

## THE FALL OF JERICHO ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS

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Probably the best-known passage in the Book of Joshua is the dramatic story of the overthrow of Jericho told in chap. 6<sup>1</sup>. The text poses a variety of textual/literary and historical/archaeological problems which scholars have long debated. In this article, however, my purpose is not to directly address the many problems of Joshua itself. Rather, I wish to examine the treatment of the Jericho episode by Josephus in his *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 5.22-32<sup>2</sup>. My study of Josephus' version will concentrate on two overarching questions: (1) given the marked differences between the (longer) MT and (shorter) LXX forms of Joshua 6<sup>3</sup>, does Josephus show himself dependent on one of these text-

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<sup>1</sup> Among recent discussions of Joshua 6, see: E. NOORT, "De val van de grote stad Jericho. Kantkeningen bij synchronische en diachronische benaderingen": *NTT* 50 (1996) 365-270; D. E. FLEMING, "The Seven-Day Siege of Jericho in Holy War," in: R. CHAZON *et al.* (eds.), *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (Winona Lake, IN) 211-218; J. BRIEND, "Le trésor de YHWH en Jos 6, 10.24b": *Transeuphratène* 20 (2000) 101-106; F. GANGLOFF, "Joshua 6: Holy War or Extermination by Divine Command (*Herem*)": *NETR* 25 (2004) 3-23.

<sup>2</sup> For this passage I use the text and translation of R. Marcus in *Josephus* V (Cambridge, MA; London 1938) 10-17. I have likewise consulted the more recent text and translation of *Ant.* 5.22-32 in E. NODÉ, *Flavius Josèphe Les Antiquités Juives II: Livres IV et V* (Paris 1995) 119-122. In contrast to Josephus' extended retelling of Joshua 6, Pseudo-Philo— who often develops the biblical account in ways similar to Josephus— limits himself to mentioning (see *L.A.B.* 20.7) that once the Israelite spies returned from Jericho (see Joshua 2) the people went up, stormed the city and burned it.

<sup>3</sup> For the MT of Joshua 6 I use BHS, for the LXX, A. E. BROOKE- N. MACLEAN, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus I.IV. Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (Cambridge 1917). For LXX Joshua 6, I have further consulted the translation and notes of J. MOATTI-FINE, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Jésus (Josué)* (Paris 1996) 122-128. The Qumran MS 4QJosh<sup>a</sup> offers a text of Josh

forms rather than the other?; and 2) How has Josephus worked with the data of the biblical story and what are purposes/effects of his reworking? To facilitate my comparison between them I divide up the biblical and Josephan material into nine (approximately) parallel units: 1) Preliminaries (*Ant.* 5.22a// Josh 6:1-7); 2) First circumvention of city (*Ant.* 5.22b-23// Josh 6:8-11); 3) Intermediate circumventions of city (*Ant.* 5.24a// Josh 6:12-14); 4) Opening events of seventh day (*Ant.* 5.24b-27a// Josh 6:15-19); 5) Jericho destroyed (*Ant.* 5.27b-29// Josh 6:20-21, 24a); 6) Rahab spared (*Ant.* 5.30// Josh 6:22-23, 25); 7) Joshua's curse (*Ant.* 5.31// Josh 6:26); 8) Disposition of captured metals (*Ant.* 5.32ab// Josh 6:24b); and 9) Epilogue (*Ant.* 5.32c// Josh 6:26b).

#### PRELIMINARIES

The biblical account of the fall of Jericho opens with an extended segment (Josh 6:1-7)<sup>4</sup> of events preliminary to Israel's initial move against the city as related in 6:8. Within this segment one may, in turn, distinguish three components: 1) notice on the inactivity of the Jerichonites (6:1)<sup>5</sup>, 2) a divine discourse to Joshua announcing the city's fall and spelling out the measures that are to be taken by the Israelites in connection with this (6:2-5)<sup>6</sup>, and a double directive by Joshua (6:6-7) the first addressed by him to the priests concerning their handling of the ark and the seven trumpets (v. 6), the second specifying the people's role in the proceedings (v. 7)<sup>7</sup>.

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6:5-10 which is virtually identical with that of MT; see E. ULRICH *et al.* (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD 14; Oxford 1995) 148.

<sup>4</sup> Josh 6:1 is juxtaposed rather abruptly with the immediately preceding narrative of Joshua's vision of the "commander of the army of the Lord" (Josh 5:12-13) which itself concludes with the anti-climatic notice (5:15) that Joshua took off his shoes in accordance with the apparition's directive to him.

<sup>5</sup> The LXX text of Josh 6:1 is shorter than its MT equivalent, lacking the latter's specification that it was "because of the people of Israel" that the Jerichonites remained behind their walls.

<sup>6</sup> The LXX version of the divine instructions is markedly shorter than the MT rendering; it has no equivalent to MT's 6:3b-4 as well as the phrase "as soon as you hear the sound of the trumpet" of 6:5.

<sup>7</sup> So MT. LXX Josh 6:6-7 seems to conflate Joshua's double MT order; it has Joshua "going in to" the priests and telling them to issue their marching orders to the people (see 6:7, MT), but without mentioning the priests' own role in the assault on the city (compare 6:6, MT). Similarly, in the *Samaritan Chronicle* No. II it is the priests, rather than Joshua, as in MT Josh 6:7, who give their orders to the people; see J. MACDONALD, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (or Sepher ha-Yamim) from Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* (BZAW 107; Berlin 1969) 83.

Josephus compresses the above presentation into half a paragraph (*Ant.* 5.22a). This opens with a generalized version of Josh 6:1 which speaks of the immobility of the "Canaanites" as a whole rather than specifically of Jericho's being "shut off" by the Israelites: "Since, notwithstanding these actions of the Israelites<sup>8</sup>, the Canaanites did not sally against them, but remained motionless behind their walls..."<sup>9</sup>. To this rendition of Josh 6:1 Josephus attaches a very brief replacement for the complex of 6:2-6 (see above): "...Joshua decided to besiege them". In so doing, he 'detheologizes' the biblical presentation with its extended opening divine speech (Josh 6:2-5)<sup>10</sup>, even while accentuating the role of Joshua himself who decides on his own what is to be done in the face of the inhabitants' inactivity. At the same time, he limits himself to an allusion to Joshua's (internal) "decision," leaving aside the directives he issues to priests and people in Josh 6:6-7 (MT).

