DEATH AS DELIVERANCE

Jesus death as the New Exodus

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Summary

The death of Jesus is framed in the four gospels and the Pauline literature as an event which 'fulfilled' the prophecies in the Jewish Scriptures; however much of early Christian literature, including the gospel of Matthew wherein such fulfilment citations feature prominently, does not offer any comprehensive explanation about how the Scriptures are being fulfilled. This thesis argues that the primary interpretive framework for understanding the Passion narrative in Matthew is the Exodus motif. While scholars have identified the Exodus as a primary intertextual frame for Matthew's larger narrative, this has not sufficiently been applied to the Passion narrative specifically (chs. 26-28). Matthew uses the Exodus motif in the Passion to frame the death of Jesus as an event of deliverance.

Contents

Introduction

Mapping the field

The study of the use of the Old Testament in the New has seen a resurgence in the last decades within Biblical Studies. Steve Moyise argues that the following developments are responsible for this renewed interest. First, he mentions the renewed interest in Septuagint studies which was the authoritative textual tradition in the Early Christian community.[1] Second he points to the work of Richard B. Hays on intertextuality in the Pauline literature resulting in a renewed appreciation and further development of the intertextual connections between the Jewish and Early Christian documents.[2] Finally, Moyise points towards a renewed interest in Biblical theology alongside the development of theological and canonical interpretations of Jewish and Early Christian documents.[3]

The renewed interest in the use of the Jewish Scriptures in the Early Christian Scriptures resulted in more comprehensive understanding on how the Early Christian writers reused and reorganized their inherited 'religious language' and how they saw themselves standing in continuity with their previous religious heritage.[4] The writers of the Jewish-Christian Scriptures understood many Jewish writings to be 'authoritative', especially those classified as 'the Law', 'the Writings' or 'the Prophets'.[5]

The prophetic character of the Scripture was a main tenet of the general attitude in First Century Judaism.[6] The writings that Jesus and his early Christian followers appealed to were not merely seen as divinely inspired but also as the continuing and normative authority for the corporate and individual faith and life of Second Temple Judaism.[7] Any research on the way in which the writers of the Jewish-Christian Scriptures understood themselves in this ongoing tradition of writing, needs to address the relation between the formation of the Early Christian church and the 'authoritative Scriptures' of Judaism. We can confidently assume that the Jewish Scriptures functioned as the backdrop to understand the Christ-event.[8] The author of

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[1] Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New Testament. Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 1.

[2] Moyise, *Old Testament*, 1-2.

[3] Moyise, *Old Testament*, 2.

[4] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 22.

[5] Edward E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 2015), 4.

[6] Ellis, *Interpretation*, 4.

[7] Ellis, *Interpretation*, 5.

[8] Ellis, *Interpretation*, 4-50.

John illustrates this in the words of Jesus: "If you believed in Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me (John 5:46).

Much earlier than the gospel of John the notion that 'Jesus Christ died and was raised according to the Scriptures' (1 Cor. 15:3-4) seems to have been established in the Christian community. Many of these early Christian texts, especially what later became the canonical gospel-accounts, assert that both the life and death of Jesus were foretold in the earlier Scriptures but many times these assertions are not backed up with Scriptural evidence, as is the case in 1 Cor. 15:3-4. Some statements and motifs are presented and incorporated as an assumed practice without any justification or explanation regarding the exegesis or hermeneutical framework that the Early Christian writers used.

One of the major theological themes, the Exodus motif and imagery, is well attested in the Jewish-Christian Scriptures, clearly serving as one of the primary interpretative frameworks in which especially the gospel writers situate their narrative about Jesus and his significance for the Jewish-Christian self-understanding.[9] Both in the Pauline literature as well as in the gospel material, the predominant theme of deliverance or restoration is connected with Exodus imagery, for example in Rom. 8:14-20; 1 Cor.10; 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 and Galatians 3-4. N.T. Wright connects this Exodus imagery with the new covenant in Jer. 31:31-34 commenting that from this perspective the 'forgiveness of sins' is just another way of saying 'return from exile.'[10]

Clifford states that "the Exodus became an analogy for interpretation as Israel went through crises of diminishment and of restoration, or, to use biblical language, endured divine judgment and renewal."[11] The Exodus is not only the religious-historical event, but it represents the enduring generative Jewish concept of self-understanding in the ongoing process of Jewish meaning-making and has embedded itself in the memory of the Jewish tradition.[12]

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[9] Daniel Lynwood Smith, "The Uses of 'New Exodus' in New Testament Scholarship: Preparing a Way through the Wilderness," *Currents in Biblical Research* 14 (2016): 209, https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X14549915.

[10] N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 268-69.

[11] R.J. Clifford, "The Exodus in the Christian Bible: The Case for 'Figural' Reading," *Theological Studies* 63 (May 2002): 358.

[12] W. David Nelson and Pamela Barmash, *Exodus in the Jewish Experience: Echoes and Reverberations,* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 7.

Eugene H. Merrill concludes that after the Historiographical Exodus:

> The concept of exodus from Egypt was recollected and reinterpreted as a paradigmatic event to describe Gods saving work on behalf of Israel and, indeed, of all people, especially in eschatological contexts.[13]

W.M. Swartley describes the influence of the Exodus and Sinai traditions on the formation of the ministry of Jesus, illuminating many parallels between the Exodus story and the story of Jesus.[14]

The Exodus narrative has been one of the most influential frameworks for the formation of a Jewish identity. Beyond the expansive narrative itself in the Torah/Pentateuch, there are many references to the Exodus motif throughout the Jewish Scriptures, varying from Psalms to Prophetic texts, many of which reinterpret the Historiographical Exodus in light of the context of exile. Many Jewish liturgical practices find their origin in the Exodus story and the subsequent Sinai-traditions. The Exodus motif is one of the powerful organizing principles that spans both testaments and unites them, especially in the aspects of 'liberation' and 'formation' of a new people.[15]

The Exodus motif

The Exodus motif is fundamentally a movement from oppression/bondage to liberation/deliverance resulting in service to God.[16] I will divide the Exodus motif in three sections: (1) the Historiographical Exodus[17], (2) the Second Exodus in the post-exilic literature and the (3) New Exodus of Jesus the Messiah[18] in the Christian literature.[19]

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[13] Eugene H. Merrill, "The Meaning and Significance of the Exodus Event," in *Reverberations of the Exodus in Scripture*, ed. Michael R. Fox et al. (Eugene OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2014), 9.

[14] Willard M. Swartley, *Israel's Scripture Traditions and the Synoptic Gospels: Story Shaping Story* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 44-94.

[15] Clifford, "Exodus," 345.

[16] Swartley, *Traditions*, 45.

[17] The adjective historical does not mean the exodus happened in a historical sense. It merely refers to the narrative that is perceived as being historical in the Torah is distinction with, for example, the prophetic narrative of the exodus.

[18] This term is used by Morales for the Johannine interpretation of the Passion, see Louis Michael Morales, *Exodus Old and New: A Biblical Theology of Redemption* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2020), 299. I will make use of this term for the gospel of Matthew since I will show in my thesis that the author of Matthew also frames Jesus death through the lens of the New Exodus motif.

[19] One could make the case that the theme of *exile* predates the theme of *exile* since the Jewish Scriptures begin with the creation and alienation of humanity from God, like Morales does, but for the purpose of

The *Historiographical Exodus* refers to the narrativized "event" of the exodus of the Jewish people out of Egypt and their journey to the Promised land. Incorporated in this narrative are the elaboration of the Passover and especially the formation of the worship cult of YHWH, used first in the Tabernacle and later the Temple. Morales indicates that there is a threefold pattern: starting from redemption, which leads to the nation's consecration ending in the consummation of the inheritance in the land of Canaan.[20] The importance of the Exodus motif grows throughout the Deuteronomistic History. A clear indication of this increase of importance is seen in an important difference between the Decalogue found in Ex. 20:11, at the beginning of the Exodus narrative, and Deut. 5:15, at the end of the Exodus narrative. The latter text inserts an important clause about the theological significance of YHWH leading the people out of Egypt rather than reflecting on the creation event as in Ex. 20:11.[21]

The *Second Exodus* uses the pattern of exile-deliverance and reinterprets it in the prophetic, and much of the Psalmic, literature. In the books of the Prophets the theme of Exodus is used both as (1) a literal and historical deliverance from Egypt and (2) as a reinterpretation of this theme focusing on a future – usually eschatological - reference to an exodus yet to come.[22] This reinterpretation refers specifically to the context of the exile and return of God's people to the promised land.[23] Turning to the theme of a 'second exodus' the prophet Isaiah speaks about the return to Israel to the future exilic community (Isa. 40:1) and the notion that YHWH will 'provide a way through the sea and a path through the mighty waters' (Isa. 43:16).[24] Many psalms describe Israel's unfaithfulness to YHWH despite the Exodus out of Egypt, (Ps.78:42a, 43-48; 106:7-8). Special focus is given to Israel forgetting the mighty deeds of the Historiographical Exodus (Ps. 106:10).[25]

The pattern of the Historiographical Exodus, mediated through the Second Exodus in different books of the Jewish and Jewish-Christian Scriptures, resulted in the formation of the *New Exodus*. In the Second Temple Period, both during and after the Babylonian exile, the Prophetic literature formulates the hope for a second exodus out of (the Babylonian) exile. Jeremiah 31:31-34 most clearly describes YHWH's intention to

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this thesis of identifying the *Exodus* motif in the Passion Narrative of the book of Exodus I will keep the order from *Exodus* to *exile*.

[20] Morales, *Exodus*, 204.
[21] For an exegetical discussion see Merrill, "Exodus," 2-17.
[22] Merrill, "Exodus," 14.
[23] Merrill, "Exodus," 14.
[24] Merrill, "Exodus," 10.
[25] Merrill, "Exodus," 17.

create a new exodus which will lead to a new consecration which will establish a new relationship with YHWH.[26]

Since most of the authors of the Jewish-Christian Scriptures were themselves Jews it is not surprising that the narrative and the framework of the Jewish Scriptures not only formed their way of thinking prior to the Christ-event but these Scriptures were the main texts to re-interpret and make sense of the Christ-event. With new eyes the authors of the Jewish-Christian Scriptures read the Jewish Scripture, transforming and contextualizing the message in light of the previous events. The Christian literature, that later would become the New Testament, entails many direct and indirect references to the Jewish Scriptures.

Thesis

Much work has been done on the influence of the Exodus language in either (1) the Passion Tradition of the other canonical gospels, (2) the Pauline literature or (3) in the narrative of the gospel of Matthew. Rikki E. Watts has argued most thoroughly for a 'new Exodus' paradigm in the book of Mark which is mediated through the New Exodus motif found in Deutero-Isaiah.[27] His work[28] has deeply influenced later scholarship on the theme of the New Exodus.[29] In the field of Luke David W. Pao is the most outspoken defender of the influence of the New Exodus theme in Luke-Acts, alongside scholars like M. Turner and M.L. Strauss.[30] Pao[31] contends that the New Exodus motif 'provides the hermeneutical framework for Acts (…) as developed and transformed through the Isaianic corpus'.[32] While the influence of the New Exodus language in the gospel of John is still debated a scholar like Andrew C. Brunson states

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[26] Morales, *Exodus*, 223.

[27] Rikki E. Watts, "The New Exodus/New Creational Restoration of the Image of God", in *What Does It Mean to Be Saved? Broadening Evangelical Horizons of Salvation*, ed. J.G. Stackhouse, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 15-41.

[28] Smith, "Exodus," 224.

[29] Not every scholar is convinced of either the existence of the New Exodus motif in (Deutero) Isaiah or the influence attributed by Watt in the gospel of Mark. For recent extensive critiques see G.E. Yates, *"New Exodus and No Exodus in Jeremiah 26-45: Promise and Warning to the Exiles in Babylon,"* TynBul 57 (2006): 1-22 and P.J. Gentry, *"Daniel's Seventy Weeks and the New Exodus,"* SBJT 14 (2010): 26-44.

[30] For the relevant literature see respectively M. Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke–Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2006) and M.L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke–Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995).

[31] David. W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 2000).

[32] Smith, "Exodus," 230.

that the New Exodus pattern is central to the gospel, building his thesis on the previous work of Wright, Pao and Watts.[33]

The relation of the Exodus language and the book of Matthew has also received much attention recently. D. C. Allison has commented on the relation between the Exodus language and the different typologically parallels in the book of Matthew, especially chapters 1-5 and the identification between Jesus as the 'New Moses'.[34] W.D. Davies counters Allison's approach by dismissing the 'New Moses' allegory but he recognizes 'specifically Mosaic motifs' in the book of Matthew.[35] Recently Wright has creatively argued for the presence of the New Exodus motif in the Lord's Prayer and the relation between the Exodus language and the coming kingdom of God.[36] While countless studies have discussed Matthew's appropriation of the Exodus themes in his Gospel, especially in the birth narrative and the Sermon on the Mount, hardly any study has considered how the Exodus motif figures in the Passion Narrative specifically.

This thesis, however, argues that Exodus language permeates the Passion narrative of the gospel of Matthew. This is supported if one considers the function of Exodus motifs and imagery, not just in Torah (historiographic) but in subsequent prophetic reinterpretations through the concept of exile resulting in Matthew's creative interpretive framework which is built on the confluence of the Exodus narrative and its prophetic reinterpretations as a foundation for establishing the concept of "fulfillment" through the death/resurrection of Jesus leading to a new salvation out of bondage.

Therefore, this study proposes that the Exodus language is one of the foundational theological traditions that influenced the Passion Tradition in the gospels. In this thesis I will argue that the author of Matthew uses the Exodus motif from the Jewish Scriptures in order to reconstruct the narrative of his Passion Tradition. I will use a literary-critical approach in order to answer this question.

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[33] B. W. Anderson, "Exodus and Covenant in Second Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God*, eds. F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke, and P.D. Miller, Jr. (New York: Doubleday, 1976) 339–60.

[34] D.C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

[35] W.D. Davies, "Paul and the New Exodus," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, eds. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 443-63.

