

and his powers. Moses' imprisonment in the ark of bulrushes and his weeping speak of the imprisoned soul yearning for the immaterial. Moses has to have Aaron to speak for him, because he is the Logos, and the divine Logos needs some kind of mediation with the material world (*Migr.* 78f.). The flight from Egypt is naturally enough seen as the flight of the soul from the material world (*Post.* 155). Moses is the one who can save men by leading them out of the sensible world to an apprehension of God (*Gig.* 54f.).

The Torah, therefore, in Philo's thought provides the means of ascertaining how to gain communion with that eternal world. Man needs virtue as a way of existing (*Post.* 132-57), and this has two sides: the theoretical (communion with the eternal) and the practical (human relationships) (*Leg. Alleg.* 1.56-8), though he is in no doubt that the ultimate is communion with the divine. The practical and the theoretical sides of man's existence are well illustrated by his treatment of circumcision, where the benefits of the rite from a practical as well as a spiritual point of view are brought out (*Spec. Leg.* 1.2-12).

It would be wrong to think of Philo merely as an eccentric mystic, concerned solely with escape from the real world.³⁴ It is clear that he was well-connected in Alexandrian society. Indeed, his nephew was T. Julius Alexander, an apostate Jew, who was Roman procurator of Judaea and later prefect of Egypt. Philo's political concerns are particularly evident in his account of the embassy to the Emperor Gaius (cf. *Ant.* 18.259),³⁵ and the representations made concerning Gaius' abortive attempt to introduce a statue of himself into the Temple in Jerusalem. It is a work of great importance for our understanding of the delicate balance of relations between Jews and pagans in Egypt, and the extent to which official hostility against the Jews could lead to local anti-Jewish acts (e.g. *Embassy* 132). It also speaks of the various ways in which Romans have lent their support to Jews (276f.) and the respect which Judaism shows to the emperor despite its unwillingness to participate in the cult (157). A similar apologetic motive can be discerned in the work *In Flaccum*, which catalogues the infamy of the prefect of Egypt, Flaccus, and his anti-Jewish activities.

The complexity of Philo's thought and the sophistication of his biblical interpretation make the summary of his thought in small space an unjust reflection of the place of this thinker in the gamut of Jewish thought. While Alexandrian Jewish theology may not have been typical of what was going on elsewhere in the synagogues of the Diaspora, it would be wrong to underestimate the contribution made to the history of religion by Philo and similar thinkers. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria at the end of the second century onwards manifestly stand in a tradition which stems from Philo.³⁶ Between Philo and Clement and Origen there stand the early gnostic thinkers about whom so little is known. It has been conjectured with some plausibility that the reason for this is that the early second-century

form of the religion in Alexandria was gnostic in character.³⁷ Certainly the gnostic influences on Clement are evident as also is the fact that Egypt has produced one of the foremost testimonies to gnostic religion in the Nag Hammadi library. Philo's own religion already has the seeds within it of some of the main features of gnostic religion.³⁸ Clearly we are still a considerable distance from the anti-Semitic systems of the mid-second century with their dualistic theologies. But the mediatorial system in Philo and the dualism born from the influence of Platonic philosophy are the seed-bed for those features which were to become so much part of the gnostic religion. The writings of Philo, therefore, not only point us to the vitality of the Jewish mind as it sought to commend its faith in a pagan environment, but also look forward to religious developments in both Christianity and gnosticism for which they were the precursor.

14

The Expression of Hope¹

(a) An Outline of Jewish Eschatology

The future hope in Judaism and for that matter also in Christianity is often treated as if it were an appendage to other beliefs and practices with the implicit assumption that it is in fact peripheral to an understanding of the religious ideas of the two communities. It may indeed be true that eschatology has become an item which is far from central to the ideas of both religions. But in the first century it would be a gross distortion to imagine that the future hope was peripheral.

