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THE EXODUS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Chapter One

THE NEW TESTAMENT VIEW OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

"I delivered unto you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3, 4). Even to the Gentiles who, for the most part, were ignorant of the Jewish Scriptures, the proclamation of the Gospel was accompanied by interpretation drawn from the sacred writings of the nation from which Christ had come "according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:3). In all the books of the New Testament, though more in some than others, appeal is made to these writings as authoritative. In a great many instances where direct quotation is not made, there are overtones of idea and language drawn from the same source, by which the writers seek to interpret the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. With diligence the authors searched the scriptures to find therein the things which testified about him.

But to make their testimony clear, the Jewish Scriptures had in their turn to be interpreted. The most popular method of exposition of an ancient literature in the

New Testament world was to allegorize it, in order to make it intelligible and acceptable to the people of the time.

Whereas Plato in "The Republic" would have excised from the ancient texts the passages which showed the gods in a bad light, the interpreters of the first century would say that the words had a different meaning from that which appeared on the surface; the difficulties were explained away rather than explained. This method of expounding their own sacred writings was imitated by the Jewish rabbis and "philosophers" both in Judea and in the Diaspora, the most famous exponent of it being Philo of Alexandria. He used this method not only to explain away some of the "cruder" parts of the Old Testament, but also to read into it ideas of which the original writers had never heard, or if they had would have repudiated with horror. He could, for example, take the rite of the Passover and expound it in terms of the Elusinian mysteries, claiming that it alone could give true purification.¹ The same method was later used by Christian teachers notably those of Alexandria, who laid down the principle that the main task of exegesis is to penetrate the outer husk of the literal meaning of the

1. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 29f.

scriptures to their inward spiritual truth. All the sacred books are on the same level; a sentence can mean almost what you want it to mean. A good example of this type of interpretation may still be found in the King James Version in the page headings to the "Song of Songs", where the original intention of the writer is lost sight of and the poem is treated as an allegory depicting the love of Christ for the Church. There may be no other way of treating such a book as this if any religious value is to be obtained from it, but it is far from the intention of the original writer. The comparative unimportance of this poem in the development of religious thought makes the method of its treatment of very little consequence, but it becomes a very different matter when the historical or prophetic books are treated in the same way, for they then become not the story of God's action among men, but oracles, dark sayings, whose real meaning is only available to a spiritual elite.

When this was the accepted method of interpreting the Scriptures, it is not surprising that examples of it are to be found in the New Testament. In the Epistle to the Galatians (3:16, 17), St. Paul quotes Genesis 12:7 to prove that the promises made to Abraham are fulfilled in Christ,

because it was "to thy offspring" not "to thy offsprings" that the promises were originally made. This exegesis is only possible on the basis of the LXX for the Hebrew language does not use the plural of אֲנִי in speaking of a man's descendants.¹ There is an even better example in Chapter 4 of the same epistle where the story of Hagar and Ishmael is turned - as St. Paul himself says - into an allegory. Hagar stands for Mount Sinai in Arabia, the mountain of the law, and corresponds to the earthly Jerusalem which is enslaved to the law; Isaac corresponds to the Christian Church which is the true heir of the promise, as Isaac, the son of the freewoman, was the true physical heir to Abraham. But it is seldom that St. Paul uses this method of interpretation, and here he may well be using it to refute the Judaizers in Galatia with their own exegetical weapons. "Tell me, you who desire to be under the law, do you not hear the law?" (Gal. 4:21) There is another example in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Chapter 7) where the author takes the story of Melchisedek in Genesis 14:17-20 and uses it to prove that the Levitical priesthood has been superseded by Christ, and that in fact the former admitted its inferiority by paying tithes through Abraham.

1. A. H. McNeile, The Christian Interpretation of the OT, p.10.

But allegory as a means of explaining the Old Testament is seldom found in the New. The writers are keenly aware of the fact that the Old Testament is the story of the mighty acts of God, and of the response which his chosen people made to his election of them. In St. Paul's sermon to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:16-41), he begins with a strict historical outline of the events from the Exodus to the choice of David as king, and then goes on to say that the promises made to David have been fulfilled in Christ who was crucified because the rulers at Jerusalem did not understand the scriptures which they heard every sabbath day. In that act they fulfilled these same scriptures and their true meaning has now been evident. For the psalm which says "Thou wilt not let thy Holy One see corruption", could not refer to David whose body had decayed, but to Christ whose body had not known decay. St. Stephen goes even further back in history in his defence before the Sanhedrin, for he begins with the call of Abraham and goes on to the building of the Temple under Solomon, when his discourse is broken off by the angry mob.

These are the two most notable examples of what we may call the historical approach to the Old Testament in the

New. A far more common method is to quote a passage from the Old Testament as proof that in some deed or word of Christ that particular passage has revealed its real meaning or has come to its fulfilment. The quotation is usually preceded by such phrases as "that the scriptures might be fulfilled", "as it is written", or "the scripture saith". Sometimes the book or author is quoted by name but often not. These quotations, however, do not seem to be drawn at random from any and every book of the Old Testament. It was the contention of Rendel Harris in his "Testimonies",¹ that from the very earliest days of the primitive Church a collection of Old Testament passages was compiled for the use of Christian preachers and missionaries in order to help them "prove" the Christian case; following F. C. Burkitt he identified this book with the Logia which Papias said that Matthew wrote. C. H. Dodd² thinks that Harris went too far in his theory that a collection of passages was written down; he believes that there was a certain method of Biblical study established at a very early date which was largely employed orally. This method included the selection of certain sections of

1. Vol. I, p. 117.

2. According to the Scriptures.

the Old Testament, which were understood as wholes,¹ and often when a writer quoted from them he was referring his reader back to the whole passage. There were also detached sentences which were sometimes used to clinch an argument, but in the main it is the long passages which are the bases of the argument, even where the authors are in literary independence of each other. These selections were believed to set forth "the definite plan and foreknowledge of God",² which the life, death and resurrection of Christ had now made plain to men. They were drawn mainly from the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk and Daniel, with a few references from the Pentateuch. Dodd proves his point by collating the various passages quoted one or more times by different authors, and one or two examples may be given. Verse 4 of Psalm 69 is quoted by St. John, the first half of verse 9 by St. John and the last half by St. Paul, the first half of verse 21 by St. Matthew and the last half by St. Mark, while verse 25 is used by the author of Acts.³ In the same way, one verse or another from the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is quoted or echoed in all four Gospels, in Acts, Romans, Philippians, Hebrews

1. loc. cit. p.126. 2. Acts 2:23. 3. Dodd, pp. 57-59.

and 1 Peter.¹ The plot of these and similar quotations is humiliation and defeat followed by victory, whether of an individual or of a group spoken of in individual terms, it is impossible to tell.² The main point is that in all of them God is working out his purpose, "his strange work" (Is. 28:21).

The conviction which lay behind the choice of these particular passages was that Christ was the goal towards which the ancient promises of God and his revelation of himself in history pointed. History, which for them meant sacred history, is all of a piece, the record of the continuous process which comes to its climax in the death and resurrection of Jesus. Since the purposes of God cannot change, there must be a continuity through the whole story of God's dealings with his people, though his plan may sometimes be temporarily thwarted by the passions and designs of men. "What God promised to the fathers, he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus" (Acts 13:32, 33). There is also a correspondence between the various stages of the unfolding plan and their fulfilment. While occasionally the pattern is read into

1. Dodd, *The OT in the New*, p. 9. 2. *The Exodus Pattern*.

the scriptures rather than read out of them, e.g. in St. Matthew 2:18, where the slaughter of the Innocents is regarded as the fulfilment of a prophecy in Jeremiah which speaks of lamentation in Ramah (Jer. 31:15), the New Testament writers are aware of the historical process and do not often twist words out of their context. What they see in the life of Christ is the corroboration of the pattern that has been given in the earlier stages of Israel's history, and which in turn illuminates that pattern. The characters of the Old Testament are not pegs on which to hang an argument, but real historical persons, whose experiences are foreshadowings or types of him who was to come, in whom "types and shadows have their ending". The events recorded there are not "myths" or legends from a misty past, but real happenings whose full purpose and meaning have been disclosed. "To them (the N.T. writers) the whole story of the people of Israel, their divine call, their redemption from Egypt, the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, the triumphant establishment of the worship of Jehovah in the Holy Land, the building of the temple, the tragedy of the exile, and the subsequent resurrection and return of the remnant to Zion - are all foreshadowings of

the greater and final salvation given in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, apart from which they have no abiding significance and are not fully comprehensible".¹

If we omit the last two events in this series, which played little part in the Jerusalem *Κήρυγμα* probably because Jewish history did not concentrate on them in the same way that it did on pre-Exilic history, we have in a sentence the essence of the New Testament approach to history.

The question arises as to where this method of interpreting the Old Testament arose, if the allegorical method was the most popular method of the time. There can be no doubt that the pattern of our Lord's earthly life would lead the primitive Church to those parts of the Old Testament where the same pattern is worked out; it never came to its fulfilment there, for the victory which followed defeat was never permanent. Always it was followed by further humiliation. But the belief that history had a meaning and purpose lay there in the prophetic literature, which in the Hebrew Canon included the historical books. Prophecy

1. R. V. G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, p. 12.

is in fact impossible without a belief in the "meaningfulness" of the historical process. A cyclic theory of history will produce no prophet.

The belief that history has a meaning was kept alive in post-Exilic Judaism by the Apocalyptists; even if they were mainly concerned with the end of history, they are in general faithful to the prophetic outlook. "The idea that Hebraic apocalypse is a corruption rather than a logical culmination of the Messianic hope has gained currency in secularized schools of criticism which do not understand the basic significance of the problem of time and eternity, of history and super-history, with which the apocalyptic writings are concerned".¹ There was also the reading of the Law and the prophets every sabbath day, and perhaps more important still the solemn keeping of the great feasts, Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. In origin these feasts were no doubt nature festivals, but before the first century they had become memorials of the great acts of God by which the nation had been brought into being. In the earliest source in which the Passover is mentioned in the Pentateuch - the J Document - it is regarded as a rememb-

1. R. Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. II, p. 33n.

rance of the Exodus, together with its associated feast, the feast of unleavened bread. "And you shall tell your son on that day, 'It is because of what the Lord did for me when I came out of Egypt'" (Ex. 13:8). The harvest festival or Pentecost came to be associated with the giving of the law, though the connection was not made until after the closing of the canonical books.¹ The Deuteronomist connects it with Egypt. "You shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt; and you shall be careful to observe these statutes" (Deut. 16:12). The feast of ingathering in the fall became the feast of Tabernacles in commemoration of the wandering in the wilderness. "All that are native in Israel shall dwell in booths, that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. 23:42, 43). But in spite of these things the Rabbis had all but completely lost their sense of history. Even in their interpretation of the Exodus, attention was fixed not on the divine act of deliverance but on the giving of the Law. Prophecy had died out as 1 Maccabees 4:44-46 shows, where the desecrated altar is pulled down and the stones laid aside "until there

1. J. Marsh, *The Fulness of Time*, p. 40.

should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them". With the death of prophecy all hope for the future as based on what God had done in the past was pushed into the background in official religion. The Kingdom of God would come, not when he acted, but when the Law was perfectly kept.