[36] N.T. Wright, "The Lord's Prayer as a Paradigm of Christian Prayer," in *Into God's Presence: Prayer in the New Testament* ed. R.N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) 132-54.

Outline thesis

The outline of my thesis will be as follows:

In the first chapter I will discuss the methodological framework with special attention to the concept of intertextuality. First, I will argue why a Rhetorical-critical approach, with special attention to the historic-critical and literary-critical tenets, is the best method to employ. Second, I will discuss the criteria for intertextuality originating from the work of Richard B. Hays and the subsequent additions that L. Huizinga has provided, especially on the topic of intertextuality as a method for reinterpreting texts. Finally, I will discuss the different textual traditions influencing the text of the gospel of Matthew.

In the second chapter I will explore the Exodus language in the book of Matthew showing the importance of the Exodus language in the formation of the whole of the gospel and the identification of Jesus as the 'new and better' Moses. I will start with a general discussion of the Exodus-typology in the Historiographical Exodus and the interpretation of this Exodus-typology in the Second Temple Judaism addressing the Messianic elements which created the literary culture for the author of Matthew. Finally, I will discuss the Exodus-typology in the gospel of Matthew, outside of the Passion Tradition, and the identification with Jesus as both with Israel and (a new) Moses.

In the third chapter I will address the various literary connections between the Passion Tradition and the story of the different Exodus motifs in the book of Matthew focusing on both the textual and thematic parallels which have often been gone unnoticed. The textual parallels can be discovered in the closing phrase of Jesus ministry (Matt. 26:1) as a reference to the farewell speech of Moses (Deut. 31:1-2), the washing of the hands in innocence by Pilate referring to Deut. 21:7-9 and the woman watching the crucifixion in the distance (Matt. 27:56). Finally, I will address two possible thematic connections: (1) the use of the theme of 'watchfulness' as an integral element of the Passover Celebration and (2) the possible allusion to Jesus being betrayed by a brother as a reference to the betrayal of Moses by a fellow kinsman in the Exodus narrative.

In the fourth chapter I will show the relationship between the Passover meal in Matthew and the way how the author of Matthew has framed the death of Jesus from the perspective of the Passover meal. Although many have indicated the parallels between Jesus and the Passover lamb, no one has yet argued for the Passover meal being the interpretative framework in order to understand the significance of the death of Jesus from the Exodus-typology. Building upon the material of chapter 3 I will argue that the author of Matthew has the Exodus-typology in mind while narrating his Passion Tradition, offering an explanation in his narrative for the death of Jesus which

originates from the Exodus-typology. First, I discuss the development of the Passover Festival. Second, I will discuss the Passion Tradition in the Synoptics analysing the unique features of the author of Matthew. Then, I will discuss the Exodus-typology in the Passover Tradition of Matthew and addressing both the thematic and textual connections and argue that the author of Matthew uses the Exodus-typology to frame Jesus death as an event of deliverance, as an Exodus itself. I will end this chapter with offering a new interpretation of several post-resurrection events, like the saints raising from their graves, through the framework of the Exodus-typology.

Finally, in my conclusion I will summarize my arguments in order to show that the theme of the Exodus undergirds, not only the story of the Gospel, but also the Passion Tradition in Matthew creating a fundamental paradigm to understand the significance of the death of Jesus.

Chapter 1 – Methodology

1.1. Introduction

No person approaches a literary text without any presuppositions, rather one 'necessarily interpret[s] out of a framework which itself must constantly be tested.'[37] Studies of the Jewish and Jewish-Christian writing culture of the 1st c. CE, of which the gospel of Matthew is an exemplar, have shown that authors regularly drew on the cultural and theological frameworks of earlier Jewish writings, especially the Torah (or Pentateuch) and other texts that became authoritative (i.e., scriptural). In Matthew this is visible by the specific quotations from[38] and recapitulating events in the Jewish Scriptures.[39] Many strategies can be employed in order to examine the text of the gospel of Matthew but for this research question the best methodological framework is the rhetorical-critical method, informed by literary-historical considerations, with the focus on the concept of intertextuality. Intertextuality can be seen as both the process how texts engage with their previous texts and how texts are consciously or unconsciously formed by previous texts.

In this chapter I will discuss the methodological framework that undergirds my research and discuss important and relevant terms that I will employ. First, I will discuss my methodological framework, zooming in on the literary-critical method and the concept of intertextuality. Second, I will outline the different types of literary dependence. Finally, I will discuss the different textual traditions influencing the text of the gospel of Matthew.

1.2. Literary-Critical Methods

Rhetorical-Criticism is a method that analyses and explains the ways that texts try to persuade their audience, particularly by identifying which literary stylistic features are used by the author to formulate their (literary) argument. The term rhetoric, in relation to literary analysis of biblical texts, can be defined as 'the distinctive properties of human discourse, especially in its artistry and argument, by which the authors of the biblical literature endeavoured to convince others of the truth of their belief.'[40] Rather

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[37] D.A. Carson, "Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Yes, but...," in *Theological Commentary: Evangelical Perspective*, ed. R. Michael Allen (London: T&T Clarck, 2011), 197.

[38] For example the *introductory formula's* which are typical for Matthew with a specific textual reference that the quotation is an explicit fulfilment of a text in the Jewish Scriptures (1:22; 2:15; 2:17; 2:23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:35; 21:4 and 27:9).

[39] For example the *journey and return from Egypt* in 2:15, the *journey of Israel in the desert* in 4:1-11.

[40] C. Clifton Black, "Rhetorical Criticism," In *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation*, ed. Joel B. Green (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2010), 166.

than focussing on the historical aspects or development of the text or behind the text, like the historical-critical method does, rhetorical criticism gives attention to the literary composition of a given text.[41] The notions 'literary' and 'historical' stress the important fact that with this method we interpret the literary aspects (e.g., rhetoric) of a text but in the context of ancient writing practices (literary-historical critical) and with attention to cultural referents of the implied audience (historical critical) creating a well-balanced method.

1.3. The concept of Intertextuality

Intertextuality is an integral part of the literary and narrative criticism within Biblical Studies.[42] Because the term was introduced by Julia Kristeva with the original meaning of exploring how later writers allude to, or echo, previous writings, some scholars have criticised the appropriation of this term for the field of Biblical Studies.[43] Stanley E. Porter noted that the frequent use of this term led to a vague and ambiguous concept and suggested that the term should no longer be used.[44] However, Steve Moyise disagrees with this conclusion stating that 'the value of the term 'intertextuality' is that it evokes such complexity and openness' and suggests this term should be used as an 'umbrella' term requiring certain subcategories to be fruitful in the scholarly debate.[45] Moyise himself uses three subcategories to further define intertextuality: (1) an Intertextual echo, encompassing both quotations and allusions, (2) the Dialogical Intertextuality, the balance between the reworking and the respect for the original text and (3) the Postmodern Intertextuality, the recognition that the process of intertextuality is inherently unstable and meaning is always an result of the privileged interactions over silenced interactions.[46]

David Carr demonstrated in his monumental work that texts in ancient world were not primarily transmitted in written form but were memorized and recited in an oral form, implicating the adaption of prior material for a new context.[47] This aligns with

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[41] I. Howard Marshall, "Historical Criticism," in *New Testament Interpretation. Essay's on principles and methods,* ed. I. Howard Marshall (Bletchley: Paternoster, 1997), 126.

[42] Samuel Emadi, "Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship: Significance, Criteria, and the Art of Intertextual Reading," in *Currents in Biblical Research* 14 (2015): 9.

[43] Emadi, "Intertextuality," 9.

[44] S.E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A brief Comment on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, eds. Craig A. Evans en James A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 80.

[45] Moyise, *Old Testament,* 17.

[46] Moyise, *Old Testament,* 17, 18.

[47] See David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

the insights of Michael Foucault who states that texts are neither written in a vacuum nor without any reference to the previous textual traditions. Any kind of literary texts finds itself in an ongoing stream of intertextuality, the connectedness with and influence of other texts and therefore exist in a larger literary and interpretative framework.[48]

Richard B. Hays, in his landmark study on intertextuality in the Letters of Paul,[49] moves the term intertextuality more in the direction of the 'meaning-effects produced by the interplay of texts and subtext',[50] when speaking about reader-oriented intertextuality. As Hays acknowledges, this hermeneutical framework of intertextual reading is not free of 'messiness.'[51] The problem of this hermeneutical framework is the questions where the scientific enterprise ends and the creative imagination of the scholar begins. If, as John Hollander indicates, it is necessary to 'tune our ears to the internal resonances of the Biblical text,'[52] which boundaries can be placed on this interpretative imagination? L. Huizinga tries to answer this very question by revising and updating the criteria set forward by Richard B. Hays. In this thesis I will use the concept of 'intertextuality' to point out to which degree there is a dependency between the gospel of Matthew and the Jewish literature and between Matthew and the other gospels.

For the purpose of this thesis I will use the criteria of Leroy Huizinga in assessing the credibility of an allusion in the gospel of Matthew to the Exodus motif, focusing on the diachronic method. Although Hays was the first to set out certain criteria for assessing the possibility of an allusion or echo in the New Testament,[53] Huizinga's work has incorporated more sensibility to the possibility of hearing echoes from the 'larger cultural encyclopaedia that surrounded the world of the authors' and is therefore more useful.[54] The major addition of Huizinga to the work of Hays is the remark that an allusion to the text of the 'Old Testament could be an allusion to a radical interpretation thereof', arguing that Hays downplays the importance of tradition and the process of interpretation between the "Scriptures of Israel" and Paul's use of that "Scripture."[55]

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[48] Michael Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1972), 23.

[49] See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

[50] Hays, *Echoes*, 15.

[51] Hays, *Echoes*, 85.

[52] Hays, *Echoes*, 21.

[53] Richard B. Hays developed the following seven criteria: *availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation* and *satisfaction*. See Hays, *Echoes*, 26-27.

[54] Leroy Huizinga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (Brill, Leiden: 2012), 63-65.

[55] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 16.

Huizinga redefines the definitions of Hays as follows:

1. *Availability* simply suggests that the proposed literature was available to the author and the original audience.[56] Although I focus on the author-oriented aspect on intertextuality I will deal when necessary with the question whether the original or intended audience could have discerned the echo or allusion of the author. Huizinga suggests that this criteria should not be taken for granted but needs to be the result of the 'necessary historical task of reconstructing the ancient Jewish encyclopaedia' as far as possible.[57]

2. *Volume* 'is determined by both the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns' or 'familiarity with the precursor text.'[58] This degree of patterns or familiarity does not only need to be evaluated on the text itself but also possible later Jewish interpretations of these texts.[59]

3. *Recurrence* attest to the frequency of citation or allusion to a particular passage in the Early Christian corpus.[60] Especially for the gospel of Matthew it is important to make use of the postbiblical interpretative traditions like the Targums, midrashim and Jewish commentaries.[61]

4. *Thematic Coherence* asks whether the echo or allusion fits into the larger framework or argument of the author.[62] Huizinga adds that it is possible that texts may actualize only one particular aspect of the previous or cited text(s) without actualizing others.[63]

5. *Historical plausibility* is needed to assess whether an author intended a particular echo or allusion and whether his readers would have understood this subtle reference. This criteria, if used properly, safeguards against an anachronistic reading of the author in question.[64]

6. The *History of Interpretation* asks whether other readers of the particular texts throughout history have recognized the same echo or allusion.[65] This criteria is helpful but not ultimately decisive. The hermeneutical framework of the early interpreters of the Christian Scripture might have changed substantially in the following decades that certain allusions would not have been recognized.

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[56] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 59.
[57] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 63.
[58] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 59.
[59] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 63.
[60] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 59.
[61] James A. Sanders, "Isaiah in Luke," in *Luke and Scripture*, ed. James A. Sanders and Craig A. Evans (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 16.
[62] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 59.
[63] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 64.
[64] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 60.
[65] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 60.

Furthermore, with growing tensions between Judaism and Early Christianity, it is not unthinkable that even recognized allusions would not have been explored to the fullest due to political or theological interests.

7. The criteria of *Satisfaction* asks whether 'the proposed allusion makes sense and sheds light on the surrounding discourse.'[66]

In my analysis of the text of Matthew's Passion Narrative, I will focus on the criteria needed for the textual analysis. This means that I will not engage with the criteria of *recurrence* and the *History of Interpretation.*

1.4. Textual issues in the Gospel of Matthew

Referring to the complex stream of Jewish literature that was used by the Early Christian writers can be a daunting task. There are some problems with terms and expressions that are widely used among believers or in the early academic enterprise of Biblical Studies. From a historical standpoint the term 'Old Testament' is anachronistic since there was no 'New Testament' in the days of the Early Church. Additionally, the formation of the 'Old Testament' canon was not decided and many other books in the Jewish literary heritage, which were not included in the later canon, were still widely used with a different degree of authority among different Jewish and later Christian movements. Referring to these books as the 'Hebrew Bible' does not solve the problem as Hays and Green point out.[67] The concept of 'Scriptures' carries a too strong emphasis on the formalized aspect of this literature that did not exist in the mid-first century[68] and the term 'Hebrew' does not adequately address the fact that most of the Early Christian authors refer, not to the Hebrew text (MT), but to the Greek translation(s) of the Hebrew text formally known as the Septuagint (LXX).

To make the (textual) problems more complex, the Masoretic tradition and the textual tradition of the Septuagint can sometimes diverge significantly from each other underscoring the limited knowledge of the Hebrew text(s) that were available in the first century.[69] Hays and Green point out that the Dead Sea Scrolls question the uniformity of the Hebrew text tradition.[70] Finally, the possible influence of the Targums or different targumic traditions on the formation of the Early Christian

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[66] Huizinga, "Isaac," 60.

[67] Richard B. Hays and Joel B. Green, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation*, ed. Joel B. Green (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 123.

[68] For an extensive discussion on the formation of the Hebrew Bible see, Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985).

[69] Hays and Green, "Strategies," 124.

