4. Son of Jehozadak

Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, is mentioned in Haggai, Zechariah, and 1 Chronicles (see "Joshua [Son of Jehozadak], the High Priest"). He is also mentioned in Ezra 3 as Jeshua (see "Jeshua 6. Son of Jehozadak").

Ellen White

5. Son of Eliezer

According to Luke 3:28–29, one of the ancestors of Jesus was Joshua, son of Eliezer and father of Er. Nothing else is known about him.

Dale C. Allison, Jr.

Joshua (Book and Person)

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
II. New Testament
III. Judaism
IV. Christianity
V. Islam
VI. Literature
VII. Visual Arts
VIII. Music
IX. Film

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

1. Person. Joshua is introduced twice, first as a leading soldier in Exod 17:9, becoming Moses' apprentice-servant in Exod 17:14; 24:13; 32:17; 33:11; Num 11:18; Deut 32:44; and as Hoshea, a representative of the tribe of Ephraim in the military exploration of the land in Num 13:8, where his name is changed to "Joshua" (Num 13:16). He is ordained (Num 27:15–23) and invested (Deut 31:1–9) as Moses' successor with the task to lead the Israelites into Canaan and to distribute the land to the tribes, clans, and families (Num 32:28; 34:17). The execution of these tasks is narrated in the book of Joshua which ends with his death at the age of 110 (Josh 24:29; Judg 2:8), the same age at which Joseph died (Gen 50:26) and ten years younger than Moses (Deut 34:7), the highest age conceded to "flesh" (Gen 6:3). Joshua is the last biblical hero reaching a superhuman age (cf. Ps 90:10). Even for readers in ancient times, these numbers signalized fiction (cf. the consternation of Philo in *Gig.* 56–57). Israel's "mythical" past which commences with Terah and Abraham ends with Joshua and life in the land under real-time conditions. As Moses' successor (Deut 34:9), Joshua functions as an intermediary between YHWH and Israel and is for this reason attributed the title "servant of YHWH" (Josh 24:29); he even adds his "supplement" to the Torah (24:26). In short, he fits the biblical notion of a prophet.

There is no genealogy of Joshua's father Nun in the Torah or in the book of Joshua (1 Chr 7:20–27 finally supplies one) nor does any offspring come from him (in contrast to Moses). He is an isolated figure, a "one-task hero." His tomb is extra-territorial in the lot of Ephraim (Josh 19:50), even if he has been "constructed" to represent this tribe (Num 14:8). This information indicates that Joshua, as opposed to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, was a scribal creation, rather than a figure of tribal tradition. Veneration for the tombs of the prophets began in Israel no later than the 4th century BCE (2 Kgs 13:20–21, cf. also 1 Kgs 13:30–32; 2 Kgs 23:16–18), i.e., around the time the first "book of Joshua" ends. The literary history of Joshua began in the second half of the 7th century BCE, providing ample time for his tomb to "materialize" by the time the book was concluded. Martin Noth's hypothesis, according to which Joshua's tomb is the (only) attestation of a "historical Joshua," should therefore be abandoned.

Richard D. Nelson's proposal to see in the name "Joshua" a variant of "Josiah," which would then refer to the historical hero Josiah – a model for fictional aggrandizement, has found widespread acceptance, even if the names' similarity is not as close in Hebrew (*Yəhošuaʿ* as compared to *Yoʾšiyáhu*) as it is in English.

2. Book. The book of Joshua concludes the Hexateuch narrative with the establishment of Israel in the Promised land; at the same time, it begins the narrative of the Former Prophets, which leads from the possession of the land to its loss in 2 Kgs 25. The loss, however, is not the end of the story: the Latter Prophets, from Isa 40 onwards, add return and restoration to the picture. Reinhard G. Kratz (2000) aptly called the Torah "the myth of Israel," defining Israel as the people who received the Torah at Sinai. This proposition may be slightly modified by regarding the Torah as the "Greater Myth of Israel" that circumscribes its being, and how it is supposed to act vis-à-vis God and fellow human beings everywhere on earth. The Prophets might be understood as the "Lesser Myth of Israel," or of "exile and redemption," which defines Israel's relationship with the Land of Israel, and claims continuity between the "First" and the "Second Temple." Due to its categorization as an "historical book" in the Christian Bible, much research has been (and partially still is) dedicated to finding "history" in the book of Joshua. This has proven utterly futile (Naʾaman 1994; Knauf 2010).

The book consists of the "conquest account," Josh 1–12 (note, however, that only chs. 6–8 and 10–11 refer to battles), and of a subsequent "land distribution account," Josh 13–21. It is concluded by a finale with the theme "how to live (and remain) in the land," Josh 22–24. Of the two "final speeches" of Joshua, ch. 23 looks forward to the end of 2 Kgs, whereas ch. 24 looks backwards, recapitulating Israel's story from Abraham to its establishment in the land.

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Biblical scholarship agrees that the book of Joshua is the product of a redactional process, but it does not agree on the details of this process, nor when it began or ended. There is, however, at present, a broad consensus that the literary history of Joshua commenced in the second half of the 7th century BCE. Dissenting hypotheses concerning this date go back, on the one side, to as early as the 10th century, and on the other side, to a date as late as the Hasmonean period. Both extremes can be charged with either willful misrepresentation or ignorance of established facts. Julius Wellhausen (1885), whose peers and successors assumed the compositional unity of Genesis–Joshua, attributed the various voices to the "documents" or "sources" J, E, and P – those of Pentateuch critical renown. This theory fell victim to the "Deuteronomistic History hypothesis" inaugurated by Martin Noth (in Europe it also fell victim to the widespread abandonment of the "Yahwist" and the "Elohist"). A minority (Lohfink; Knauf 2008; Guillaume) still find the conclusion of the original P narrative in Josh 18:1.

According to the various schools of "Deuteronomistic History" research, the base layer of Joshua is the work of the "Deuteronomistic Historian(s)," working either under Josiah or after 562 BCE, and mostly prior to the building of the Second Temple. In Thomas Römer's (2005) "Modified Deuteronomistic History," the core narrative of Josh 1–12 is assumed to have been composed as an independent booklet under Josiah, which reflected this king's territorial aspirations. It was then integrated into the "Deuteronomistic Library" by exiled Judaean scholars in Babylonia. For Erhard Blum (1990), the "D-Composition" forms the base layer of Genesis–Kings, which has led to a revival of "Enneateuch-Research" (Römer/Schmid).

Konrad Schmid (1999) revived the Hexateuch hypothesis by assuming a basic "Moses–Joshua" or "Exodus–Settlement" narrative, which developed into the Penta- and Enneateuchs through a process of redaction. Schmid has narrative logic on his side (the death of Moses is a fitting end for the "Torah of Moses," but not for Israel's exodus from Egypt), and the stylistic and theological parallels of the two "YHWH-war accounts" in Exod 14 (D) and Josh 10. On the basis of Schmid's model, Ernst Axel Knauf (2008) identifies the following literary layers in Joshua:

(1) The end of the "Moses-Joshua-story" (Josh 6* and 9–10*) presents Judah in its Josianic borders (prior to 597 BCE) as the destination of Israel's exodus from Egypt. The intention was to reconcile the Benjaminites and their northern traditions (most prominent among these figures the exodus) with the Judaean monarchy. This narrative ended in 10:40–42*.