The New Testament leaps over this barrier of post-Exilic Judaism and goes back to the prophetic promises, though it sometimes employs apocalyptic material in expressing them. St. Luke introduces the narrative of the ministry with the prophetic phrase, "The word of God" came to John the son of Zechariah in the wilderness (St. Luke 3:2). And in doing this the New Testament writers saw the Old Testament with a fresh vision. As St. Paul put it, the veil lying over the old covenant is removed when a man turns to the Lord (2 Cor. 3:14-16). The death and resurrection of Christ was seen to be the last and mightiest act in a series of acts which had begun at the Exodus, where slavery and humiliation had been followed by victory and freedom. The purpose of this essay is to show that though the Greek word occurs only three times in the New Testament, once referring to the historical Exodus (Heb. 11:22), another where it means death (2 Peter 1:15), and a third where the English

versions translate it as decease or departure (St. Luke 9:31), the series of events which can be summed up in that one word supplied much of the imagery and allusion in the New Testament and was widely used to interpret the Gospel.

And by the Exodus we mean the total series of events from the coming of Moses to the enslaved Israelites to the entry into the Promised Land, not merely the flight out of Egypt. As Theo Preiss points out, the modern historian thinks in precise terms. The first century Jew, because his memories of the past were kept alive through liturgical associations of ideas rather than through a study of history, thought of the Exodus as a totality which covered the mighty acts of God through which his nation was born.¹ It was therefore quite natural for the early Christian preachers to do the same.

1. Life in Christ, p. 90.

Chapter Two

THE PLACE OF THE EXODUS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Before proceeding to discuss the place which the Exodus had in the thinking of the New Testament writers, it is necessary to see its importance in the minds of those who shaped the historical traditions of Israel, laid down her cultic patterns, guided her conduct and spoke of her future.

The history of Israel from her birth as a nation to the Exile in Babylon is given us as almost a continuous narrative from the beginning of Exodus to the end of 2 Kings, the Book of Genesis being an introduction. The books which contain the history of the beginnings - the Hexateuch - attained their present form as the result of the binding together of different types of material, historical, legal, poetic, cultic, didactic, doctrinal. The groundwork consists of two traditions of the national history, the J Document written about the middle of the ninth century, B.C., and the E Document about a century later.¹ The central theme around which the various strands are united is a confession of faith in what Yahweh has done

1. North, *The O.T. Interpretation of History*, pp. 25, 35.

for Israel. He who made the world called Abraham and promised to him the land of Canaan. After a long period of sojourn in Egypt, the people became enslaved. From this bondage Yahweh delivered them, led them out of Egypt, made a covenant with them at Sinai, and guided them through the wilderness. He finally brought them into the land which he "had sworn to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob to give them" (Deut. 6:10). It is around this theme that the various writers over the centuries have heaped up materials, combining traditions of both North and South, and elaborating them as late as the post-Exilic period. Most modern scholars believe that behind the prose narratives there are cycles of ballads¹ and primitive liturgies.² Only fragments of the ballads remain, while the cultic credos have been elaborated, but both are connected with the great moments of the past. A good example of the former is a fragment embedded in Exodus 15: "Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea" (verse 21). In Deuteronomy 26:5-9, we are given a primitive "liturgy",

1. R. B. Y. Scott, *The Relevance of the Prophets*, p. 141.

2. G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, p. 23.

which tells the worshipper what he is to say when he comes with his offering of firstfruits: "A wandering Aramean was my father, and he went down into Egypt and there he became a nation, great, mighty and populous. And the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us and laid upon us hard bondage. Then we cried to the Lord the God of our fathers, and the Lord heard our voice, and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and outstretched arm, with great terror, with signs and wonders; and he brought us into this place and gave us this land." A similar form is to be found in Deuteronomy 6:20-25. The point of these confessions is that they are a recitation of the saving acts of Yahweh on which the nation was founded. Their form reflects a time when the old tribal covenant was still in force, that is, they go back before the time of the monarchy. The result of the deliverance from Egypt is a solemn compact at Sinai into which the tribes who had not been in bondage were later admitted. Von Rad believes¹ that Joshua 24:1-28 describes this ceremony. The later elaborations of the Law, both moral and ceremonial, are all referred to Sinai as the place of origin. In the completed Hexateuch, the Exodus, Sinai and the conquest are held together as aspects of one event by which the nation was brought into being, but

1. Von Rad, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

the priority goes to the Exodus. Obedience is expected on the basis of what Yahweh has done for his people. "I am the Lord thy God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Ex. 20:2). Thus over the long period of time during which their most fundamental document was compiled, the Israelites were continually reminded that their origin as a nation lay in a divine act of deliverance. So deeply engrained was this belief, that the later historians wrote the history of the early days in Canaan in terms of bondage and freedom, oppression and deliverance.¹ The Book of Judges is but a series of variations on that single theme. "And the people forsook the Lord, the God of their fathers, who had brought them out of the land of Egypt, so the Lord gave them over to the plunderers who plundered them. Then the Lord raised up judges who saved them out of the power of those who plundered them. But whenever the judge died, they turned back and behaved worse than their fathers." (Judges 2:12-19)

Like the Hexateuch the historical books have been "worked over" by later editors, so that words are often put

1. Judges consists of two strands of material, the earlier by J, the later by E.

in the mouth of prophet, priest or king, which the redactors believed that he should have said. Scattered through the Books of Samuel and Kings are several references to the Exodus. A "man of God" appeals to it when he rebukes Eli's sons for their avarice (1Sam. 2:27). A number of references to it in the story of Samuel come from the later Deuteronomic school, which believed that the monarchy was at best a permissive form of government, over which one should not get too enthusiastic (1Sam. 8:8; 10:18; 12:6, 7; 15:2, 6). Nathan speaks of Yahweh's dwelling-place on earth since the days of the Exodus as the tent of meeting in advising David not to build a temple (2Sam. 7:6), and David himself speaks of it in his prayer to Yahweh (2Sam. 7:23). The date given for the beginning of Solomon's temple is "the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out of the land of Egypt" (1Kings 6:1). "This", says Marsh, "is an unique tribute to the critical significance that the Hebrews attached to the Exodus, parallel to the 'ab urbe condita' in Rome, or the 'anno domini' of the Christian era".¹ It is mentioned no less than four times in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1Kings 8:16, 21, 51, 53). The

1. Marsh, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

fall of Samaria is attributed to the fact that the people sinned against the Lord their God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt from under the hand of Pharaoh (1 Kings 17:7).

In the prophetic literature, the people are continually reminded of what God has done for them and of their consequent obligation "to hear and obey his voice". The appeal to their past history is first made by the eighth century prophets, though we may note that the journey of Elijah to Horeb, the mount of God, known in the Judaeen tradition as Sinai,¹ bears witness to the place of the Exodus in the primitive Northern tradition. Amos - the first of the "classical" prophetic procession - bases his indictment of Israel for her unfaithfulness, on what Yahweh has done for her in the past. The word of the Lord is spoken against "the whole family which I brought up out of the land of Egypt" (Amos 3:1). He appeals to facts that everybody should know when he says:

Also I brought you up out of the land of Egypt,
and led you forty years in the wilderness,
to possess the land of the Amorites.
And I raised up some of your sons for prophets,
and some of your young men for Nazarites.
Is it not indeed so, O people of Israel?
says the Lord. (2:10, 11).

Reference is again made to the forty years in the wilder-

1. Scott, op.cit., p. 69.

ness in Amos 5:25.

Hosea looks back to the time of the Exodus as the ideal period of Israel's history, when her relationship to Yahweh was that of a child to a loving father:

When Israel was a child, I loved him,
and out of Egypt I called my son.
The more I called him,
the more they went from me;
they kept sacrificing to Baals,
and burning incense to idols.
Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk,
I took them up in my arms;
but they did not know that I healed them.
I led them with cords of compassion,
with the bands of love,
and I became to them as one
who eases the yoke on the jaws,
and I bent down to them and fed them. (11:1-4).

But the favourite figure of Hosea is Yahweh as the bridegroom of Israel:

I am the Lord your God
from the land of Egypt;
you know no God but me,
and beside me there is no saviour.
It was I who knew you in the wilderness,
in the land of drought. (13:4, 5).

or again:

Therefore behold I will allure her,
and bring her into the wilderness,
and speak tenderly to her.

And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth,
as at the time when she came out of Egypt.
(2:14, 15).

And the punishment for Israel's sins will be an Exodus in reverse:

Now he will remember their iniquity,
and punish their sins;
they shall return to Egypt. (8:13 b).

Isaiah makes no direct reference to the tradition of the past in his prophecies of judgment, although the allegory of the vine (Isaiah 5) was a familiar one to represent the history of the nation.¹ Micah speaks of the deliverance from Egypt and the redemption from bondage as "the saving acts of the Lord" (Micah 6:4, 5); Jeremiah on several occasions recalls the Exodus as the action of Yahweh whereby Israel became his people (Jer. 2:6; 7:22; 11:4, 7; 34:13). Ezekiel in the immediate prospect of the Exile mentions it as happening in the days when Yahweh chose Israel (Ezek. 20:5, 6).

It is still a matter of debate whether there are any signs of hope for the future in the pre-Exilic prophecies, with the exception of Jeremiah and possibly of Isaiah. Amos holds out no hope at all. "Hosea is reckoned generally the prophet of hope, but some commentators find in his oracles reason to think that finally his hope for Israel's reform died in him".²

1. Cf. Ps. 80:8 - a Northern Psalm written about Isaiah's time.

2. S. B. Frost, O.T. Apocalyptic, p. 47.

Micah had become the proverbial prophet of doom by Jeremiah's time.¹ Isaiah's promise of immediate deliverance from the Assyrian menace is expressed in Exodus terms: "The Lord of hosts will wield against them a scourge, as when he smote Midian at the rock of Oreb; and his rod will be over the sea, and he will lift it as he did in Egypt" (Is. 10:26). Isaiah nursed a hope that a remnant might be saved through which a new people of God would be created (Is. 6:13), and over the restored Zion would rest the sign of the Presence during the wilderness wanderings (Is. 4:5). Jeremiah's hope for the future is that Yahweh will work a change in the hearts of the people when he makes a new covenant with them: "The days are coming when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah I will put my law within them and write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (Jer. 31:31, 33). The nation will be restored by a greater and more wonderful Exodus: "They shall no more say 'As the Lord lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt', but 'As the Lord lives, who brought up and led the descendants of the house

1. Jer. 26:18.

of Israel out of the north country, and out of all the countries where he had driven them' " (Jer. 23:7, 8).