#### FIRST CIRCUMVENTION OF CITY

MT Josh 6:8-11 relates in some detail an initial procession around Jericho with the ark (vv. 8-11a) that ends with Israel's return to its camp (v. 11b)<sup>11</sup>. Jo-

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<sup>8</sup> The reference here is to the Israelites' initial occupation of the land west of the Jordan as described by Josephus in the immediately preceding *Ant.* 5.20-21. By means of the above phrase Josephus effects a smoother transition between the events associated with Israel's entry into the Cisjordan and the fall of Jericho than is the case in the Bible itself where (see n. 4) the latter episode is abruptly juxtaposed with Joshua's vision of the 'commander' (Josh 5:13-15), an incident which Josephus does not reproduce. On Josephus' omission of Josh 5:13-15, see the remarks of NODET, *Les antiquités juives livres IV et V*, 120-120\*, n. 4 and L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley, CA 1998) 516.

<sup>9</sup> With Josephus' reference to the Canaanites' remaining immobile despite the actions of the Israelites, compare MT Josh 6:1 (see n. 5) where it "is because of the people of Israel" that the Jerichonites do not venture out.

<sup>10</sup> On Josephus' tendency to reduce the divine role throughout his version of the Book of Joshua in *Ant.* 1.1-119, see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 453-454.

<sup>11</sup> In LXX Josh 6:8-9, MT's narrative of the procession around Jericho is formulated as a continuation of the directives the priests are charged by Joshua to transmit to the people (see 6:6-7, LXX). In addition, LXX exhibits several "minuses" in 6:8-10: the opening phrase "and as Joshua had commanded the people" of v. 8, the mention of the "rear guard coming after the ark" in v. 9, and Joshua's injunction "neither shall any word go out of your [the people's] mouth" of v. 10. Finally, in v. 11b its singular verbs make the ark—rather than the people as a whole (so MT)—the subject of the "coming to the camp" and "spending the night" there.

sephus' version (*Ant.* 5.22b-23) of the biblical unit<sup>12</sup> opens with a chronological indication that is unique to himself (and which replaces the transitional phrase at the start of MT 6:8, i.e. "and as Joshua had commanded the people..." with its allusion back to Joshua's orders to them in v. 7— which likewise have no equivalent in Josephus, see above): "on the first day of the feast...". The "feast" to which Josephus alludes here is apparently Passover, whose celebration by the Israelites following their crossing of the Jordan he has mentioned just previously in *Ant.* 5.20b-21 (*//* Josh 5:10-12)<sup>13</sup>. Thereafter, he (selectively) combines elements of Josh 6:8-11a in describing the Israelites' first circumvention of the city: "... the priests bearing the ark<sup>14</sup>— which was surrounded by a party of armed men *to protect it*<sup>15</sup>, while seven other (priests)<sup>16</sup> marched in advance<sup>17</sup>, sounding their horns<sup>18</sup> *exhorted the army to valiance*<sup>19</sup> and made the circuit of the walls<sup>20</sup>,

<sup>12</sup> Like MT and against LXX (see n. 11), he presents his version of the content of Josh 6:8-9 as a narrative of what happened, rather than as a continuation of the priests' directives to the people about what is to happen.

<sup>13</sup> Nodet (*Antiquités juives livres IV et V*, 120\*, n. 5) suggests that the feast in question is rather Sukkot; cf. *Seder 'Olam Rabbah* 11.7 which dates the first circumvention of Jericho to the 21st day of Nisan, i.e. 7 days after the Passover observance on the 14th of Nisan.

<sup>14</sup> The mentions of the ark's movements in Josh 6:8-11 do not specify who carried it. Josephus' indication on the point reflects Joshua's directive to the priests in Josh 6:6 (MT, no equivalent in LXX; see n. 7): "take up the ark".

<sup>15</sup> Josephus here gives a rather different picture of the component elements of the procession and the order of their march come than does the Bible. In Josh 6:9 the "armed men" precede the trumpet-blowing priests who themselves go before the ark, while a "rear guard" (so MT, no equivalent in LXX) follows it. In Josephus' presentation, the soldiers surround the priest-borne ark; he adds the reference to the protective function of the ark's escort (I italicize such Josephan additions throughout this study).

<sup>16</sup> Greek: ἄλλοι δὲ καί. This is the emendation of Marcus *ad loc.*, inspired by the reading of Lat (*aliique sacerdotes*). Nodet (*ad loc.*) follows the reading of the Greek codices, i.e. οἱ καί, which appears to make the "soldiers" mentioned just previously the subject of the horn-blowing spoken of at the start of *Ant.* 5.23. As Nodet points out, the reading adopted by Marcus is more in line with the wording of Josh 6:8, where "seven priests," themselves preceding the ark, blow the seven trumpets.

<sup>17</sup> In Josh 6:8-9 the procession is headed by the "armed men" who precede the trumpet-blowing priests. In the reading adopted above (see previous note) it is the trumpeter-priests who lead the entire march.

<sup>18</sup> Greek: κέρασιν. MT Josh 6:8 designates the instruments used in the procession as שופרות ("rams' horns"), while LXX calls them ἁγία πνεύματος ἱεράς ("sacred trumpets"). Josephus' designation is thus closer to that of MT here.

<sup>19</sup> As he did in the case of the "armed men" in *Ant.* 5.22b (see n. 14), Josephus inserts an indication concerning the intended function of the priests' trumpet-blowing.

followed by the council of the elders"<sup>21</sup>. Following this description<sup>22</sup>, Josephus rounds off his account of the events of Israel's first day before Jericho in accord with Josh 6:11b: "After merely these blasts from the priests — for beyond that they did nothing<sup>23</sup>, they returned to the camp"<sup>24</sup>.

#### INTERMEDIATE CIRCUMVENTIONS

Josh 6:12-14 is a transitional segment within the biblical account, telling of the procedure used on the second day (vv. 12-14a)<sup>25</sup>, and concluding with the summarizing notice of 6:12b ("so they did for six days"). Given the repetitious re-utilization of elements employed in the description (Josh 6:8-11// *Ant.* 5.22b-23) of the first day in 6:12-14a, Josephus limits himself to reproducing the content of 6:14b at the start of 5.24: "for six days this [the procedure of the first day] was repeated".

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<sup>20</sup> Josephus derives this indication from Josh 6:11a, where Joshua causes the ark "to compass the city, going round it once".

<sup>21</sup> Joshua 6 makes no mention of this body (Greek: *γερονσία*)'s role in the events surrounding the fall of Jericho. Josephus' inserted (and anachronistic) references to the group here is in line with his—likewise inserted— allusions to their leadership role alongside Joshua and the high priest Eleazar during the period of the conquest. On the point, see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 452-453 and D. GOODBLATT, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (TSAJ 38; Tübingen 1994) 30-43, 90-99.