[70] Hays and Green, "Strategies," 125.

literature indicates that a straightforward discussion on the influence of the Jewish literature on the Christian literature is not possible.[71] Rather, this process needs to be done in a case-by-case comparison in order to do justice to the many textual traditions underlying the textual composition of the book of Matthew.

While keeping these complex problems in mind I will define certain terms in order to be able to proceed with the research. Since the term Jewish literature is too broad for the practical purpose of this research and the term Jewish canon is too loaded with implications of a fixed set of texts, I will use the term Jewish Scriptures. I understand Scriptures to be texts possessing a certain authority within the Jewish and later the Jewish-Christian community while avoiding any idea or connotation of a fixed list or canon. In the same way, in order to make a practical distinction between the literature of the 'New Testament' I will use the term Christian Scripture to refer to the books in the 'New Testament' canon and Christian literature to the non-canonical books that were written by and part of the Early Christian community.

The closing of the Jewish canon can be situated at the end of the first century with the Pharisaic canon merging into the Rabbinic canon.[72] Timothy Lim argues that the (closing of) the Jewish canon mirrors the emergence of the Christian canon and cannot be seen apart from this process.[73] In speaking about the emergence of the canon it is better to speak about authoritative rather than 'canonical' books, since the term 'canonical' is the result of an larger process of textual development spanning over at least three centuries for the Christian canon.[74] Another quickly overlooked topic is the relation between 'authoritative' texts to secular power since the texts set out to legitimize and delegitimize certain interpretations or perspectives on worship, lifestyle and theology.[75] The best starting point is to interpret these texts as a collection of texts with a different level of authority.[76] In reconstructing the Jewish encyclopaedia of Matthew we can be relatively sure that the author of Matthew referred to the authoritative texts he shared with the group he was criticising since his text has an

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[71] Hays and Green, "Strategies," 126.

[72] Timothy H. Lim, *The Formation of the Jewish Canon. The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), 179.

[73] Timothy, *Formation*, 180-81.

[74] Timothy, *Formation*, 3-4.

[75] We cannot deal with this topic in this thesis though it is very important to keep this dynamic in mind given the fact that both authors and readers are not void of ideological presuppositions but for an extensive discussion see Timothy, *Formation*, 178-188.

[76] Timothy, *Formation*, 5.

apologetic aim.[77] This, at least tells us something of the common ground that was shared between the author of Matthew and his audience.

Before discussing different forms of literary dependence we need to address the question of authorial intent. On the one hand we can assume that authors in the Early Christian church, who were embedded and immersed in the Jewish literature and culture, would deliberately employ certain allusions and references to the Jewish literature, especially when writing to a Jewish audience themselves. On the other hand we cannot simply assume that behind every text in the Early Christian writings there is a clear or subtle dependence on previous writings. In any book of the Christian Scriptures we see a dependence with other literary traditions, often Jewish and occasionally Hellenistic, but the intertextuality between texts can vary substantially. The most recognizable form of dependence is a direct quotation which can either be

(1) introduced with an *introductory formula*:

> They told him, "In Bethlehem of Judea, for so it is written by the prophet: 'And you, O Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel.'"

>> Matthew 2:5,6 quoting Micah 5:1 and probably alluding to 2 Sam. 5:2 (ESV)

(2) provided with an specific *textual reference*:

> (…) then was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet Jeremiah: "A voice was heard in Ramah, weeping and loud lamentation, Rachel weeping for her children; she refused to be comforted, because they are no more."

>> Matthew 2:17,18 quoting Jeremiah 31:15

(3) have an undoubtedly *recognizable textual linguistic pattern* or *words*:

> And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?" that is, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"

>> Matthew 27:46 quoting Ps. 22:1

Another form of literary dependency is the so-called type-scene. Hays and Green define this as a 'form of repetition in biblical narrative, an episode composed of fixed sequence of motifs, often associated with recurrent themes. They reiterate similar

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[77] J. Andrew Overman, *Matthews Gospel and Formative Judaism. The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 74-75.

events by drawing on a common inventory of actions.[78] One example in Matthew is the association between Jesus and Moses as the law-giver in the Sermon on the mount in Matt. 5-7 where the identification is drawn through the ascending on the mount (5:1) and the discussion of the law in the subsequent chapters.

Finally, literary connections can consist of echoes or allusions to certain themes, patterns or stories in the Jewish Scriptures and occasionally from the Jewish literature in the letter of Jude. Both echoes and allusions can be used interchangeably and are characterized by the usage of symbols, storylines or words without explicitly quoting or referring to used text in question. Undoubtedly, this is the most difficult form of intertextuality since many connections are not made very explicit and are dependent on a certain level of linguistic probability of the allusion. It is difficult to determine whether echoes or allusions are intended by the author(s) or whether they are used unconsciously or which echo or allusion would have been picked up by the intended audience.[79]

There is a considerable debate concerning how much verbal agreement there is needed for the establishment or presence of an allusion.[80] This is due to the fact that an allusion requires a credible reconstruction of a hypothetical connection since we cannot consult the writers of the past. Furthermore, to understand the allusion a certain cultural framework and knowledge is required since echoes and allusions are often subtle and not easy to understand. Intertextuality can best be interpreted as a scale with on the one end clear quotations and at the other end of the spectrum allusions. An important factor in this determination is the availability of the previous texts or the immersion in the Jewish cultural encyclopaedia.

Which textual traditions did the writer of the gospel of Matthew have at his disposal and what are the complexities surrounding these traditions and their incorporation and use in the gospel of Matthew? Trying to put the gospel of Matthew back 'in context' brings additional questions to the debate. Several cultural and textual traditions merged together in first century Judaism creating the cultural and historical paradigm within which the author and the readers of the gospel of Matthew functioned.[81] Discerning the different cultural and textual traditions as much as possible helps us understand underlying ideological implications, prejudices and presuppositions that helped shape the text of the gospel and the (possible) reception of the hearers. One of the problems concerning the text of Matthew, for example, is

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[78] Hays and Green, "Strategies," 127.

[79] Huizinga, *Isaac*, 59.

[80] Moyise, *Old Testament*, 18.

[81] Howard W. Clarke, *The Gospel of Matthew and its readers: a historical introduction to the First Gospel* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), 14.

that this narrative comes from 'second generation' Christians looking back and trying to make sense of the Christ-event in light of their known and available Jewish cultural encyclopaedia.[82]

Does the author of Matthew directly quote from the Hebrew or the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures? From the findings of the Dead Sea Scrolls we can be sure there was no 'fixed' text of the Hebrew Jewish Scriptures.[83] At least several different Hebrew text types were circulating: (1) the proto-Masoretic text, (2) the Samaritan Pentateuch, (3) a Hebrew text that better matched the LXX than the (proto)Masoretic text and (4) judging from various Hebrew text fragments another text (or texts) form that are not consistent with known Hebrew texts.[84]

Many allusions and quotations in the gospel of Matthew do not agree verbatim with the Hebrew proto-MT but instead some form of the LXX. According to Maarten Menken there is enough evidence to suggest that Matthew used the revised versions of the original LXX(s) that circulated in the last decades of the first century[85] although Weren finds this conclusion not convincing enough.[86] Both from historical and linguistics perspective we know that the LXX was the main textual tradition which the writers of the Early Christian movement and both the author and audience of Matthew were familiar with.[87] In my thesis I will rely primarily, though not exclusively, on the Rahlf's edition of the LXX assessing the different levels of dependency in Matthew though with the necessary caution.[88]

The use of Jewish Scripture by the author of Matthew varies. Over fifty-five references are close enough in wording to be labelled a 'quotation'[89] with twenty of them being unique to Matthew.[90] Beale and Carson note that there are roughly twice as many

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[82] Clarke, *Matthew*, 17.

[83] Wim J.C. Weren, *Studies in Matthews Gospel: Literary Design, Intertextuality, and Social Setting* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 101.

[84] Weren, *Matthew*, 102-04.

[85] Maarten Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 2004), 10.

[86] Weren, *Matthew*, 102.

[87] Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 183.

[88] George J. Brooke makes a good case to consider the text from the Peshitta which possibly reflects an early Palestinian tradition which needs to be taken more seriously. He suggests that an analysis of Matthean *intertextuality* should not be limited with reference only to the Masoretic Text and the LXX. See George J. Brooke, "Aspects of Matthew's Use of Scripture in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *A Teacher for All Generations* (2 vols.), ed. Eric F. Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[89] The problem with many of these 'quotations' is that read in their original context they do not prove to be prophesies waited to be fulfilled.

[90] G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 41.

allusions and echoes to the Jewish Scriptures in Matthew than the other canonical gospels.[91] Matthews use of the Jewish textual tradition is very complex. Often the author follows the Septuagint while on other occasions the author follows a different translation which reflects a more literal translation of either the Hebrew or Aramaic variant text.[92]

1.5. Other Methodological and Intertextual Issues[93]

Like the authors in his time the author of Matthew held certain literary presuppositions in engaging the historical and literary questions regarding the Jesus-event. The author of Matthew has the tendency to 'reJudaize' his sources which is particularly noticeable in his reworking and abridgment of the gospel of Mark.[94] Studying the gospel of Matthew requires some comments on the Synoptic Problem. In the textual analysis in the following chapter I will deal more extensively with the way how the gospel of Matthew deals with its sources but for now it is sufficient to mention that I follow the scholarly consensus of the Markan priority since it best explains the available evidence.[95]

The debates about the origins of the Passion Tradition have attested the fact that there are different textual layers in the narration of Jesus death.[96] The Synoptic version of the Passion Tradition differs substantially with John's account notably on the date of the Last Supper though the Synoptics do not offer a perfect correspondence. Because of these layers it is better to speak about the Passion Tradition rather than the Passion Narrative when referring to the larger tradition. However, when speaking about a Passion narrative in a specific gospel it is appropriate to use the term 'narrative' keeping in mind that the specific narrative makes use of the broader Passion Tradition by adding and omitting certain elements found in different Passion narratives.

The primitive Passion Tradition focuses on the fact of the crucifixion without dealing extensively on the historical details of the Passion Tradition (Gal. 3:1; 1 Cor. 2:2), though the Pauline literature testifies about an early Passion Tradition, probably

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[91] Beale and Carson, *Commentary*, 41.

[92] Beale and Carson, *Commentary*, 43.

[93] For an good overview of the Synoptic Problem and subsequent discussions see Stanley E. Porter, *The Synoptic Problem: Four Views* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016).

[94] Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1999), 28; 755.

[95] Robert MacEwen even makes the case that Matthew was the last of the synoptics to be produced, see: Robert K. MacEwen, *Matthean Posteriority: An Exploration of Matthew's Use of Mark and Luke as a Solution to the Synoptic Problem* (New York: T&T Clark, 2015).

[96] Allen, *Scriptures*, Kindle edition, chapter 3.

connected with the liturgical practice of the early Jewish-Christian community (1 Cor. 15:3-4).

The Passion Narrative in the gospel of Matthew starts with chapter 26:1 and ends with the Resurrection narrative in chapter 28:1 and can be divided into 5 sub-segments:[97] (1) the Day of Preparation, (2) the Last Supper, (3) the Trial of Jesus, (4) the Crucifixion and (5) the Resurrection. Although other, more detailed, divisions can be made these 5 segments describe the main events in the Passion Narrative of the gospel of Matthew.

1.6. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I discussed the Literary-Critical method I will employ in my analysis of the Matthean Passion Narrative. I discussed the concept of intertextuality concluding that it not only signifies a use of prior texts but, in the addition of Huizinga to Hays, it can also mean a radical reinterpretation of the previous textual traditions. I discussed the important criteria which I will deploy in order to establish the different levels of intertextuality between the Exodus motif and the Matthean Passion Narrative. Finally, I discussed different textual issues of the gospel of Matthew recreating the textual background for the text of the gospel.

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[97] Herbert W. Basser and Marsha B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions. A Relevance-based Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 653.

Chapter 2 - The Typology of the Exodus in the Gospel of Matthew

2.1. Introduction

The theme and language of the Exodus have had a formative influence on the interpretation of the Christ-event. In the canonical gospels the connection between Jesus and the Exodus and Sinai-tradition are manifold.[98] Not only were the use of the Exodus and Sinai-tradition important for the creation of a new Jewish, and later Christian, identity but also the creative reworking and reinterpretation, visible in discontinuity of certain themes in the Exodus-tradition. These emphases reveal a formation of thought and a creative dynamic in the long Exodus-tradition. Hemmer Gudme goes even so far as to suggest that the literary theme of the Exodus and the subsequent reinterpretation of the Exodus through the concept of the Exile was the main reason for the formation of the Biblical canon.[99]

In recent years there has been a development in the understanding of the topic of the Exile making it clear there is no fixed concept of the Exile but rather many Exiles throughout the Jewish Scriptures making use of prior events in order to construct exilic identities.[100] This is an important insight for the understanding of the Exodus motif since there are different exilic reinterpretations of the Historiographical Exodus. As stated by Clifford "the Exodus became an analogy for interpretation as Israel went through crises of diminishment and of restoration, or, to use biblical language, endured divine judgment and renewal."[101] As stated in the introduction we can discern three types of Exodus-language: The Exodus motif can be divided in three literary components (1) the Historiographical Exodus, (2) the Second Exodus in the (post-) exilic literature and the (3) Messianic New Exodus.

In the gospel of Matthew we find these three layers mixed together. The historiographical Exodus is visible in the identification between Jesus and Moses and Jesus re-enacting of scenes from the historiographical Exodus like the testing in the wilderness (Matt. 4:1-11).

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[98] Swartley, *Tradition*, 1-8.

[99] Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme and Ingrid Hjelm, *Myths of Exile: History and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1.

[100] Niels Peter Lemche, "Exile as the great divide. Would there be an 'ancient Israel' without an exile?," in *Myths of Exile: History and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible*, eds. Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme en Ingrid Hjelm (New York: Routledge, 2015), 13.

[101] Clifford, *Exodus*, 385.

In this chapter I will first explore the Exodus language in the Jewish Scriptures and in the gospel of Matthew. The concept of the Exodus and its reinterpretation are complex and consist of different layers. I will explain the relation between the Exodus language and the concept of Exile in later Jewish literary traditions before I turn to the importance of the Exodus language on the literary formation of the gospel of Matthew and the identification of Jesus with different themes from the Exodus language.