But it is the great prophet of the late Exile whom we call Deutero-Isaiah who makes the greatest use of the Exodus in his proclamation of the impending return of the exiles:

Thus says the Lord,
who makes a way in the sea,
a path in the mighty waters,
who brings forth chariot and horse, army and warrior;
they lie down, they cannot rise,
they are extinguished, quenched like a wick:
'Remember not the former things,
nor consider the things of old.
Behold I am doing a new thing;
Now it springs forth,
do you not perceive it?
I will make a way in the wilderness
and rivers in the desert'. (Is. 43:16-19).

In Chapter 51 he refers to it again in terms of the Babylonian creation myth:

Awake, awake, put on strength,
O arm of the Lord;
awake, as in days of old,
the generations of long ago.
Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,
that didst pierce the dragon?
Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea,
the waters of the great deep;
that didst make the depths of the sea a way
for the redeemed to pass over? (Is. 51:9, 10).

And this second Exodus will be more wonderful than the first;
the people would not have to go in haste, nor go by flight, as

they did from Egypt, for Yahweh would not only go before them as he did then in the pillar of cloud,¹ but also be their rearguard (Is. 52:12). There are allusions to the bringing of the water out of the rock by Moses (Is. 43:20; Is. 48:21), and to the feeding of the people in Is. 40:11. In fact his whole prophecy (Is. 40-55) is saturated with Exodus imagery.

The third largest section of Isaiah (56-66), written about seventy-five years after Deutero-Isaiah,² when the prophecy of the latter had not been fulfilled, appeals again to Yahweh to show his steadfast love:

Then he remembered the days of old,
of Moses his servant.
Where is he who brought up out of the sea
the shepherds of his flock?
Where is he who put in the midst of them
his holy Spirit,
who caused his glorious arm
to go at the right hand of Moses,
who divided the waters before them
to make for himself an everlasting name,
who led them through the depths?
Like a horse in the desert
they did not stumble.
Like cattle that go down into the valley,
the Spirit of the Lord gave them rest.
So didst thou lead thy people,
to make for thyself a glorious name.
Look down from heaven and see,
from thy holy and glorious habitation.

1. Exodus 13:21.

2. S. A. Cook, The O.T., A Reinterpretation, p. 180.

Where are thy zeal and thy might?
The yearning of thy heart and thy compassion
are withheld from me.

(Is. 63:11-15).

Scattered through the writings of the greater prophets are post-Exilic insertions which are sometimes difficult to date and of which we may mention three, Isaiah 11, Isaiah 24-27 (the so-called Little Apocalypse), and Jeremiah 32:16-25. The first expresses the belief that "the Lord will extend his hand a second time to recover the remnant of his people" from all parts of the earth (verse 11), and that "there will be a highway from Assyria as there was for Israel when they came up out of the land of Egypt" (verse 16), the second that the people will again be gathered from the four corners of the earth - "those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt", while the third is a prayer recounting Yahweh's mercies to Israel when he brought the nation out of Egypt "with signs and wonders, with a strong hand and with outstretched arm" (Jer. 32:21). These passages show that in the days after the Exile, when national freedom seemed far away, the hope still remained alive that Yahweh would act in the future as he had in the past. While the hope was not always expressed in those terms - Haggai and Zechariah never mention it - it was

frequently referred to as the basis for the hope.

Lex orandi, lex credendi. In addition to the prophetic and historical literature the Exodus is a recurring theme in the Psalms. No less than twenty-five of them contain either direct references or allusions to it; some of the twenty-five are the product of the prophetic school of thought, some of the priestly; some are pre, some post-Exilic; some are from the North, some from the South. It would take us beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss them all,¹ but examples of the various ways in which the Psalmists make use of the Exodus may be given.

Psalm 78. A ballad of Jewish history, written for the express purpose of handing on to the generations to come the story of the past, that unlike their fathers, they might put their trust in God. It briefly tells the history of the nation from the Exodus to the time of David, with the emphasis on the Exodus period. It is a late psalm as the Yahwist, Elohist and Priestly documents are all known to the writer.² Apart from David none of the ancient heroes are mentioned by name. The theme is the mighty acts of Yahweh in the days of old.

1. See Appendix I. 2. Leslie, *The Psalms*, p. 165.

Psalm 106. A congregational lament, and
confessing the sins of the nation both past and present:

"We and our fathers have sinned;
we have committed iniquity, we have done wickedly".

(verse 6).

The psalmist then goes on to recount what Yahweh did for his people and what they did to him in return. But because his mercy and faithfulness have been shown again and again, the people can now utter their cry:

"Save us, O Lord our God,
and gather us from among the nations,
that we may give thanks to thy holy name
and glory in thy praise".

(verse 47).

Psalm 114. A Passover psalm, one of the
Egyptian Hallel (Pss. 113-118). An outburst of praise at God's deliverance of his people, which even nature itself could not behold unmoved:

"The sea looked and fled
Jordan turned back.
The mountains skipped like rams,
the hills like lambs".

(verse 2).

Psalm 136. The great Hallel, sung on all
festivals except the New Year.¹ The unique element in this psalm is that it is liturgical throughout. Every verse is sung

1. H. Danby, The Mishna, p. 199.

antiphonally, the first part of the verse by the choir and the congregation coming in with the refrain. The Exodus story (verses 10-22) is placed in the context of creation (verses 5-9).

Psalm 95. An Invitatory liturgy from the prophetic school, with the emphasis on conduct as the true test of worship. After an invitation to worship by the choir, the congregation is reminded that worship demands obedience to the voice of God in the present. The people are to be unlike their ancestors who put Yahweh to the test at Massah-Meribah, though they had seen his great deeds (in Egypt).

Psalm 74. A congregational lament which recalls the redemption of Israel in terms of the old creation myth. It appeals to Yahweh to make his power felt at the present time and beseeches him to remember the covenant he made with Israel:

"Yet God is my King from of old,
 working salvation in the midst of the earth.
Thou didst divide the sea by thy might;
 thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters.
Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan,
 thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness.
Thou didst cleave open springs and brooks;
 thou didst dry up ever-flowing streams.
Have regard for thy covenant;
 for the dark places of the land
 are full of the habitations of violence.
Arise, O God, plead thy cause!"

(verses 12-15, 20, 22).

Psalm 77. A lament of the individual, probably written at the time of the conquest of Israel by Assyria. The psalmist is troubled because his country has been overrun, and wonders if God has cast off his people. In meditating upon his problem, he remembers the days of old when God worked his wonders, and this is enough to reassure him that God is still active to save.

Psalm 80. A congregational lament from the North, written when the country fell. The story of Israel is told under the symbolism of the vine. Unlike Psalm 77, the past is mentioned without hope for the future, but the refrain is a prayer that Yahweh will again be gracious:

Restore us, O God;
let thy face shine that we may be saved!
(verses 3, 7, 19).

From this brief survey we may see that in times of triumph and tragedy, on ordinary occasions and solemn festivals, Jewish worship turned again and again to the Exodus. That event had become the basis for praise and thanksgiving, for appeal to Yahweh to deliver them in time of trouble, and for a constant reminder that the nation must remain faithful to the covenant that had been made.

All through the canonical books of the Old Testament

then, the theme of the Exodus runs like a golden thread. From the birth of the nation to its death in Exile, for it never regained national sovereignty again, except for a short period under the Maccabees, and into the days of the Jewish Church the deliverance from Egypt is the locus classicus of Israel's faith. The religions of the peoples around her were little more than sympathetic magic designed to keep the cycle of nature going. The god who had died with the dying vegetation was brought back to life every New Year, and then the cycle went on as before, history repeating itself over and over again. But Yahweh was different. There never was a time when Chemosh was not the god of Moab, but there was a time when Yahweh was not the God of Israel. He had chosen her, not because of her good character as she herself continually admitted, but as a sheer act of his grace. He had chosen her and given her the marks of his favour. No doubt in the palmy days of David and Solomon there was nothing more to be said than this. And the annual reminder of that fact was the feast of the **P**assover. There was a certain amount of imitation of their neighbours in cultic practice as the Feast of Unleavened Bread itself bears witness, and this sometimes developed into syncretism in

the minds of a large number of the population (1 Kings 19:10, 14). But always there was the Exodus and the Covenant, and someone to bear witness to them, and to the fact that Yahweh was utterly unlike Chemosh or Molech. The amazing thing is that though faith in Yahweh wavered in time of calamity, it never died. Yahweh had acted, therefore he will act, and his actions will be consistent with his character. "The Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, but who will by no means clear the guilty" (Ex. 34:6, 7). This description of Yahweh's character from the J Document shows that even at that stage in their history, the people were deeply aware that their God was active in human affairs.

This explains why the nature festivals become for them memorials of the past. But this was more than a subjective remembering lest the people forget. In a most realistic sense, the events of the past were relived. "We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt, and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand, that he might bring us in and give us the land which he swore to give to

our fathers" (Deut. 6:20-24). As the Mishna later put it, "in every generation a man must so regard himself as if he himself came forth out of Egypt".¹ Just as the nation was created by the Exodus it was re-created by the Passover. No doubt the concept of "corporate personality" lies behind the use of such language, but there seems to be more than that here. It may be that the idea came originally from the New Year festival of the nations around her, and was by her completely transformed, and given both moral content and historical meaning. In an historically conditioned faith it was not the renewal of nature but the recalling of history that had to be the focal point. In a covenant religion, worship without resulting conduct was worse than no worship at all.

This helps us to understand why the prophets spoke of the past and the future in Exodus symbolism. God had created Israel, therefore he must judge her.

You only have I known
of all the families of the earth;
therefore I will punish you
for all your iniquities.

(Amos 3:2).

But equally, God had created Israel, therefore he will restore

1. The Root of the Vine, op.cit., p. 88.

her.

Can a woman forget her sucking child,
that she should have no compassion
on the son of her womb?
Even these may forget,
yet I will not forget you.

(Is. 49:15).