<sup>22</sup> Josephus has no equivalent to the directive Joshua issues the people in connection with the procession on the first day (Josh 6:8-9) in 6:10 where he tells them not to "shout" at this point, but only when he will tell them to do so. See, however, n. 23.

<sup>23</sup> The above formulation has no direct equivalent in the account of Josh 6:8-11. It might, however, be regarded as a narrative transposition of Joshua's directive to the people in Josh 6:9— which Josephus does not reproduce as such (see n. 22) — that they are to make no sound at this point, but only on the day that he will enjoin them to "shout." The motif of the people's "shout" just prior to the fall of Jericho's walls so prominent in Joshua 6 (see vv. 5, 10, 16, 20) is completely absent in Josephus' version; see further below.

<sup>24</sup> In making the people as a whole ("they") the ones to return to the camp, Josephus agrees with MT Josh 6:11b, whereas in LXX the subject of this movement is the ark (see n. 11). In contrast to both MT and LXX Josh 6:11b, Josephus does not mention the people/the ark's "spending the night" in the camp once they/it return(s) there.

<sup>25</sup> LXX Josh 6:14a lacks an equivalent to the MT words "and the second day they marched around the city once." It makes its reference to the "second day" rather at the opening of 6:12.

## OPENING EVENTS OF SEVENTH DAY

The climatic component of Joshua 6 is the account of what happens on seventh day in vv. 15-26. Within this lengthy segment, one may distinguish a first sub-unit relating the opening events of the day, 6:15-19. This passage, in turn, consists of a description of a seven-fold march around the city, ending with the priests' blowing their trumpets once again on the seventh circumvention (vv. 15-16a), at which point Joshua issues the people a series of directives about what is to happen now (vv. 16b-19).

In Josephus' version of the opening events of the seventh day (5.24b-27a), the sequence of Josh 6:15-16a and 16b-19 is reversed: prior to any initiative by the people Joshua delivers his address to them-- a seemingly more appropriate point for such an address than when the seven-fold circumvention of the city had already taken place. In thus beginning his account of the seventh day with Joshua's address<sup>26</sup>, Josephus interjects (6.24) a notice on the general's "assembling the troops and all the people"<sup>27</sup>. The biblical Joshua begins his address in Josh 6:16b with the exhortation "shout", coupled with the motivation "for the Lord has given you the city." His Josephan counterpart leaves aside the "shout injunction," but expatiates on the divinely-effected, miraculous character of the city's imminent overthrow: "[he] announced to them the good news<sup>28</sup> of the impending capture of the city, to wit that on that day<sup>29</sup> God<sup>30</sup> would deliver it to

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<sup>26</sup> In so doing, Josephus combines into a continuous sequence the opening words of Josh 6:15 ("on the seventh day") and the reference to Joshua's speaking to the people in 6:16aβ. Whereas throughout Josh 6:16b-19, Joshua uses direct address in his words to the people, Josephus' version in *Ant.* 6.24-26 employs indirect address throughout. Such recasting of biblical discourses occurs frequently in Josephus; on the phenomenon, see C.T. BEGG, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (BETL 108; Leuven 1993) 12-13, n. 38.

<sup>27</sup> In MT Josh 6:16b Joshua addresses "the people," in LXX rather "the sons of Israel".

<sup>28</sup> Marcus reads the imperfect form εὐηγγελίζετο of RO, while Nodet prefers the aorist εὐηγγελίσασατο of the remaining witnesses.

<sup>29</sup> In announcing God's consignment of the city to the Israelites in Josh 6:16b, Joshua does not specify when this will happen. Josephus' inserted dating has in view the subsequent course of events in which the city will actually fall on the present, seventh day; cf. also Josh 6:4b-5 where the collapse of Jericho's wall is announced by God for the seventh day.

<sup>30</sup> Josephus' substitution of "God" for the "Lord" (LXX: Κύριος) of Joshua's announcement in Josh 6:16b is in accordance with his virtually complete avoidance of the latter term as a title for the deity, on which see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 45, n. 218.

them and that, spontaneously<sup>31</sup> and without any effort on their part, the walls would collapse<sup>32</sup>.

Having announced the city's fall in Josh 6:16b, Joshua next proceeds (6:17a) to enjoin the extermination of those living within it<sup>33</sup>. Josephus (*Ant.* 5.25) notably expatiates on the general's directive, having him, e.g., cite three hypothetical circumstances which are not to interfere with the execution of the directive: "Howbeit, he charged them to slay all, whomsoever they caught, and neither through weariness, nor yielding to pity to desist from the slaughter of their enemies, nor yet while engaged in pillage to suffer the foe to escape".

In Josh 6:17b-19, Joshua's discourse concludes with three supplementary prescriptions: the exemption of Rahab (v. 17a), warning against Israel's arrogation of any of the "devoted things" (v. 18), and the disposition of the captured metals (v. 19). Josephus (*Ant.* 5.26) re-arranges this sequence. In so doing, he has Joshua first conclude his extermination directive with an equivalent to Josh 6:18a ("but you, keep yourselves from the things devoted to destruction"): "Nay, they were to destroy every living creature without taking aught for themselves for their private profit<sup>34</sup>. To this admonition he attaches his rendering of Joshua's "metals directive" of Josh 6:19: "but whatsoever there might be of silver and gold<sup>35</sup> he commanded them to amass and to reserve for God<sup>36</sup> as choice first-fruits of their success, won from the first captured city"<sup>37</sup>. Josephus' version

<sup>31</sup> Greek: αὐτομάτως. This adverb has a counterpart in the LXX version of God's announcement to Joshua in Josh 6:5 that the "wall of the city will fall down of themselves (Greek: αὐτόματα)," whereas in MT the announcement is that they "will fall down flat (literally in its place, Hebrew תַּחֲתָיו)."

<sup>32</sup> This phrase, underscoring the 'spontaneous' character of the walls' collapse, lacks a counterpart in Joshua's announcement concerning the city's fate in Josh 6:16b. Josephus' emphasis on the point helps explain the absence of the motif of the people's "shout" prior to the collapse of Jericho's walls (see Josh 6:5, 16, 20, and cf. nn. 22, 23) in his presentation-- even that degree of human involvement in the outcome is excluded.

<sup>33</sup> In formulating Joshua's directive MT Josh 6:17 uses the word קָרַם, LXX ἀνάθεμα.