(2) The scene with the five kings captured in the cave of Maqqedah (Josh 10:16–27) might have been added in Judea as early as the Babylonian period. Here, the royal figure Joshua hands over his power to the representatives of the people.

(3) The D-redaction (still within Exod–Josh, but neither Gen–Kgs nor Deut–Kgs) of the first half of the 5th century BCE, in 10:28–39 and notably 11:1–15. The conquered land is now extended to "all Israel" from Dan to Beer-sheba, and the "demilitarization of the conduct of war" in the basic narrative is overlaid with conquest narratives in the best, or rather, worst Assyrian tradition (in ch. 6* and 10*, Israel does not do any fighting, this activity is left completely to YHWH). Joshua 11:16–23* forms the conclusion of a "D-Tetrateuch" consisting of Exodus*, Numbers*, Deuteronomy*, and Josh 1–11*. Its militarism reflects the efforts of the Jerusalemite elite, who were employed in the service of Persia and recruited from among the exiles of (mostly) 586 BCE, to subject the mostly Benjaminite population of Persian Yehud to its rule (in the name of the Achaemenids), and the newly centralized aniconic cult of "YHWH Alone."

(4) The Hexateuch-redaction added most of the rest of the first twenty one chapters, notably the P-elements and the geographical material in chs. 14–21; it concludes in 21:43–45. It presupposes knowledge of, but no literary unity with, the "History of the Kingdoms" (1 Sam 9*–2 Kgs 25*). The D-policy of "cult centralization" only resulted in the secession of the Samarians, who founded their own "Second Temple" on the Garizim in the first half of the 5th century BCE. As a result, this redaction worked hard to re-establish (cf. for the 6th cent., Davies; Na'aman 2009) some kind of religious unity of "all Israel" (i.e., Judea and Samaria), and succeeded with this task when the finalized Torah was accepted in both provinces. This layer shows traces of Late Biblical Hebrew in the descriptions of the tribal boundaries, which do not date back to pre-monarchic or early monarchic times (Lissowsky/Na'aman).

(5) So far, only a number of formal book conclusions can be identified in Joshua, but no book beginning. This must have changed in 398 BCE or slightly before, when Joshua was separated from the Torah. The addition of ch. 22 reflects the negotiations that occurred between the Jerusalem elite and the Judeans of Elephantine regarding the rebuilding of their temple, which were concluded in 408 BCE. The "Joshua-Fragment" was augmented by "savior accounts" (Judg 2:10–8:32*; Knauf 2016). Prior to this extension, a proper incipit (1:1–5) was probably added to the booklet, and the core of ch. 24* with the note on the death of Joshua (24:29–33*; Judg 2:6–9 is secondary, but cf. the opposite view in Blum 1997). The augmentation of Joshua with the first material from the "Judges" tradition necessitated, in turn, the insertion of Josh 23, and the corrections in chs. 15–19 on the Joshuanic concept of a "conquest of all the Land." This is

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in contradiction to Israel's actual situation in Judg 2:11–19.

(6) With the further addition of more narrative material to Joshua-Judges*, the books were finally separated. One major purpose was to contrast the blessed existence of Israel under Joshua (with the Torah) to its cursed existence (without the Torah) thereafter. The book redaction is a "Prophetic redaction"; 1:6–9 are an introduction to the whole prophetic canonical corpus, corresponding to its conclusion in Mal 3:22–24 (MT). Joshua becomes a "prophet" himself, a second "servant of YHWH" in the footsteps of Moses. The finished product, Josh 1–24, is both the "last book of the Hexateuch (i.e., Torah plus Joshua, cf. 24:26)" and the "first book of the Prophets."

(7) With the promulgation of a "Bible" consisting of Torah *and* Prophets in the Hasmonean period, slight textual changes were made, as evidenced by the LXX (Auld; de Troyer); notably, Joshua's final speech was relocated from Shiloh to Shechem in 24:1 as an anti-Samaritan slur. The book was previously largely pro-Samarian.

The "Hexateuchal" origin (and character) of Joshua has been criticized by Blum (2012; to which Knauf 2012 responds) and, in more detail, Joachim J. Krause (2014). Krause concedes a "virtual existence" of a Hexateuch and indicates, contre-coeur, the intractability of the problem. Indeed, the assumption of a "Deuteronomistic History" is exactly as virtual as a "Hexateuch," because none of these exegetical concepts are part of the canonical text.

Modern readers' problems with the book of Joshua focus on the problems of "genocide," "ethnic cleansing," and "militance" (cf. Elßner) that are found among the theopolitical concepts of the book. For some readers this makes the narrators of Joshua the immediate predecessors of Gush Emunim. These readers tend to miss the signals of fictionality within the account, like 11:23, which indicates that the kind of war commanded in the Torah (Exod 23; 34; Deut 7; 20) and executed by Joshua is, at that point, finished for good. (Such a total end of war was utopian even to ancient listeners/readers, it only happens in a mythic past, and not in the real world). Without the book of Joshua, this "militance" would still persist in the Torah and remain unresolved. The way these commands in Joshua are executed, contravenes the very same commands - at least in part: the larger family of Rahab and the Gibeonites are neither killed nor expelled. One could well call Joshua a kind of "subversive exegesis" of some problematical passages of the Torah. In terms of its time and place in intellectual history, the book must be regarded as a serious attempt to "demilitarize," humanize, and contain war.

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Ernst Axel Knauf

II. New Testament

Joshua's name comes into Greek as Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus," so that wherever the latter is mentioned there is always the possibility of an echo at least of the name of Joshua. However, only one certain and one possible mention of Joshua can be found in the NT. The former is in Heb 4:8 in which reference is made to the conquest of Canaan, within the context of the exegesis of Ps 94 (LXX). The argument is that the entry into Canaan under Joshua was not, in fact, the entry into God's "rest" of which the Psalm speaks; therefore some further rest must remain for Israel. So a typology is arguably established: while Joshua succeeds where Moses failed in leading Israel into Canaan, this contrast points to a more pro-

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found one between Moses and Jesus, who can lead his followers into the eternal rest of heaven itself. Many scholars (e.g., Ellingworth: 253) are however dismissive of any typological intent in Hebrews. The possible reference is at Jude 4 where there is good textual attestation for Ἰησοῦς as the subject of v. 5, which reading might be best explained within a similar typological scheme. Austin Farrer argues that Matthew has a hexateuchal scheme such that the part following the fifth block of teaching corresponds to the book of Joshua, representing the fulfilment of the promises to Moses and Abraham.

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Richard J. Ounsworth

III. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

1. The Book of Joshua. The book of Joshua forms a standard part of Scripture for Second Temple Jews of all varieties whether in Judah or in the Diaspora. The LXX translation comes in two versions, Codex Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus. The Greek is shorter than the MT by around four percent. Whether the MT or the LXX is older remains a matter of debate. At Qumran, two manuscripts of the book of Joshua have been found. One late Hasmonean/early Herodian manuscript, 4Q48 (4QJosh^{b}) is very similar to the MT, while a formal Hasmonean manuscript, 4Q47 (4QJosh^{a}) is different from both the LXX and the MT. This latter manuscript is the shortest of the three and is considered by many scholars to be the oldest and most original version of Joshua extant. Qumran also has one or more reworked books of Joshua, which have been collectively dubbed, the *Apocryphon of Joshua*.

