A NOMISTIC RE-WORKING OF THE JERICHO CONQUEST NARRATIVE REFLECTED IN LXX TO JOSHUA 6:1–20

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Introduction: Nomistic Corrections

Traditions incorporated in biblical literature are not always preserved in their original form; they often undergo processes of change aimed at harmonizing them with the beliefs of later generations. One of the primary forces motivating such adaptation is the desire to bring texts that do not conform to the legal demands of the Pentateuch into accord with pentateuchal law. The classic case is the book of Chronicles: the Chronicler adjusted numerous aspects of his sources in order to make them reflect the laws as stated in the Pentateuch. I. L. Seeligmann viewed these "nomistic" corrections as a fundamental characteristic of the Chronicler's historical conception. As shown by Seeligmann, the pentateuchal legislation was the highest authority for the Chronicler — it was the sole, absolutely decisive factor determining every aspect of Israel's religious life in every sphere, and its stipulations were to be complied with in every particular. In firm conviction that no legitimate action taken by the Israelite nation at any point in its history could have been at odds with pentateuchal law, the Chronicler did not hesitate to revise events, even deliberately diverging from his sources, in order to have them reflect complete and total adherence to the law of Moses. The very justification for the Chronicler's rewriting of Israel's history was the need to force it to comply with the Torah's authority.¹

¹This study is a revised version of a lecture delivered at the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies held in Jerusalem, 1990. Professor Emanuel Tov and Professor Alexander Rofé were kind enough to read a draft, and I thankfully acknowledge their helpful comments.

On this issue Seeligmann, like many others, followed the lead of Wellhausen, who had stated:

It must be allowed that Chronicles owes its origin, not to the arbitrary caprice of an individual, but to a general tendency of its period. It is the inevitable product of the conviction that the Mosaic law is the starting point of Israel’s history [...]; this conviction could not but lead to a complete transformation of the ancient tradition.²

The existence of nomistic corrections in Chronicles has been widely recognized by scholarship and is by now well known.³ Less widely acknowledged is the fact that such changes exist outside the book of Chronicles as well, and that they can be detected not only on the literary level but also on the level of textual transmission. Recently, A. Rofé has drawn attention to a number of such nomistic corrections throughout the Bible, providing them with documentation from the several textual witnesses: MT, Qumran, LXX and Sam.⁴ From the broad distribution of the phenomenon, Rofé concludes that “such corrections were a standard practice of Jewish copyists in the beginning of the Second Commonwealth.”⁵

Examination of the content of these nomistic corrections reveals that “nomistic corrections were primarily introduced in the stories about righteous personalities — Moses, Joshua, David — because later generations could not conceive them as not abiding by the Torah.”⁶ In texts touching upon cultic matters it is only to be assumed that the nomistic corrections would be in keeping with the spirit and style of the Priestly legislation, since later copyists engaged in creating new copies of


⁵Rofé, “Nomistic Correction,” 250.

⁶Ibid.
narratives dealing with cultic topics would naturally be influenced by Priestly concepts. The Priestly source is, after all, the dominant one in the Pentateuch, and cultic laws are its primary focus of attention.\(^7\)

Nomistic corrections in textual witnesses outside the MT have not yet received the scholarly attention they require. This study calls attention to a hitherto unnoticed nomistic re-working in the LXX to Josh 6:1–20, thus adding to the growing number of studies of nomistic corrections in the Book of Joshua that lately have begun to appear.\(^8\)

**Variants between LXX and MT in Josh 6:1–20 and the Theory of Nomistic Correction**

Josh 6:1–20 recounts the collapse of the walls of Jericho. A series of variants between MT and LXX provide two different views of the chain of events. According to MT, God first orders Joshua to have warriors encircle the city and march around it for six consecutive days, instructing him that this procession is also to include seven priests bearing horns. The priests are to march ahead of the Ark, sounding the horns as they go. On the seventh day, the procession is to circuit the city seven times, after which, at the prolonged blast of the ram’s horn, the people are to raise a huge cry and the wall will collapse (vv. 3–5). Joshua transmits the divine instructions to the priests (vv. 6ff.).