Because he had acted in history the conviction arises that his judgment and his mercy must work themselves out in history. And that in turn brings another conviction. If Yahweh is the Lord of history his dealings with Israel must be only part of his dealings with mankind. So Amos declares that he brought the Philistines from Capthor and the Syrians from Kir (Amos 9:7). Assyria is the rod of his anger (Is. 10:5) and Cyrus is his anointed (Is. 45:1). The destruction of Samaria and the Babylonian captivity had made it plain that it was not for Israel's sake alone that she had been chosen. It was the author of the "Servant Songs" who saw the ultimate reason:

I will give you as a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth.

(Is. 49:6).

But after the Exile was over, the nation Church built a wall around itself, and to all intents and purposes settled down to the worship of a "parochial" God. This was not done

without some protest, as the books of Jonah and Ruth show. Jeremiah's hope for a new covenant, Trito-Isaiah's hope that the Gentiles would be brought into Jewry, the hope of the Servant Songs that Israel would be the means of the salvation of mankind remained unfulfilled. So the Old Testament closes an incomplete book. The pattern of bondage - freedom, exile - return had not been finished.

Chapter Three

THE EXODUS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

When we pass from the Old Testament to the New, we are at once conscious of a change of atmosphere. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he has visited and redeemed his people" (Luke 1:68). "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the Gospel" (Mark 1:15). These and a great many similar passages proclaim the conviction that with the advent of Jesus the history of Israel had come to its climax. All that the prophets had foretold, all the experiences of Israel found fulfilment in him. The Good News was the declaration that the purpose of God had finally been revealed for all who had eyes to see and ears to hear (Luke 10:23, 24; Mark 4:9). As we have seen above, the primitive Church found in the acts of God for his people in old time the means of interpreting his acts "in these last times". But before we go on to discuss the part which the Exodus played in this interpretation, it is necessary to say something about the meaning of the word "Fulfilment".

In the New Testament the Greek words πληρόω, τελειόω

are used with a variety of meanings. The simplest one is to do completely (Rom. 3:10; Matt. 3:15). It is also used to denote the completion of a fixed period of time (Luke 2:7). The theological meaning of the word goes back to the Old Testament and depends upon the conviction that God is the supreme disposer of all that exists; there is no such thing as chance, coincidence or fate. This belief receives its strongest expression in Deutero-Isaiah: "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe" (Is. 45:7). All events of history or at least all great events are appointed or determined; they are not fortuitous occurrences.¹ What God has determined or appointed will come to pass. This is not to deny human freedom, for the choice of obedience or rebellion is often placed before men in the Old Testament, e.g. Josh. 24:22, 1 Kings 18:20, 21, but that God cannot in the end be defeated by his own creation. As the Mishnah puts it: "All is foreseen, and freedom of choice is given".² One of the instruments through which God works in the world is his Word spoken by the prophets. His word is spoken, cast upon the stream

1. Theological Word Book of the Bible, vv. appoint, fulfil.
 2. Danby, The Mishnah, p. 452.

of history, enters the world of human affairs, and is henceforth one of the factors to be reckoned with in any given situation, in fact the chief factor. "My word that goes forth from my mouth shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it" (Is. 55:11). A false prophet can be distinguished from a true one on the basis of the fulfilment of the prophet's words. The problem of unfulfilled prophecy became a soul searching one for Jeremiah, torn between the conviction that Yahweh had spoken to him and the fact that the word had not been fulfilled.¹ The New Testament writers proclaim that the word spoken by the prophets had now come to its fulfilment; it had become an event, been actualized in history. The fulfilment is not a mechanical one, though occasional instances of what appears to be a mechanical fulfilment are found in the New Testament, e.g. John 19:28; Matt. 21:5-7. Rather it is that the purpose of God which the prophets saw underlying the events of their own time has now come out into the clear light of history. From the vantage point of the revelation of God in Christ the prophetic word has taken on its full meaning;

1. Jer. 20:7, 8.

it has been fulfilled.

But there is also the fulfilment of events as well as words, for events are in a sense actualisations of God's words. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33:6). "And God said 'Let there be light'; and there was light" (Gen. 1:3). The events of Israel's past history were, however, imperfect actualisations of the word of God for Israel had been disobedient.

"O that you had hearkened to my commandments!
Then your peace would have been like a river,
And your righteousness like the waves of the sea."
(Is. 48:18).

They therefore await their perfect actualisation in the days to come. The events of Israel's history were not ends in themselves but pointers towards a future time. Only when they were perfectly actualised could they be completely understood, and when that day comes they are fulfilled. This means that they are never completely fulfilled till the Kingdom of God comes, but the nearer the fulfilment the nearer they are to complete understanding. The Passover, for example, does not come to its complete fulfilment until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God (Luke 22:15); in the present world it is a foretaste of the Heavenly Banquet. Because in Christ the Kingdom of God has drawn near, the events of the past

have found their fulfilment in him. C. H. Dodd has accustomed us to think of the Kingdom in terms of "realised eschatology";¹ for the New Testament writers the past no less than the future is summed up in Christ Jesus. He is ὁ πρῶτος as well as ὁ ἔσχατος.

The great event of Israel's past was the Exodus. How then do the Synoptists see in the words and works of Christ the fulfilment of the Exodus? We shall discuss first the three central events in St. Mark's Gospel and their corresponding sections in St. Matthew and St. Luke - the beginning of the ministry, the Transfiguration and the Passion Narrative.

The title of St. Mark's Gospel is "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God". The New Testament use of εὐαγγελίζω and of the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι "to preach good tidings" derives from the LXX where its first use in a theological sense appears in Deutero-Isaiah:

"Get you up to a high mountain,
 O herald of good tidings to Zion;
 lift up your voice with strength,
 O herald of good tidings to Jerusalem,
 lift it up, fear not;
 say to the cities of Judah,
 'Behold your God!'" (Is. 40:9).

1. Vide, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments.

How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him who brings good tidings,
who publishes peace, who brings good tidings of good,
who publishes salvation,
who says to Zion, "Your God reigns".
(Is. 52:7).

The direct result of that proclamation is that the exiles will return from Babylon not through the wilderness where there is no way, but by a highway (Is. 40:3, 4). The word "Gospel" itself comes from a Second Exodus setting, and St. Mark goes on to quote from the same scripture to show that John the Baptist is the voice of whom the prophet had spoken. (The quotation from Malachi 3:1 is thought by many to be an insertion from Matt. 11:10 or Luke 7:27, both of whom may have obtained it from Q.)¹ John's preaching, like that of the great prophets, is a preaching of repentance before the Day of the Lord comes (Matt. 3:7-10, 12; Luke 3:7-9, 17), but he also prophesies of the Coming One who will be greater than himself. The repentance which he requires in view of the near approaching judgment is to be sealed by baptism in the Jordan.

The origin of John's baptism has been found in many places. Some have found it in Hellenistic rites of lustration,

1. A. E. Rawlinson, St. Mark, p.5. Cf. Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 7, p. 648.

but according to C. K. Barrett, this has been conclusively disproved.¹ Ceremonial washings are frequently mentioned in Jewish Law, but these have no ethical significance, though the symbolism of washing is sometimes used to denote repentance (Is. 1:16; Jer. 4:14; Ps. 51:2). The nearest observance to John's baptism in Judaism was the initiation ceremony for a proselyte. It has been said that proselyte baptism was an imitation of the Christian sacrament; in view of the bitter hatred of Jews for Christians after the fall of Jerusalem this is highly unlikely.² Though there are no references to the rite in the Old Testament or the Apocrypha, an examination of the Rabbinic evidence shows that proselyte baptism was a well-established custom in the first century of the Christian era.³ Its meaning however is still a matter of dispute. Because it has a superficial resemblance to the many baths prescribed in the laws of ritual purification, many writers hold that it was nothing more than the means by which the proselyte freed himself from the uncleanness of his former life.⁴ This explanation is nowhere explicitly

1. The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition, p. 30.

2. W. F. Flemington, The N.T. Doctrine of Baptism, p. 4.

3. E. R. E. Vol. II, p. 408, art. Baptism (Jewish).

4. Flemington, op.cit., pp. 8, 9.

stated in Jewish writings of the early Christian centuries; unlike a ritual bath the presence of witnesses was required at it.¹ The ritual consisted of total immersion while two scholars stood by and recited some of the lighter and some of the weightier commandments of the law.² When he comes out of the water he is in all respects a true Israelite. F. Gavin³ argues that this ceremony was in a real sense sacramental; though there was no sacramental doctrine in Judaism, the indissoluble connection between soul and body made it inevitable that what happens to the one must affect the other. The physical and spiritual were parts of one larger inclusive whole. Sacramental doctrine can only be expounded when there is a distinction between the outward and visible sign and the inward and spiritual grace, a distinction that does not enter the categories of Hebrew thought. We may therefore conclude that proselyte baptism is more than a ceremonial washing. It was also a purificatory rite in the moral sense. As one of the rabbis said: "A proselyte who embraces Judaism is like a new-born child".⁴

1. Moore, Judaism, Vol. I, p. 333.

2. F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents to the Christian Sacraments, p. 34.

3. loc. cit., p. 3ff.

4. Talmud, Yebamoth, 48 b.

The total initiation rite for a proselyte consisted of baptism, circumcision and the offering of sacrifice in the Temple and there was some disagreement among the rabbis as to whether baptism or circumcision should come first.¹ The compiler of the Mishnah, Rabbi Judah the Patriarch, stated that there was a correspondence between the admission of a proselyte and the history of Israel's birth as a nation. As the Israelites had become sons of the covenant through circumcision, baptism and sacrifice, so the proselyte came "under the wings of the Shechinah" by the same three things.² They were circumcised in Egypt, baptised in the Red Sea, and offered sacrifice at Sinai; then they entered into covenant relationship with Yahweh (Ex. 24:5-8), and became the People of God, their old life having been left behind them in the Red Sea. So a Rabbinic saying goes: "When Israel received the law at Sinai, he was a new-born child one day old".³ The proselyte in baptism symbolically goes through the Red Sea, leaving his old evil life, as typified by Egypt, behind him. He comes out of the baptismal bath a purified person fit to be a member of the Divine Community. At the time of his

1. Yebamoth 46a.

2. Moore, *op.cit.*, I, p. 333.

3. Quoted in *The Root of the Vine*, (ed. A. Fridrichsen), p. 91.

baptism, therefore, he receives the law.