2. Joshua the Character. The Second Temple–Hellenistic, and Early Roman periods offer a number of different images of Joshua. In his encomium to the ancient heroes, Ben Sira (46 : 1–6), the earliest of the texts, cleaves to the biblical images of Joshua, describing him as a warrior of YHWH, a miracle worker, the loyal scout, and even a prophet. The Joshua imagery fits within the overall structure of the encomium, since it functions as a prelude to his praise of Simon the Just, whom Ben Sira describes as a defender, militarily speaking, of Judah.

In its explicit treatment of Joshua, 1 Macc 2 : 55 refers to him as a judge. Beyond this, the book makes use of tacit Joshua imagery to buttress the positions of Mattathias and Judah. Since the project of the Maccabees was military in nature, with the goal being the reclamation and independence of Judea, Joshua imagery works nicely. The same is true of 2 Maccabees. All three of these works see Joshua through the lens of his historiographical role as conqueror of the Promised Land and find this portrayal useful in their world of *Realpolitik*.

Josephus, also a man with heavy involvement in *Realpolitik*, found the basic contours of the Joshua story to be inspiring (*Ant.* 3 : 49–5 : 19). Nevertheless, Josephus did not participate in the Maccabean desire for a Judean Renaissance, but wrote from a highly Hellenized and Romanized perspective, after the destruction of the Temple. Josephus' project appears to have been to make Judean history and culture accessible – even admirable – to his Greek and Roman colleagues. To this end, Josephus makes good use of Joshua, an image and persona Romans could respect, embellishing the account of the conqueror with an emphasis on tactics and, more importantly, calm and reasoned leadership. Thus, Josephus takes Joshua the warrior of God and makes him Joshua, the Judean general and statesman.

Philo presents quite a different vision of Joshua, seeing him through the lens of philosophy (*Virt.* 1.55–56, 66–69; *Ebr.* 1.96–98; *Mut.* 1.121–122; *Mos.* 1.216). In Philo's descriptions, Joshua is a great philosopher who modeled himself after Moses. The love of these two men for each other in Philo's understanding (perhaps modeled on David and Jonathan) is the paradigmatic example of the mutual love of philosophers and great thinkers.

The *Apocryphon of Joshua* comes at Joshua from an entirely different angle. Writing for an Essene or Qumranite audience, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* is primarily interested in Joshua as a prophet. In this work, Joshua describes the future specifically and accurately, revealing to the Israelites (and his future Judean readers) that important developments like the temple and the Davidic monarchy, both institutions that will reappear in messianic times, were foreordained. Thus, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* participates in the genre of the *pesharim* to some extent, since both attempt to plumb the prophets for messages of direct relevance to the lives of the sectarians. Most similar to the *Apocryphon*'s Joshua is that of *4 Ezra* (7 : 106–108), which describes Joshua as a prophetic intercessor on behalf of the people, like Abraham and Moses.

The final editor of *Assumptio Mosis* shared the sectarian hope in a better future. The future prediction found in this work was written during a major persecution and hope for the future was probably a psychological necessity, not to mention an ontological one for those Jews who were remaining loyal to their tradition at significant risk. However, unlike in the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, in *Assumptio Moses*, Joshua is merely the recipient of the prophecy. The narrative framing of this future prediction chronicles the transfer of power to Joshua and the death of Moses. Joshua is described as a passive and stupe-

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fied student, whereas Moses is a man beyond this world whose life must be taken by God and whose body would be buried by angels. This view of Joshua the conqueror as meek and timid fits with the political message of *Assumptio Mosis*, that all one can do is wait and watch, while the terror eventually turns on the aggressors and God shows God's true love for God's chosen people.

Finally, the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo (chs. 20–24) shows great interest in Joshua but very little interest in politics. The work emphasizes Joshua's role as a religious figure, one who sings praises to God, edifies the people with Torah and divine wisdom, and establishes the places of worship throughout the Holy Land. The author of this work uses Joshua as a model of piety and religious leadership, perhaps with the intent of making him a heuristic model for his own generation. In this sense, *Biblical Antiquities* shows the greatest continuity with the view of Joshua in rabbinic literature.

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B. Rabbinic Judaism

1. The Book of Joshua. Like all non-Pentateuchal books, the rabbis spend little energy on the book of Joshua. Scattered verses are interpreted throughout rabbinic literature, but only in the medieval period, with the writing of commentaries on the entire Tanakh, is there an attempt to collect the interpretations from rabbinic literature and present them as a rabbinic commentary on the book, as was done in the *Yalqut Shimʿoni*.

2. Joshua the Character. Although nowhere near as prominent in rabbinic thinking as Moses, Abraham, or David, Joshua does receive more than negligible treatment in rabbinic literature. As is their custom, the rabbis do not offer an overarching portrait of Joshua, but various texts present him differently.

a. Positive Image. One dominant image of Joshua is that of a rabbi. The Mishna describes him as an essential link in the chain of the Oral Law's transmission (*mAv* 1:1). When he is to take Moses' place, Joshua demonstrates his worthiness by giving a lecture in the study house, while Moses sits in the audience (*SifBem* 140; *Midrash Tanḥuma*, Wa-etḥanan 6).

The rabbis also ascribe to Joshua ten laws about the land of Israel (*bBQ* 80b–81a), dealing with matters like grazing and fishing rights. The conqueror of the land becomes the rabbi of the land. Joshua is also pictured as a composer of liturgy, specifically the second blessing of the grace after meals, "on the land and sustenance" (*bBer* 48b), and eventually, the *Aleinu* prayer (*Shaʿarei teshuvah* 43; medieval period).

One source pictures Joshua as a king, anointed on the day he defeated the Amalekites (*MekhY*, Be-shallaḥ, Masekhta de-ʿAmaleq 2). He is also described as having a strong personality, able to stand up against everyone else (*SifBem*, Pinḥas 140). A different twist on the image of Joshua's power expands on Joshua's military prowess, painting him as particularly aggressive in battle, chopping off the heads of his most powerful enemies. The same text, however, also describes him as showing mercy by not desecrating the bodies (*MekhY*, Be-shallaḥ, Masekhta de-ʿAmaleq 1).

Joshua's righteousness is also emphasized; the rabbis describe him as being so righteous that the manna fell only due to his merits (*MekhY*, Be-shallaḥ, Masekhta de-Wa-Yissa 3).

The most common image of Joshua in rabbinic literature is as Moses' protégé. One hyperbolic text has Joshua so enamored of Torah study and his teacher Moses, that he makes a fool of himself nagging Moses to study Torah with him (*MidTan*, Deut 34:9). Another text envisions Joshua as Moses' valet, gathering his breakfast (manna) in the morning and carrying his washing paraphernalia on the way to the bathhouse (Midrash Tsedaqot 1:6–7). Yet another declares that Joshua treated his master like God (*ARN* A, ch. 27).