The LXX version of the divine orders for the campaign is considerably briefer. It contains no mention of priests, horns, the Ark of the Lord, or a procession to circuit the city for seven days. God simply instructs Joshua to position his men in a stationary ring around the city, and that when the horn is sounded the people are to raise a mighty cry and the walls of the city shall fall of themselves. Thus, in the


LXX version of the events, the procession around the city walls that follows (vv. 6ff.), with all its many participants and the precise manner of its execution, is carried out entirely on Joshua’s own initiative.9

LXX and MT differ also in their portrayal of the procession itself (vv. 6–20). While MT speaks of both priests and non-priests (the rear-guard) as sounding the horns, in the LXX only priests are said to have performed this task (though whether they sounded horns or trumpets is uncertain; see below).

The suggestion advanced here is that the LXX account represents a Second Temple period re-working of the narrative aimed at harmonizing the figure of Joshua with the nomistic ideal. Joshua is presented at the beginning of the book as having been charged to rehearse day and night the teachings of Moses: “Let not this book of the Teaching (םתנוראה מֵפָּס) cease from your lips, but recite it day and night, so that you may observe faithfully all that is written in it; only then will you prosper in your undertakings and only then will you be successful” (Josh 1:8). Towards the middle of the book we read, “Just as the Lord had commanded Moses, so Moses had charged Joshua, and so Joshua did; he left nothing undone of all the Lord had commanded Moses” (11:15), and the book concludes by awarding Joshua the title “servant of the Lord” (24:29).

Later readers and scribes could hardly imagine a leader such as Joshua, said to have been absolutely loyal in following the Teaching of Moses, as embarking upon a course of action diametrically opposed to a law contained therein. Yet the pentateuchal legislation stipulates that when Israel takes to the battlefield, only priests are to sound the trumpets (Num 10:8–9), while Joshua, in the MT account of the fall of the walls of Jericho, explicitly ordered non-priests as well to sound the blasts (6:9, 13). These later scribes are to be credited with adjusting the narrative to conform to the law. Still, it should be noted that in the result, the LXX to vv. 3–5 raises the question of Joshua’s loyalty even more than the MT, since in the LXX the procession circling the city of Jericho is entirely the result Joshua’s own initiative. In any case, the nomistically re-worked version of the story presents the blasting of

9 Holmes, following Wellhausen, has argued for the priority and authenticity of the version reflected in the LXX to vv. 3–5. See S. Holmes, Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts (Cambridge 1914). In Josephus’ account as well, the procession is not presented as the fulfillment of God’s prior command; see Jewish Antiquities V 22–27 (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray and R. Marcus; London 1934) 12–15.
the horns as performed by priests alone, and these horns are called “the sacred horns,” thus stressing, far beyond what is found in MT, the connection of this practice with the demands of pentateuchal law (Num 31:6).

Priests Alone Sound the Horns in LXX

In the MT account, the horns are sounded as follows:

1. By the priests: The text repeats six times (vv. 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 16) that the priests marched ahead of the Ark, sounding their horns as they went.

2. By the rear-guard (ἡμασσάκτ): As stated twice (vv. 9, 13), the rear-guard followed the Ark, sounding the horns as it marched.

3. By persons unknown: v. 20 relates that the people shouted at the sound of the horns. As the verb “sounded” lacks a grammatical subject, it is uncertain who sounded the horns in this instance.

The latter two cases — vv. 9 and 13 which mention the rear-guard, and v. 20 in which the subject is lacking — appear in the LXX in a manner which leaves no room for doubt that it was indeed the priests who sounded the horns.10

v. 9: MT: ημασσάκτ ηλικ οιρος τος ηλικ ιστοου της διαθηκης κυριου
LXX: και οι ιερεις οι ουραγοντες δπισω της κιβοτου της διαθηκης κυριου σαλπιζοντες

The expression οι ιερεις οι ουραγοντες, i.e. “the rear-guard priests,” signifies clearly that it was the priests who sounded the horns.

v. 13: MT: ημασσάκτ ηλικ οιρος ηλικ ηλικ (υ) τος ηλικ ιστοου της διαθηκης κυριου και οι ιερεις
LXX: και ο λοιπος οχλος οπισθε της κιβοτου της διαθηκης κυριου και οι ιερεις έσαλπισαν τας σαλπιγξ

MT is a simple sentence, with ημασσάκτ as its subject; the ημασσάκτ followed the Ark, sounding the horn as it went. The LXX is a compound sentence: in the first clause, whose subject is ημασσάκτ, we read that the ημασσάκτ followed the Ark, and the second clause, whose subject is the priests (και οι ιερεις), relates that it was they who sounded the horns.