It is against this background of belief and practice that we can set the baptism of John. The main difference between John's baptism and proselyte baptism is that it was offered to Jews as well as Gentiles. Israel because of its sin had forfeited its right to be called the chosen people, and needed to be re-initiated by repentance and baptism. The eschatological crisis which John proclaimed was to bring with it the final deliverance of the People of God, and repentance and baptism were necessary if those who desired the Day of the Lord were to be ready for it when it came. It was also a collective act. The words of St. Mark: "And there went out to him all the country of Judea and all the people of Jerusalem; and they were baptised by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins" (Mark 1:5), is no doubt an exaggeration, but the evangelist may be here implying that all who were baptised were the People of God. When we recall that Judaism in the time of Christ frequently used Exodus terms to describe the final restoration of Israel,¹ the meaning of John's baptism becomes clear. It was a symbolic re-presentation, in the prophetic sense of sign, of the passing through the Red Sea,

1. Moore, *op.cit.*, p. 368.

by means of which the true Israel was sealed unto the day of redemption.

It is against this background too that we can best see the significance of the baptism of Jesus by John. He is baptised not because he had a sense of sin and a consequent need of redemption - the experience of the first disciples rules this out altogether - but that he might identify himself with the true People of God. The verses which St. Matthew adds to St. Mark's narrative are probably an attempt to avoid any misunderstanding about the sinlessness of Jesus (Matt. 3:13-15),¹ but the reason he gives, that Jesus might fulfil all righteousness, is an expression of the Jewish belief that the Kingdom of God would not come until Israel had completely obeyed the Law. He goes down into the water in the process of identifying himself with Israel. Coming up from it, he hears the voice and sees the Spirit as a dove alighting upon him. The "bath qol" is a combination of Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1, and is usually interpreted as an objectification of the conviction that he was the Messiah, which came to him at that time.² But there is another

1. Barrett, *op.cit.*, p. 35, n.1.

2. Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, pp. 251-256.

strand of quotations in the Old Testament in which the nation itself is called God's son (Ex. 4:22; Hos. 11:1; Jer. 31:9), and if the above interpretation of John's baptism be right, these passages may also have been in our Lord's mind. Coupled with this, the dove, which in the Evangelists is the symbol of the Spirit, is in the Rabbinic literature a symbol of the people of Israel. "There is in the older literature no passage in which the dove is plainly and clearly a symbol of the Holy Spirit".¹ It is possible then to have a double meaning underlying the baptism narrative. Jesus is at one and the same time the Messiah anointed by the Spirit; he is also the New Israel emerging on the plane of history. The voice and the dove can mean both these things. He comes to the Jordan to identify himself with the Israel "of the last times"; he comes up from the Jordan with the conviction that he is the inclusive representative of Israel.

Then like Israel of old he goes into the wilderness. He is there for forty days, an obvious allusion to the forty years in the wilderness and to Moses who fasted forty days and nights before he received the Law (Ex. 34:28). According to the book of Deuteronomy the wilderness was a time of

1. Barrett, *op.cit.*, p. 39, quoted from Strack-Billerbeck, I, 125.

testing that Yahweh might know whether Israel would keep his commandments or not (Deut. 8:2), and the answer to the first temptation is given from the following verse: Man does not live by bread alone. In the second temptation the devil quotes Psalm 91:11, 12,¹ but the words are reminiscent of Deut. 8:15 - who led you through the wilderness with its fiery serpents and scorpions that he might test you - and Jesus' answer is from Deut. 6:16 - you shall not put the Lord your God to the test. The mountain of the third temptation (in St. Matthew's account) may be interpreted as Pisgah from which Moses viewed the promised land. From it Jesus views his inheritance, but he will not accept it by submitting to the devil, so he answers by words reminiscent of Deut. 6:13. For the author of Q, and the Evangelists who copy him, the temptation narrative is a recapitulation of the wilderness wanderings, but in this case Israel stands the test. This is not to say that Messianic conflict is not present also, but that the desert motif underlies the narrative as well. This is made more evident in St. Matthew, where after the beginning of his ministry Jesus goes into the mountain and there delivers the new law.²

1. Rawlinson, op.cit., p. 12.

2. See below, p. 63.

THE TRANSFIGURATION

(Mark 9:2-8; Matt. 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36)

The Transfiguration story is central in St. Mark's Gospel. It forms with the voice at the Baptism (1:11) and the statement of the centurion at the end of the Passion Narrative (15:39) the three witnesses to Jesus' divine origin.¹ It takes place shortly after St. Peter's confession of our Lord's Messiahship and the first prediction of the Passion. The meaning of the story is still a matter of dispute. Some have held that it is a post-Resurrection appearance transferred back to the earthly life of Jesus (Loisy);² others that it is a theophany story with no foundation in fact, but written to express the belief of the early Church in the divinity of Jesus.³ Harald Reisenfeld thinks that it was a vision of the enthronement of the Messiah which grew out of the annual feast of the enthronement of Yahweh at the New Year festival.⁴ G. H. Boobyer regards it as a fore-taste of the glory of Jesus at the Parousia.⁵ Whatever the experience was it is told by all three Evangelists in language reminiscent of the Exodus. "After six days" recalls

1. Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 7, p.774.
2. Les Évangiles Synoptiques, Vol. II.
3. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 275.
4. In Jesus' Transfigure.
5. JTS, XLI, pp.119-140.

Exodus 24:1-15, when Moses goes up into the mountain with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel. For six days the cloud covers the mountain and on the seventh day Yahweh speaks to Moses. Both Moses and Elijah had been in converse with Yahweh on a mountain (Ex. 24; 1 Kings 19). St. Matthew says that Jesus' face shone as the sun (Matt. 17:2) as Moses did when he conversed with God (Ex. 34:29-35). Moses and Elijah appear with him, the former as the prototype or predecessor, the latter as the forerunner of the Messiah (Deut. 18:15; Mal. 4:5). Only St. Luke is specific about the subject of their conversation, but the background of the story - the passion prediction - recalls Moses' offer to bear the sins of the people: "If thou wilt forgive their sin - and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou has written" (Ex. 32:32), and Elijah's lament: "I only am left and they seek my life to take it away" (1 Kings 19:10, 14). St. Luke says that the conversation centred about his ² ~~ἐξοδος~~ ² ~~ἐξοδος~~ which he should accomplish at Jerusalem (Luke 9:31). The English versions translate this word as decease or departure, but in the context of the Exodus imagery it would appear that the word is better transliterated.¹ His death and resurrection

1. "The rendering 'decease' in A.V. and R.V. is a bad mistranslation, and 'departure' is rather worse" A.G. Hebert, The Authority of the O.T., p. 219.

were to be the great and final Exodus. "The Exodus from the bondage of sin which he was to bring about could not be accomplished, as the exodus of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt had been accomplished in the days of Moses, before the death of the deliverer: nor could he be translated into heaven as Elijah had been without experiencing first the kind of death that Elijah's enemies had plotted for him".¹

The remark of St. Peter about making three tents or tabernacles suggests the tabernacle in the wilderness where the Presence dwelt, and also the feast of Tabernacles.

Zechariah had prophesied that when the Day of the Lord came all who survived the judgment would go up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of Tabernacles.² There was also a widely held belief that the "last" days were to be a repetition of the days of the beginning of the nation, including the Exodus and the desert wanderings. The cloud which overshadows them is the symbol of the Divine Presence during the Exodus and the desert journeyings (Ex. 14:19; 24:15-19), while the second half of the words which they hear are in all probability derived from Deut. 18:15, and proclaims Jesus to be the

1. Tasker, op.cit., p. 20, 2nd edition (1954).
2. Zech. 14:16-19.

second and greater Moses. The reaction of the disciples to the voice is the same as that of the Israelites at Sinai (Deut. 5:24, 25). The purpose of the Transfiguration story, then, is two-fold. It declares Jesus to be the Son of God and also the fulfiller of the Old Covenant. "And suddenly looking around, they no longer saw anyone with them but Jesus only" (Mark 9:8). That the thought of the second and greater Moses is in the minds of the Evangelists is also shown by the story of the boy¹ which follows the Transfiguration story in all three Gospels. The helpless confusion of the disciples is reminiscent of Exodus 32, where Moses comes down from the mountain to find that the people had "exchanged the glory of God from the image of an ox that eats grass" (Ps. 106:20). Our Lord's remark "O faithless and perverse generation", while it refers back to Deut. 32:5, aptly describes the condition of the people who had lost their faith in Yahweh so quickly during the month long absence of Moses as to turn to idolatry. The first Moses punishes the people in anger; the second Moses performs a work of mercy.

THE PASSION NARRATIVE

The date of the Crucifixion is still a question that must

1. Mark 9:14-29; Matt. 17:14-18; Luke 9:37-43.

be considered sub iudice, if indeed it can ever be answered.

In the main, English scholarship has agreed with St. John against the Synoptists that it took place on the afternoon of the fourteenth of Nisan when the Passover lambs were being slain in the temple. In a recent monograph,¹ A. J. B. Higgins has summed up the latest discussion on the subject. He comes to the conclusion that the Last Supper is to be identified with the Passover as the Synoptists say; in this he follows mainly the reasoning of J. Jeremias.² Gregory Dix, "after some hesitation" because of Jeremias' work, is still inclined to think that in the chronology of Holy Week St. John is right.³ It seems highly probable that St. Paul agrees with St. John (1 Cor. 5:7). Higgins argues that "it does not seem justifiable to attach paschal significance to the Last Supper unless there are strong grounds for belief that it was an actual celebration of the Passover", but if the Passion takes place against a Passover background, as all scholars agree, it does not seem to be a very important question whether the Supper was an actual Passover meal or not. Right from the beginning the Supper, Crucifixion and Resurrection were regarded as three

1. The Lord's Supper in the New Testament (1952).

2. Higgins, op.cit. (Foreword).

3. Jew and Greek, p. 102.

"scenes" in the last act of the great drama of redemption. The Passion Narrative in which all three are included was the first consecutive part of the gospel to be committed to writing, or to be given a fixed oral form,¹ and recited as the Passover story of the New Israel. In other words it was regarded as the Second Exodus. According to the Synoptists, Jesus deliberately planned that he should die at Passover time (Mark 10:32-34; Matt. 20:17-19; Luke 18:31-34), and he also made secret arrangements that he would have his last meal with his disciples undisturbed (Mark 14:12-16; Matt. 26:17-19; Luke 22:7-13). According to St. Luke, Jesus had an intense desire to share the Passover meal with his disciples (Luke 22:15), and the reason for this must be that the Passover had a special significance for him in connection with his Passion. Could it have been other than the fact that just as the Passover was the sacred meal by which Exodus was re-called, so the last meal which he shares with his disciples will be the means by which his death and resurrection are re-called? While every meal for a Jew had a religious significance - a meal could not begin without a benediction² -

1. F. C. Grant, The Earliest Gospel, Chapter 8.

2. The Mishnah, Berakoth, 7, 8 (Danby's translation, pp. 6-8).

on the supreme Feast of the Passover the underlying meaning of the meal was set forth in dialogue and prayer.¹ The cup of wine at the end of the meal known as "the cup of the blessing" was preceded by a long benediction recalling God's goodness to Israel in bringing the nation out of Egypt and making a covenant with them.² That covenant had been sealed at Sinai with the offering of sacrifice, the sprinkling of blood upon the altar and the people, and then a sacred meal in the presence of God by the people's representatives (Ex. 24:1-11). This whole story of the birth of the nation was therefore explicit in the Passover ritual as it was not at any other festival. As Vincent Taylor points out,³ "it is not easy to determine how far the details of the story were present in our Lord's mind", but the general background was there, and it appears more than likely that the phrase "the blood of the covenant" comes from it. Jeremias suggests that Jesus interpreted his death by means of ideas drawn from Rabbinic teaching about the sacrificial nature of the Passover Lamb. In the Talmudic literature there are two comments⁴ on Zechariah 9:11: "As for you also, be-

1. Prayer Book Studies, Vol. IV, p.12 (Episcopal Church, U.S.A.)

2. Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p.53.