Midrash Petirat Mosheh tells a story of Moses trying to avoid death and running to, among others, Joshua, his successor. Far from being protective of his own imminent position as Israel's new leader upon Moses' death, Joshua weeps for Moses and is about to pray when the angel Samael forces him to stop. With much sadness, Joshua gives up the quest and allows Moses to die.

b. Negative Images. The rabbis have some negative suggestions about Joshua as well. One text suggests that when Moses sent him to fight with Amalek, he criticizes Joshua for hiding under the cloud of glory and "saving his head for a crown" (*MekhY*, Parashat Be-shallaḥ, Masekhta de-ʿAmaleq 1). Another text criticizes Joshua's urging Moses in Num (11:28) to restrain Eldad and Medad as "talking out of turn" (*bEr* 63a–b). The same text also accuses Joshua of having once (unintentionally) cancelled Torah study, the afternoon sacrifice, and a night of procreation (*bEr* 63b).

Since rabbinic theology requires Moses to be the greatest prophet, some texts emphasize Joshua's inferiority to his teacher either by expanding on Moses' greatness in comparison with Joshua, or by pointing out where Joshua came up short in comparison with Moses. For example, although Joshua's great and unique miracle in the Bible is the stopping of the sun, the rabbis say Moses did this as well (*SifDev*, Parashat Haʾazinu 306; b. *AZ* 25a). We are told that the trumpets Moses made were never used by anyone else, including specifically, Joshua (*Midrash Tanḥuma,* Be-haʿalotkha, ed. Buber 18). We are also told that the hailstones that fall on the enemy during Joshua's defense of Gib-

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eon were merely the left over hailstones created when Moses brought the seventh plague down on the Egyptians (*bBer* 54b). One text claims that the Gibeonites, who tricked Joshua into believing they were not locals, actually tried this trick on Moses at first, but that Moses, unlike Joshua, did not fall for it (*Midrash Tanḥuma*, Nitsavim 5). The rabbis illustrate the inferiority of Joshua to Moses graphically by saying that whereas Moses was like the sun Joshua was like the moon, i.e., a lesser light (*SifBem*, Pinḥas 140; *bBB* 75a). The most serious negative comparison to Moses is in the realm of Torah study. The rabbis claim that upon Moses' death, during the period of mourning, Joshua (and the rest of Israel) forgot hundreds or even thousands of *halakhot* and legal proofs (*bTem* 16a). Other texts, however, diffuse this negative comparison by emphasizing how similar to Moses Joshua really was (*Pitron Torah,* Parashat ʾElleh ha-devarim, p. 233).

Additions to Joshua's biography – Adding details to Joshua's biography, the Talmud suggests that he married Rahab (*bMeg* 14b). The Talmud also suggests that Joshua was the first to enact the final part of the circumcision requirement called *periʿah*, which refers to peeling back the epithelium (*bYev* 71b). In addition, the rabbis add a midrashic explanation about the origin of Joshua's name. The biblical text states that Moses gave Joshua his name, modifying it from Hoshe'a to Yehoshu'a (Num 13:16). The rabbis say that Moses was making use of the *yod* which was once in Sarai's name, before God changed it to Sarah (Gen 17:15), removing the *yod* and leaving it homeless until Joshua was renamed (*BerR*, Lekh lekha 47).

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Zev Farber

C. Medieval Judaism

The book of Joshua received less attention from medieval exegetes than other books of the prophetical canon. There is, however, a wide range of commentaries written by well-known scholars, which include the Karaite Yefet b. Eli (together with an Arabic translation) in the 10th century, Rashi (1040–1105), David Qimḥi (1160–1235), Isaiah ben Mali di Trani (ca. 1165–1235), Joseph ibn Kaspi (1279–1340), Gersonides (1288–1344), and Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508). The latter questioned (in his introduction) the talmudic statement (*bBB* 14b–15a) that Joshua wrote the book which bears his name, at least up to the account of Joshua's death (Josh 24:29–31). According to Scripture, Abarbanel argues, only the account of the covenant at Shechem was written down by Joshua (Josh 24:26), but not the whole book. Rather, it was composed in later times, as the repeated phrase "unto this day" (Josh 4:9; 7:26; 9:27, etc.) testifies. Therefore, Abarbanel attributes the book of Joshua to Samuel, the prophet.

While generally praising the character of Joshua, the talmudic rabbis made certain through their exegeses that he would not be presented as the equal of Moses. This tendency continued into medieval times. While a significant figure in his own right, Joshua could not attain the religious centrality of Moses, with whom he was compared and against whom he came up short, except in his capabilities as a military leader. Many rabbinic/midrashic traditions were taken over and expanded upon during the Middle Ages, such as the tradition that Joshua married Rahab following the conquest of Jericho and her subsequent conversion to Judaism.

The implicit discomfort that many rabbis had with the Bible's violent and genocidal account of Joshua's conquest of the Promised Land formed the basis of philosophical speculation about the nature of warfare (see "Holy War"). It was Maimonides (1138–1204) in particular who used the conquest narrative as one of the proof-texts for his presentation of the laws of war in his *Mishneh Torah* (*MishT, Laws of Kings and Their Wars* 5).

According to Maimonides' systematization, there are two overarching categories of wars: obligatory wars and wars of choice. The wars waged by the Joshua and the Israelites in the book of Joshua would fall under the former category, which could also be termed holy war, since they were considered compulsory by divine command.

The category of obligatory war is itself then divided into three types: First is the defensive war, which since Maccabean times could also be waged on the Sabbath. Second is the war against the Amalekites, who attacked Israel during the exodus (Exod 17:8–16; Deut 17:17–19) and whom King Saul was commanded to exterminate (1 Sam 15). This battle against Amalek became a metaphor in Jewish thought for the never-ending battle against evil in the world. And third is the battle that Joshua was ordered to undertake against the seven nations of Canaan: the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, and the Perizzites (e.g., Josh 3:10). Following most of his rabbinic predecessors, Maimonides felt that this battle lay in the past and was only of historical interest. This view was attacked, however, by Naḥmanides (1194–1270), who viewed the divine command to fight against the peoples of Canaan as one that was valid for all time and would possibly have to be waged again in the future.

Another subject that was debated vociferously during the medieval period was the nature of the miracles mentioned in Joshua. In opposition to what had traditionally been a literalist view of the subject, during the course of the Middle Ages the views of rationalists such as Gersonides (1288–1344), who denied the suspension of natural laws for Joshua's sake – as in the case of the sun and the

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moon standing still in the sky at Joshua's entreaty during the battle against the Amorite coalition at Gibeon and in the Valley of Aijalon (Josh 10:12–14) – and sought explanations grounded in the natural world, became the axis around which arguments for and against rationalist philosophical speculation in Judaism revolved.

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Carl S. Ehrlich

D. Modern Judaism

The book of Joshua gained new significance in the modern period, particularly among nationalist readers who found justification in its unified army, settlement project, and elimination of native inhabitants. These themes resonated all the more among nationalist settlers like the Boers who endowed the book with a literal, political meaning. Nationalist interpreters saw in Joshua an ideal leader whose sense of purpose veered "neither to the right or to the left" (cf. Josh 1:7) as he conquered territory, secured borders, and established ethnic claims on territory. Whether overtly or implicitly, the Christian nationalist revival of the book of Joshua helped to justify state violence in both domestic and imperial theaters.