10The LXX is given according to the Vaticanus manuscript (B) as presented in the edition of A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, Joshua, Judges and Ruth (The Old Testament in Greek 1/4: Cambridge 1917).
v. 20: MT: וַיֹּאמֶר הַקָּרָן בְּשִׁמְרָתוֹ

LXX: καὶ ἔσαλπισαν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ὁι ἴσης

The LXX, omitting the first clause, “the people shouted” (וַיֹּאמֶר הַקָּרָן), supplies a subject for the second verb, וַיֹּאמֶר, namely, the priests.

From these three verses we see that, while in the MT the horns were sounded by priests and non-priests, the LXX version reveals a consistent narrative line according to which the horns were sounded only by the priests.

LXX to Josh 6:9, 13, 20 as Secondary and Tendentious

Once the variant regarding the priests and the horns has been recognized the question immediately arises as to which of the two is the original reading and how the secondary version has come into existence: as a result of scribal error or of purposeful re-working of the text.

There are several reasons for rejecting the possibility that MT to vv. 9, 13, 20 is the corrupt version and that the LXX represents the original text:

1. The MT of the verses in question displays no linguistic or stylistic difficulties that might serve as evidence that their text has been corrupted.

2. No known process of scribal error exists that might explain vv. 9, 13, 20 as corruptions of the supposed Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX to these verses.

3. The formal and substantive correspondence between vv. 9 and 13 in MT is inconsistent with the possibility that they are the result of mere scribal error:

v. 9:

וַּיֵּאמֶר הַקָּרָן אֲרֹן הַרֹן הַלֹּךְ

v. 13:

וַּיֵּאמֶר הַקָּרָן אֲרֹן הַרֹן הַלֹּךְ (כּ: הַלֹּךְ כּ) וָהָקָרָן בְּשִׁמְרָתוֹ

4. If the MT were the result of scribal error, it would be highly surprising that the very same word, הבニア, was carelessly omitted from the text three times, in three separate verses, and in three separate contexts.

The possibility that MT reflects a re-working designed to eliminate all mention of the priests as sounding the horns in vv. 9, 13, 20 is also quite unlikely; repeated reference is made throughout the chapter to this priestly task and no logical reason exists for obscuring it in these verses.

The remaining alternative then, that the LXX version of vv. 9, 13 and 20 is the secondary one, is to be preferred.
A combination of several factors points to the secondary and tendentious character of the LXX reading in all three verses. First, the LXX plus οἱ ἱερεῖς appears in all three verses. Second, the LXX is unclear. The words οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ σύροντες in v. 9 stand out against the remainder of the narrative, which, though rehearsing the full description of the procession more than once, nowhere else identifies the rear-guard that followed the Ark as composed of priests. Third, while vv. 9 and 13 are virtually identical in MT, relating that the members of the rear-guard followed the Ark sounding the horns as they marched, the LXX is inconsistent. It begins by identifying the rear-guard as priests (v. 9: οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ σύροντες), but then proceeds to distinguish between the two (v. 13), stating that although the rear-guard followed the Ark, it was the priests that sounded the horns. Finally, there exists a clear motive for the variants found in LXX: the tendentious aim of depicting Joshua as having acted in accord with pentateuchal legislation. Vv. 9, 13, 20 have been re-worked in the LXX version in order that the story may adhere to the law in Num 10, that decrees that only the priests are qualified to sound the trumpets in warfare.

The ‘Sacred Horns’ in LXX to Joshua 6:8

The view reflected in LXX that at the conquest of Jericho only priests sounded the horns is connected to another variant between LXX and MT: the term employed to refer to the horns. The LXX to Joshua 6:8 refers to the horns by means of the expression “the sacred horns,” lacking in MT.

v. 8: MT: שּׂכֶעָה שׁפֶּרֶרָה הַבוֹבְלֵים
LXX: ἐπτὰ σάλπιγγας ἱερᾶς

If the horns are indeed ‘sacred horns,’ certainly only priests may sound them. The interconnection of the two variants — the term used to refer to the horns, and the issue of who sounded them — indicates that they stem from the pen of one and the same writer.  