It is only when we recognize that when we speak of the future hope we are dealing with something integral to faith that we can properly appreciate its centrality. For Jews the promise of a final vindication of his people and the establishment of a new order in which God's ways would prevail was a belief which had its roots in the covenant relationship itself (2 Sam. 7.8f.). We have already seen that one wing of the covenant promise between God and his people had a messianic component. Thus the prophetic hopes concerning a righteous leader who would act as the agent of God in delivering his people (Isa. 11), many of which were themselves derived from the Davidic covenant promises (Ps. 89, 132; Ps. Sol. 17), exercised their own influence on the imagination of the Jewish people. When this was allied to the promise made to the whole nation that they would inherit a land flowing with milk and honey, it becomes easy to see why in the age of Jesus there should have been an intense expectation of redemption. The fact is as we have seen that the

promise made to the people was far from being fulfilled.

Two constant features of the eschatological expectation during this period are the belief that a new age would come of peace, righteousness and justice when the faith of the righteous would be vindicated; and the conviction that before this age would come about a period of severe distress, political and cosmic disorder and upheaval of a most cataclysmic kind, would have to be endured.

One of the constant features of Jewish eschatological belief is the 'birth pangs' of the new age, the messianic woes.² These are the series of disasters which, it was believed, had to precede the coming of God's kingdom. We find the belief in the New Testament in Mark 13.7ff. (and particularly in Rom. 8.19ff.; Rev. 6, 8 and 9, 16). These disasters included intensified human suffering through wars and natural disasters and disturbances which upset the normal pattern of planetary behaviour. The idea is hinted at briefly in Daniel 12.1 but is clearly evident in the late second century BC in Jubilees 23.11ff. Sometimes, as in Revelation, there is a quota of messianic woes which has to be completed before the kingdom finally comes, (e.g., Syr. Baruch 25ff.). In some pseudepigrapha this series of disasters is regarded as part of the judgement of God. Thus, for example, in Jubilees there is no mention made of a final assize. By means of these events the way is paved for the reign of God to come about; the disasters are the divinely ordained means of removing all that stands in the way of the fulfilment of the divine will.

Belief in the coming of a new age of peace and justice is firmly rooted in the Scriptures (e.g., Isa. 11; Ezek. 40ff.; Zech. 8.20ff., 9-14). It is clear from a study of the pseudepigrapha that passages like Isaiah 11 continued to exercise an important influence. In our earliest texts the detailed character of the new age is hardly discussed. All we have in the book of Daniel, for example, is the conviction that an everlasting kingdom would be established on earth which could not be destroyed, when the saints would reign (2.44, 7.27). This would involve judgement on the nations of the world (7.10f.) and would be preceded by a time of distress (12.1). In the earliest parts of 1 Enoch we find general predictions concerning the renewal of creation, where the flood in the time of Noah has become a type of the destruction and renewal to be undergone at the eschaton (10.17). A much longer eschatological passage is to be found in 1 Enoch 85-90, in which the different persons are represented by animals and birds (hence its name, the Animal Apocalypse). This takes the form of a history of the world from creation to eschaton. The latter is said to take place soon after the Maccabean period. The rise of the *hasidim* at the beginning of the second century BC is seen as the prelude to a rise of hostile powers against Israel (90.13; cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.663ff.) followed by the triumph of the people of God. Judgement takes place and then the restoration of Zion with the righteous

dwelling at peace in the land (cf. Matt. 5.5) and the nations of the world acknowledging the dominion of Israel (90.30ff.). Afterwards the world is transformed into the perfection, which God originally planned (90.37f.; cf. Jub. 23.11ff.; *Sib. Or.* 3.698ff.) and finally the Messiah emerges from the community.

In the Apocalypse of Weeks,³ which probably dates from a slightly later period, probably round about the end of the second century BC, we have an outline of the history of the world separated into periods of weeks. As in most eschatological passages from Jewish and early Christian literature the hope for the future is centred on this world, albeit one which has been purged of those elements which have rendered it unsuitable for God (1 Enoch 93.9f.; 91.12ff.).