<sup>34</sup> Josephus has no equivalent to the continuation of Joshua's warning in Josh 6:18: "... lest when you have devoted them you take any of the devoted things and make the camp of Israel a thing for destruction and bring trouble on it". The wording of this sequence has in view the following episode of Achan's theft (Joshua 7); see Joshua's word to the culprit "why did you bring trouble on us?" in 7:25.

<sup>35</sup> Josh 6:19a mentions "vessels of [MT; LXX lacks this specification] bronze and iron" as well.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Josh 6:18a: (the four metals) are to be "sacred to the Lord".

<sup>37</sup> The above formulation takes the place of Joshua's further directive in Josh 6:19b: "they [the metals] shall go into the treasury of the Lord". The replacement wording suggests a motivation for Joshua's "metals directive", i.e. just as the Israelites were bound to offer God the first-fruits of their harvest, so they are also bound to offer him something of value from the first Canaanite city he had enabled them to capture. Rabbinic tradition supplies a motivation of its own for the injunction: Jericho

of Joshua's discourse then concludes with his 'delayed' parallel to Josh 6:17b (the exemption of Rahab): "They were to spare only Rahab<sup>38</sup> and her family in virtue of the oaths which had been made to her by the spies"<sup>39</sup>.

Having anticipated Joshua's discourse of Josh 6:16b-19 in *Ant.* 5.24-26, Josephus next (5.27a) presents his parallel to the notices on Israel's movements on the seventh day of Josh 6:15-16a: "Having spoken thus, he marshalled his army and led it towards the city<sup>40</sup>. Again they compassed the city<sup>41</sup>, the ark lea-

fell on the holy day of the sabbath and so what fell into Israel's hands on that day must itself be sanctified to the Lord; see, e.g., *Midrash Tanhuma* 4.42 and cf. L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews* VI (Philadelphia 1928) 174, n. 22. The 'unbiblical' affirmation that Jericho's fall occurred on the sabbath—Joshua 6 (see v. 15) dates the event to the "seventh day," but does not specify on which day of the week the 7-day period of processions around Jericho began so that it remains unclear whether this seventh day was also a sabbath— is also attested in *Seder Olam Rabbah* 11.7.

<sup>38</sup> MT רַהַב; LXX Ῥαάβ; Josephus Ῥαάβη. Both MT and LXX Josh 6:17b qualify Rahab as a "harlot". Josephus lacks an equivalent to this pejorative qualification, in line with his earlier introduction of the woman in *Ant.* 5.7-8 as an "inn-keeper" (a term used of her in the Targum of Josh 2:1, where MT and LXX designate her as a "harlot"); see MARCUS, *Josephus* V, p. 5, n. b.

<sup>39</sup> In Josh 6:17b the motivation for Joshua's directive about the sparing of Rahab is the fact of her having "hidden" the spies he had dispatched to Jericho (see Joshua 2). Josephus' alternative motivation seems inspired by the general's subsequent word to the spies themselves in 6:22, where he tells them to rescue Rahab's household "as you swore to her". Josephus will not reproduce that later directive; rather here in *Ant.* 5.26 he seems to conflate its content with that of 6:17b. In his version of the spy episode of Joshua 2 in *Ant.* 5.2-15, Josephus goes beyond the Bible in highlighting the spies' "oath" to Rahab (see 5.1, 13, 14, 15).

<sup>40</sup> This transition between Joshua's discourse to the people (*Ant.* 5.24-26), presumably delivered in the Israelite camp (see 5.23), and their final movements around Jericho lacks an equivalent in the Bible's presentation, where Joshua's discourse occurs only after the people have already made their seven-fold march around Jericho on the seventh day. The addition, corresponding to the— also added— mention of his "assembling the troops and the people" in 5.24, serves to highlight Joshua's leading role in the proceedings. Conversely, Josephus has no parallel to the reference to the people's "rising early at dawn" on the seventh day in Josh 6:15aα (he utilizes its reference to "the seventh day" as an introduction to Joshua's discourse in 5.24).

<sup>41</sup> Compare Josh 6:15aβ: "(they) marched around the city in the same manner seven [MT; LXX: 6] times". Like LXX, Josephus has no equivalent to the plus of MT 6:15b "it was only on that day that they marched around the city seven times".

ding<sup>42</sup> and the priests with the sounding of their horns inciting their troops to action<sup>43</sup>.

#### JERICHO DESTROYED

Joshua 6 reaches its climatic point with the collapse of the city's walls and the destructive measures perpetrated by the Israelites within it (Josh 6:20-21 + 24a). In Josh 6:20a the walls fall in connection with the "shout" raised by the people<sup>44</sup>. As mentioned previously (see nn. 22-23), Josephus, with his emphasis on the purely supernatural causality operative in the city's overthrow, left aside earlier biblical mentions of the 'shout motif'. In now describing the fall of Jericho's walls he accordingly adapts the Bible's account as well: "And when they compassed it seven times<sup>45</sup> and had halted for a while<sup>46</sup>, without engine or force of any kind having been applied to it by the Hebrews"<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> The complex of notices on the processions around Jericho on the seventh day in Josh 6:15-16a does not mention the ark explicitly. Josephus' reference to its role on this occasion is inspired by the description of the procedure followed on the first day in Josh 6:8-11 (*// Ant.* 5.22b-23), where the ark's presence is mentioned repeatedly.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Josh 6:16ac: "(and at the seventh time), when the priests had blown the trumpets...". Josephus' appended indication concerning the purpose of the trumpet-blowing recalls his similar addition in *Ant.* 5.23 (*// Josh* 6:8) (in sounding their horns the seven priests) "exhorted the army to valiance." On Josephus' designation for the instruments used, in comparison with those of MT and LXX, see n. 18.

<sup>44</sup> MT mentions the people's shout twice, LXX only once. MT qualifies the shout as "great"; LXX adds that it was "mighty".

<sup>45</sup> Josephus derives this chronological indication from the opening words of Josh 6:16a (where it serves as a lead-in to Joshua's discourse that follows in 6:16b-19).

<sup>46</sup> This notice is Josephus' replacement for the people's "shout" at this juncture. In his presentation, the people simply suspend their movements in order to witness the collapse of the city's walls.