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No significant evidence can be mustered from Josh 6 in regard to the LXX method of rendering שׁפֶּרֶרָה הַבוֹבְלֵים. The construct שׁפֶּרֶרָה הַבוֹבְלֵים appears three more times in the MT of Joshua 6. Of these, two (vv. 4, 6) are not represented in LXX; in the third (v. 13) שׁפֶּרֶרָה הַבוֹבְלֵים, is rendered by προεποράντον:

MT: וַיִּשֶּׁאָהָה הָבֹבְלֵים שֻׁבֵּכָה שׁפֶּרֶרָה הַבוֹבְלֵים וְלֶפֶן אֲרוֹן הַבָּלָם לְפָן אֲרוֹן הַבָּלָם הַלָּכֶדֶן וְקֻצָּה שֻׁבֵּכָה
LXX: καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ ἱερεῖς οἱ φέροντες τὰς σάλπιγγας τὰς ἐπτὰ προεποράντον ἐκατοντάς κυρίου

It is difficult to determine whether the LXX here reflects a different Hebrew Vorlage or is
The Hebrew term שופר ותקדש, which would be the equivalent of LXX σάλπιγγας ἱεράς, is unattested in the Hebrew Bible. It does, however, call to mind a similar phrase in Num 31:6. Here we read that Moses dispatched the Israelite forces on the campaign against Midian, along with Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest who carried “the sacred utensils (.ModelSerializer) and the trumpets for sounding the blasts.” Objects used in the tabernacle and in the Temple are called מועד וקדש by virtue of their use within the sacred precincts (Num 3:31; 4:15; 18:3; 31:6; 1 Kings 8:4 [=2 Chr 5:5]; 1 Chr 22:19). As in the Numbers passage, the word ἱεράς in Joshua 6:8 would seem to stress the cultic use of the horns. The phrase σάλπιγγας ἱεράς, though it has no Hebrew equivalent in the Bible, is, however, attested in post-Biblical literature.  

The Source of the LXX Variants: Vorlage or Translator?

The variants we have been discussing in the LXX of vv. 8, 9, 13 and 20 are thus secondary and late. The question to be posed is whether they are to be attributed to the translator himself, or whether they may in fact have been present in his Hebrew Vorlage. The translation technique employed in the LXX to Joshua makes it difficult to provide a clear answer. Though the translation is not a fully literal one, more and more scholars today identify individual cases in which the LXX variants indeed reflect a Hebrew Vorlage different from MT. Recently, objective corroboration has been supplied by the correspondence between the LXX of the book of Joshua and the Qumran scrolls.

One variant between LXX and MT, found at 6:8, may be explained if an inner-Hebrew genetic connection between the two readings is posited. If such a theory regarding the relationship of LXX to MT in this verse should prove to be correct, then our suggestion that the LXX to Josh 6 stems from a Hebrew Vorlage differing from MT may be considered to have been demonstrated.

rather the translator’s own interpretation. The translator may have taken הבילה to mean ‘going,’ derived from the Biblical Hebrew root בול ‘to lead’ (see Jer 31:8[9]) found also in Aramaic. However, the possibility that his Vorlage read הבילה instead of MT הבילה cannot be discounted.

12 Cf. 1 Macc 16:8 (MS 55): καὶ ἐκάλυψαν ταῖς ἱεραῖς σάλπιγγας.

13 See Lea Mazor, “A Textual and Literary Study of the Fall of Ai in Joshua 8,” The Bible in the Light of its Interpreters (above, n. 8), 73–108 [Hebrew]; for bibliography, see p. 75.

14 Ibid.
The MT at 6:8 speaks of seven priests bearing horns, who are to advance before the Lord and sound the horns. For the LXX reads καὶ σημαίνετοσαν εὐτόνως = ‘and sounded vigorously.’ From the translation technique reflected in this chapter it is clear that the translator had no difficulty representing תקעו בשרופות (MT). The word שופרות occurs frequently in the chapter and is always rendered by σάλπιγξ (vv. 5, 8, 13 [bis], 20 [bis]). Why, if so, does LXX give here εὐτόνως instead of reflecting MT’s בשרופות, not specifying the instrument but rather determining the manner in which it is to be sounded? The textual connection between the MT and LXX is intelligible if we assume that the LXX Vorlage read תקעו בשרופות (MT)."

was replaced with the expression יניעו שופרות, similar in meaning. The substitution of a word by asynchronous expression is a well-attested scribal practice.