With such currents moving through political thought, Jewish nationalists of the late 19th century appraised the book of Joshua anew. Such appraisal factored in a larger shift of Jewish biblical interpretation in which aspiring Jewish nationalists interpreted the *Tanakh* not as the source of Jewish law and practice, but as the record of a glorious Jewish past of living, farming, and fighting for a homeland. The orientation inspired some to immigrate to the land of Israel and relate to the unfamiliar homeland through the prism of the Bible. The book of Joshua, filled as it is with place names and boundary lists, helped Jewish nationalist pioneers relate to their new place and declare it a necessary site of Jewish national revival. For example, the founders of the first kibbutz, Deganyah (1909), on the Jordan River portrayed their actions toward establishing a Jewish collective as a kind of revival of the age of Joshua. The name that these early Jewish nationalists assumed, *ḥalutsim*, pioneers, derives, inter alia, from the book of Joshua (4:13; cf. Num 31:5; 1 Chron 12:25) where it describes an infantry comprised of men from the two and a half tribes who lived east of the Jordan River (Havrelock: 247–57).

The next significant turn in the Jewish national revival of the book of Joshua came from scholarly, rather than activist, quarters. The biblical scholar Yehezkel Kaufmann turned his attention to the book of Joshua in order to counter Christian biblical scholarship, which had long extracted desired values from the "Old Testament" and often cast contemporary Jews as stubborn relics of the past, clinging to outmoded practices. Trained in both a rabbinical seminary and the University of Bern, Kaufmann immigrated to Palestine in 1928 and served as Professor of Bible at the Hebrew University from 1949 until 1963. While still in Germany during the 1920s, Kaufmann adopted political Zionism through his historical conclusion that "there is no solution to the Jewish problem other than the national solution" (Kaufman 1928: 1.8). In the book of Joshua, Kaufmann perceived the account of an ancient movement to forge a state. He viewed the book of Joshua as roughly contemporaneous with the events it describes at the same time that it reflects a utopian aspiration for unified national territory that was never precisely replicated on the ground. Kaufmann advanced this reading in his 1953 book, *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine*, prior to winning the Israel Prize in 1958. He focused on precise details of the biblical text in his 1959 commentary on Joshua.

Kaufmann opened a new avenue of Jewish nationalist interpretation of the book of Joshua, yet its most influential modern reader was David Ben-Gurion. During the *Yishuv* – the prestate period in Mandate Palestine – Ben-Gurion found evidence of the Jewish "national spirit" in the pages of the Bible's historical books. While holding himself to a strenuous standard of pioneer life, Ben-Gurion rose through the ranks of the Zionist movement, ultimately becoming the first Prime Minister of the State of Israel. His central belief was that Jews were called to live the Bible rather than read the Bible. Following the young State of Israel's victory in the 1948 war, Ben-Gurion declared the Israel Defense Forces the best interpreters of the book of Joshua (Shapira: 651). In many ways, Ben-Gurion and his beloved Military Chief of Staff Yigael Yadin had prepared the military to be living interpreters of the book of Joshua. Yadin, a biblical archaeologist who excavated sites of ancient national importance, endowed the Israeli military with symbols from the book. Ben-Gurion initiated the command structure of the Israeli army with the assurance that Joshua's army had been reborn: "With this oath you have sworn to, you have now been united with the long succession of Hebrew warriors from the times of Joshua Bin-Nun" (Silberman: 125).

Some of his contemporaries suggested that Ben-Gurion saw himself as a second Joshua (Gevaryahu: 73; Tzivion: 79). Indeed, following the war, he turned his attention to settling Jews from across the

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world in the State of Israel and to unifying the incoming "tribes" from the corners of the earth. Obsessed with achieving national integration, Ben-Gurion privileged the military as the state's signature institution, but still longed for a culture that would embrace and transform a country of immigrants. Therefore, in 1958, as Israel celebrated its tenth anniversary, Ben-Gurion convened a study group at the Prime Minister's residence devoted to the book of Joshua. Beyond his longstanding love of the book, there were other reasons for Ben-Gurion's interest. In the 1950s Ben-Gurion needed a story of military heroism as much as he needed the military. His 1956 adventure in the Suez Canal with the waning colonial powers England and France proved a disaster which won Israel nothing by way of territory or international support, so the tenth anniversary of the State in 1958 marked a ripe moment for commemoration of the heroic founding war of 1948. Ben-Gurion needed a rousing war story to help bury the ignominy of the Suez Canal war as much as to rally a society of immigrants.

Ben-Gurion invited politicians, justices, generals, archeologists, and biblical scholars into his home twice a month for biblical study. Several of the participants positioned themselves as both public figures and experts on the Bible, so there was little distinction between political and academic interpretation. Although the members of the group insisted on the scholarly precision of their arguments, their commentaries reveal the degree to which present political frameworks inflect biblical interpretation. Ben-Gurion saw the biblical war story as constituting an ideal basis for a unifying narrative of national identity. Not only could modern Israelis relate to the processes of conquest and settlement, but through the prism of Joshua they could also understand them as reenactments of the biblical past. This would enable the strengthening of Israeli resolve to undertake battles and development and the dissolution of diasporic and non-national affiliations. Ben-Gurion also hoped that the analogy with Joshua would promote international support for Zionism as the revival movement of the people of Israel and recognition that the revival could only transpire on the soil of the ancient homeland. For Ben-Gurion, Joshua stood as the veritable symbol of "actualized Zionism" (Peres: 3).

Ben-Gurion gave the final presentation at the study group, which introduced a novel theory of Jews as indigenous to Israel from before the days of Abraham. According to Ben-Gurion's "national Torah," two distinct groups comprised the ancient people of Israel – an elite pioneering group who received the law at Sinai and marched across the Jordan with Joshua and a more populous group of Hebrews indigenous to Canaan. Shechem, in Ben-Gurion's eyes, was the longstanding cultural and spiritual center of Hebrew Canaan to which Joshua brought his people in the name of reunion with their native counterparts. There, the diasporic elite encountered their indigenous compatriots and incorporated them into the national army. Because of this project of reunification and a largely successful campaign against non-Hebrew natives, things got much better for both groups. Insofar as Hebrews belong to the land, Joshua did not initiate a conquest so much as a civil war that redeemed the indigenous Hebrews from the clutch of incorrect worship and backward culture. When Ben-Gurion held a press conference to disseminate his theories more widely, the National Religious Party brought a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister before the Knesset. R. Isaac Meir Levin, the party leader, accused Ben-Gurion of heretically manipulating the word of God for political ends.

Having introduced the Joshua typology to Israeli political life, Ben-Gurion faced the desire of younger "Joshuas" to lead the people. After General Moshe Dayan brought Israel right up to the west bank of the Jordan in the 1967 Six-Day War, he assumed the mantle of Joshua and bumped Ben-Gurion back to the position of Moses. Dayan enunciated the political shift with the backhanded compliment that Ben-Gurion was "the Moses of our time" and the Palestinian leaders whom he met when patrolling and acquiring antiquities in the West Bank were like the tribal leaders of the Bible (Dayan: 77). Moses/Ben-Gurion should be lauded for "his mission of leading the nation, the entire House of Israel," but Dayan was the redeeming Joshua who unified the land and the people through a final stage of conquest (Dayan: 53). Counter to the 1958 interpretation, Dayan maintained that the 1948 war did not resemble Joshua's conquest. With this move, Dayan severed the association between Joshua and the founding elites who had "crossed the Jordan" in order to settle the land and instead forged a link between the biblical figure and the military might of native-born sabras. Dayan led no biblical study groups, but instead sauntered about the conquered territory like a chieftain claiming antiquities and wrote books about his biblical accomplishments.