2.2. Typology of the Exodus in the Jewish Scriptures

2.2.1. Importance of the Exodus motif

The Exodus motif consists of the theme of Israel's deliverance from bondage in Egypt. The narrative consists of two central parts, the (1) deliverance (Ex.3:8) and (2) salvation (Ex. 14:13; 15:2).[102] The importance of this event is stressed due to its different incorporation in the Decalogue. In Ex. 20:11 it is the opening of the Decalogue but in the version found in Deut. 5:15 the Exodus event is connected with the observance of the Sabbath. As a result of this observant future generations needed to be reminded of the mighty deeds of YHWH that brought them out of Egypt. Underscoring the importance of this event is the switch from the theme of creation, in Exodus 20, to the theme of liberation, in Deuteronomy 5, as the fundamental reason for the observance of the Sabbath.[103] To understand the development of the Historiographical Exodus and its subsequent reinterpretations we need to start in the book of Exodus.

2.2.2. Historiographical Exodus

The canonical setting of the book of Exodus is traditionally after the book of Genesis. This is not only a case of tradition but also form a literary perspective. The storyline of the nation of Israel, set out in the book of Genesis, continues in the book of Exodus. Furthermore, there are several important conceptual connections between the book of Genesis and the book of Exodus. First, the idea of a 'promised land', a promise to Abraham in Genesis 12 finds it completion through the Exodus event, the wandering in the wilderness and finally the conquest of Canaan. Second, the reason for the Exodus event is the fact that God remembers his promise to the Patriarchs about the Promised land. Third, connected to the prior reason, there is another conceptual connection between the book of Exodus and Genesis namely, the 'exodus-cycle' of the Patriarchs, which lives are dominated with the theme of travelling out of their current

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[102] Swartley, *Tradition*, 45. This is a very broad understanding of the *Exodus* which can be broken down in more detailed episodes or sub-themes. Since I focus on the main themes of the *Exodus* tradition it is not necessary to break down the *Exodus* tradition beyond the major themes *liberation* and *redemption*.
[103] Merrill, "Exodus," 11.

place to the land the God promised to them. Finally, the reasons why the Israelites are in Egypt is the consequence of the Joseph-story which dominates a major part of the book of Genesis.

It is important to note that the word 'exodus' does not appear in the Hebrew text, though it does in the Septuagint in Ps. 104:38 and 113:1, but it is the Latin title mediated through the Greek word ἔξοδος.[104] In the Jewish Scriptures the idea of the exodus is expressed by verbs and categorized as actions rather than a concept.[105]

With the historiographical Exodus I refer to the deliverance of the nation of Israel out of Egypt as described in the book of Exodus in chapters 1-12, the crossing of the Red sea in chapters 13 and 14 and the journey to Mount Sinai in chapters 15-18. From that moment onward starts the subsequent Sinai-tradition incorporating the Exodus language but also giving a distinctiveness to the subsequent developing themes especially given the religious and cultic formation of the nation of Israel. Two important theological aspects are connected to the Historiographical Exodus. First, God as the initiator of the liberation and second, the liberation/salvation as part of the covenantal plan of God. This notion that God will bring blessings through the covenant benefitting the whole world is incorporated in the event of the Exodus. Because of this salvation the nation of Israel was intended to serve God and be a holy nation and a royal priesthood (Ex. 19:6).

But the language of the Exodus is two-dimensional. The subsequent Sinai-traditions stress the fact that disloyalty will lead the nation of Israel again in captivity (Lev.26; Deut. 4:27-28; 28:64) only to be rescued again by an exodus-like event, a pattern that is being pick up by the latter Prophets.[106] The continuation of the Exodus motif usually entails two components: (1) a reference to the literal deliverance from Egypt and (2) probably a reference to a future exodus yet to come focused on the context of exile and the return of God's people to the promised land incorporating not only the nation of Israel but also the other nations of the world.[107]

Part of the Exodus and Sinai traditions is the institution of liturgical and cultic practices for the nation of Israel. The two major elements in this liturgical remembrance of the Exodus are the institution of the priesthood and the system of sacrifices.[108] Both elements were needed to maintain the presence of YHWH among the nation and to

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[104] Merrill, "Exodus," 14.

[105] Fabio Porzia, "God leading his people. Exodus 'longue durée," in *Myths of Exile. History and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible*, eds. Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme en Ingrid Hjelm (New York: Routledge, 2015), 30.

[106] Merrill, "Exodus," 13.

[107] Merrill, "Exodus," 14.

[108] Morales, *Exodus*, 179.

restore the relationship of sinful Israelites with YHWH preventing another exodus in the future, (Lev. 16:12-14). Israel's liturgy can be called 'the way to God', […], a sacred journey that entailed cleansing, consecration, and transformation.'[109] This cleansing took place ritually by bringing offerings to accomplish divine forgiveness, (Ex. 25 – 40; Lev. 9:22-24).

There is no specific mention where the Historiographical Exodus has ended. It may seem reasonable to end the Historiographical Exodus at the conquest of the land Israel but some unusual mentions in the book of Kings offer another suggestion. In 1 Kings 6:1 the Temple's construction is dated according to a timeline that is rooted in the Exodus event making the connection between those two events both narratively and conceptually strong. Additionally, king Solomon gives thanks to YHWH for finally giving Israel peace after the completion of the temple (1 Kings 8:56).[110] King Solomon mirrors Joshua by bringing the nation of Israel finally to rest with the completion of the Historiographical Exodus. However, the continuing narrative displays an excellent level of irony mirroring the Exodus story and identifying king Solomon more and more as the Pharaoh of Egypt with his actions and intentions to kill those who disobey him.[111] The division of Israel in the two and ten tribes and the subsequent disobedience to God marks, from a canonical perspective, the beginning of the Second Exodus as the dominating theme in the canonical order of the Jewish Scriptures, picking up the theme of captivity and exile.

2.2.3. *Second Exodus and Exile*

The Second Exodus[112] can be summarized as the New Exodus motif especially found in the books of the Prophets and entails the hope for a second exodus out of exile. While heavily borrowing terminology from the Historiographical Exodus the main tenet of the Second Exodus is the future hope for an exodus out of exile[113] in its pre-

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[109] Morales, *Exodus*, 180.

[110] Roberts Alstair and Andrew Wilson, *Echoes of Exodus: Tracing Themes of Redemption through Scripture* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2018), 79.

[111] Roberts and Wilson, *Echoes*, 80-81.

[112] Some scholars prefer the term *New Exodus*. The usage of the terms is not really relevant since it deals with the same dominant theme and tenets. I use the term *Second Exodus* for it clearly presents the two mayor components of the theme: (1) a deliverance form exile through a new Exodus resembling the (2) pattern of the Historiographical Exodus.

[113] The Dead Sea Scrolls testify of different returns from exile or exodus: The Egyptian Exodus in 4Q385, the Assyrian exile in 4Q372 en the Babylonian exile in the Damascus Document. Furthermore, Josephus mentions the activities of Theudas (Josephus Ant. 20.5.1 §97-98) and the Egyptian Jew (Josephus J.W. 2.13.4-5 §258-63; Ant. 20.8.6 §167-72). Both of these men saw themselves as the promised successor to Moses (from Deut.18:15, 18-19) who would return the nation of Israel in an reenactment of the exodus into a new conquest of the land.

exilic understanding and a more messianic, spiritual understanding in the post-exilic literature. The event of the Historiographical Exodus becomes, as Merrill states: 'recollected and reinterpreted as a paradigmatic event to describe God's saving work on behalf of Israel and, indeed, of all people, especially in future contexts.'[114] Facing the loss of identity the Jewish literature reinterpreted the foundation traditions and combined them into larger literary units in order to understand their current situation.[115]

By rejecting YHWH and falling into idolatry, the nation of Israel is brought into exile as punishment for their sins and refusal to return to the 'ways of YHWH'. Both the major and minor Prophets in the Jewish Scriptures take up the Second Exodus motif in order to reinterpret this theme and applying it to their respective theological and political views about the end of the monarchy and the impending destruction of the nation. The minor Prophets exemplify this by continuously referring back to the Historiographical Exodus and the imminent hope of redemption in the future by using Exodus language (Hos. 11:1-11; Zech. 10:8-12; Hab. 3).[116]

Within the major Prophets especially Ezekiel and Isaiah use the Second Exodus in their assessment of Israel's situation and future deliverance. Isaianic scholarship affirms that particularly Deutero-Isiah prophesies a return from exile that resembles the historical pattern of the Israelite Exodus from Egypt.[117] The Second Exodus is characterized as a greater movement than the Historiographical Exodus. Deutero-Isaiah, for example, contrasts the Historiographical Exodus (took place in great haste) with a new Exodus that will take place with kingly majesty due to the king on mount Zion (Is. 52:11).

Throughout the Prophets the reflection on the Historiographical Exodus begins to analyse the incompleteness of the historical salvation out of Egypt, expressing the need for a more thorough deliverance in the future out of spiritual bondage rather than the literal bondage (Jer.16:14-15,21)[118] or as an understanding not of saving event but a more purgative judgement (Ez. 20:8b-10) in order to purify the nation of Israel.[119]

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[114] Merrill, "Exodus," 9.

[115] Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile. The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E. Studies in Biblical Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 203.

[116] See Hos. 11:1-11; Zech. 10:8-12; Hab. 3.

[117] Smith, "Exodus," 208. However, as Smith mentions in his article, some scholars downplay the significance of the *exodus language* in Deutero-Isaiah suggesting that although present it does not play a mayor role in Isaianic (or other prophetic) literature, see Smith, "Exodus," 209-10.

[118] Morales, *Exodus*, 228.

[119] Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 365.

There are some significant differences between the pre- and post-exilic prophets in their understanding of the Exodus theme. The pre-exilic understanding of the Exodus centres upon the idea that God *brought them out* of Egypt while the post-exilic authors and redactors used the stressed the relation between the Exodus as liberation.[120] The theme of the exile incorporates exodus language to indicate the same thematic pattern, enslavement (exile) and redemption through an exodus-like salvation. Especially the post-exilic Deutero-Isaiah prophesies a return from exile, resembling the event of the Exodus.[121] Especially Deutero-Isaiah connects the theme of exile with a new exodus in order for Israel to experience a new redemption through divine intervention.[122] To return from exile involves a new exodus-like redemption.[123] Especially Deutero-Isaiah uses the metaphor of Israel being slaves in exile in order to re-use the exodus language in creating a new exodus of redemption.

A post-exilic understanding of the Second Exodus theme was based on different empirical observations by these post-exilic Prophets. After the return of the exile, in the narrative historical, there was still no son of David sitting on the throne of Israel, the returned Judeans were still subjected to foreign powers and the Spirit of God had not yet been poured out. This led the post-exilic prophets like Third Isaiah question whether the exile was ended and if there was a need for a different return to the 'promised land' through an exodus-like event.[124] The question of being in exile and in need of redemption resulted in a reinterpretation of the Exodus event as a paradigmatic framework. This thematic shift from Exodus language to the Exodus-event being incorporated in the theme of the exile is important for our understanding of the exodus language in the gospel of Matthew.

2.2.4. *Messianic expectations in Second Temple Judaism*
The theme of the Exodus and exile continue to press their influence in the formation of the theological framework in Second Temple Judaism. Piotrowski notes that especially in the late Second Temple Judaism the theological consensus was that they

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[120] Porzia, "Myths of Exile," 32.

[121] Smith, "Exodus," 208.

[122] Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile. The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden, Brill: 2011), 108.

[123] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 119.

[124] Nicholas G. Piotrowski, "The Concept of Exile in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Review of Recent Scholarship," *Currents in Biblical Research* 15 (2017): 220 and C. Power, "Constructions of exile in the Persian Period," in *Myths of Exile. History and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible,* eds. Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme en Ingrid Hjelm (New York: Routledge, 2015), 66.

were still in exile.[125] Therefore he considers some portion of the 'New Testament' as end-of-exile treatises.[126]

O.H. Steck was the first to identify the cycle of sin-exile-repentance/return in the book of Deuteronomy and noting that this outline occurred in nearly all of the Jewish texts written between 200 and 100 B.C.E..[127] This shows that even after the historical return from captivity the idea of 'still being in exile' became the 'lived experience' of postexilic Judaism, an experience that entailed both punishment and promise of a complete restoration.[128] Exile shifted from a historical moment in history to 'a period of history with certain characteristics.'[129]

The question of how the exile has influenced Second Temple Judaism has led to different view. Certain major scholars have constructed the idea of an 'ongoing exile'. The most notable among them is N.T. Wright building upon the work of scholars like Steck, Ackoyd and Knibb.[130] Wright has argued that Second Temple Judaism by and large believed they were still in exile and that the idea of an ongoing exile was the necessary theological and development build upon the central understanding in post-exilic literature that the eschatological restoration of the nation of Israel was still a future feature.[131] Because of this (imminent) future the nation of Israel still needed to repent in order to be restored. Especially the non-canonical books like Baruch, 4 Ezra and 4 Baruch identified the nation of Israel as being in a 'continuous state of exile.'[132]

Recent scholarship has called into question how widespread this singular notion of a theology of ongoing exile was in Second Temple Judaism.[133] The main critique that has been levelled against N.T. Wright, and previous scholars, is the question how the tumultuous history of Israel which many oppression, enslavements and 'end' of exiles can be viewed throughout one specific framework of ongoing exile.[134] Not every branch of Judaism experienced the foreign oppression and felt the need to reinterpret

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[125] Piotrowski, "Exile," 215.

[126] Piotrowski, "Exile," 215.

[127] O.H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes in Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

[128] Piotrowski, "Exile," 216.

[129] Piotrowski, "Exile," 220.

[130] Piotrowski, "Exile," 216.

[131] N.T. Wright. C*hristian Origins and the Question of God. I. The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 268-72.

[132] Michael Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, by Michael Knibb (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 268.

[133] Piotrowski, "Exile," 223.