3. Jesus and his Sacrifice, p. 137.

4. Targ. Zech. 9:11; Mekh. Ex. 12:6.

cause of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your captives free from the waterous pit". Both passages speak of the blood of the Passover Lamb as covenant blood, by whose power the deliverance from Egypt is accomplished. Certainly the book of Zechariah was in our Lord's mind during the last days of his earthly life as the Triumphal Entry and the quotation on the Mount of Olives shows.¹ Jeremias' inference is that just as the blood of the Passover Lamb brings about the deliverance from Egypt, so Jesus declares that his blood will bring about a new deliverance. But whether the "blood of the covenant" is a reference to Zechariah or Exodus, its significance is the same. Just as the blood of the Old Covenant was the means of binding Israel to Yahweh, so the life of Jesus freely given in death will be the means of binding "many" to God. It is sometimes said that the Jewish dread of blood would have prevented our Lord from saying "Drink ye all of it", or the disciples from being filled with anything but horror at the thought.² But since the disciples already believed that in a Sacred Meal they had communion with God, the breaking of the "immemorial tabu" would have driven home the point that henceforth in their sacred meals together they would be in communion

1. Zech. 9:9; 13:7. 2. Dibelius, op.cit., p. 207.

with himself.¹

The institution of the Eucharist, we may say then, is only understandable against a Passover-Exodus background. The Passover is fulfilled in the Exodus, the Eucharist is fulfilled in the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Both are completely fulfilled in the Kingdom of God, the "sacrament" of which is the Messianic Banquet. "I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God" (Mark 14:25). "I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer; for I tell you I shall not eat it until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God" (Luke 22:15, 16).

There remain other incidents and passages in the first three Gospels which lead us to think that the Exodus idea is in the minds of the writers. These will be dealt with as they appear in St. Mark.

THE CALLING OF THE TWELVE
(Mark 3:14-19; Matt. 10:1-4; Luke 6:13-16)

Jesus went up into the mountain, as Moses did to receive the Law, and there "he called those whom he desired", and they came to him. The New Israel is called just as the

1. Prayer Book Studies, p. 10.

Old Israel was called, and the appointment of the twelve is a sign that the latter is fulfilled by the former. The number twelve is usually taken to symbolize the twelve tribes, but there appears to be an even closer parallel in Numbers 1:4-16, where twelve men are appointed by Yahweh himself "to be with Moses"; they were to be the "rulers of their ancestral tribes". It is probably this passage which is in St. Mark's mind when he says that Jesus called the twelve "to be with him". St. Matthew connects the appointment of the twelve with the appointment of Joshua to be Moses' assistant, when he says that Jesus was moved with compassion because the crowd was helpless like "sheep without a shepherd" (Matt. 9:36), a quotation from Moses' prayer in Numbers 27:15-17.

St. Matthew in another context (Matt. 19:28) speaks of the twelve as sitting on twelve thrones judging, i.e. ruling the twelve tribes of Israel. St. Luke places this saying in the context of the Last Supper and uses the verb *καθίστημι*

"As my Father covenanted a kingdom with me, so do I covenant with you that you may sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke 22:29, 30). (Is it sheer coincidence that the first "ruler" in Numbers 1 is Elizur - God is my rock - and that Peter always appears first in the lists of the twelve?) This "catching up" of ideas and words

would lead us to think that this particular section of the Pentateuch was in the minds of the Synoptists when they mention the twelve. "Fulfilment" is also seen in the sending out of the seventy (seventy-two) in St. Luke 10:1. Just as Moses appoints seventy to share his work, and Yahweh "puts upon them" the spirit which is upon Moses (Num. 11:16, 17), so Jesus appoints seventy to be his representatives. "He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me" (Luke 10:16). Implicit in this action is the claim to be the second Moses.

THE FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDES

(Mark 6:33-44 and 8:1-8)
(Matt. 14:13-21 and 15:32-38)
(Luke 9:11-17)

Whatever the basis of this story (the feeding of the four thousand in St. Matthew and St. Mark are usually regarded as doublets) in actual fact, there can be no doubt that the Evangelists believed it to be a miraculous feeding. The language in which it is told is often said to be a reflection of the Eucharistic practice of the Church;¹ it is much more likely that both are based on Jewish practice at meals. The implicit connection between both is made explicit in St. John

1. Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 7, p.430.

who dates the miracle at the Feast of the Passover and connects both with the manna in the wilderness. Philip Carrington¹ argues that St. Mark was originally written as a liturgical Gospel with lections for each Sunday in the same manner that the Pentateuch was divided in the synagogue. According to this theory the feeding of the five thousand would be read on the Sunday after the Passover and the four thousand at Pentecost. Though there is no definite dating in the Gospel itself, the grass is green in Palestine only in the early spring. The setting of the miracle to satisfy physical hunger - "a lonely place" - must have been meant to recall the feeding of the hungry Israelites in the wilderness. Unlike the manna² there was not only a quantity left but much more than was available in the first place. It is hard to resist thinking that Christ is here portrayed as the second Moses who feeds the people in a much more wonderful way than Moses did. This is confirmed by the fact that the feeding takes place because Jesus had "compassion on the multitude because they were as sheep not having a shepherd" (Mark 6:34).

1. P. Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Calendar*, p.15 ff.
2. Exodus 16:21.

THE 'RANSOM' PASSAGE
(Mark 10:41-45; Matt. 20:24-28)

Vincent Taylor says that the ideas behind the last sentence in this passage: "For the Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many", come from Isaiah 53 though the word 'ransom' does not occur in that chapter.¹ The word *λύτρον* is used in the first century in the Greek world of the purchase price for manumitting slaves, and the Hebrew equivalent is given the same meaning in the Old Testament.² But the same word or one of its cognates was also used to describe the redemption from Egypt (Ex. 6:6; 15:13; Deut. 7:8; 13:5; 2Sam. 7:23; Ps. 77:15; Is. 63:9), and also the return from Exile (Is. 41:4; 43:1, 14). It would not seem to be necessary to say that there is substitutionary or even sacrificial language here, for it cannot be said that Yahweh paid a price for the redemption of Israel. The main idea is that Israel's deliverance is a 'costing' process, which may be represented by divine might (Ps. 77:15), or by divine love and pity (Is. 63:9). When we recall that Moses, the agent of

1. Jesus and His Sacrifice, pp. 99-105.

2. V. Taylor, op.cit., p. 103.

the first redemption, is often called 'the Servant of the Lord' (Num. 12:7; Josh. 9:24; Ps. 105:26), and the contrast drawn in St. Mark is between the Gentile nations and the New Israel, this saying can mean that like the agent of the first deliverance, the Son of man is a servant, but unlike him will bring about redemption by his death. Moses brought about the Exodus before his death but did not live to see the Promised Land. The Son of man will accomplish the Exodus through his death and will by that very means enter upon his inheritance (Mark 8:31). This does not mean that the passage under consideration is not influenced by Isaiah 53, but that the Exodus had a share in the shaping of the logion, that there is a double motif rather than the single one of the Suffering Servant.

But if the use of the Old Testament in St. Mark has what Carrington calls a "submerged appearance"¹ it is not so in St. Matthew. In what we may call the 'ground plan' of his Gospel the connection between Christ and the Exodus is made plain, not only in direct quotation but also by many allusions. The Exodus begins with the promise of Yahweh's presence with Moses;² St. Matthew begins with the coming

1. Carrington, op.cit., p. 86.

2. Exodus 3:12.

of Emmanuel, and ends with the promise of that same presence "until the close of the age" (Matt. 1:23; 28:20). The experience of Israel at the time of the Exodus is "recapitulated" by Jesus. He comes out of Egypt (Matt. 2:15), goes through the Red Sea of Baptism (Matt. 3:13-17), goes into the wilderness (Matt. 4:1-11) and then on the mountain he is identified with Moses as the giver of the New Law (The Sermon on the Mount). He is at one and the same time the Israel of God and yet he is also Israel's redeemer, and lawgiver. The Gospel itself consists of an Introduction (Chapters 1 and 2), an Epilogue (The Passion Story), while the main part is divided into five sections, all of which end in a nearly identical formula: "and it came to pass when Jesus had finished". The five sections or 'books' are Matt. 3 - 7; 8:1 - 11:1; 11:2 - 13:53; 13:54 - 19:1a; 19:1b - 26:1. They are so clearly marked that even in pre-Nicene days it was noted that St. Matthew had written five books against "the God-slaying Jews".¹ B. W. Bacon thought that the author of the first Gospel was "a converted rabbi with unbounded reverence for the Law",² who could not think of a

1. B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, p.82.

2. B. W. Bacon, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

better arrangement of all that Jesus had commanded to be observed than to model it on the Torah. Whether this is so or not it certainly seems evident that he had the Pentateuch in mind when he brought together Mark, Q, and his own special material, for like the oration codes of Deuteronomy each book begins with a narrative section and ends with a section of teaching. To use Dodd's familiar terms the $\Sigma\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$ is based on the Κήρυγμα . P. P. Levertoff has pointed out that St. Matthew 23 is patterned on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. "Moses 'the first Redeemer' at the close of his life sang of Israel's ingratitude and lapse into idolatry, and of God's goodness. The poem begins reproachfully; but tenderness and pity prevail above severity, and towards the close the strain rises into one of positive encouragement and promise. Similarly, Jesus, 'the last Redeemer' in the last days of his ministry, denounces the spiritual leaders of his people with seeming harshness, like all the prophets, and yet with tender pity he laments over Jerusalem."¹ In his "second book" (Matt. 8:1 - 11:1) we are given (Matt. 8:1 - 9:33) a series of ten miracles; three of these, viz. the healing of the leper, Simon's wife's mother

1. St. Matthew, p. 71.

and the cures at eventide, occur much earlier both in St. Mark and St. Luke. The last two of the series - the healing of the two blind men and the cure of the dumb demoniac - are so similar to those recorded in St. Matthew 12:22-34 and St. Matthew 20:29-34 that it looks as if it was the deliberate intention of the author to make a series of ten, particularly when the eighth of the series is the "climatic" miracle of the raising of Jairus' daughter. The parallel is surely the ten mighty works of Moses wrought before the Exodus. "Ten wonders were wrought for our fathers in Egypt and ten at the Sea".¹

In two passages in his Gospel St. Matthew quotes words of Christ which are reminiscent of Rabbinic sayings about the Law. In St. Matthew 11:29, 30 we read: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." With this we may compare the saying of Rabbi Nehunya ben Ha-Kanah: "he that takes upon himself the yoke of the Law, from him shall be taken away the yoke of worldly care".² Again in St. Matthew 18:20 it is said:

1. Pirke Aboth 5:4 (p. 455, Danby's translation).
2. Pirke Aboth 3:5 (p. 450, Danby's translation).

"Where two or three are gathered in my name there am I in the midst of them". The Mishna quotes Rabbi Halafta ben Dosa as saying: "If ten men sit together and occupy themselves in the Law, the Shekinah rests among them, for it is written 'God standeth in the congregation of God' and whence even of three? Because it is written 'He judgeth among the judges'. And whence even of two? Because it is written 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another and the Lord hearkened and heard'." ¹ For St. Matthew then, Christ takes the place that the Torah held in Judaism.