Following the 1967 victory, Joshua became increasingly important to religious settlers citing the biblical grant of the land as their charter. "The Book of Joshua, the narrative of the ruthless conquest of the Land of Canaan by the ancient Jewish tribes, was especially appealing, because of the direct linkage it provided between the mythical time and the here and now" (Kimmerling: 103). Like the early Zionists, these fundamentalist settlers proclaim the Bible as their Mandate, yet unlike their secular predecessors favor righteous zeal over attainment of practical goals. For them, Joshua offers precedent for militarized settlement and continued displacement of Palestinians. A Joshua doctrine

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governs the expansion of the settlement project, which often relies on the Israeli army to enforce its claims.

Whereas Ben-Gurion had inferred Jewish national rights through indigenous claims, ideological leaders of the settler movement stressed the assumption of rights through conquest. For example, R. Shlomo Aviner offered thanks to "Joshua, the conqueror of our land, for not getting involved in demography, but taking possession of our inheritance." In other words, praise was due Joshua for ignoring the rights of those he displaced in the name of winning the war. R. Zvi Yehuda Kook took the premise even further: "The conquest of the Land of Israel in order to establish our rule in it is a divinely ordained war. It is a Torah precept and cannot be otherwise … Joshua made it plain to the inhabitants of the land: this land is ours. It is under our sovereignty" (Dor/De-Malach: 18–19). For Kook, political rights are obtained by war and war for the land of Israel is a holy war of justified violence.

Beyond the biblical posturing of Israeli leaders, the public came into contact with the book of Joshua through its place in school curricula. The curriculum sought to infuse the Israeli present with Joshua and to understand it in light of the biblical book. We might note how the focus on homeland allowed the implications of Joshua to be clear without being named – love of book, land, and nation require war. In opposition, liberal and leftist intellectuals took aim at the book for imbuing Israeli culture with a sense of domination and savagery. The novelist S. Yizhar, for example, addressed the association directly in his article, "Against Joshua": "When I write 'Against Joshua,' I write against the Zionism of a drawn sword that negates the existence of another people because it has a big sword, against the awful Zionism whose symbol is an angel with a drawn sword" (Yizhar: 139). As repetition of the word makes clear, Yizhar inveighs against "the sword" – the militarization – of Zionism. As much as its use in Israeli political life inspires the essay, his critique takes aim at the book itself where the angel that mediates between the people of Israel and God is neither a voice of revelation nor a guiding force, but "captain of the Lord's army" (Josh 5:15). In Joshua and its Israeli reception, land, divine command, and war coalesce as necessary components of national independence. Yizhar wanted to dissolve the links among them. In many ways, the project of Yizhar and those in his camp was to return the book of Joshua to its pre-nationalist status as a marginal book in the Jewish canon.

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Rachel Havrelock

IV. Christianity

Although Joshua occupies no central role in early Christian literature, hermeneutic and theological speculation exploited the fact that the spelling of his name is identical to that of Jesus in Greek, thus binding the OT Joshua with the NT Jesus (Ἰησοῦς; Justin, *Dial*. 62.5; 75.1–2; 113; 132.1, 3; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud*. 10.10). In *Barn*. 12:8–10, Moses' naming of Joshua (cf. Num 13:16; Irenaeus, *Epid*. 27) comes to be seen to suggest that everything God (the Father) reveals is manifested through Jesus (the Son) alone. The NT's Jesus is ultimately present, then, in the OT's Joshua (*Barn*. 12:8). Accordingly, the theology of Barnabas understands Joshua (Ἰησοῦς) "in the flesh, in the figure of" (τύπος: *Barn*. 12:10) as a typology of Jesus of the NT, the Son of God

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(υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ). Further, the text follows Sir 46:1 in calling Joshua a "prophet" (*Barn.* 12:8), though neither Ben Sirach nor Jesus Sirach designates him as such directly. Joshua's task is to destroy Amalek in the final days, and this is clearly borrowed from the LXX (*Barn.* 12:8; cf. Exod 17:14–16). In *1 Clem.*12, Joshua appears in connection with Rahab through the deployment of the words "hospitality" and "faith" (i.e., hiding the spies; cf. Josh 2; 6:22–25; Heb 11:30–31; Jas 2:25). The scarlet thread that Rahab fastens on the window to spare her family becomes a sign of salvation, "the blood of the Lord" (*1 Clem.* 12:7). Origen (ca. 185–254) is the first Christian theologian to have composed homilies on the book of Joshua – preserved only in Latin. He interprets the book of Joshua entirely allegorically. Through their identical names, a partial conflation emerges between the Jesus of the OT and that of the NT. Violent scenes such as the capture of Jericho undergo explanation as conflict between the NT Jesus and the fallen world (*Hom. Jes. Nav.* 7). For his part, Augustine (354–430) engages individual questions on the book of Joshua in his *Quaest. Hept.* 6. A definition of just war appears in conjunction with the conquest of Ai (Josh 8), which is an issue that continued, e.g., from Gratian to Thomas Aquinas, and persists into the present day (*Quaest. Hept.* 6.10). With the later Spanish scholastics, Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546) and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), Josh 6:20–21 became a lynchpin in the discussion as to whether innocent people may be justifiably killed in the context of a just war. Both de Vitoria (*De iure belli* q 4) and Suárez (*De charitate* 13.1.7) exclude any direct, unmediated reference to Josh 6:20–21 for such a justification.

As for the Reformation, the first commentary on the book of Joshua came from John Calvin (1509–1564), published in the year of his death. Though called an "egregious slaughter" (*immanis strages*), the indiscriminate killing of Jericho's inhabitants is nonetheless justified as divine order. The children of Israel thus operate not on their own accord, but rather execute God's own decree (*Dei mandatum*), the goal being purification of Canaan's rot (*Comm. Ios.*, ch. 6/CO 25.469). While Calvin denies the possibility of such instruction for the present day, he does exhort avoidance of any dealings with corrupt society, thereby providing a point of hermeneutical contact with Origen's metaphorical interpretation.

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V. Islam

Joshua (Arab. *Yūshaʿ*) is not mentioned in the Qurʾān directly, but he does appear in Muslim histories (*taʾrīkh*) and the "stories of the Prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) literature. He is not particularly prominent and stories about him are often found in those sections concerned with Moses (e.g., al-Thaʿlabī: 327, 354, 401–14), where he is usually portrayed as a faithful deputy of Moses and as a warrior, and is often identified as the man who accompanied Moses on his journey with al-Khiḍr (S 18:60). Joshua has received very little attention in the scholarly literature (e.g., Busse: 318–21; Tottoli: 42–43).

The Muslim sources describe Israel's expansion under Joshua into the Holy Land, and most emphasis is placed on the conquest of Jericho (Josh 6:1–16), which was believed to have been inhabited by giants (al-Thaʿlabī: 407). Other biblical events such as the crossing of the Jordan with the ark (Josh 3:1–4:13), the sending of spies into Canaan (Num 13:27; Josh 2:1; 6:25), and the stoning of Achan (Josh 7:25) can be found in Muslim historical material (see Heller/Rippin). Some scholars have also noted the similarity between the stoning of Achan and the Muslim pilgrimage rite of stoning the pillars at Minā (Hamlin: 56–57).