<sup>47</sup> This allusion to the circumstances surrounding the fall of the wall replaces the indication that it fell "beneath it" (MT, RSV: flat) or "in a circle" (LXX) in Josh 6:20. The emphasis on the lack of any active human involvement in the happening underscores the realization of Joshua's announcement in *Ant.* 5.24: "spontaneously and without effort on their part, the wall would collapse". Earlier (see 5.22) Josephus used the designation "Israelites," whereas he here employs the alternative designation "Hebrews"; similar alternations within a single unit occur frequently in his rewriting of the Bible. On his use of the latter designation, see G. HARVEY, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew, and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (AGJU 35; Leiden 1996) 124-129 and P. SPILSBURY, *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible* (TSAJ 69; Tübingen 1998) 36-42.

The account of Jericho's overthrow continues in Josh 6:20b-21 with mention of the Israelites' entry into the now defenseless city (v. 20b)<sup>48</sup> and their slaughter of all they find there<sup>49</sup>. Josephus (*Ant.* 5.28-29a) expatiates considerably on the Bible's summary notices on these matters, introducing mention of the inhabitants' state of mind and accentuating the Israelites' fulfillment of Joshua's extermination order of 5.25: "and they, having entered Jericho<sup>50</sup>, slew every soul<sup>51</sup>, the inhabitants being dumbfounded at the miraculous<sup>52</sup> overthrow of the ramparts and deprived of all effectual spirit for defence<sup>53</sup>. At all events they perished, slaughtered in the streets or surprised in the houses. Nothing could exempt them<sup>54</sup>; all were destroyed down to the women and children<sup>55</sup>, and the city was choked with corpses and nothing escaped"<sup>56</sup>.

In Joshua 6 itself the notice on the burning of Jericho (v. 24a) is separated from the account of the Israelites' entry into the city and slaughter of its inhabitants (6:20b-21) by a segment dealing with the sparing of Rahab (6:22-23). Josephus reverses this sequence, directly juxtaposing the destruction of the city's fabric (5.29b) with that of its inhabitants (5.29a): "The city itself was burnt entire and the surrounding region"<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> LXX lacks the concluding words of MT Josh 6:20b, i.e. "... every man straight before him, and they took the city".

<sup>49</sup> In MT Josh 6:21 the slaughtering subject is the people as a whole ("they"), while LXX makes Joshua the subject. In its catalogue of victims LXX lacks the "sheep" cited in MT.

<sup>50</sup> Like LXX Josh 6:20b, Josephus lacks an equivalent to MT's concluding plus "every man straight before him, and they took the city"; see n. 48.

<sup>51</sup> In making the people as a whole— rather than Joshua (alone) — the slaughtering subject, Josephus agrees with MT Josh 6:21 against LXX; see n. 49.

<sup>52</sup> Greek: παράδοξον. This term continues Josephus' previous (see *Ant.* 5.24, 27) emphasis on the totally supernatural character of the city's overthrow.

<sup>53</sup> The above insertion provides an answer to a question prompted by the Bible's account: why did the inhabitants make no effort to defend themselves against the Israelites? The insertion further serves to highlight the overwhelming effect of the collapse of the walls.

<sup>54</sup> The above addition accentuates the drama surrounding the slaughter of the inhabitants as summarily narrated in Josh 6:21.

<sup>55</sup> Having expatiated on the circumstances of the slaughter, Josephus abbreviates the victim list of Josh 6:21, omitting its reference to "men", "the old", and the various categories of animals.

<sup>56</sup> This concluding notice for Josephus' expanded version of Josh 6:21 provides a further dramatization of the scene, likewise emphasizing the universality of the slaughter.

<sup>57</sup> This added phrase underscores the extent of the destruction: not only the city itself (Josh 6:24a), but also its environs are burnt up.

## RAHAB SPARED

Joshua 6 deals with the special treatment given Rahab even as Jericho and its inhabitants are annihilated in two contexts, i.e. vv. 22-23 and 25, with the notices on the burning of the city (v. 24a) and the disposition of the metals (v. 24b) supervening. Once again (see on 5.29// Josh 6:20-24 above), Josephus (*Ant.* 5.30) re-arranges the biblical order, presenting his account of Rahab's fate in a continuous sequence. In so doing, he leaves aside Joshua's order to the spies of 6:22, having earlier conflated its wording with that of the general's previous directive to the entire people concerning her of 6:17b in 5.26 (see n. 39). Accordingly, he begins this segment of his account with a (shortened) version of the "rescue notice" of Josh 6:23: "Rahab<sup>58</sup>, who with her kinsfolk had all taken refuge in the inn<sup>59</sup>, was saved by the spies"<sup>60</sup>. Josh 6:25a proceeds to speak of Joshua's "saving alive" Rahab and her household. Josephus elaborates on this initiative by the general: "and Joshua, on her being brought before him<sup>61</sup>, acknowledged his gratitude to her<sup>62</sup> for her protection<sup>63</sup> of the spies<sup>64</sup> and assured her that in recompensing her he would not be found to fall short of such a bene-

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<sup>58</sup> As he did in his version of Joshua's directive about Rahab (Josh 6:17b), Josephus omits the designation of her as a "harlot" of Josh 6:25; see n. 38.

<sup>59</sup> This notice on the prior initiative of Rahab and her household has no parallel in Josh 6:23 (where LXX speaks of the spies "entering the house of the woman"). Its wording does, however, echo the references to Rahab's "inn" in *Ant.* 5.7-8, as well as the spies' injunction that she keep her household shut up within this inn in 5.13 (// Josh 2:8). On the Josephan Rahab as an "inn-keeper" rather than the "harlot" of Joshua 2 and 6, see n. 38.

<sup>60</sup> From Josh 6:23 Josephus omits the catalogue of those saved along with Rahab, as well as its concluding reference to the spies' "bringing" all the persons in question and "setting them outside the camp of Israel".

<sup>61</sup> Josephus inserts this transitional notice which sets up the words Joshua will speak to Rahab in person in what follows. In the biblical sequence of Josh 6:23, 25a it is not clear whether Joshua and Rahab ever actually come into contact.

<sup>62</sup> The Josephan Joshua's word of thanks to Rahab has no biblical parallel. It does, however, have (an also extra-biblical) counterpart in *Ant.* 5.13, where the spies "express their gratitude to [Rahab] for her present favors," the same Greek expression (χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογεῖν) being used in both cases.

<sup>63</sup> Greek: σωτηρία, literally "salvation." The verbal cognate of this noun is used in connection with the "sparing"/"saving" of Rahab in *Ant.* 5.26 and earlier in 5.14. The same terminology constitutes a *Leitwort* in Josephus' version of Joshua 2 as well; see *Ant.* 5.11, 12, 15.