[134] Piotrowski, "Exile," 223.

their history.[135] One problem in the Jewish Scriptures is that its perspective may not reflect the views of Jewish groups not living in Jerusalem and in this way impose a theological narrative.[136] More apocalyptic sectarian literature, like the *Testament of Moses* (esp. chs. 3-4), stresses the fact that the end of exile coincides with the eschaton, the return of YHWH without leading to a second Exodus.[137] Josephus, in writing to more Hellenised Jews in the larger Greco-Roman world promotes a positive view of their current situation without identifying the diaspora as a judgement due to sin.[138]

Steven M. Bryan criticizes N.T. Wright in his monologue asserting that this thesis is largely based on an inference on what Jews outside the land of Israel were thinking. He offers an alternative in which the return from exile is viewed as part of the restoration, not as an act, occurring only once, but as a process throughout history.[139] He contends that the 'Exodus motif' is used to speak about Israel's restoration, connecting the themes of the Exodus and conquest of the land together.[140]

It is clear that in Second Temple Judaism there were different movements with a different evaluation of their situation, both inside and outside the historic native land of Israel. Bryan notes that there are divergent understandings between first century Judaism concerning their diaspora varying from punishment for waywardness (1 En. 89.59-66; 90.17), eschatological distress (1QH 3.7-10) or even as atonement (1QS 8.3-10).[141]

Whether Wright or Bryan is right in their analysis on how Second Temple Judaism would have understood the concept of exile, what is important for our understanding of the gospel of Matthew is that (1) there was a substantial theological notion of an 'ongoing exile' although not every Jew would have experienced this in the same way and (2) in the First Century there was an broad Messianic expectation that YHWH would again act in the history of the Jewish people given the fact that prior and during Jesus time many Messianic figures tried to call themselves prophets in an attempt to recreate a second Exodus.[142]

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[135] Steven M. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15.

[136] Piotrowski, "Exile," 227.

[137] J.C. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. J.M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 94-104.

[138] L.H. Feldman, "The Concept of Exile in Josephus," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. J.M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 78-82.

[139] Bryan, *Traditions*, 16.

[140] Bryan, *Traditions*, 20.

[141] Bryan, *Traditions*, 21.

[142] C.A. Evans, "Aspects of Exile and Restoration in the Proclamation of Jesus and the Gospels," *in Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, and Restoration*, eds. B. Chilton and C.A. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 265.

2.3. Exodus typology in Matthew's structure

Different scholars have identified traces of the Exodus typology in the gospel of Matthew. I will first consider two relevant larger frameworks that interpret the whole gospel of Matthew through the lens of the Exodus and then I will discuss the important intertextual allusions in the gospel of Matthew to the Historiographical Exodus.

2.3.1. Dale C. Allisson - The New Moses

Dale C. Allison proposed the thesis that the author of the gospel of Matthew constructs Jesus as being the New Moses. [143] He argues that Matthew was a Jewish rabbi which turned into a Christian teacher. In order to create a shared foundation for the once predominantly Jewish but now increasingly gentile church he reconstructed through typology the ancient Jewish Scriptures in order to present major figures in the Jewish Scriptures as representatives or types of Jesus. In his book he gives different examples how the gospel of Matthew used the Moses-typology to shape an construct its narrative, especially in the opening chapters of the gospel of Matthew. According to Allisson, Matthew portrays Jesus as the ancient Moses re-enacting Moses-events in the Jesus story. Allison identifies a Moses-typology, for example, in Matthew 2:19-20 the angel of the Lord says to Joseph: 'Rise, take the child and his mother and go to the land of Israel, *for those who sought the child's life are dead*'. The same phrase is found in the story of Moses where the Lord said to Moses: 'Go back to Egypt; *for all the men who were seeking your life are dead*' (Ex. 4:19-20).

2.3.2. Richard B. Hays - The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah

Richard B. Hays has offered another proposal looking to the gospel of Matthew as a whole. In his article "The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah" Hays defends the thesis that the author of Matthew is reading his prior Scripture, the Torah, and reinterprets this throughout his gospel using this approach to reconstruct the Christ-event. In the words of Hays: 'the Gospel of Matthew advances the task of reorganizing Israel's religious language.'[144] Hays's proposal can be demonstrated with his first two arguments. First, Hays shows how the author of Matthew uses the Jewish Scriptures visible in the distinctive manner he introduces his proof-texts in order to connect the

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[143] Allison, *New Moses.*

[144] Richard B. Hays, "The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah" in *HTS Theological Studies* 61 (October 2005): 166.

story of Jesus with the story of Israel.[145] Second, Hays points to the hermeneutical functions of the opening chapter of Matthew in which the author of Matthew constructs the continuity between Jesus and the story of Israel. He provides the example of Matt. 1:1 where the phrase Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ hearkens back to the account of the creation of humankind in Gen. 2:4 and 5:1. In the latter chapter these words are followed by a list of descendants of Adam. In addition to this literary connection Hays argues that the periodization in the genealogy summarizes the whole history-plot of the Jewish nation, a pattern of promise, kingship, exile and return. Matthew, rather than recreating a specific typology to a specific figure in the Jewish Scriptures, uses the previous narrative of the Jewish Scriptures as a whole in order to reconstruct and reorganize the religious language of the Christ-event.

2.4. Exodus typology in the text

Besides the larger frameworks in the text of Matthew there is an abundance in allusions to the Historiographical Exodus. Here I will discuss the major instances of this aspect of intertextuality. The major connections are either very strong allusions to the Exodus or direct citations. There are more subtle, detailed, allusions throughout the gospel that are not mentioned here but found in the more systematic literature.[146]

2.4.1. Pentateuchal Pattern

This possibility was first offered by B.W. Bacon that the gospel of Matthew was clearly structured in five major discourses which he identified as resembling the structure of the Pentateuch.[147] Bacon identified an identical formula found 5 times in the gospel of Matthew at key moments of the Matthean narrative:

7:28-29	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς	τοὺς λόγους τούτους
11:1	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς	διατάσσων
13:53	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦ	τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας
19:1	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς	τοὺς λόγους τούτους
26:1	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας	τοὺς λόγους τούτους

Bacon suggested that the gospel of Matthew has been structured as a counterpart to the Mosaic Torah with the goal to produce a 'new' Torah, given the resemblance in

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[145] Matthew 1:22-23, 2:15, 2:17-18, 2:23, 4:14-16, 8:17, 12:17-21, 13:35, 21:4-5, and 27:9 which are more or less exact quotations and three other texts resemble the pattern of fulfilment used by the author of Matthew: Matt. 2:5-6; 3:3; 13:14-15.

[146] See for example Allison, *New Moses*

[147] B.W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (London: Constable, 1930).

Matt. 5-7 with the lawgiving on the Sinai where Moses received the law from YHWH. This division, combined with different Moses-scene's, where Jesus re-enacts moments from the life of Moses, created a strong argument according to Bacon for this identification of the gospel of Matthew with the Pentateuch. However, Ulrich Luz points out that nowhere does Matthew explicitly mention or propose this division and the thematic division in Matthew does not resemble the division of the books of the Pentateuch.[148]

2.4.2. *Matthew 2:1-18 – Birth and Persecution of the Messiah*
The birth of Jesus contains quite some conceptual parallels with the story of Moses. The prominent role of Herod calls into mind the way Pharaoh dealt with the Israelite boys in fear of losing power[149] and in their killing of the male Israelites.[150]

In the story of Moses, the Pharaoh is scared that the Israelites will a threat for the Egyptians due to their birth-rate. In order to secure his power he orders to kill all the male baby's, (Ex. 1: 8-22). When Jesus is born the wise men, directed through a star, visit Jerusalem and with their question where they can find the newly born king they create panic in the palace of Herod. Herod is scared that this newly born king will be a rival to him and makes a plot to kill him, (Matt. 2:16-20).

Connected with the birth of Jesus is the prophecy form Hosea 11:1, quoted in Matt. 2:18, which states that 'out of Egypt I called my son' (ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου / LXX: ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ). Jewish Scriptures often call Israel 'God's son' or 'children' and apply this terminology in the Exodus-story in Ex. 4:22 (LXX: Τάδε λέγει κύριος Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ισραηλ). Here the 'exodus of Israel' form Egypt is repeated and re-enacted by Jesus.[151]

2.4.3. *Matthew 4:1-11 – Temptation in the desert*
After the introduction of John the Baptist in chapter 3, the author of Matthew sets the stage for Jesus ministry in Galilee. The first scene of Jesus ministry is his temptation in the desert, (Matt. 4: 1-11). Matthew lays special emphasis on the fact that Jesus 'fasted for forty days and night' (Matt. 4:2: καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα) recalling the fasting of Moses in Ex. 24:18 (LXX: ἐν τῷ ὄρει

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[148] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7. A Commentary. Hermeneia Series* (Augsburg: Fortress, 2007), 13.
[149] R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew. NICNT* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 122.
[150] Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), 143.
[151] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 121.

τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας). The experience of Israel in the desert for forty years is also described as a 'test' (Deut. 8:2; 8:16 / LXX: ἐκπειράσῃ).

The other parallels lay in the answers given by Jesus to the devil. All of these are quotations from Moses's speech in Deut. 6-8.[152] In the first temptation (4:3-4) the devil challenges Jesus to perform a miracle. In reply Jesus quotes Deut. 8:3. The passage describes God testing the nation of Israel for forty years to see if they would keep his commandments. In the second temptation (4:5-7) the devil takes Jesus to a high point on the temple. Again he asks for a miracle. In response, Jesus quotes Deut. 6:16 where Moses in his speech warns the Israelites 'not [to] put the Lord your God to the test,(…)'. In the last temptation (4:8-10) Jesus is offered all the kingdoms of the world from the perspective of a 'high mountain' just like Moses in Deut. 34:1-4. Jesus answers him quoting from Deut. 6:13. These textual parallels clearly indicate that the author of Matthew identifies Jesus here as the nation of Israel being tested in the wilderness and re-enacts this period of the nation of Israel.

2.4.4. Matthew 5:1 – 7:29 – Sermon on the Mount

D. C. Allisson makes the case that the author of Matthew carefully crafts the sermon on the Mount alluding to Moses ascent of Sinai. Both the beginning in 5:1 and the conclusion in 7:28-29 recall the context of the law-giving at the Sinai.[153] This might be the strongest indication of the Moses-typology used in the gospel of Matthew.

| Matt. 5:1 | (…) | ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος (…) |
| Ex. 19:3 | καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος (…) | |

Besides the textual parallel between Matt. 5:1 and Ex. 19:3 other thematical connections can be given to strengthen this parallel. Just like Moses gave the law to the people (Ex. 19:7-10) Jesus gives general commandments to his listeners (Matt. 5: 21, 27, 31, 38). Both the location and the content of Jesus teaching's resemble the setting of the law-giving at Sinai narrated in Ex. 19 and 20. Furthermore, the explicit reference to the Torah in Matt. 5:17 and the subsequent commandments implying a higher status than the previous Mosaic laws.

2.4.5. Matthew 17:1-13 – The Transfiguration

Arguably the clearest reference to the Historiographical Exodus is the transfiguration scene on the mount. The allusion to the 'after six days' (μεθ' ἡμέρας ἓξ) is best understood as a reference to the six days that the cloud of God covered the mountain

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[152] France, *Matthew*, 172-173.
[153] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 182.

for six days before Moses was able to climb up Sinai and hear the voice of God speaking in Ex. 24:15-16. Not only the textual parallel is present. Just like Moses took his inner core with him, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Jesus takes his inner core with him: Peter, James and John.[154] While Moses in Ex. 34:35 reflects the glory of God Jesus face and clothes (not mentioned in Ex.34.29) both shine not because of reflection but because of a transfiguration (μετεμορφώθη). The narration of the transfiguration-scene alludes to the important moment in the Exodus narrative where the stone tablets of the law were given for the first time (Ex. 24) and the second time (Ex. 34).

2.4.6. *Thematic Parallels with the Historiographical Exodus*

Besides the above mentioned examples of typology there are several thematic and linguistic connections. D. C. Allison notes that Jesus claims to cast demons out by the 'finger of God' (ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ) in Luke 11:20 like Moses worked miracles through the 'finger of God' (LXX: δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστιν τοῦτο / Ex. 8:15).[155] The request to pray for 'daily bread' alludes to the giving of daily manna during the wandering in the wilderness (Matt. 6:11, cf. Ex. 16).[156] In Matt. 12:39-40 Jesus characterizes his generation (referring to the Scribes) as an 'evil generation' (γενεὰ πονηρὰ) paralleling the characterization of the Israelite nation in the desert by Moses in Deut. 1:35. Other parallels include the choosing of the twelve disciples by Jesus (Matt. 19:28) to act as leaders just as Moses choose twelve men to act as leaders (Num. 1:1-16).[157]

2.5. Conclusion

The Exodus narrative has had a formative and everlasting influence on the formation of the Jewish and Christian identities. The motif of the 'exodus' has developed in the Jewish Scriptures to the motif of the 'exile' incorporating the themes of the exodus creating a view of a future redemption. The many exiles were used to create 'exilic identities' in order to make sense of the prior events that the Jewish nation had to endure.

The Exodus motif can be divided in three segments (1) the historiographical Exodus, (2) the Second Exodus in the post-exilic literature and the (3) Messianic New Exodus. Especially the development was important for the self-understanding and

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[154] That these are the inner core of Jesus disciple circle is visible in other instances, cf. Matt. 26:37 where these disciples join Jesus in prayer in Gethsemane.

[155] D.C. Allison, *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, an History* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 270.

[156] Allison, *Constructing*, 271.

[157] Brand Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper by Jesus Christ* (Cambridge UK: Eerdmans, 2015), 67.

remembrance of Jesus in the early Jewish-Christian Scriptures. The motif of the exodus consisted of two central parts of the message of Jesus: first, the deliverance out of bondage and second the salvation of the nation of Israel.

The exodus typology plays a major role in the narrative of the gospel of Matthew. In many instances Jesus, and his disciples, re-enact moments form the exodus of Israel out of Egypt. In the next chapter I will pay attention to the different allusions in the Passion Tradition form the Exodus-typology.