The relationship between Joshua and Caleb is mentioned frequently in Muslim sources (e.g., al-Thaʿlabī: 412–13) and it is believed that they are referred to in the Qurʾān as "the two God-fearing men" (S 5:23; cf. Num 14:6, 30; 26:65). Joshua was often a focus of attention amongst early Shīʿīs who saw him as Moses' designated heir (*waṣiyy*; cf. Deut 34:9), which was used as a prophetic example contributing to their own arguments in support of the belief that Muḥammad designated ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as his heir (see Rubin).

More generally, the way in which some present day Jews and Christians seek to reinterpret the scriptural violence of the book of Joshua has many similarities with modern Muslim engagements and reappraisals of *jihād* and the military context of the revelation of the Qurʾān (see Kuiper).

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Stephen R. Burge

VI. Literature

The book and person of Joshua have appeared prominently in literary works since the ancient period. Among the earliest literary treatments of Joshua is Pseudo-Philo's 2nd-century CE work, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. Combining biblical and non-biblical accounts in recounting Israel's history from Adam to David, Pseudo-Philo portrays Joshua as clothing himself with wisdom and knowledge as he leads Israel into the promised land (20.2–3). Rather than emphasizing his military feats, however, this work highlights Joshua's role in establishing Israel's religion in the land. Joshua, therefore, appears more as a religious figure, a characterization carried on in subsequent periods.

Writers have attributed various characteristics to Joshua over the centuries. Among the earliest, Josephus described Joshua as possessing great courage, patience, intellect, speech, and piety (*Ant.* 3.49 and 5.188). Joshua's military abilities, however, often eclipse his other attributes. Dante identifies Joshua as one of God's warriors in his *Divine Comedy*, including him with Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon (as well as others) (*Paradise*, Canto 18 : 1–57). These four individuals, along with David, Hector, Alexander, Caesar, and King Arthur, appear frequently in medieval works as the Nine Worthies who exemplify chivalry. Eustache Deschamps mentions each of the Worthies (and other warriors) in his ballade 1452 ("This life of ours is nothing, a puff"), contrasting their past triumphs with their mortality. Deschamps observes that despite their strength, they had, "Gone to powder, corrupted to snuff." William Shakespeare also mentions Joshua as one of the Nine Worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* (mid-1590s; 5.1, line 123).

The book of Joshua's account of the Israelite conquest of Canaan has spawned numerous works ranging from simple retellings of the story to elaborations of particular events and characters in order to explore complex issues. During the modern period, the conquest as a struggle for freedom became one of the most popular themes. Thomas Morell condensed the book's main events into *Joshua, A Sacred Drama* (1748), a work that George Frederic Handel put to music. Morell portrays the Israelite conquest as a fight against lawless tyrants in order to establish freedom and laws. Timothy Dwight, a Congregationalist minister who was president of Yale University (1795–1817), as well as Jonathan Edwards' grandson, vastly expanded Joshua into an epic American poem, *The Conquest of Canaan; A Poem, in Eleven Books*. Dwight completed the poem in the early 1770s prior to the American Revolution, but he did not publish it until 1785, asserting that he had not merely recounted the Revolution under the guise of the Israelite conquest. Nonetheless, the war's influence is evident in several places. Beginning with the aftermath of the Israelite defeat at Ai (Jos 7), Dwight's Joshua encourages the despondent Israelites in terms consistent with prominent ideals of the Revolution. Articulating their ultimate mission, which includes saving "the rights of man," Joshua envisions their destiny as part of a "heavenly plan" based on freedom and law that would culminate in "an empire, spread from sea to sea" (bk. 1, lines 755–62).

While authors like Dwight used the Israelite conquest to validate nationalist efforts, others have used it to challenge social and national practices. The story of Achan (Jos 7) frames Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's poetic call for a modern Joshua to rid the United States of "her clinging curse and crime," that is, slavery (*The Sin of Achar*, 1857). Alicia Suskin Ostriker's poem, "The Story of Joshua" (1994), calls attention to the tension between the ruthlessness of the conquest and the command to love the stranger (Deut 10 : 19). It begins by juxtaposing Jos 3 : 9 with a quote by the Puritan leader, Cotton Mather, identifying "New Englanders" as "a people of God" who had settled in what formerly were "the devil's territories." God then tells Joshua that in order to possess the land they must "murder" the people of Canaan. Yet they will do so with the knowledge that their actions are evil. In a footnote to her poem, she connects the tension between "the values of national survival and those of universal compassion" with both modern Israel and American actions toward Native Americans.

Many have found specific elements of Joshua useful for addressing personal battles against various daunting powers. Booth Tarkington employed the conquest motif in his 1905 novel, *The Conquest of Canaan*, to explore the struggles associated with life in a small town. The main characters, Joe Louden and Ariel Tabor, grow up largely as outcasts in the small Midwest town of Canaan, Indiana, but later return and eventually overcome the powerful social forces that had stigmatized them. Rudolph Fisher in his novel, *The Walls of Jericho* (1928), drew on Joshua to characterize the challenges encountered by African Americans in Harlem during the 1920s, especially those related to race and class. When one of the characters, Joshua "Shine" Jones, delivers a lively and contemporary recounting of the biblical story, he compares the status of Jericho in the ancient world to that of New York City. Jericho also represents the "chief city of every man's spiritual Canaan" that must be overcome as every individual struggles "to find ourselves" in the process of self-revelationFisher: 180–87). Numerous authors, such as Waldo Frank (*Rahab*, 1922) and Frank G. Slaughter (*The Scarlet Cord*, 1956), have used the figure of Rahab to explore other struggles.

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Scott Langston

VII. Visual Arts

Joshua, who was initially in Moses' service, became Moses' successor after his death and was rendered mainly as a warrior in visual art (cf. mid-12th cent., London, British Library MS Cotton Nero C.VI, fol. 69).

Joshua's connection with Moses is evident in several examples. For instance, in the Moutier-Grandval Bible, Joshua appears in the scene where Moses receives the tablets of the Ten Commandments on the mountain (ca. 840, London, British Library Add MS 10546, fol. 25v). The parallel becomes even clearer when Joshua climbs up the mountain to speak with God (Bible, 12th cent. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS gr. 746, fol. 448r). The mountain motif appears yet again, when Joshua builds God an altar on Mount Ebal (Octateuch, 11th cent., Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS gr. 747, fol. 223v).

A second motif connects Moses and Joshua: the latter encountered a man with a sword at Gilgal (Josh 5 : 13–15), who identified himself as commander of the army of the Lord. Analogously to Moses on Mount Sinai, the commander orders him to take off his shoes.

In general, the story of Joshua is rarely represented in visual art. However, detailed cycles have been preserved in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), as well as in the *Bible moralisée* (cf. mid 13th cent., Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 270b, fol. 101v). The Joshua Roll should also be mentioned in this context (10th cent., Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS palat. gr. 431), as it represents a unique example. Finally, the story of Joshua is also elaborately rendered in the Byzantine Octateuchs (Vat. MSS gr. 746 and 747; Smyrna, Evangelical School MS A.1 [lost]; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi MS Gr. 8; Athos, Vatopedi MS 602).