The synonymous expression replacing יניעו שופרות then became the adverbal phrase יניעו כָּל as the result of a scribal error (omission of yod).

Playing “mighty instruments” in a cultic ceremony appears in 2 Chr 30:21: “the Levites and the priests praised the Lord day by day with mighty instruments (בְּכָל).”

The suggestion that an original כָּל was corrupted to בְּכָל through the omission of yod is not in itself unreasonable. Moreover, this very corruption כָּל יניעו is attested elsewhere. Behind the MT reading in 2 Sam 6:14 “David whirled with all his might [בְּכָל] before the Lord” there seems to lie an original כָּל יניעו, as attested in LXX ἐν ὀργάνοις ἱμισμένοις and as evidenced by the next verse “David and all the House of Israel brought up the Ark of the Lord with shouts and with blasts of the horn”: the sounding of blasts of the horn is the logical sequel to “mighty instruments.” This possibility is even more certain in light of v. 5, where MT curiously relates that “David and all the House of Israel danced before the Lord with all kinds of cypress wood (בְּכָל עֶזֶר בְּרִשְׁמָם),” whereas the

15See LXX to vv. 5, 9, 16, 20.


17On the priority of יניעו כָּל in this verse, see Seeligmann, “Research,” 137.
parallel verse in 1 Chr 13:8 relates that they did so “with all their might and with songs (בְּכֵל לְעָשָׁרִים);” the latter reading also appears in 4QSam. The LXX reading in 2 Samuel, ἐν ὀργάνοις ἡμιοσμένοις ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ ἐν φόδας combines both Hebrew phrases בְּכֵל לְעָשָׁרִים and בְּכֵל לְעָשָׁרִים:

enant organos hmosmenois
en ischyi
kai en foda

The meaning of בְּכֵל לְעָשָׁרִים can be assumed on the basis of several attestations of בְּכֵל in the Psalms. בְּכֵל is an attribute of the divine: “I shall behold You in the sanctuary, and see Your might and Your glory (עִזְוֹר כְבוֹד)” (Ps 63:3); “Might and splendor (הָהוֹדִית חֹタイ) are in His temple” (Ps 96:6). The Ark is called “Your mighty Ark (אְרוֹן כְּבָד)” (Ps 132:8). Celestial beings and humans alike are called upon to “give might (בְּכֵל)” to the Lord, that is, to sing His praises: “Give to the Lord, O divine beings, give to the Lord glory and might (כבוד ענוה כבוד)” (Ps 29:1; cf. 96:7); “O kingdoms of the earth, sing to God; chant hymns to the Lord...give might (ענוה כבוד) to God whose majesty is over Israel, whose might (ענוה כבוד) is in the skies” (Ps 68:33, 35). Moreover, in two of the psalms mentioned, Pss. 29 and 68, the call to “give might” to God, that is, to proclaim his strength, is juxtaposed against the wish, or the affirmation, that God will “give might” to His people: “May the Lord give might to His people” (הוֹדִית יִתְנָה בְּכֵל) (Ps 29:11); “It is the God of Israel who gives might and power (נַחֲמָה הָאָדָם כְּבָד) to the people” (Ps 68:36). There are thus two aspects to the expression בְּכֵל כְּבָד: it refers both to the might of God and to the might He is expected to bestow upon His people. The substitution of כְּבָד לְעָשָׁרִים for כְּבָד לְעָשָׁרִים in the Hebrew Vorlage of LXX Joshua 6:8 was designed to introduce both motifs into the narrative of the conquest of Jericho.

To these considerations, based on the examination of the LXX itself, the evidence of Tg. J. and Josephus may be added. They lend further support to the conclusion that the variants between LXX and MT did not originate with the translator because both of them relate that only priests sounded the horns at the conquest of Jericho.