Chapter 3 - Traces of the Historiographical Exodus in the Passion Tradition

3.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to identify the different levels of intertextuality between the Passion Tradition and the Historiographical Exodus in the gospel of Matthew. As part of my argument I will identify different passages that allude to or echo the Historiographical Exodus as the important hermeneutical frame in which the author of Matthew narrates his tradition of the Passion and his framing of the death of Jesus.

I will discuss the different levels of dependency with the Historiographical Exodus alongside two instances where Matthew inverses some elements of the Historiographical Exodus to create a literary trope. The intertextuality with between Matthew's Passion Tradition and the Historiographical Exodus is not evoked exclusively by possible quotations, typology or allusions. Alongside those textual connections there are several thematic interplays between the Passion Tradition and the historiographical Exodus. For that reason I will divide this chapter into two sections discussing first the textual connections and second the thematic connections between the Passion Tradition and the historiographical Exodus. After every allusion I will assess the level of intertextuality with the criteria of Huizinga which I discussed in the first chapter. Since I will discuss the connection between Jesus and the Passover Lamb, the merging of redemption and sacrifice in Jesus, in the next chapter I will only briefly focus on the textual background of the Passover mentioned in the Passion Tradition of Matthew.

3.2. Textual Connections

The author of Matthew uses different fulfilment quotations in the birth narrative of Jesus to frame the story as being the fulfilment of long awaited prophecies. Comparing the birth narrative with the Passion Tradition the contrast could not be greater. The author of Matthew does not quote or refer back to the Jewish Scriptures in order to explain or frame the death of Jesus as much as in the birth narrative, with the exception of the explicit quotation from Zechariah 11:2 on the death of Judas in 27:9. In the following section I will discuss different textual allusions or echoes between the Passion Tradition and the historiographical Exodus.

3.2.1. *Matthew 26:1-2 – Preparations for the Passover*

Our first passage to consider is the moment Jesus instructs his disciples to prepare the Passover meal. In the festival of Passover the exodus from Egypt was the dominant theme though at some point the 'Feast of the unleavened Bread' was included into Passover Festival. The first celebration of the Passover Festival (Pesach) is found in Ex. 12. Under the reign of Josiah (2 Kings 23:21-23; Deut. 16:1-8) the attempt was made to centralize the Passover Festival in the temple.[158] In the Synoptics this meal (Matt. 26:17-35; Mark 14:17-31; Luke 22:7-38) should be the Seder meal as instructed in Ex. 12 but the lack of mentioning the key elements for this meal, notably the lamb, the bitter herbs and the unleavened bread, can either mean that the author of Matthew assumed his audience would understood the elements to be present or he does not mention these elements for a reason.

As John Paul Heil suggest the phrase 'Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους' is the final of the five occurring concluding phrases of Jesus previous teachings[159] preparing the reader for the last discourse of Jesus.[160] This phrase corresponds with the concluding discourse of Moses in Deut. 31:1-2 with almost the identical phrase 'Καὶ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς λαλῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους'.

The source of Matthew 26:1-2 is Mark 14:1-2 with some own characteristics of Matthew. The author of Matthew adds his own formula indicating the end of the discourse (ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους), he changes the narration of Mark about the Passover in a direct speech from Jesus.[161] Finally and uniquely to Matthew, he makes the connection between the Passover and the crucifixion (καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι).[162] The instruction of Jesus that in 26:2 that the 'Son of Man is to be delivered up for crucifixion' (υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι) is the first time the death of Jesus is connected with the Passover setting the scene for the fusion of the Passover and the sacrifice of Jesus at the cross. As Basser and Cohen illustrate: 'the rituals marking the collective memory of Israel's past are now appropriated by the Gospel'.[163]

The parallels between these passages are the following: (1) both prophets close their ministry (2) on the eve of the beginning of the 'end of the exodus/exile' (3) followed by

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[158] B. Chilton, "Festivals and Holy Days: Jewish," in *Dictionary of New Testament background: a compendium of contemporary biblical scholarship* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 373.

[159] The other concluding phrases are found in 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1 and in 26:1.

[160] John Paul Heil, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus. A Narrative-Critical Reading of Matthew 26-28* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 23.

[161] Mark 14:'Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας' to Matt. 26:2 'οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται'.

[162] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21-27*, 330.

[163] Basser and Cohen, *Matthew*, 657.

their death. For Moses his farewell-speech is followed by the conquest of the land signifying the end of the long Exodus out of Egypt while Jesus works and deeds end in the climax of his ministry. The author of Matthew connects the death of Jesus with the imminent inauguration of the Kingdom of God since in the gospel of Matthew the kingdom of heaven always is near (3:2; 4:17; 10:7) but not yet arrived.[164]

There are several arguments in order to classify this allusion as a strong allusion to the farewell speech of Moses. It is quite probable the author and the intended audience of Matthew would have been familiar with the book of Deuteronomy. In this allusion the verbal parallels are visible in the recurring phrase 'πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους'. The thematic and conceptual connection between Jesus and Moses in the gospel of Matthew strengthens the case for the identification between Moses and Jesus in this particular passage. This allusion also fits into the larger framework of the narrative of Matthew and the previous pattern of the author of Matthew in creating type-scenes with important figures from the Jewish Scriptures, most notably Moses. Since the intended audience of Matthew would have been predominantly Jewish they certainly would have been familiar with the narrative of the Jewish Scriptures.[165]

3.2.2. *Matthew 27:23-25 – Washing of the hands in innocence*

This pericope marks the last interaction between Pilate and the crowd resulting in Pilate washing his hands (λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου λέγων ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος) with the goal of underscoring his innocence. The synoptics all record the third question from Pilate to the crowds asking what evil Jesus had done but only Matthew records the washing of the hands in vs. 24 and the difficult statement about the guilt of Jesus crucifixion in vs. 25.

The hand-washing ritual is found in different parts of the Jewish Scriptures[166] most notably in Deut. 21:7-9 where the washing of the hands finds place in the context of the leaders of a city performing a ritual of ablution or absolution if a corpse of a murdered stranger was found indicating their innocence. Both the linguistic as well as the thematic connections make the allusion between Matt. 27:24 and Deut. 21:7-9 very

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[164] For the author of Matthew the 'kingdom of heaven' is mainly eschatological in nature. This theme is tied to two motifs that are connected in the gospel of Matthew. First the *royal lineage* between David and Jesus and second, the idea of the restoration of Israel and their return from exile. Though several aspects of this kingdom already have found its way into the history of Israel through the gospel of Jesus Christ with the progression of the Matthean narrative the 'not-yet' aspect of the kingdom receives more attention. See Jeannine K. Brown & Kyle Robberts, *Matthew: Two Horizons New Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 270-92.

[165] Brown & Robberts, *Matthew*, 17.

[166] Ps. 26:6; 73:13 and Isa 1:15-16.

strong:

Matt. 27	24.	<u>ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας</u> (…) λέγων ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπὸ <u>τοῦ αἵματος</u> τούτου
Deut. 21	6. 9.	<u>νίψονται τὰς χεῖρας</u> (…) σὺ δὲ ἐξαρεῖς <u>τὸ αἵμα</u> τὸ ἀναίτιον

Both the verb (ἀπο)νίπτω (to wash off) as the noun αἷμα (blood) correspond with each other in the same word-order making the allusion at least probable. The thematic connections are also quite strong: the leaders/Pilate demonstrate their innocence by the ritual of washing their hands. They are not to blame for the death of an innocent human being. Where there is no further discussion about the responsibility in Deut. 21 in Matt. 27:25 this is being claimed by the Jewish crowd.

For the thematic coherence several parallels can be established: (1) twice someone in power who (2) washes the hands as a (3) sign of innocence ending in a (4) statement of innocence. The gesture within a Jewish framework would have been understood as a reference to the 'ritual of exoneration´ in Deut. 21:1-9 making this reference culturally plausible that the audience would have understood this parallel.[167] Since the author and audience were familiar with the book Deuteronomy. Both the verbal agreement between the two texts is present as well as the thematic coherence. Due to the very specific verbal and thematic connection it is plausible that the intended audience would understood the echo from Deut. 21:6,9 in Matt. 27:24.

3.2.3.   *Matthew 27:56 – 'watching from a distance' – Matt. 27:56 – Ex. 2:4*

Basser and Cohen describe a creative allusion between the Maria 'watching from a distance' (ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι) to the crucifixion and Mirjam 'watching from a distance' (κατεσκόπευεν (…) μακρόθεν) what would happen with Moses (LXX-Ex. 2:1-10).[168]

The alluded text in Ex. 2:1-10 is part of the life of Moses and regarding the many previous allusions between Jesus and Moses this parallel is not unthinkable. In evaluating this allusion the following arguments need to be considered. Besides the agreement in name (Maria is the Greek translation of the Hebrew Mirjam) and the noun 'distance' (μακρόθεν) the major argument for this allusion is the identification with Mirjam as a prophetess (Ex. 15:20) who, according to Jewish Rabbinical tradition,

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[167] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 500.
[168] Basser and Cohen, *Matthew*, 706-707.

prophesied about the salvific nature of Moses leading Israel out of Egypt before his birth.[169] Furthermore, the thematic connection laid down by Basser and Cohen that both Maria and Mirjam are faithfully watching what will happen with their 'saviour' works only in hindsight of the Matthean narrative since the women are convinced that the death of Jesus at the cross is final (Matt. 28:1-10).

However, an argument for the this echo can be built upon two thematic arguments. First, the Jesus as the new Moses framework provides the possibility, though not the necessity, for the creation of a parallel between the 'Maria-Mirjam' story. Second, the linguistic connection 'watching from a distance' could provide a verbal connection. Though both the reason and the outcome of the 'watching' are different, not to say opposite, the reader can construct new meaning with this partial echo. Where Mirjam watches his brother to be rescued, Maria sees her son dying at the cross. The birth of Moses would be a story the audience of Matthew would be familiar in the book of Exodus. However, the allusion is not very strong in terms of recognizability. It takes much imagination of the reader for this allusion to be recognized.

3.3. Thematic Connections

Earlier in the chapter I mentioned the fact that the author of Matthew does not mention as many 'quotations' for the Passion Tradition than for the birth narrative of Jesus. While this is true, the same time he duplicates Mark's statement in which Jesus declares that the he must die because the Scriptures must be fulfilled (Mark 14:49 – Matt. 26:54; 56), leaving us with a puzzle to solve. David Allen suggests from this pattern that for the author of Matthew it was the 'wider, all-encompassing scriptural story that is being fulfilled'.[170] In this section I will highlight two possible thematical connections between the Passion Tradition and the Historiographical Exodus.

3.3.1. *Matthew 26: 36-46 – The inversion of 'watchfulness'*

One possible theme that surfaces in the Passion Tradition is the theme of 'watchfulness' or 'being vigilant'. The Passover celebrates the end of captivity of Israel in Egypt. According to Ex. 12:42 the night of Passover is identified with a night of 'wakefulness, watchfulness and alacrity' (ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ αὕτη προφυλακὴ[171]).[172] In Exodus 12 God makes tells the Israelites to observe this Passover, giving the

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[169] Basser and Cohen, *Matthew*, 706.
[170] Allen, *Scriptures*, Kindle edition, chapter 3.
[171] The noun προφυλάσσω means 'to guard, to protect' or 'to be one's guard', 'to be vigilant in the face of danger' and is the translation of the Hebrew שָׁמְרִים meaning 'vigil' (BDAG).
[172] Basser and Cohen, *Matthew*, 657.

instructions for the Festival and 12:42 the Israelites are commanded to keep this night vigil or guarding.

In the pericope of Jesus in Gethsemane the verb (not the noun) γρηγορέω is used two times: first, in 26:38 when Jesus ask his disciples to 'stay awake' in order to pray with him, then in 26:40 when Jesus asks his disciples why they cannot 'stay awake' (γρηγορῆσαι) with him an pray and finally in his call between his second and last prayer to his disciples to 'stay awake' (γρηγορεῖτε). The night of the Passover was intended to be vigil, alert and watchful according to Ex. 12:42 but the disciples display the exactly the opposite behaviour of what should have been expected from them.

Close to the beginning of the Passion tradition the three parables on the imminent Parousia underline the importance of being watchful (Matt. 24:36 – Matt. 25:13). Although the main theme of the parables is the preparation for the coming of the Son of Man, or being prepared when he comes, the sub-theme of being vigilant is undoubtedly there.

A possible critique can be the fact that Jesus asks the disciples to 'stay awake and pray' with him (γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε) but we find no explicit command in the Passover instructions to pray. John Paul Heil, in his narrative study on the Passion Tradition in Matthew, sees the instruction of Jesus to his disciples advancing the theme of separation that is imminent.[173] Though this is certainly possible it is not necessary to exclude the possibility of multiple layers of meaning in the text. On the literary level the disciples were representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel in which, accepting this symbolism, displays not only the connection between the Historiographical Exodus and the Passion Tradition but also the storyline in the Jewish Scriptures of the relationship with Israel with God where

I think therefore that there is a good case to be made for this allusion for two reasons. First, there is the thematic connection of watchfulness, that is present in the Passover tradition. Imagining the tradition of Passover being handed down from generation to generation who repeated this liturgical element we can be sure that the reader, immerses in the Jewish customs, would at least be perceptive to the absence of this element of the Passover tradition. Second, the disciples are already identified with the twelve tribes of Israel in the narrative of Matthew bringing these two motifs together.

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[173] Heil, *Matthew*, 44.

3.3.2. Matthew 26:21 – The betrayal by a fellow brother

The betrayal of Judas calls into memory the betrayal of Moses by his own kin. At first glance an echo or allusion can be detected. The story in Ex. 2:11-15 recalls the story of Moses killing an Egyptian man striking a 'Hebrew man from his brothers' (LXX: ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον Αἰγύπτιον τύπτοντά τινα Εβραῖον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ).[174] When he returns the next day he sees two Hebrew men fighting and in the process of stopping the fight the one of the Hebrew men, the evil one (καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀδικοῦντι)[175] turns out to know about the Egyptian Moses killed. After this confession and the description that Moses was afraid it turns out that the Pharaoh is acquainted with the news and seeks to kill Moses.