<sup>64</sup> Josephus makes part of Joshua's words to Rahab the editorial remark with which Josh 6:25 concludes (Rahab and her line found an enduring place among the Israelites) "because she hid the messengers (MT; spies, LXX [and Josephus]) whom Joshua sent out to spy Jericho".

faction<sup>65</sup>. Indeed he presented her with lands forthwith and showed her every consideration<sup>66</sup>.

#### JOSHUA'S CURSE

Joshua 6 tells of the treatment of the captured metals (see v. 24b where it is attached to the notice on the burning of the city, v. 24a) prior to its citation of Joshua's curse on any who would rebuild Jericho (6:26). In yet another re-arrangement of the biblical sequence, Josephus relates the latter item (see 5.31) before the former (see 5.32).

MT and LXX themselves differ notably in their versions of Joshua's curse in Josh 6:26, with the latter exhibiting a major plus at the end of the verse<sup>67</sup>. MT Josh 6:26 reads as follows: "Joshua laid an oath upon them at that time, saying, 'Cursed before the Lord<sup>68</sup> be the man *that rises up* and rebuilds this city, *Jericho*. At the cost of his first-born shall he lay its foundation, and at the cost of his youngest son shall he set up its gates'". LXX B, for its part, gives this version of the verse: "Joshua laid an oath upon them on that day before the Lord, saying, 'Cursed be the man who rebuilds that city<sup>69</sup>. At the cost of his first-born shall he lay its foundation, and at the cost of his youngest son shall he set up its gates'".

<sup>65</sup> This portion of Joshua's word to Rahab has no biblical counterpart; it does, however, recall the spies' earlier promise to her in *Ant.* 5.13 "(they swore) to repay her in future by recompense in act". Josephus makes Joshua re-affirm the spies' declarations to Rahab at the moment of their escape; see also n. 62.

<sup>66</sup> This concluding notice on the fate of Rahab represents a concretization and intensification of the reference to Joshua's (simply) "saving alive" Rahab and her household in Josh 6:25a. Other Jewish traditions amplify that reference as well, making Rahab a proselyte who marries Joshua himself, their union giving rise to an illustrious posterity including Jeremiah and Baruch; for references, see Ginzberg, IV, 171, n. 12. Conversely, in line with his frequent practice, Josephus does not reproduce the etiological notice of Josh 6:25bα "and she [Rahab] dwelt in Israel to this day".

<sup>67</sup> On Josh 6:26, see L. MAZOR, "The Origin and Evolution of the Curse upon the Rebuilder of Jericho: A Contribution of Textual Criticism to Biblical Historiography": *Textus* 14 (1988) 1-26. In my following citation of MT and LXX Josh 6:26 I italicize the respective pluses and minuses of the two text-forms.

<sup>68</sup> Codex Alexandrinus (A) of LXX lacks the above phrase completely, while in Codex B the reference is to Joshua's adjuring the people "before the Lord".

<sup>69</sup> LXX B's rendering of the opening of the verse, lacking as it does the MT pluses "that rises up" and "Jericho" italicized above (as well as the phrase "before the Lord" in its MT position, see n. 68), has a counterpart in the citation of Josh 6:26 found in 4QTestamonia; for this text, see MAZOR, "Curse", 5.

Thus did Ozan of Bethel. At the cost of Abiron his firstborn, he laid its foundation, and at the cost of his younger child, who survived, he set up her gates"<sup>70</sup>.

Josephus' rendition (*Ant.* 5.31) of Joshua's curse displays distinctive features vis-à-vis both its MT and LXX versions: "As for the city<sup>71</sup>, whatever of the fire had spared he demolished<sup>72</sup>, and upon those who settle there<sup>73</sup> and should be fain to reerect it from its ruins<sup>74</sup> he pronounced imprecations<sup>75</sup>, that if he laid the foundations of walls<sup>76</sup> he should be bereft of his first-born<sup>77</sup> and if he completed the walls<sup>78</sup> he should lose the youngest of his sons". Like LXX Josh 6:26 Josephus (5.31b) follows his rendering of Joshua's curse with a notice on its realization. The content of the Josephan fulfillment notice is quite different from the LXX one, however: "Nor was this curse disregarded by the Deity, but in the sequel we shall recount the calamity which it entailed"<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> The translation of LXX's closing plus above is that of MAZOR, "Curse", 7.

<sup>71</sup> In speaking only of "the city" and not also of "Jericho" in his version of Josh 6:26, Josephus follows LXX against MT; see above.

<sup>72</sup> This opening notice of Josephus' rendering of Josh 6:26 lacks a biblical counterpart. It provides a necessary precondition for the wording of Joshua's subsequent curse: if the city is to be "rebuilt" it must first be "demolished." The reference to "whatever the fire had spared" echoes the mention of the burning of the city and its environs in 5.29b.

<sup>73</sup> Such settlement on the site of demolished Jericho— not mentioned explicitly in Josh 6:26— would be a necessary preliminary to the plans for rebuilding its defense system that Joshua's curse will address.

<sup>74</sup> Josephus' allusion to the city's "ruins" that are to be rebuilt echoes his opening mention of its prior demolition. In Josh 6:26 Joshua alludes more generally to someone's "rebuilding this city".

<sup>75</sup> Josephus' reference to Joshua's "imprecations", like Codex A (see n. 68), lacks an equivalent to the phrase "before the Lord" which in MT Josh 6:26 is an element of the curse itself, while in LXX B it relates to the circumstances of Joshua's curse, i.e. this takes place "before the Lord".

<sup>76</sup> This specification about the "foundations" in question is lacking in Josh 6:26.

<sup>77</sup> Josephus reverses the sequence of Joshua's first curse in Josh 6:26ba, mentioning the offense before the penalty. He does the same with his second curse (6:26bβ).

<sup>78</sup> Joshua's second curse in Josh 6:26bβ refers to the "setting up of its (the city's) gates". Twice in his rendering of the curse Josephus introduces a mention of the city's hypothetical future "walls", this recalling the climatic moment of the earlier walls' collapse in *Ant.* 5.27 (// Josh 6:20b).