The pertinent verse in Tg. J. is comprised of two parts, the first section identifying the “rear-guard” with the Danites, and the remainder relating that the priests marched and sounded the horns. The Danites, not being priests, could not sound the horns. Like the LXX, Tg. J. contains a plus of “the priests” in vv. 9 and 13:
Josephus' version also recounts that the priests, and no one else, sounded the horns:

On the first day [...] the priests bearing the ark — which was surrounded by a party of armed men to protect it, while seven other priests marched in advance, sounding their horns — exhorted the army to valiance and made the circuit of the walls, followed by the council of elders [...] Again they compassed the city, the ark leading and the priests with the sounding of their horns inciting the troops to action. 19

The Divine Command to Joshua and the Pentateuchal Legislation: Three Possible Solutions to the Contradiction

During the Persian and Hellenistic period changes were introduced into biblical texts in order to bring them into harmony with the demands of pentateuchal law. 20 This nomistic tendency is clearly discernible in the account of the conquest of Jericho in the book of Joshua. The orders given in Joshua 6 concerning priests and horns, despite the fact that they are not entirely in line with the legislation in Num 10 (see below), are unmistakably connected with it. Later generations, unable to imagine that Joshua diverged from the Law, attempted, by various means, to reconcile the narrative with the pentateuchal legislation. The LXX version of Joshua 6 reflects one such attempt.

The priestly tradition in the Pentateuch views the sounding of trumpets by the priests as an integral part of any military campaign, in contradistinction to the laws of warfare in Deuteronomy where no mention is made of any ceremonial aspects of battle, including the sound of trumpets. 21 In Num 10:1–10, the Israelites are

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17 Tg. J. to v. 20 reflects the same ambiguity regarding the subject of ליתakeup as does MT:

MT: ליתakeup בשמור
Tg. J.: ליתakeup בשמור

19 Abé, "Nomistic Correction."
instructed that when they enter their land and wage war against their enemies, they must sound the trumpets in order to call the divine attention to their cause:

Make two silver trumpets....the trumpets shall be blown by Aaron’s sons, the priests; they shall be for you an institution for all time throughout the ages. When you wage war in your land against an aggressor who attacks you, you shall sound blasts on the trumpets, that you may be remembered before the Lord your God and be delivered from your enemies (Num 10:2, 8–9).

Elsewhere too the task of sounding the horn in military campaigns is entrusted by the pentateuchal legislation to the priests. Numbers 31 relates that Moses dispatched the Israelite forces on the campaign against Midian, along with Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest who carried “the sacred utensils and the trumpets for sounding the blasts” (Num 31:6).

In the conquest of Jericho, the situation envisaged by Numbers 10 seems to have materialized: the Israelites have entered the land of Canaan and engage in war against their enemies. In accord with the law of Num 10:8 and the events narrated in Num 31:6, the priests join forces with the warriors and sound their instruments. Yet in the Joshua account, not only the priests sound their instruments but the rear-guard as well; further, the instruments sounded are not trumpets but rams’ horns. Neither the instruments used nor the identity of those charged with using them is in accord with the requirements of the law in Num 10.

Three types of solution to the nomistic difficulty — viz., the failure of Joshua to conform to the Teaching of Moses — can be found: one is that of the Rabbis, another is found in the Qumran literature (The War Scroll), and the third is the solution found in LXX. The unique feature of the latter, of course, is that the nomistic exegesis is incorporated into the text itself, while the rabbinic method is one of harmonistic interpretation of the biblical text and the Qumran Scroll is an independent composition that strove to reflect various biblical texts and obscure the inconsistencies between them.

The Rabbis: Rabbinic literature depicts Joshua as adhering strictly to the Torah and its laws. It overcomes the difficulty posed by Joshua 6 by restricting the law

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22See, for instance, b. Sanh. 44a (Meg. 3a; 'Erub. 63b); Ber. 32b; Yebam. 96b; Gen. Rab. 6, 9. The rabbis dealt with numerous details in the book of Joshua which appeared not to conform to the demands of the pentateuchal legislation; see, for example, the midrashic treatment of the conquest of Jericho in Num. Rab. 14, 1. On Joshua as the ideal type of the “disciple of the wise” see L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, 6 (Philadelphia 1928) 170.
in Num 10, requiring the use of trumpets, to the time of Moses alone — thus exempting Joshua from its demands:

Our Rabbis taught: All the vessels which Moses had made were valid for him and valid also for future generations; the trumpets, however, were valid for him but invalid for future generations (b. Menahot 28b).

"Make for yourself two silver trumpets" (Num 10:2): You shall use them, but no one else will use them. Know it must be so, since Joshua, Moses' disciple, did not use them but rather horns. When he approached the battle of Jericho [...] how does the text read? "The people shouted and the horns were sounded" (Josh 6:20) — thus, even Joshua, Moses' disciple, was not to use them (Num. Rab. 15, 15).  