However, the text does not state clearly that it was the Hebrew man that betrayed him. It would not be surprising given the fact that the relationship between Moses and the Israelite nation is a troubling one during the wandering in the wilderness but it stretches the argument to far to be useful. Since there is no verbal agreement and the lack of thematic agreement is both thin and vague it is not possible to connect this scene from the exodus-story to the Passion Tradition.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed different allusions from the Historiographical Exodus in the Passion Tradition of Matthew. Using not only textual connections but more subtle allusions to different scenes and moments in from the exodus the author of Matthew shows the reader that he is well formed by the Jewish Scriptures. The scope of the Passion Tradition begins with a strong allusion to the farewell speech of Moses and continues to employ different levels of intertextuality both in textual as well as thematic connections making the thesis possible that the author of Matthew crafted from the larger framework of the Jewish Scriptures in order to present his narrative of the Christ-event. In the next chapter I will focus more specific on the relationship between the Passover and the Historiographical Exodus.

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[174] The MT reads וַיַּרְא בְּסִבְלֹתָם וַיַּרְא אִישׁ מִצְרִי מַכֶּה אִישׁ־עִבְרִי מֵאֶחָיו. The LXX adds here 'Israel's sons'.
[175] The MT reads וַיֹּאמֶר לָרָשָׁע.

Chapter 4 - Traces of the Historiographical Exodus in the Passover

4.1.Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed different echoes of the Exodus-typology in the Passion Tradition. Although these echoes and allusions are important they do not stand in the centre of the Passion Tradition. The main literary perspective on the death of Jesus is given through the lens of the Passover.

In this chapter I will zoom in and discuss the literary and thematic connections between the Historiographical Exodus and the Passover tradition in the gospel of Matthew and how the author of Matthew tries to frame the death of Jesus through the framework of the Passover. Although there are many theological reasons offered on why Jesus needed to die, the main literary framework that is employed in the gospel of Matthew is from the Historiographical Exodus.

First I will first discuss the historical development of the Passover meal into the Last Supper, recreating the historical framework from which Early Judaism would have understood the Passover Festival to mean and subsequently discuss the thematic connections that are made between the Historiographical Exodus and the Last Supper. Finally, I will explore the thematic connections between the Historiographical Exodus and the interpretation of Jesus death through the framework of 'deliverance from bondage'.

4.2. The Passover Sacrifice

The death and resurrection of Jesus sets in motion a 'new Exodus' with Jesus's Last Supper appropriating the original meaning of the Passover – the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt – and reframing it in an eschatological deliverance/redemption through his death as the Passover Lamb sacrifice. Jesus's ministry is reinterpreted through the lens of major characters in the Jewish Scriptures. He is also identified with the nation of Israel on several occasions, but arguably the most important reinterpretation is the connection between the Pesach festival and the death of Jesus Christ, known as the Passover.

We cannot separate the life and work of Jesus from his death. If Jesus would have known his death in advance this would have given him the time to give this event meaning. Both his self-identification with the prophetic tradition and the beheading of John the Baptist inevitably would have opened the possibility for Jesus that he would

meet his end in a violent death. Therefore, the reconstruction of the significance of Jesus death, the meaning of this event, does not only rest upon the so-called 'Passion predictions' within the Synoptic gospels but also in the much broader thematic framework that the gospel writers used in order to depict their picture of Jesus.

However, the identification between Jesus and Moses does not lead to an echo concerning the death of Jesus itself. Moses does die but neither violently nor 'salvific'. In analysing the Last Supper in the Passover context the theme of deliverance/redemption from the Historiographical Exodus is the most appropriate framework underlying the understanding of Jesus death and resurrection from the narrative of Matthew's Passion Tradition.

In the night before his crucifixion Jesus instituted the Passover meal with reference to the New Covenant, introducing a new event to remember for the disciples and subsequent believers.[176] If Étienne Nodet is correct it is more appropriate to speak about the 'Last Supper' for the meal that Jesus used with his disciples than the 'Passover' since the main features of the Passover meal are not present.[177] However, the Passover serves as the theological and historical background of this Last Meal and not mentioning the expected features sets Jesus words and actions even more in the forefront without the denial of their presence. His reinterpretation discloses more about his self-understanding.[178]

The connection between the event of the Passover and the theme of sacrifice is not foreign to the Christian Scriptures. Paul already makes the connection in 1 Cor. 5:7 but we find this connection also in 1 Peter 1:18-19 and especially in the gospel of John the feast of the Passover is connected with the narrative of Jesus.[179] But, how did this Passover look like?

4.2.1. The Development of the Passover Tradition[180]
The fullest and most fundamental account in the Jewish Scriptures concerning the use and institution of the Passover is found in Exodus 12-13. After bringing a one-year-old sheep or goat as a sacrifice this animal had to be slaughtered on the 14th of Nisan and

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[176] Morales, *Exodus*, 302.

[177] Étienne Nodet, "On Jesus' Last Supper," *Biblica* 91 (2010): 348.

[178] Darrell L. Block, *Jesus According to Scripture. Restoring the Portrait of the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 343.

[179] Morales, *Exodus*, 302.

[180] For an excellent overview and description of the development of the Passover see Scot McKnight, *Jesus and His Death: Historiography, the Historical Jesus and Atonement theory* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005).

it was to be eaten broiled whole, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread[181] indicating the hasty departure that was at hand. However, the main object of this Festival is the Passover Lamb. By putting the blood of the lamb at the doorposts the Israelites in Egypt were protected from the wrath of the 'angel of death.'[182]

Throughout the Jewish Scriptures there are numerous references and additions to the Passover Festival described in Ex. 12-13.[183] From a canonical approach the major shift in interpretation in the Jewish Scriptures occurs in Deut. 16:1-8 where the celebration of the Festival is changed from the original domestic setting to a nationwide celebration on a place 'that God will choose.'[184] Different accounts in the Jewish Scriptures describe the celebration of this centralized Passover Festival. It is mentioned in Josh. 5:10-15. In 2 Kings 23:21-24 (also found in 2 Chr. 35:1-19) king Josiah reinstates the Passover offering in Jerusalem which has not been (properly) performed yet.[185] The last mention is in 2 Chr. 30:1-27 where Hezekiah celebrates a one-month delayed Passover.[186]

After the Historiographical Exodus the explicit link between the Torah and a central sanctuary transformed the celebration of the Passover until the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E..[187] The Passover Festival in the time of Jesus was a centralized Feast where people would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to not only celebrate the Passover but also to taste what the future end of the exile might be like.[188] During this Feast many lambs would be slaughtered in the temple.

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[181] This has been identified by scholars as being the standard offering offered together with other sacrifices to God in the Jewish Scriptures, see B. M. Bokser, "Unleavened Bread and Passover, Feasts of" in *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary Vol. 6,* ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 756.

[182] Bokser, "Passover," 756.

[183] Ex. 23:10-19; 34:18-26; Lev. 23:4-8; Num. 28:16-25; Ezek. 45:21-24 and Ezra 6:19-22.

[184] Bokser, "Passover," 757.

[185] Bokser, "Passover," 759.

[186] Some mentions of the Passover outside of the Jewish Scriptures are worth mentioning. The earliest reference in the Jewish literature is a reference from the Elephantine Texts, where the celebration of dates of the Passover is mentioned but where the terms for the Festivals are not named, indicating that the scriptural material was underlined by some sort of practice. The book of Jubilees (ch. 49) attests to the celebration of the Festival of the Unleavened bread in its discussion on the Passover sacrifice omitting the 'bitter herbs' and the Samaritan Pentateuch attests the importance of the Passover sacrifice paralleling the regulations of both Ex. 12 and Deut. 16 although interpreting the 'centralized place' not as Jerusalem but as the mount Gerizim. Another community providing a alternative to the Jerusalem cultus attests to the Passover sacrifice and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the temple scroll not mentioning the Exodus redemption as the historical framework for the tradition. See Bokser, "Passover," 761.

[187] Pitre, *Last Supper*, 403.

[188] Pitre, *Last Supper*, 410.

McKnight describes different stages of the development of Passover during the long Jewish history. An important result is the merging of two festivals together, Passover with Massot, the Feast of the Unleavened breads. Although originally being two separate feasts these were shaped into an organic unity by the realities of agricultural life.[189]

4.2.2. *A Synoptic view of the Passover Tradition*

The Passover tradition is viewed as either part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Mark 14:2, 12) or for the Festival and Passover together (Luke 22:1,7; Acts 12:3-4; Matt. 26:17; John 13:1, 4; 18:28). One of the major problems is not textual in nature but chronological. The Synoptics differ with the gospel of John on the time when this Last Supper occurred. The Synoptics place the Passover on the night before the crucifixion (Mark 14:6, 12–17; Matt 26:17, 19–20; Luke 22:7–9, 13–14) while John places the Passover on the moment Jesus is crucified (13:1; 18:28; 19:14, 42).

Contrasting the Passover tradition in the Jewish Scriptures with the gospels the foundational framework for understanding this event is not the explicitly Historiographical Exodus but the future salvation through the Christ-event. In contrast with the Synoptics the gospel of John identifies Jesus as the Paschal Lamb by portraying Jesus crucified at the time the paschal lambs were being sacrificed in the temple synchronizing the death of Jesus with the slaughtering of the paschal lambs.[190] The Synoptics however use the Passover analogy, in adapting the sacrificial meal, to reconstruct a new message: a message of a long awaited redemption that is at hand.

4.2.3. *Matthew's Redaction of Marks Passover Tradition*[191]

The author of Matthew follows the Markan Passion Tradition both in terms of vocabulary and structure.[192] The following editorial changes that are worth mentioning are: (1) the author of Matthew sometimes changes narrative sentences from the Markan tradition in direct discourse[193], (2) the addition of the characteristic Matthean formula in 26:1 'Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους', (3) some stylistic improvements of the Markan tradition, (4) omission of 'irrelevant'

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[189] McKnight, *Jesus*, 245.

[190] Bokser, "Passover," 763.

[191] This paragraph is an adaptation of Joel B. Green, *The Death of Jesus: Tradition and Interpretation in the Passion Narrative* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1988), 20-23.

[192] Green, *The Death of Jesus*, 20.

[193] For example the Markan narrative 'καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες' in 14:23 becomes 'πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες,' in Matt. 26:27.

material such as the fleeing man in Mark 14:51-52, (5) clarifying the Markan tradition by adding some minor – theological – additions like clearing up the charge of blasphemy mad against Jesus[194] and (6) the insertion of Jewish Scriptural language, especially from the Psalms, to strengthen the allusions provided by Mark.

There are, however, certain major differences between the Matthean and the Markan account of the Passion. Additions found only in the gospel of Matthew include: the Jesus-sayings (26:52-54), the account of the death of Judas in (27:3-10)[195], the dream of the wife of Pilate (27:19), the washing of the hands in innocence (27:24-25), the opening of the tombs of the saints (27:51-53) and finally the positioning of the guards at the tomb (27:62-66).

4.3. Matthew 26:26-29 – Exodus characteristics of the Passover

Matthew 26:26-29 narrates the instruction of the Lord's Supper. After having finished all these words (26:1), being anointed in Bethany (26:6-13) and the narration of the instructions to the disciples and the plot to kill Jesus (16:14-25) the scope of the narrative centres on Jesus and his disciples celebrating the Passover.

4.3.1. Matthew 26:26 – The breaking of the bread

The pericope begins with the heavily debated 'ἐστιν' where many traditions have stumbled over each other.[196] Jesus proceeds to bless (εὐλογήσας) the bread (26:26) and give thanks (εὐχαριστήσας) for the cup (26:27). The breaking of the bread (26:26) is connected with the instruction in Ex. 13:7,8 to explain the reason for the meal, the remembrance of God's mighty deeds by bringing the nation of Israel out of Egypt. God is the one who brought forth redemption and this is to be remembered 'from year to year' (Ex. 13:10). Matthew adds 'eat' to Mark's 'take' stressing the participation of the disciples in the action of Jesus.[197] While it was not accustomed to speak during the breaking of the bread this was aloud for liturgical reasons only.[198] Although the textual connections and the echoes of the Passover imagery are abundant available, there is a very important difference. While Moses urges the Israelites to eat the bread at the

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[194] Mark 14:63 reads: 'ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς διαρρήξας τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτοῦ λέγει· τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων' while Matthew 26:65 reads: 'Τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ λέγων· ἐβλασφήμησεν· τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἴδε νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν'. Matthew specifies the charge of blasphemy after the high priest tears his garments apart.

[195] A conflicting account on the death of Judas is found in Acts 1:18-19.

[196] Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 373.

[197] Grant R. Osborne, *Matthew: Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 966.

[198] Osborne, *Matthew*, 967.

Passover and the manna later in the exodus narrative he never identifies the bread/manna to be his body.

The unleavened bread received various meanings in Judaism. It definitely referred back to the suffering under the Pharoah (Deut. 16:3) but could also incorporate the meaning of 'self-denial' and 'grief'.[199] The most important theme however is the theme of 'suffering'. Jesus, while identifying the bread with his body, in doing so connects the suffering he will endure with the suffering that the Israelites endured in Egypt.[200] This suffering, however, will lead to an new exodus, a new redemption brought forward by his own life as a sacrifice for many. It is hard to not recognize the imagery of the Exodus back in the death of Jesus. The 'old' Exodus was set in motion after the death of a firstborn. Jesus death echoes the death of the Egyptian firstborn in that sense that the death sets in motion the exodus out of Egypt. The connection with the Passover Lamb highlights the connection between the death of the lamb as sacrifice and Jesus death as sacrifice. Many interpretations have been given to the concept of Jesus death as a sacrifice, but in light of the Historiographical Exodus the theme of protection and subsequent redemption are the most likely ones to surfaces from the narrative.[201]

4.3.2. Matthew 26:27-28 – The blood of the covenant
After having broken the bread Jesus gives thanks for the cup and says 'drink all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins' (Matt. 26:27-28). The words 'my blood of the covenant' (τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης) are almost identical with the words in Ex. 24:8 (Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης).[202] The only difference is that Moses speaks about 'the blood of the covenant' whereas Jesus speaks about 'my blood of the covenant'. Ex. 24 describes the confirmation of the covenant between God and Israel. From Ex. 20 onwards God has given different commands and laws, most notably the Ten Commandments in 20:1-17

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[199] McKnigt, *Jesus*, 280.