<sup>79</sup> Both the LXX and Josephan fulfillment notices concerning Joshua's curse, in their different ways, look ahead to the event that took place in King Ahab's reign as recounted in 1 Kgs 16:34 (MT, LXX B; the "Lucianic" witnesses lack an equivalent to the verse). This reads in the translation of RSV: "In his [Ahab's] days Hiel of Bethel built Jericho; he laid its foundation at the cost of Abiram his firstborn and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua of Nun". Notwithstanding his explicit promise to return to the subject of the realization of Joshua's curse here in *Ant.* 5.31, Josephus, when recounting Ahab's early reign in *Ant.*

## DISPOSITION OF CAPTURED METALS

In Joshua 6 itself the final happening surrounding the fall of Jericho is Joshua's curse upon any potential rebuilders (v. 26). As noted above, Josephus "anticipates" his version of the curse (*Ant.* 5.31) to an earlier point in his presentation. Having done so, he then relates, as the story's ultimate event, the disposition of the captured metals in 5.32ab. This delayed (and much expanded) parallel to Josh 6:24b reads: "An immense quantity of silver and gold, as also brass<sup>80</sup> was amassed from the captured town, none having violated the decrees nor looted these things for his private profit; nay, they abstained therefrom as from objects already consecrated to God<sup>81</sup>. And Joshua delivered them to the priests to lay up<sup>82</sup> in the treasuries"<sup>83</sup>.

## EPILOGUE

Joshua 6 rounds off its account of Jericho's fall with a notice that highlights the figure of Joshua (v. 27): "So the Lord was with Joshua; and his fame was in all the land". Josephus, for his part (*Ant.* 5.32c), substitutes an epilogue that focusses attention on the fate of the city itself: "Such, then, was the end of Jericho".

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8.316-318 (// 1 Kgs 16:29-34), à la the Lucianic witnesses, does not, in fact, provide a counterpart to MT and LXX B's 1 Kgs 16:34. On the problem of Josephus' unfulfilled editorial promise— of which there are other instances in his *Antiquities*— of 5.32, see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 154-155.

<sup>80</sup> The catalogue of captured metals in Josh 6:24b mentions "iron" as well. Like LXX, Josephus lacks the specification of MT that the bronze and iron were in the form of "vessels".

<sup>81</sup> Josephus' elaboration of the captured metals catalogue of Josh 6:24b underscores both the enormous quantity of such material that was assembled, and the reason for this, i.e. the people's meticulous adherence to the instructions given them by Joshua in *Ant.* 5.26. The people's obedience to Joshua's command is highlighted by the use of common terminology (e.g., the phrase "private profit", Greek: ἰδίᾳ ὠμέλιᾳ) in both 5.26 (command) and 5.32 (execution).

<sup>82</sup> In Josh 6:26b the metals are deposited by the people as a whole ("they"). Josephus' formulation highlights the personal initiative of the leader Joshua and introduces the priests as intermediaries in the transaction. A priest himself, Josephus evidences a concern to accentuate the (positive) role of his priestly forebears throughout his retelling of biblical history. On the point, see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 61-62.

<sup>83</sup> In speaking simply of the "treasuries" as the depository of the metals, Josephus aligns himself with the reading of LXX in Josh 6:24b, whereas MT uses the more expansive phrase "treasury of the house of the Lord". At the same time, Josephus differs from both LXX and MT in using the plural form "treasuries" and not qualifying the "house" (MT)/ "treasury" (LXX) as "of the Lord".

## CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this essay, I return to the questions I formulated at the start in light of the intervening discussion. On the question of the text-form(s) of Joshua 6 used by Josephus, we noted instances of affinity between his version and the distinctive readings of both MT and LXX Joshua 6. Like LXX, e.g., he expands Joshua's curse of Josh 6:26 with a fulfillment notice (albeit with his own distinctive wording), while his use of the word *αὐτομάτως* to characterize the manner of the wall's collapse in 5.24 corresponds to LXX's utilization of the adjective *αὐτόματα* in the same connection in Josh 6:5, whereas MT speaks of the wall falling "beneath it". He likewise agrees (5.32) with LXX Josh 6:24b in speaking, not of the "treasury of the house (of the Lord)", but simply of the "treasuries," as well as in his lack of parallel to MT Jos 6:20b (the people enter the city marching straight ahead and take it) and his calling Rahab's beneficiaries "spies" (5.30 and LXX Josh 6:25; MT: "messengers"). On the other hand, he goes together with MT against LXX in having Joshua address the "people" (5.24 and MT 6:16; LXX: the sons of Israel) and making a collectivity ("they", 5.29// MT 6:21) rather than Joshua in person burn the city. In addition, Josephus (5.22b-24) aligns himself with MT in presenting the content of Josh 6:8-9 (the procedure for the procession on the first day) in narrative form, rather than as a continuation of the priests' word to the people about what is to happen as in LXX.

My second opening question concerned Josephus' rewriting techniques in *Ant.* 5.22-32 and the new, distinctive version of the story of Jericho's fall that results from his application of these to the data of his source text. Among the rewriting techniques featured in the segment are omissions and the related phenomenon of conflation. Josephus' omissions in the passage involve both longer biblical sequences and shorter elements. Examples of the former are his non-reproduction of the divine speech of MT Josh 6:2-5 (itself significantly contracted in LXX) and the account of events on the second day that repeats much of what was already said concerning the first day in 6:12-14a. As an instance of a small-scale omission, I recall Josephus' avoidance of the double designation of Rahab as "the harlot" in his rendition of Josh 6:17b and 6:25 in 5.26 and 30, respectively. 'Conflation', for its part, is exemplified in Josephus' working together of Joshua's two separate injunctions concerning the treatment of Rahab (Josh 6:17b and 6:22) in 5.26. Josephus' omissions throughout *Ant.* 5.22-32 are counterbalanced by his recurrent, longer or shorter, additions to/expansions of source items. Thus, e.g., he twice spells out the purpose of the horn-blowing (see 5.23// 6:8-9 and 5.27// 6:16a), and adds the mention of the council of the elders' participation in the procession (5.23; compare 6:8-9). He supplies the references to Joshua's "assembling" the people prior to his address to them (5.24) and then

"leading" them against Jericho (5.27), as also the mention of the "feast" on the first day of which the Israelites commence their processions around Jericho (5.22). He notably elaborates as well on such components of the biblical story as Joshua's extermination injunction and its execution (5:25, 28-29; compare 6:17a, 18a), the general's directive about the disposition of the metals and its realization (5:26a, 32ab; compare 6:19, 24b), the collapse of the walls (5.27; compare 6:20b), and Joshua's dealings with Rahab (5:30; compare 6:25).