This worldly eschatology is also evident in Jubilees 1.23ff. and 23.11ff. Once again we find that a deterioration in man's condition precedes the coming of a time of great happiness, when there is a return to a study of the Law and to the pattern of existence as it was at the beginning of creation. Similarly in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch we find an emphasis on the renewal of the world. The messianic woes are followed by the revelation of the Messiah and the establishment of God's reign on earth, when Behemoth and Leviathan will be food for those who are left (29.3ff.). This time will be marked by periods of great plenty. Here we find, as in 4 Ezra 7.29f., that the reign of the Messiah will be temporary; his departure is followed by the judgement. This passage is typical of eschatological beliefs around the beginning of the Christian era:

When stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth - yes, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake . . . Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. In the first part there shall be the beginning of commotions. And in the second part there shall be slayings of the great ones. And in the third part the fall of many by death. And in the fourth part the sending of the sword. And in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. And in the sixth part earthquakes and terrors . . . And it shall come to pass in those parts that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then there shall be food for all that are left. The earth shall yield its fruit ten thousand fold and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches . . . And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling dews of health. And it shall come to pass that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they

(cf. 4 Ezra 7.26ff.) we find that the sequence of messianic woes is followed immediately by the messianic kingdom itself; nothing whatever is said about the righteous dead participating in that process. Only those who are fortunate enough to be alive at the time will be able to benefit from the blessings of the new age (Syr. Baruch 29.3ff.). It is only after the Messiah has returned in glory (30.1) that the resurrection takes place and perdition comes for the wicked.

In some texts from a Hellenistic Jewish milieu we find clear evidence of a belief in the immortality of the soul (e.g., Wisd. 3.1).¹¹ Certainly any hard and fast distinction between belief in the resurrection of the body and belief in the immortality of the soul, on the basis of the extent of Hellenistic influence, is a rather clumsy and misleading distinction. Thus Paul, the erstwhile Pharisee, countenances the possibility of some kind of existence with God at death (Phil. 1.23; 2 Cor. 5.1ff.). Even if it may be thought that the apostle to the Gentiles had come under the influence of excessively Hellenistic ideas, the same cannot surely be said of the authors of Revelation 6.9, where we find reference to the souls of the martyrs crying out for vengeance from under the altar. If this passage and 2 Corinthians 5.1ff., are anything to go by, it seems that some Jewish eschatologies had already combined the notion of resurrection with a belief in immortality, particularly as a temporary existence in heaven for the righteous dead, while they awaited the final consummation. In the Testament of Abraham 10f., it is presupposed that judgement takes place at death; it is then that the destiny of each soul is decided.

Other Jewish texts indicate similar kinds of belief. In 1 Enoch 22, mention is made of different places for departed souls (cf. 4 Ezra 7.75ff.) and in later texts there seems to exist a belief that at death there would be a place for souls to exist (e.g. *Ant.* 18.14; Syr. Baruch 30.2; 4 Ezra 4.35; 7.32, 80, 95 and 101). In the Jewish-Christian apocalypse, the Ascension of Isaiah, which probably dates from the last part of the first century AD, we find the belief that the righteous dead have a place in the seventh heaven with God, awaiting the ascent of the Redeemer back to glory, before they can don their garments of glory (Asc. Isa. 9.8ff.). Texts like these make it difficult to draw a distinction between Palestinian texts uninfluenced by the Hellenistic belief in the immortality of the soul and the texts from Hellenistic Judaism where this doctrine is to the fore.¹²