From a strictly logical point of view, St. Matthew is inconsistent when in the same book he identifies Christ with Israel, with the Torah and with Moses. But such inconsistency is common in Rabbinic writings and also in the Old and New Testaments. To give but a few examples: In the Old Testament Israel is identified with all those who were Jews by birth and also with the faithful remnant; in the Pauline epistles Christ is one of the names of Jesus and at the same time a synonym for the Church, in the phrase "in Christ"; "the body" is a metaphor for the Church but also is the sacrament by which the life of the Church is sustained; in St. John, Jesus is

1. Pirke Aboth 3:6 (p. 450, Danby's translation).

called the King of Israel and also the true vine, i.e. Israel; in Rabbinic literature the dove is the symbol of Israel and also the Spirit of God. Judaism had not thought out dogmatic theology; though it was based on certain fundamental dogmas, no attempt was made to work them out into a logically formulated system. That type of thought is quite foreign to the Semitic mind.

We may say then that while none of the allusions mentioned above would by themselves lead us to the conclusion that St. Matthew was intentionally drawing a comparison between Christ and the central figure and event of the Old Testament, the cumulative effect of them all leads us to the conclusion that the author of the first Gospel had as one of his aims to show that the greater redemption which the Exodus had prefigured had been fulfilled in Christ.

While St. Luke on the surface does not appear to have the same interest in the Old Testament that St. Matthew has, he is none the less deeply aware of its significance for the interpretation of the Gospel. His method of treating the Old Testament except where it is directly quoted by Jesus or some other person is to make indirect references or allusions to it. His reason for this may be that in St. Luke's opinion it was not

until after the Resurrection that the disciples came to understand that Jesus was the fulfiller of the Old Testament. In his predictions of the Passion, he states in the strongest possible language that they could not understand. "But they did not understand this saying and it was concealed from them that they should not perceive it" (Luke 9:45). But after the Resurrection the Lord opens their minds to understand the scriptures (Luke 24:45) and "beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Luke 24:47).

In a recent book of essays,¹ Austin Farrer argues that St. Luke, like St. Matthew, has divided his Gospel into sections to correspond with the five books of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, but the evidence that Farrer gives does not seem strong enough to lead to this conclusion. Even he admits that the dividing lines have been rubbed faint.² In another essay in the same book, C. F. Evans appears to be on much firmer ground when he states that the central section of the third Gospel (Luke 9:51 - 18:14), which looks like nothing more than a miscellaneous collection of sayings and doings of Jesus without any topical or topographical connection, is really modelled

1. Studies in the Gospels (ed. Nineham). 2. *ibid.*, p. 79.

on the book of Deuteronomy and receives its heterogeneous nature from the fact that Deuteronomy itself is that kind of book. By doing this St. Luke infers that Jesus is the prophet like unto Moses to whom the disciples are told to listen on the Mount of Transfiguration (Luke 9:35).¹

But it is not only on such a broad field that such inferences are to be found in St. Luke. The song of Zechariah (Luke 1:68-79) with its ideas of visitation and redemption, of the fulfilment of the oath to the fathers, of deliverance from enemies that God might be served without fear, re-echoes the call of Moses in Exodus 3. In the nativity narrative those who welcome the Christ are those who were "looking for the redemption of Israel" (Luke 2:38). The passage which Jesus reads at Nazareth (Luke 4:18, 19), while taken from Isaiah 61, describes the mission which the prophet is impelled to undertake in terms of the task which Yahweh gave to Moses, and like Moses when he first comes to his own people, Jesus is rejected (Ex. 6:12; Luke 4:28, 29). In the story of the raising of the widow's son, the comment of the crowd is that "A great prophet has arisen among us", and "God has visited his people" (Luke 7:16). Jesus' answer to the disciples of John the

1. *ibid.*, pp. 37-53.

Baptist (Luke 7:22) is a catena of phrases from Isaiah 35 and 61 telling them that the signs of the Second Exodus which the prophet had foretold are now evident before their eyes. Then in chapter 9:28-36, as we have seen above, Moses and Elijah speak on the Mount of Transfiguration of Christ's Exodus which he was to accomplish at Jerusalem. In the Beelzebub controversy (Luke 11:14-22) Jesus says that he casts out demons "by the finger of God". This is an allusion to Exodus 8:19, where the plagues of Egypt are said by the magicians to be due to the finger of God. Jesus then places his exorcisms in the same relationship with his own Exodus as the plagues were to the first Exodus, and the parable of the strong man armed whose armour is taken away and his spoils divided, in such a context may well carry an indirect reference to the destruction of Pharaoh's host and the order to the Israelites that they are to spoil the Egyptians (Ex. 3:22). In St. Luke 12:50 we find the saying "I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how am I constrained until it is fulfilled!" The interpretations of it are many and vary all the way from a vaticinium post eventum to ascribing it to the influence of the mystery religions.¹ There cannot be any reasonable

1. J. Marsh, *The Fullness of Time*, p. 89.

doubt that by baptism Jesus meant his death, but what is the process that his death will fulfil? It is highly likely, remembering St. Luke's way of referring to the past history of the Jewish nation, that what he has in mind here is that Jesus is the fulfiller of his nation's history, and that by his death he will complete the historical process which began with the baptism of his nation in the Red Sea. Israel will no longer then be constrained, "hemmed in", but will enter the Promised Land of the Kingdom of God.¹

Summing up then, we may say that in the Synoptic Gospels one of the strands by which the life of Christ is interpreted is the central event of Israel's past. The Exodus is seen to be not only the occasion of deliverance in the past and the birth of the nation, but also a type of the greater event which fulfilled it. The salvation which the Exodus gave is but a foreshadowing of the salvation which the Greater Exodus wrought.

1. J. Marsh, *The Fullness of Time*, p. 89.

Additional Note to Chapter Three

THE EXODUS IN THE BOOK OF ACTS

In Volume II of his work, St. Luke continues the apologetic interest which was one of the purposes of his Gospel. He wishes to show to Theophilus that Christianity is not a new religion about the legality of which the Roman government has to make up its mind, but a Jewish religion and therefore a *religio licita*.¹ For though there were religious parties in Judaism which were not even on speaking terms with each other, such party distinctions were unknown in Roman Law. A Jew was a Jew. The word that Luke uses to describe the Pharisees (Acts 15:5) and the Saducees (Acts 5:17) is used by them in turn to describe the Christians (Acts 28:22). For Luke himself it is "The Way" (Acts 9:22; 24:14) - the true Judaism. And its message when told to Jews is told in the language of the Old Testament. From beginning to end Acts is full of quotations from the Jewish scriptures to prove to the Jews that Christianity is the fulfilment of the "promises made to the fathers".

In the very beginning of the book (Acts 1:15-26), great

1. B. S. Easton, *The Purpose of Acts*, p. 43.

care is taken to see that one is chosen to take the place of Judas. This can only mean that even before the gift of the Spirit, the followers of Jesus considered themselves the true Israel, for the twelve were "to sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel". The fact that no successor is chosen for James after he had been martyred (Acts 12:2), shows that it was not for practical but symbolic reasons that Matthias was chosen. The twelve would be the rulers of Israel in the age to come.

The same idea finds expression in two other ways. The erection of a sanhedrin in Jerusalem with James at its head (Acts 15:6, 13; 21:18), as a rival to the one made up of the high priest and the elders could only mean that the followers of "The Way" also regarded themselves as the true Israel of God. The use of the word $\xi\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ for the Christian community does not seem to have been used at first - it first appears in Acts 5:11 - but it was in use when Paul became a Christian.¹ The translators of the LXX had used it to translate both $\delta\ \eta\ \tau\epsilon$ and $\eta\ \tau\epsilon$, but later reserved $\sigmaυναγωγή$ for $\eta\ \tau\epsilon$ and $\xi\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ for $\delta\ \eta\ \tau\epsilon$. Like $\delta\ \eta\ \tau\epsilon$ it was seldom used by itself; normally it was accompanied by "of the Lord". The phrase $\xi\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{o}\upsilon$ had the same

1. G. B. Caird, The Apostolic Age, p. 46.

meaning as $\pi\eta\eta' \ \xi\eta\tau'$. Among the Hellenistic Jews, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta'$ took on the restricted meaning of the local community and then the place where the community met for worship. The fact that $\xi\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ never underwent this development, is probably the reason why the Greek-speaking Christians used it to express their belief that they were the reconstituted people of God.¹

Whether the speeches of Acts are Luke's own composition or his own free rendering of actual speeches made by the people in whose mouth he places them, they give us what he believes to be the main points of the primitive Christian preaching. The first of these which concerns us is the sermon preached after the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple (Acts 3:12-26). There, after stating the fact of the Resurrection, Peter says that all that happened to Jesus is confirmed by the witness of all the prophets and especially by the prophecy of Moses who said, "The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethen as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people." (Acts 3:22, 23) Jesus is the "servant" whom God

1. Theological Word-Book of the Bible, art. Church.

has raised up. He is the second Moses.