Independent of such contexts, i.e., in programs, or particularly, in books, Joshua's encounter with the commander of the army of the Lord, identified as the archangel Michael, is still the image most likely to be portrayed.

Apart from this particular image, artists found particular interest in the following events – although this list may also be due to the accidental preservation of the respective monuments:

1) The transportation of the ark of the covenant should be mentioned first; it usually depicts the moment when the Israelites reach the Jordan; four people carry the ark, which rests on a large board-type frame (cf. Vat. MS gr. 746, fol. 443r; fresco, 1320, parekklesion, Chora Church, Istanbul).

2) After crossing the Jordan, Joshua has the Israelites gather twelve stones in the region of Gilgal, which he then uses to build by hand a monument in the river (cf. Vat. MS gr. 746, fol. 444r).

3) Also in Gilgal, Joshua encounters a man armed with a sword, who identifies himself as the commander of the army of the Lord. Although Joshua faces the commander with his entourage standing behind him in mosaic in the Church Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), he usually appears in Byzantine iconography twice in the same scene: in *proskynesis* in front of the figure indicated as Michael, or Archestrategos, the commander with wings; and again standing upright behind himself (cf. Joshua Roll, Vat. MS palat. gr. 431). In this rendering, Joshua should also be seen taking off his shoes. Joshua may also be identified by means of this motif in the destroyed representation of the person portrayed above the Torah niche in Dura-Europos (245). There is a pair of shoes next to bare feet and Moses can be recognized as standing opposite, resulting in a further parallelism of both figures. The encounter between the archangel Michael and Joshua is also found in Byzantine art; for instance, in fresco at the entrance of the katholikon of Hosios Loukas (12th or 13th cent.). This representation can probably be understood in the context of the victorious reconquest of Crete from the hands of the Arabs in 961; in this case, the figure of Joshua is interpreted politically.

4) This is followed by the conquest of Jericho, which is rendered in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore (432–40) in two mosaic scenes: one that includes both the carrying of the ark of the covenant and blowing of the trumpets, and another that features the capture of the city itself.

5) This is followed by the conquest of Ai (12th cent., Athos, Vatopaidi MS Cod. 602, fol. 353v).

6) This is followed by the conquest of Gibeon, where Joshua makes the sun and moon stand still; he usually holds out his right hand to the sun (cf. 432–40, Santa Maria Maggiore; the so-called Saint Louis Psalter, 1256, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10525, fol. 46). The motif also appears in Habakkuk 3 : 10–15, but the depiction here is not graphic.

This last event was also depicted in modern art, as, for example, by Gustave Doré (Bible-Illustration, around 1866) and Martin John (1817, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven).

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VIII. Music

The book of Joshua was set to music in one major work, in George Frideric Handel's oratorio *Joshua* (HWV 64, 1747; rev. 1752), based on a libretto by Thomas Morell. Set against the backdrop of the Jacobite rising of 1745, it retells the story of the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua (T) (Josh 15 : 16–19), and includes a romantic sub-plot between Caleb's daughter Achsah (S) and the young warrior, Othniel (CT). Well known choruses include "Glory to God" for tenor solo and chorus, orchestra recounting the Battle of Jericho and the tumbling walls of Jericho. Other well-known numbers include the chorus "See the conqu'ring hero comes," which was later incorporated into a revision of Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, and the ever-popular air, "Oh! Had I Jubal's Lyre" for soprano, sung by Achsah, following Caleb's blessing to her and her marriage to Othniel. A love-duet follows "Oh peerless maid" before the final chorus "The Great Jehovah," with includes a customary Hallelujah.

The African American Spiritual *Joshua Fight (Fit) the Battle of Jericho* is another well-known work based on the book of Joshua (Josh 6). The verses outline the battle of Jericho, while the refrain, with its syncopated rhythms and descending melodic movement, suggests the tumbling walls of Jericho (Dowling Long/Sawyer: 127). For the Jericho episode see further "Jericho VI. Music."

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Siobhán Dowling Long

IX. Film

Filmmakers have approached the character of Joshua and the book that bears his name in three main ways: metaphorically, as a minor character in films about Moses and as the "hero" in adaptations of the book of Joshua.

The earliest film to evoke Joshua metaphorically was the silent film *The Walls of Jericho* (dir. Lloyd B. Carleton/James K. Hackett, 1914, US) set in the "modern" day. A more famous example of this approach occurs in *It Happened One Night* (dir. Frank Capra, 1934, US) where the fall of a blanket partitioning the two leads' motel room coincides with their declarations of love.

A more popular approach has been to include Joshua as a minor character in the story of Moses. More extensive adaptations of Moses such as *Moses the Lawgiver* (dir. Gianfranco de Bosio, 1975, UK/IT/IL/US), *Moses* (dir. Roger Young, 1995, US/IT/DE) and *The Ten Commandments* (dir. Robert Dornhelm, 2006, US) have featured incidents such as the victory over the Amalekites or his spying mission into Canaan. The most well-known such examples are in *The Ten Commandments* (dir. Cecil B. DeMille, 1956, US) and *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (dir. Ridley Scott, 2014, US/UK) however neither film features these Joshua-specific episodes, rather in these films Joshua functions as a witness to the story of Moses, who occasionally poses the kinds of questions that the audience might also be asking.

Given the controversy surrounding the Israelite conquest of Canaan it's perhaps not surprising that filmmakers have tended to avoid portraying either Joshua the man, or any of the episodes from the book that bears his name. The only episode from the book of Joshua to have been adapted to film – with the exception of the longer treatment in *The Living Bible's Joshua: The Conqueror* (dir. Edward Dew, 1958, US) – is the fall of Jericho. Portrayals of this incident have handled the question of divinely authorized violence in very different ways. Dew's film refuses to show any of the inhabitants of Jericho other than Rahab's family, denying their voice and their humanity. The U.S. TV series *Time Tunnel* where two scientists materialize in different historical periods, takes the scientists off to their next adventure as the walls of the city come tumbling down.

Joshua at Jericho (dir. James L. Conway, 1978, US) from the Greatest Heroes of the Bible series significantly distorts the biblical text to demonize the "ruthless Hittites" and paint them in a negative light, such that it's almost impossible to feel sympathy for them. Finally, the episode "Homeland" (dir. Tony Mitchell, 2013, US) from the History Channel's dramatized series *The Bible* does not seem to find the idea of divine violence particularly troubling, indeed in other episodes the series repeatedly exaggerates or invents scenes of violence.

Surprisingly given the subject matter there are also at least five animated versions of the story, most notably Veggie Tales' *Josh and the Big Wall!* (1997, US). As expected, this film sanitizes the story for young audiences by subtly villainizing the inhabitants of Jericho (rude French peas who throw purple slushies at Joshua and the Israelites) and showing them hop away virtually unscathed after the city walls fall down.

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Matt Page

Joshua (Son of Jehozadak), the High Priest

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
II. Judaism
III. Christianity
IV. Further Reception

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

The first mention of Joshua son of Jehozadak (MT *Yĕhôšūaʿ ben-Yĕhôṣādāq*) identifies him as "the high priest" (*hakkōhēn haggādôl*) during the reign of Da-

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