argue that it represents a technique, rather than a genre. As the scholarly conversation aiming at refining terminology and defining more precisely the criteria for inclusion/exclusion of certain works in this category continues, it seems prudent to retain here the more familiar term "Rewritten Bible". To avoid confusion, I also use here the terms "Hebrew Bible" and "biblical", rather than "Hebrew Scripture" and "scriptural". For a helpful review of scholarship and a pertinent bibliography see D. Machiela, "Once More, with Feeling: Rewritten Scripture in Ancient Judaism - A Review of Recent Developments", *JJS* 61 (2010), pp. 308-320; M.M. Zahn, "Talking about Rewritten Texts: Some Reflections on Terminology", in H. von Weissenberg et al. (eds.), *Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 93-119; idem, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment", *JBL* 131 (2012), pp. 271-288.