Equally prominent throughout our segment are Josephus' re-arrangements of the biblical sequence of events. The injunction about sparing Rahab (5.26b// 6:17b) follows rather than precedes that concerning the disposition of the captured metals (5.26a// 6:19), just as Joshua's curse is placed before (5.31// 6:26) instead of after the consignment of the metals (5.32ab// 6:24b). Similarly, Rahab's deliverance is treated in a continuous sequence (5.30) rather than being "interrupted" by the notices on the burning of the city and the disposition of the metals, as is the case in Josh 6:22-25.

Finally, there is the Josephan re-writing technique that involves the adaptation/modification of source components<sup>84</sup>. Stylistically, he substitutes indirect for biblical direct address (see 5.24-26; compare Josh 6:16b-19). On a more contentual level, he replaces the closing notice of Josh 6:27 with his own epilogue for the episode (5.32c), and gives his own, quite different, version of the fulfillment notice of LXX Josh 6:26 (see 5.31b). His presentation of the procession's component units and their order of march in 5.22b-23 differs from that described in 6:8-9, 12-13 (see n. 15). Just prior to the wall's collapse, the Josephan Israelites do not "shout" (as in Josh 6:20), but rather "halt for a while" (5.27), while Joshua himself, operating through the priests, not the people as a whole, consigns the captured metals to the treasuries (5.32b; compare 6:24b).

Josephus' application of the above re-writing techniques results in a version of the story of Jericho's fall with a variety of distinctive features. Especially, in the case of the 'build-up' to the events of the climatic seventh day, Josephus markedly streamlines the biblical account (see 5.22-24a; and compare Josh 6:1-14), thereby leaving more room for his account of the seventh day itself. Motivations are suggested for items that are cited without any such motivation in the biblical text, e.g., the horn-blowing by the priests (see 5.23, 27) and the special treatment to be given the captured metals (5.26a; compare 6:19). Similarly, Josephus takes care to introduce mention of the necessary conditions for a given happening: Rahab is "brought before" Joshua so that he might communicate

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<sup>84</sup> This technique points up the inter-connection of Josephus' re-writing techniques in that it generally goes together with omissions or additions of some sort.

with her (see 5.30) and Jericho is "demolished" in preparation for Joshua's talk about its possible re-building (see 5.31a; compare 6:26). Overall, he accentuates the leadership role assumed by Joshua throughout the proceedings: on his own he decides to besiege the city (5.22a; compare Josh 6:2-5, where an extended divine speech precedes Joshua's first initiative), assembles the army and people (5.24), leads them against the city (5.27), interacts more extensively with Rahab (5.30; compare 6:25) and himself sees to the final disposition of the metals (5.32b; compare 6:24). The source portrayal of Rahab likewise receives positive retouchings at his hands: she is an inn-keeper (5.30) rather than a "harlot" (Josh 6:17b, 25); she is not said to be set outside the Israelite camp (Josh 6:23); and Joshua deals with her directly, thanking her, awarding her lands and "showing her every consideration" (5.30; compare Josh 6:25 where he merely "saves her alive"). Conversely, the divine role is somewhat downplayed by him, especially given his non-reproduction of the opening divine speech of Josh 6:2-5 (itself considerably shorter in the LXX version); cf. also his avoiding mention of the Deity in connection either with the content of Joshua's curse (MT Josh 6:26) or the circumstances of its delivery (LXX B Josh 6:26) in 5.31a<sup>85</sup>. At the same time, he goes beyond the Bible itself in emphasizing the completely supernatural character of the city's overthrow, systematically eliminating even the minimal human involvement represented by the "shout" the people are to raise just before the walls collapse (see 5.24, 27b-28a; compare Josh 6:5, 10, 16, 20)<sup>86</sup>. He likewise goes beyond the biblical presentation in his insistence on the thoroughness and pitilessness with which the inhabitants are exterminated (see 5.25-26a, 28-29; compare 6:17a, 21)<sup>87</sup>. In the same line, he highlights the alacrity and completeness with which the Israelites fulfill Joshua's orders not only about the extermination of the inhabitants, but also those concerning the disposition of the captured metals (see 5.26a, 32a; compare 6:19, 24b).

Josephus clearly viewed the biblical story of Jericho's fall as one worthy of detailed retelling in his own work, where it runs to 11 substantial paragraphs in

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<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, in his version of the fulfillment notice for Joshua's curse (see 5.31b; compare the plus of LXX Josh 6:26), he does introduce a reference to the Deity's heeding the curse.

<sup>86</sup> This feature of Josephus' retelling is noteworthy in that in general in his version of the Book of Joshua (and biblical history overall), Josephus does tend to attenuate the miraculous element; see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 210-214, 455-456.

<sup>87</sup> This finding is of interest, given that elsewhere in his rendering of the Book of Joshua, Josephus does evidence a concern to tone down the book's depiction of the Israelites' savage treatment of the inhabitants; see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 445-446.

the division of the text developed by Niese and reproduced in the Loeb edition<sup>88</sup>. At the same time, he also clearly felt that the source story was capable of being improved upon in a variety of respects. As with his version of biblical history overall, it remains for readers to decide whether Josephus' attempted "improvements" of Joshua 6 really are such. Still, one cannot but feel a certain admiration for the way in which he manages to preserve of the story's core content, even as he treats its particulars with considerable freedom.

**Resumen.-** Este artículo compara la versión de Josefo de la historia de la caída de Jericó en *Ant* 5.22-32 con el texto bíblico tal como se encuentra en Jos 6 (en las dos formas del MT y de la LXX). Al volver a contar la historia, Josefo abrevia y extiende el contenido, y a la vez reorganiza y modifica los datos originales. La aplicación de estas técnicas da como resultado una nueva versión de la historia, que es distinta en muchos aspectos; por ejemplo, en su representación de Josué y Rahab, en la disminución de explícitas referencias a Dios, pero también en la acentuación del carácter sobrenatural de la caída de Jericó, y en el énfasis en la ejecución de las órdenes de Josué por parte del pueblo.

**Summary.-** *This article compares Josephus' version of the story of the fall of Jericho in Antiquities 5.22-32 with its biblical source, i.e. Joshua 6 (in both its MT and LXX forms). In retelling the story Josephus both abbreviates and expands its content, likewise re-arranging and modifying source data. The application of these techniques results in a new version of the story which is distinctive in many ways, e.g., in its enhanced portrayal of Joshua and Rahab, diminution of explicit references to God, but also accentuation of the supernatural character of Jericho's fall, and emphasis on the people's execution of Joshua's commands.*

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<sup>88</sup> Compare his contemporary Pseudo-Philo who makes only a summary allusion to the episode in his retelling of Israel's history; see n. 2.