(b) *Messianic Belief*¹³

As with other areas where the interests of New Testament exegetes have demanded a knowledge of contemporary ideas, the Jewish beliefs about the Messiah have attracted a considerable amount of attention from commentators.¹⁴ The fact is that the material concerning the Messiah, his activity and

character is by no means large. Indeed, if we were to confine ourselves solely to those texts which mention the term Messiah (*mashiah, christos*), we would have a small number of texts only to consider. The impression given by the New Testament that the word *christos* had become such a popular technical term to designate the eschatological agent of salvation is misleading. Certainly in the late first-century apocalypses, Syr. Baruch and 4 Ezra, we find references to the Messiah (Syr. Baruch 29.3; 30.1; 39.8; 40.1; 70.9; 72.4; 4 Ezra 7.28f; 12.32). Who this anointed figure is, the texts hardly pause to consider, for little is said about his activity and character. Thus it needs to be pointed out that when we refer to Jewish messianic belief, it is more often than not the case that reference is being made to a large complex of ideas to which the adjective messianic is rather loosely appended. It will be apparent from the following pages that messianic belief covers a much wider spectrum of ideas than merely the belief in the coming of a descendant of David.

However varied Jewish expectation concerning eschatological mediatorial figures may have been, Jewish tradition gave pride of place to the expectation that a descendant of David would arise in the last days to lead the people of God.¹⁵ As we have already seen, such beliefs were intimately linked with the covenant of God with David, which stressed the eternal nature of the promises made to David and his descendants.

With the possible exception of the Similitudes of Enoch and 4 Ezra all the texts which deal with the expectation of a messianic descendant of David indicate the belief that a human descendant of David would arise at the end of the age and by his actions would pave the way for a period of bliss for Israel. He would come from the stock of David and be a man like other men, though anointed with the divine spirit, and pave the way for an era of bliss on earth. The best example of such a belief is to be found in the Psalms of Solomon which offer us one of the most extended descriptions of the Messiah from our period:

Behold, O God and raise up unto them their king, the son of David. At the time which thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel thy servant. And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers, and that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction. Wisely, righteously he shall thrust out sinners from the inheritance. He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance; he shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth. At his rebuke the nations shall flee before him, and he shall reprove the sinners for the thoughts of their hearts. And he shall gather together a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness, and he shall judge the tribes of his people which has been sanctified by the Lord his God. And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst, nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness, for he shall know them that they are all sons of God. And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land, and neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more. He shall judge peoples and nations in

the wisdom of his righteousness. And he shall have the heathen nations to serve under his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of all the earth; and he shall purge Jerusalem making it holy as of old: so that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted and to see the glory of the Lord wherewith God had glorified her. And he shall be a righteous king taught of God, over them, and there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord. For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war, nor shall he gather confidence from a multitude for the day of battle. The Lord himself is king, the hope of him that is mighty is through his hope in God. All nations shall be in fear before him, for he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever. He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness, and he himself will be pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people. He will rebuke rulers and remove sinners by the might of his word; and relying upon his God throughout his days he will not stumble; for God will make him mighty by means of his holy spirit, and wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness. And the blessing of the Lord will be upon him; he will be strong and stumble not; his hope will be in the Lord: who then can prevail over him? He will be mighty in his works and strong in the fear of God; he will be shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously and will suffer none among them to stumble in their pasture. He will lead them all aright, and there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed (Ps. Solomon 17.33ff.).

This extended quotation from the Psalms of Solomon will enable us to see the main qualities of the descendant of David. There is no doubt about his humanity. Indeed it may be that phrases like 'in his days' and 'throughout his days' indicate that as in 4 Ezra 7.29 the Messiah is an ordinary mortal. There is little doubt that behind the phraseology of this psalm there lies the conviction that the descendant of David would be expected to exercise a military role in purging the land and the holy city of all defilement. He will be supported by the might of God himself (cf. Judg. 7.2ff.), but his dominion over the nations is a theme which has its origins in the biblical hope for the restoration of the idyllic time of Israel's dominion under David. Throughout the quotation allusions to various parts of Scripture are apparent (particularly Isa. 11; 60.6ff.). This passage has, with good reason, been regarded as typical of the central characteristics of messianic belief, with its emphasis on the human descendant of David, the vanquishing of Israel's foes and the establishment of a reign of justice and peace on earth under the direction of the King. In one form or another this belief crops up in most of the different collections of literature from our period, with varying degrees of emphasis being given to the role of the Davidic figure in this process. That its essential features passed on into rabbinic tradition also, albeit much expanded and reflected upon, may be confirmed by reference to the eschatological section in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. San.* 95aff.)¹⁶