_The War Scroll:_ The scroll's description of the future war combines the horns with the trumpets. The trumpets are to be employed by the priests, in compliance with the law of Num 10, while the task of sounding the horns, described on the basis of the narrative in Joshua 6, is transferred to the Levites. Thus the tension between the book of Joshua, which serves as the background for the scroll's portrayal of the war to come, and the law of the Torah, is avoided.  

The similarity between the role assigned to the horns in the War Scroll and that played by the horns in the account of the conquest of Jericho is clearly evident. The scroll speaks of seven horns to be employed in the war of the future; they are referred to as שופרות ומכלי; and two distinct groups are charged with sounding them: the Levites, corresponding to the priests in the book of Joshua, and "the warriors" (עדים וה黼ך), corresponding to the rear-guard in the conquest of Jericho.  

Horns and trumpets are combined in the Scroll in the following manner: The priests sound the trumpets as a signal to commence waging battle; at the same moment the Levites and "the warriors" sound a great blast of the horns. When the blast of the horns subsides, the priests resume the sounding of the trumpets.

_The LXX Solution:_ The version of the story reflected in the LXX is evidence of a third solution to the problem. Here, vv. 9, 13, 20 have undergone correction, thus stressing that the sounding of the horns was done by the priests only, in compliance with Num 10:2–9; further, the horns themselves are referred to as "sacred horns" (v. 8), in accord with Num 31:6. As distinct from MT, the LXX does not differentiate

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23 Similarly, Tanhuma, Beha'zotek 18.

24 On the relationship of the Scroll to the Bible and to rabbinic literature, see Y. Yadin, _The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness_ (trans. Batya and Ch. Rabin; Oxford 1962).
between the type of instrument used in Joshua and those referred to in the Pentateuch. Both the “trumpets” in Numbers 10:2, 8, 9, 10, 31:6 and the “horns” in Joshua 6 are represented by σάλπιγγες. And since σάλπιγξ, while being the standard translation equivalent of Heb. שבא in the LXX can represent שופר as well, there is no certainty as to which term the translator found in his Vorlage. The retroversion of the LXX, insofar as the terms שופר and שבא are concerned, is therefore problematic.

In fact, the problem is not confined to the inner-Greek dimension; it is rooted in the Hebrew text itself. The close association of the horn and the trumpet is evident from their appearance in parallel cola in Hos 5:8 “Sound the horn in Gibeah, the trumpet in Ramah” and as a synonymous pair in Ps 98:6 “With trumpets and the blast of the horn raise a shout before the Lord, the King.” Clearly, the distinction between the two terms became blurred in late biblical times. One may compare talmudic tradition, which, commenting on Num 31:6, glosses: “‘the trumpets of blasting’ — this refers to the ram’s horn” (b. Sotah 43a), and which reports that among the objects whose names became interchanged after the destruction of the Temple were the rams’ horns (חתם שופר), which were thereafter called trumpets (נבלת שופר) (b. Shabb. 36a; cf. Sukk. 34a). It would seem, therefore, that the Vorlage of the LXX cannot be determined with any certainty. What is certain, however, from the manner in which the story has been re-worked, is that the later version, as reflected in LXX, viewed the instruments sounded by the priests at the conquest of Jericho as having been employed as required by the law in Numbers 10, i.e., as trumpets.

To summarize the three solutions: (1) The pentateuchal law pertaining to the use of trumpets was restricted to the time of Moses alone and Joshua was not required to adhere to it (b. Menahot 28b; Num. Rab. 15, 15); (2) The task of sounding horns belongs to the Levites, not the priests; they accompany the priests who sound the trumpets (the War Scroll); (3) Only the priests sounded the horns/trumpets, as these were sacred instruments (vv. 9, 13, 20 as reflected by LXX; cf. Josephus and Tg. J.).

The Biblical Roots of the Nomistic Tendency

The variety of solutions to the nomistic problem, found in totally distinct literary genres, indicates that the exegetical activity aimed at harmonizing the biblical tradi-

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tions with the demands of the Pentateuch was a widespread phenomenon. Neither the aim nor the methods of achieving it sprang up *ex nihilo*; they originate in the Bible itself and are particularly evident in Chronicles.\(^{26}\) The case we have been discussing, that of the priests and the sounding of the trumpets, illustrates the point.