[200] Allen, *According*, Kindle edition, chapter 5.

[201] Blood had different uses in the Jewish Scriptures and does not need to carry the connotation of atoning or forgiving, see McKnigt, *Jesus*, 285.

[202] Four texts form the Jewish Scriptures can be offered as the backdrop for Matt. 26:26 following the verbal agreement and the history of interpretation. These are Jer. 31:31 (διαθήκην καινήν), Ex. 24:8 (τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης), Zech. 9:11 (αἵματι διαθήκης) and Is. 53:12 (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον). Out of these Ex. 24:8 is the strongest for the following reasons: (1) there are two different verbal connections present (both αἷμα and διαθήκης) rather than one and (2) although the meal is not a Passover meal the situation occurs during the historiographical Exodus. If Ex. 24:8 functions as the primary backdrop for Matt. 26:28, this does not mean that Jesus, in his self-understanding as a prophet, would have been unable to mix different textual traditions together.

ending in the promise of the 'conquest of Canaan' in 23:20-32. After having heard the laws Moses builds an altar (24:4) where young bulls are sacrificed to God and the half of the blood of these animals is used to pour over the altar and the other half is used to sprinkle over the people (24:8).

The allusion connects the Passover meal with the expectation of Israel during this sacrifice that YHWH will renew his covenantal relationship with them.[203] Luz suggests that the idea of a sacrifice is available in the narrative,[204] whereas the Rabbinic tradition suggest Ex. 24 speaks about an 'atoning' sacrifice'.[205] The connection between both narratives indicate that the 'blood of Jesus' inaugurates a 'new covenant' reinterpreting the old covenant made between the nation of Israel and God. Jesus merges two motifs together in himself. In Matt. 26:27 he represents both Moses, who was a representative of God, and the bulls that are sacrificed on the altar to God which blood is used to consecrate the covenant. This arguments credits the idea of the sacrifice in the Passion Tradition.

The idea of the covenant is central to the Jewish Scriptures. It refers to the fundamental relationship between God and the nation of Israel. Israel was a special nation, chosen by God to keep his laws and commandments as a 'light to the world'. However, the narrative of the Jewish Scriptures show the stubbornness of the nation of Israel to keep Gods covenant. Therefore, God himself promises a new covenant which would effect the results of the first one (Jer. 31:31-34).[206]

The participle 'ἐκχυννόμενον' calls into memory the sacrificial language especially connected with sacrifices of atonement (Lev. 4:7, 18, 25; 9:9; 17:11-14) though it does not need to imply a 'vicarious' atonement. It does however portray Jesus as a 'sacrifice' that takes away the 'sins of many'.

The phrase 'εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν' has no explicit connection with Ex. 24:8 but through the development of the 'exodus typology' in the Jewish Scriptures and the 'exile' it reminded the Jewish audience of Jer. 31:31-34 were the end of exile was announced together with the forgiveness of sins. In the larger picture of the exodus-typology the forgiveness of sins was one of the elements of the long awaited redemption or deliverance out of exile. Mark does not have this phrase in his Passion Tradition but he uses the phrase in the ministry of John the Baptist who proclaimed a 'baptism of repentance of the forgiveness of sins' (Mark. 1:4).

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[203] Allen, *According*, Kindle edition, chapter 5.
[204] Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 380.
[205] Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (New York: MacMillan, 1955), 225-231.
[206] Heil, *Death*, 36.

In his Passion Tradition, Matthew parallels different elements from the 'first Passover' with the Last Supper. The imminent death of Jesus is connected with the death of the Passover Lamb, both indicating the imminent departure from the place of bondage. The element of sacrifice is present through the later development in the historiographical Exodus. It is no surprise that the later commemoration of the Jewish-Christian church saw Jesus as their 'true Passover sacrifice' (1 Cor. 5:7).

4.4. Jesus death as a 'new Exodus'

The Passion Tradition has no monolithic interpretative picture on the meaning of the death of Jesus[207] but in light of the allusions in the Passion Tradition it is possible to comment on the literary reason or framework in which the death of Jesus is framed. George Balentine describes it as follows: "The coincidence of the passion with the Passover, the paralleling of the old redemption with the new, has left a profound impression upon the New Testament and has resulted in the portrayal of Jesus' death as the New Exodus of salvation, (…).[208] The narrative of Matthew has consequently used the Historiographical Exodus narrative as one of the main features in the gospel by - not exclusively but often - framing the works and deeds of Jesus in light of Exodus typology.

4.4.1. The theme of deliverance in the Passion Tradition

The Matthean identification with Jesus as the New Moses culminates in the Passion Tradition with the identification of Jesus with the Passover lamb who inaugurates the imminent deliverance from bondage. However, the identification of the Passover lamb is not the only thematic connection with the theme of deliverance in the Passion Tradition. In several other instances in the narrative it becomes clear that the death of Jesus is connected with the theme of deliverance.

The theme of deliverance is strengthened by the textual allusion of Ps. 22:8 cited in 27:43. Jesus is mocked by the chief priests with the scribes and the elders when he is crucified. Matt. 27:41-43 (cf. Mark 15:31-32) describes the mockery of Jesus by the Jewish religious leaders. In a phrase unique to Matthew he cites Ps. 22:8 (LXX 21:9 Ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν, σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν) in 27:43 (πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν). Both Mark and Luke have no allusion to Ps. 22:8 but share the theme of deliverance in the mockery. Mark 15:29-32 and Luke 23:35-37 describe the observants mocking Jesus for his powers an inability

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[207] Green, *Death of Jesus*, 314.
[208] George L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," *Review & Expositor* 59 (January 1962): 27–41.

to rescue himself from the cross. Ironically, exactly by remaining at the cross Jesus is able to establish the anticipated deliverance for Israel in the theme of the new Exodus.

4.4.2. *Eschatological deliverance*

The author of Matthew was not alone in his time in his expectations that the Messiah would make an end to the ongoing exile in which Israel was held captive. Here we need to incorporate the New Exodus terminology to understand the concept of deliverance. The Historiographical Exodus narrates the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt in order to serve God and sacrifice for him. Ex. 24 narrates the covenant ceremony which is used to establish a 'new religious and social identity' for the redeemed people of Israel.[209] After their deliverance thew were fit to functions as Yahweh's kingdom of priests, as a holy people.[210] Jesus ministry already indicates that the identity of the believers rests not upon their allegiance or fulfilment of the law but in their response to Jesus.

4.4.3. *Immediate effects of the new Exodus*

After Jesus death in 27:50 Matthew narrates the immediate effects of his death. The events that are being narrated in 27:51-54 can fit thematically, less so textual, in the framework of the historiographical Exodus. Matthew narrates the rendering of the temple curtain and the rocks (vs. 51), the opening of the tombs (vs. 52) and the recognition of the centurion (vs. 54) that Jesus is the 'Son of God'.

Chronologically, after the death of the Passover lamb and the departure of the Israelites in the historiographical Exodus, the Israelites are being pursued by the army of the Pharaoh the splitting of the Red Sea provides a safe passage and ultimately drowns the Egyptian army who are in pursuit of the Israelites (Ex. 14). The splitting of the Red Sea symbolises the deliverance, a salvation in the end of times in different texts of the Jewish Scriptures.[211]

The rendering of the veil marks the definitive end of the Egyptian attempts to keep the Israelites as slaves in Egypt. Jesus repeatedly spoke about the destruction and the passing of the cultic worship in the temple. The rendering of the veil, although not literally, marks the definitive theological end of the temple cultus as means to worship the God of Israel. While in the Historiographical Exodus and subsequent history the temple cultus functioned as the means to approach God this passage has been opened

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[209] Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus*, 353.
[210] Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus*, 353.
[211] Zech. 10:6-12; Isa. 51:10-11; Isa. 43:1-19.

trough the death of the new Passover lamb initiating the new Exodus and resulting in a new approach to God.

Another fruitful and perhaps novel interpretation of the 'raising of the dead', found only in Matthew, is the parallel with the bones of Joseph. Ex. 13:19 narrates the bones of Joseph being transported to the promised land together with the living Israelites. Perhaps Matthew wants to make clear that the 'new Exodus', rooted in the historiographical Exodus, is meant both for those alive in the time of Jesus as for the saints of the past.

4.5. Conclusion

The Passover tradition is the framework in which the author of Matthew narrates the death of Jesus. In his narrative he lays down important allusions and connections between the Passover motifs and Jesus's words and deeds. The Passover lamb is Jesus whose blood does not only signifies the imminent departure out of bondage but also protects the believers through the forgiveness of sins through the blood that is being 'poured out for many'. The author of Matthew combines different textual traditions in order to make sense of the Christ-event.

In the Passover Tradition the motif of remembrance of the redemption is the continuing factor in development through the ages. Although Ex. 12 does not speak about the Passover lamb as being a sacrifice later traditions ascribe this connotation to the Passover celebration. The development of the Passover tradition gives the author of Matthew a multi-facetted and richness in motifs in order to construct his narrative of the Passover. The important allusions in the Passover tradition occur in the words of Jesus and the identification of the narrative between Jesus and the Passover lamb. By identifying Jesus as the Passover lamb the author of Matthew had identified the death of Jesus as the arrival of the 'end of exile'. Through the death of Jesus the imminent departure out of bondage has arrived. The long awaited redemption, prophesised in the Jewish Scriptures, is about to begin.

Chapter 5 - Implications, Conclusion and a Way Forward

I started this thesis with introducing the question of the death of Jesus 'according to the Scriptures' addressing the fact that many texts in the Christian Scriptures see Jesus death in accordance with the previous Scriptures but hardly give any extensive exegetical discussion on which texts or framework are in view. I proposed the view that the author of the book of Matthew used the Historiographical Exodus, and its reinterpretation through the Second Exodus, as a framework to narrate his Passion Tradition and in this way interpret the Christ-event through the Jewish Scriptures.

In the first chapter I analysed and discussed my methodology arguing that the rhetoric-literary-historical criticism is the best method in answering this thesis in order to show how the author of Matthew uses the Historiographical Exodus in order to compose the text of his gospel. In my discussion of intertextuality I pointed out that the criteria used by L. Huizinga are the most up to date criteria in order to assess the echoes and allusions between different texts. I provided the 'scriptural framework' of the author of Matthew discussing relevant textual issues and traditions that the author used and was familiar with in order to establish the intertextual connections between the Jewish Scriptures and the author of Matthew.

In the second chapter I discussed the development of the Exodus motif describing the different elements and the reinterpretation of the Historiographical Exodus through the 'Second Exodus' ultimately resulting in a eschatological return from Exile by the Messiah in the Jewish Second Temple period. The development of the Exodus language pointed to a two-dimensional understanding of the Exodus. Loyalty will lead to freedom while disloyalty will lead to a new enslavement. The theme of deliverance is vital for the understanding of the Exodus language, both historiographical and reinterpreted.

Finally, I discussed the Exodus typology in the gospel of Matthew, describing two larger frameworks in interpreting the gospel of Matthew through the Historiographical Exodus and several thematical and textual references to the Exodus story. The main argument is that Jesus, in the narrative of Matthew, is identified both with Moses (in the birth narrative, Sermon on the Mount and the Transfiguration) and Israel in the wilderness (temptation in the desert).

In the third chapter I discussed the textual and thematic connections of the Passion Tradition and the Historiographical Exodus. I described several textual connections like the identification with the farewell speech of Moses in Matt. 26:1, the washing of the hands as a sign of innocence by Pilate in Matt.27:23-25, the women watching in the

distance as an allusion to Mirjam in the birth narrative of Moses in Matt. 27:56 and assessed with each of these how strong the intertextual allusion or echo is from a rhetorical perspective using the criteria of L. Huizinga.

I discussed two thematical connections, the inversion of the theme of 'watchfulness' and the betrayal by a fellow brother and argued how the inversion of 'watchfulness' can be seen as a strong allusion to the Historiographical Exodus in which the author of Matthew inverses the theme in order to recreate the disloyalty of the nation of Israel with YHWH in the Jewish Scriptures. I also argued that the possible parallel of the betrayal of Judas most likely cannot be integrated in the Historiographical Exodus.

In my final chapter I discussed the Passover Tradition arguing that, from a literary perspective, the death of Jesus incorporates different themes of the Historiographical Exodus. The words of Jesus in Matt. 26:27-29 are loaded with Exodus imagery alluding to the night in which the Israelites prepared themselves for the imminent departure out of Egypt. I argued that this Passover needs to be interpreted as Jesus death inaugurating a 'new Exodus' resulting in a new eschatological deliverance which will lead the newly formed nation, now consisting of Jews and Gentiles, in order to function as YHWH's kingdom of priests in order to serve God.

This thesis has several implications for the view of Jesus death. Although the image of sacrifice is definitely connected with Jesus's death, the framework of the Exodus can lead to a more balanced non-vicarious interpretation of Jesus death. Taken from a narrative perspective the death of Jesus is primarily framed in terms of 'deliverance' or 'redemption'.

Several issues have been left untouched in this thesis which are in need of a more thorough analysis in the future. I will present two considerations for further research. First, my analysis of the intertextual relation between the gospel of Matthew and the Historiographical Exodus has exclusively been from the perspective of the Matthean narrative. An important addition to this study will be the research on the history of Interpretation on the discussed allusion in the history of Early Christianity. Second, how can accepting the literary framework of the Exodus as an interpretation of the death of Jesus help the multi-faceted discussion on atonement theology and enrich the non-violent approaches to the interpretation of the death of Jesus.

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