There is not much evidence to suggest that the Messiah was a pre-existent, heavenly figure, though the evidence from 4 Ezra and 1 Enoch 37-71 might seem to suggest that there were moves in this direction, about which something more will be said below. The evidence of 4 Ezra is itself difficult to evaluate. On the one hand we have a passage like 7.29 where there can be little doubt that the Messiah is a mortal figure, whereas ch. 13 implies and 14.9 explicitly suggests that the Messiah was indeed a pre-existent heavenly figure.

Much ink has been spilt over the background and interpretation of the passages in the New Testament which speak of the Son of Man¹⁷ and those Jewish texts (Dan. 7; 1 Enoch 37-71; 4 Ezra 13) which form the background for the interpretation of the New Testament texts. Opinion is still divided over the precise meaning of the various texts. Indeed, some have wondered whether there ever was such a thing as a Son of Man figure among the beliefs of ancient Judaism.¹⁸ In the light of this, it is probably safer to speak not of a belief in the Son of Man, as though it were a widely accepted messianic belief, but merely of diffuse beliefs in heavenly mediators. More will be said on the vexed problem of the Son of Man later. Suffice it to say that the origin of at least one strand of the New Testament doctrine derives from Daniel 7.13 where the figure already is regarded as a heavenly, pre-existent being.¹⁹

We have already noted that in 4 Ezra there is evidence which suggests that there was emerging a belief in the pre-existence of the Messiah.²⁰ Such a belief is even more clear in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71).²¹ In this section we find several passages which speak of the Son of Man (46.1ff.; 48.2ff.; 62.5ff.; 69.26ff. and 71.17) as well as other passages which speak of 'the Elect One' (39.6f.; 40.5; 45.3ff.; 49.2ff; 51.3; 52.6ff.; 53.6; 55.4; 61.5ff; 62.1ff.). The overlap which exists between the characteristics attributed to the two titles suggests that in the Similitudes, as we now have them, the two figures are identified. The references to the Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71 derive from Daniel 7.13, and are an extension of the brief reference there in the direction of a presentation of this figure as an angelic being, who sat on his throne and exercised divine judgement in the last days. Despite some recent attempts to discredit the value of this work for New Testament research,²² it seems difficult to suppose that, whatever the date of the Ethiopic manuscripts now in our possession, the writing of the text can be much later than the first century AD. Indeed, if it is right to suppose, as many commentators would, that the figure of the Son of Man in Daniel 7.13 already has the contours of a heavenly pre-existent figure, then the development which we find in the Similitudes would be nothing out of the ordinary. In what sense the beliefs in heavenly mediatorial figures were linked with messianic belief, has been hotly disputed. It is true that in 1 Enoch 48.10 and 52.4 the Son of Man is explicitly linked with the title Messiah. Whether this involved a confluence of heavenly mediator ideas and

the traditional messianic expectation of the descendant of David is unclear, though the use of some traditional Davidic passages lends some support to this theory (e.g., 46.iff.). The confluence seems to be more apparent in 4 Ezra. In chapter 13, which is clearly dependent on Daniel 7.13, we find that the reference to the eschatological agent is to 'my son' (v.32), kept by God for many ages (13.26, cf. 'Messiah' in 12.32). That these two works are not totally eccentric has been indicated by the discovery of a fragmentary text, which speaks of the activity of Melchizedek in the last days (II *Q Melch*). In this work it is said that Melchizedek sits in judgement; Psalm 82.1 is applied to him. What is more, he is said to be the one anointed by the spirit (Isa. 61.1f.). This text has indicated the beliefs in a heavenly figure with the appearance of a man which are to be found in some early Jewish texts. The identification of that heavenly figure with a righteous man of Israel's past and the employment of messianic categories to speak of this man all point to a growing fluidity, particularly in texts of a sectarian character, with regard to messianic belief.²³