Later biblical historiography makes clear allusion to Num 10:1–10 and Num 31:6 in three separate ways:

1. Outside of the book of Numbers, sounding the trumpets as the exclusive task of the priests appears in the late biblical books of Ezra (3:10), Nehemiah (12:35, 41) and Chronicles (1 Chr 16:6; 2 Chr 5:12; 7:6; 13:12, 14; 29:26).\(^{27}\) It should be noted that none of the Chronicles passages is paralleled by the earlier sources; they all belong to the later material employed — or composed — by the Chronicler.

2. As a rule, in biblical battles, almost without exception, the instruments sounded are the horns. Chronicles differs, and makes explicit mention of priests bearing trumpets.\(^{28}\) In the speech delivered by Abijah from atop Mount Zemaraim to the Israelite forces, Abijah declares that “God is with us as our chief; and His priests have trumpets for sounding blasts against you” (2 Chr 13:12). The narrative goes on to state that “When Judah turned around and saw that the fighting was before and behind them, they cried out to the Lord and the priests blew the trumpets” (v. 14). The use of the phrase “trumpets for sounding blasts” (‡ריעה התנורות), and the explicit mention of the priests, are clear indication of the connection between this passage and the book of Numbers.

3. In contrast to Joshua 6, that speaks of seven priests marching ahead of the Ark of the Lord with horns (vv. 4, 6, 8, 9, 13), the similar ceremony in 1 Chr 15 describes

\(^{26}\) "Post-biblical exegesis did not create new worlds. The Qumran literature, the Apocrypha, the Hellenistic Jewish historiography, and, most of all, rabbinic literature and the Jewish biblical interpretation that developed from it, all derive ultimately from inner-biblical exegesis." Y. Zakovitch, *An Introduction to Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (Even Yehuda 1992) 134 (Hebrew).

\(^{27}\) In all the cultic narratives found in Chronicles, priests alone sound the trumpets; on this feature of the Chronicler's work see Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (OTL; London 1993) 611, 695, 927–928.

\(^{28}\) In late biblical literature the trumpet seems to have gradually displaced the ram's horn. Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles mention the trumpet nineteen times and the horn only three: הַרְנֹךְ: Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35, 41; 1 Chr 13:8; 15:14, 24, 28; 16:6, 42; 2 Chr 5:12, 13; 13:12, 14; 20:28; 23:13 (bis); 29:26, 27, 28; הַרְנֹךְ: Neh 4:12; 1 Chr 15:28; 2 Chr 15:14.
seven priests marching before the Ark and sounding trumpets: “Shebaniah, Joshaphat, Nethanel, Amasai, Zechariah, Benaiah and Eliezer the priests sounded the trumpets before the ark of God” (v. 24). Nehemiah too speaks of a procession in which seven priests sounded trumpets: “The priests Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Micaiah, Elieonei, Zechariah, Hananiah with trumpet’s” (Neh 12:41).

We have seen above that the portrayal of sounding the horns in the War Scroll relies on the story of the conquest of Ai in Josh 6, though the role of sounding the horns is transferred to the Levites. The Levites sound the horns whereas the priests sound the trumpets. In transferring the task of sounding the horns to the Levites, the Scroll has not only reconciled the book of Joshua with the demands of the Pentateuch, it has also upheld the distinction, so important in later biblical literature, between priests, who alone are allowed to sound the trumpets, and Levites, who are restricted to the use of the other instruments. Ezra 3:10 refers to “priests in their vestments with trumpets / and Levites sons of Asaph with cymbals for giving praise;” compare also “and all the Levitical singers [...] with cymbals, harps and lyres [...] / with a hundred and twenty priests who were trumpeters” (2 Chr 5:12); “The Levites with the instruments for music to the Lord which King David had made for giving thanks to the Lord [...] / opposite them the priests sounded the trumpets” (2 Chr 7:6); “The Levites stood with the instruments of David / and the priests with the trumpets” (2 Chr 29:26).

The common aim of reconciling the narrative details concerning the priests and the trumpets with the demands of the pentateuchal legislation, expressed in the LXX of Joshua, in Josephus, in the Targumic tradition, in Qumran and in rabbinic literature, is thus the direct outgrowth of a feature which figures prominently in later biblical historiography.

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