Discussion of messianic figures in Judaism inevitably concentrates on the descendant of David as *the* messianic figure. It must be remembered, however, that in the Old Testament various figures are said to be anointed, for example, prophets (Isa. 61) and priests (Lev. 8.12) as well as kings.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs had for a long time acquainted us with the belief in the coming of a priestly as well as a Davidic Messiah (e.g., Test. Levi 18 and Reuben 6.8). This belief has been strikingly confirmed by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls which speak of Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (I *QS* 9.11). What is more, in a text which prescribes the regulations for the messianic meal (I *QSa* 2.1ff.), it is quite apparent that the Messiah of Aaron, the priestly Messiah, takes precedence over the Davidic Messiah. It has been suggested that there was a development in the messianic beliefs of the Qumran community, starting from a priestly messianism based on the expectation that another priestly teacher would arise (CD 20.15).²⁴

Another figure mentioned in the Qumran texts is that of the prophet (I *QS* 9.11, 4 *Q Test.*). The expectation of a prophet who should come in the last days is, like the hope for a descendant of David, firmly rooted in Scripture. In Deuteronomy 18.15ff. (quoted in 4 *Q Test.*) Moses predicts that a prophet should arise like himself who would teach the people of God. This is a belief which is well attested in the New Testament (John 1.31; 6.14) and probably had some influence on the earliest christological formulations.²⁵ Related to this belief was another rooted in Scripture, namely the expectation that Elijah would come (cf. Mark 6.15; 8.28; 9.11f.).²⁶ According to Malachi 4.5 the coming of Elijah will be before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes. 'And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers.' In other words Elijah's coming reverses the

process, which the messianic distress had set in motion, when dissension and strife were the order of the day (*M. Sotah* 9.15; Mark 13.12f.; Jub. 23.9). In addition to this restoring function, Elijah's coming seems to link with the coming of the prophet like Moses in one important way: the interpretation of the Torah. In I Maccabees 4.46 we find that the desecrated stones of the Temple are removed to a suitable place, until a prophet should arise who would be able to tell the people exactly what should be done with them. Similarly in the Mishnah (*M. Eduyoth* 8.7) the coming of Elijah will be the time when disputed issues over ritual cleanness and other disputed halakic issues would be settled (*M. Baba Metzia* 3.4f; 1.8; 2.6; *M. Shekalim* 2.5).

The evidence of Philo and the later Samaritan material indicates that the belief in the return of a prophet like Moses was a source of rich and varied speculation of a most extravagant kind. Hints of this Mosaic speculation,²⁷ albeit confined to the Lawgiver himself and devoid of messianic trappings, are to be found in the rabbinic literature. Particularly important is the belief that Moses' ascent of Sinai was to be regarded as a heavenly ascent (cf. Exod. 24.9). Moses' pre-eminence as the communicator of the definitive divine revelation from God to his people makes him a figure apart from all others. His communion with God and knowledge of heavenly secrets are the basis of a position of special privilege. The prophet who would follow in his steps in the last days, therefore, would be in a peculiarly privileged position to know God (Exod. 33.19f.) and legislate for all those things which were necessary for the proper administration of human affairs.

15

Pragmatism and Utopianism in Ancient Judaism

(a) Zealots and Quietists

The dominant theme in the Old Testament is of God's inspiration of his people to carry all before them as they enter to inherit the land which he had promised to the patriarchs. The stories of the conquest of Canaan in Numbers, Joshua and Judges vindicate the belief that God would raise up men who would lead the hosts of the holy nation in battle to fulfil the divine promises. In Jewish legend these ideas obviously played an important role in conditioning the views of the people of God. So we find that, in the final form of the text of the Pentateuch, the story of the overthrow of Jericho in Joshua 6. is a great religious occasion, when the might of God is revealed through the obedient response of his people. The heroes of Israel's past like Phineas,¹ whose zeal for God made him violently purge from the community