Much fuller treatment of this theme is given in St. Stephen's speech before the sanhedrin (Acts 7:2-40). Moses was mighty in words and deeds - like Jesus who was "a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people" (Luke 24:19). He came down to "visit" (Cf. Luke 1:68) and to deliver his people, supposing that they understood that God would deliver them through him, but they did not understand (Acts 7:25). They refused him as their ruler and judge and he had to go into exile. He was sent back to his people as ruler and redeemer with divine power and authority, and he led them out of Egypt, doing wonders and signs (Acts 7:36). He received living oracles to give to Israel, and prophesied that God would raise up for them a prophet like himself (Acts 7:37, 38). But the Jews of old rejected Moses continually, not only at his first coming to them (Acts 7:27), but when they made the golden calf (Acts 7:40), and above all when they rejected the sacrifices which he instituted and worshipped heathen gods - Moloch and Rephan (Acts 7:42-44). His polemic reaches its climax in verses 51-53. Just as the Jews of old had rejected Moses, so their descendants have rejected "the prophet like to Moses". It is not Stephen who broke the Law

but his accusers (Acts 7:53). In every way Jesus is like Moses, even to the treatment he receives from a disobedient and stiff-necked people.

One addition to this teaching is given in the speech of St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia. Jesus is the prophet whom God "raised up" (Acts 13:37), where the reference seems to be to the second Moses rather than to the Resurrection, but he is much greater than Moses, for "by him every one that believes is freed from everything from which you could not be freed by the law of Moses" (Acts 13:39).

In Acts then, Luke continues the theme of Jesus as the second Moses, which, as we have seen, he had begun in his Gospel.

Chapter Four

THE EXODUS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

"It is doubtful", said E. F. Scott in 1908, "if the Evangelist had any first-hand or complete acquaintance with the Old Testament".¹ The gradual shift of emphasis in the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel during this present century has led us to see how mistaken such a judgment was. Far from being unacquainted with the Old Testament St. John's knowledge of it is both wide and deep. While he does not make direct quotations from it to the same extent as the Synoptists - there are only 27 as compared with 124 in St. Matthew, 70 in St. Mark and 109 in St. Luke² - his thought and its expression are both pervaded by the conviction that the life of the Incarnate Logos can only be understood against the background of the scriptures and traditions of the nation to which he came. Like the other Evangelists he uses the Old Testament in the "Testimony" or "proof-text" method. Examples of this may be found in St. John 2:17; 6:45; 19:24, 36, 37, where the quotations are introduced by the phrase "As it is written", or "That the

1. The Fourth Gospel, p. 197.

2. Appendix to Westcott & Hort's Greek N.T.

scriptures might be fulfilled". There is also the Synoptic method of allusion without direct quotation as in the reference to Jacob's dream in St. John 1:51, or the brazen serpent in St. John 3:14.

But John has two other methods which are singularly his own. The first is to take certain Old Testament ideas which cannot be referred back to one specific place in the scriptures and combine them into one phrase; he catches up the sense of several passages rather than quoting them. A few examples of this may be given.

In St. John 1:29 the Baptist declares that Jesus is "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world". At first sight this appears to be a simple identification of Jesus with the Passover Lamb, particularly when we remember John's dating of the crucifixion. But in Exodus 12 the LXX has not ^{3'}ἀμνος but ¹πρὸς τὸν and no expiatory language is applied to it; to bear away the sin of the people is the function of the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:22ff). In Isaiah 53, the "sheep led to the slaughter" bears the iniquities of many, while in Genesis 22:8 God provided a lamb for Abraham's burnt-offering. There does not seem then, to be any particular passage to which John is

referring; but this does not alter the fact that he is using Old Testament ideas even though they may be coloured by his own Christian experience.¹

In St. John 7:37 a reference is made to the Old Testament with the words "As the scripture saith". But the words quoted cannot be found in any of the Old Testament books, though there is no difficulty in finding a similar idea. In Isaiah 55:1, we find "Ho, every one who thirsts, come to the waters"; in Isaiah 58:11, "You shall be like a spring of water whose waters fail not"; in Zechariah 14:8 there is a prophecy of water flowing from Jerusalem and in Ezekiel 47:1 from the Temple; in Exodus 17:1 ff. and Numbers 20:2 ff. water flows from the rock struck by Moses with his rod. No one of these passages or even all of them together satisfactorily explain the Johannine quotation, but there can be no doubt that he is referring back to a well-known Old Testament theme without having one particular passage in mind.

Again in St. John 19:36 we have the quotation, "Not a bone of him shall be broken", which may be taken either from

1. In "The Fourth Gospel", p. 230 ff., C. H. Dodd argues that "The Lamb" is a Messianic title equivalent to "The King of Israel" and is borrowed from the Apocalyptic literature. But the consensus of opinion is that it is an O.T. idea.

Exodus 12:10 or Psalm 34:20 as the three passages are so close to each other verbally that it is difficult to choose between the two obvious sources. In favour of the former is the fact that in John's Passion narrative the death of Jesus takes place when the Paschal Lamb is being killed; in favour of the latter is the use of the Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer in all the Passion narratives. It may be that with his fondness for playing upon the double meaning of Greek words, e.g. *καταλαμβάνω* in St. John 1:5, we have here a reference to both passages.

Sir Edwyn Hoskyns in his Commentary on the Fourth Gospel has shown that there are many incidents and sayings in the Synoptics which St. John appears to have neglected, but which in fact he has taken and used as themes for his Gospel.¹ In St. Mark 3:35, for example, we have the logion "Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother". "In John this obedience to the will of God becomes the central theme of the Gospel for it is the meaning of the teaching and action of Jesus; not, however, as though He merely heralded a divine imperative, but that He Himself was the imperative, the point in history where the imperative

1. Hoskyns, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-87.

of God is made known."¹ The same kind of treatment is given also to Old Testament quotations which we find in the Synoptics. Psalm 118:22: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner", is quoted in St. Matthew 21:42, St. Mark 12:10 and St. Luke 20:17. There is no verbal trace of this saying in the Fourth Gospel. But the theme of the rejection of Christ is introduced into the prologue, "He came unto his own and his own received him not" (John 1:11), and runs through the Gospel. "I have come in my Father's name and you do not receive me" (John 5:43). "After this many of his disciples drew back and no longer went about with him" (John 6:66). "If I tell the truth, why do you not believe me?" (John 8:46). "It is to fulfil the word that is written in their law 'They hated me without a cause'" (John 15:25). It comes to its climax in the words "We have no king but Caesar" (John 19:15).

In the parable of the sower (Mark 4:1-20) we are given a quotation about misunderstanding from Isaiah 6:9, 10: "So that they may indeed see but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand". John has the same quotation in slightly different form in St. John 12:40, but he places it at

1. Hoskyns, op.cit., p. 78.

the end of his account of the Ministry as the summing up of a whole series of misunderstandings. It is also placed in the prologue, "The light shines in the darkness and the darkness has not overcome (or understood) it" (John 1:5). It is brought out in the cleansing of the Temple (John 2:20), in the conversation with Nicodemus, who misunderstands the new birth (John 3:4), in the conversation with the woman of Samaria, who misunderstands about the living water (John 4:11), in the misunderstanding about the bread of life (John 6:60), in the controversies with the Jews (John 7:33, 34; 8:34), and it is even levelled against the disciples (John 4:31; 14:9, 10; 16:16-18).

One further example may be given. In St. Mark 7:6, Isaiah 29:13 is quoted: "This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me". John does not make the quotation but the idea it expresses is a recurring theme. The Baptist had come to bear witness to the light (John 1:6, 7), and though the Jews were glad about it (John 5:35), they did not listen to him and did not believe in the one to whom John had borne witness. The same was true of their use of the Scriptures. They had the Old Testament in their hands and searched it because it was the source of life, as they thought;

but the one to whom it pointed, they refused to accept. Honouring God with their lips, their heart was far from him. In St. John 6:25 ff. men come to look for him, not because they wish to understand the meaning of the sign, but because they had received a free meal. In St. John 7:19-24 the Jews accuse Jesus of breaking the Law by healing a man on the Sabbath; it is pointed out to them that the healing is in fact fulfilling the true meaning of circumcision which they themselves perform on the Sabbath. They pay lip-service to God, but their hearts are far from his purposes. In St. John 8:39 ff. the Jews boast that God is their Father, and yet they try to kill the one who is telling them the truth about their Father. They are asserting the closeness of their relationship with God and at the same time refusing to listen to one sent from him. The crowning example of this attitude is given in the trial before Pilate (John 18:28). They would not enter the Praetorium for that would prevent them from eating the Passover, and that would be dishonouring God, the God from whom they are so far estranged that they can kill his Son and think that they are doing God service. The difference between Mark's use of the quotation and John's use of the idea is that in St. Mark it is applied to one of the ways in which the Law

can be circumvented (the use of Corban), in St. John it is the failure to make the proper response to Jesus.

It is this same method which the Evangelist uses for the Exodus theme in his Gospel. While it is nowhere mentioned explicitly we may trace allusions to its many-sided story through the whole Gospel, and while it is not the principal strand in his weaving of the narrative it occurs again and again. And as in the instances cited above, it is first alluded to in the prologue. The key verse there (John 1:14) is full of imagery connected with the Exodus. "The Word became flesh" takes us out of the realm of Jewish ideas but $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$ recalls in sound and meaning the Hebrew $\gamma\text{ז}\psi$ which means "to dwell"; the bright cloud abode ($\gamma\text{ז}\psi$) upon the Tabernacle in the wilderness (Ex. 40:35); $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ is used in the LXX to translate $\gamma\text{ן}\text{ן}\text{ז}$ which was seen on Mount Sinai (Ex. 24:16) and which was especially associated with the giving of the Law; $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ recall the Hebrew pair

$\text{ן}\text{ן}\text{ז}\text{ן}\text{ן}\text{ז}$ which are used to describe the character of God in Exodus 34:6. ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is used at this point for $\text{ן}\text{ן}\text{ז}$ in the LXX but in the later stages of the LXX and in Hellenistic Judaism $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ came to be preferred.)¹ But though these

1. Dodd, op.cit., p. 175.

words are associated with Moses and the Exodus, they are true for Christ in a way that they were never true for Moses.

"The law was given through Moses: grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17). Further, the claim that Moses had seen God (Ex. 33:11) is a false claim, for no one has ever seen God; it is Christ alone who has made him known and who is therefore far superior to Moses (John 1:18).

In the following section which Dodd calls the "Testimony"¹ section (John 1:19-51) John Baptist disclaims all right to be called "the prophet" which Moses foretold would be like him (Deut. 18:15), while Philip tells Nathanael that "we have found him of whom Moses in the law wrote" (John 1:45). It has also been pointed out above that one of the references to the Lamb of God is the Passover Lamb.

There is one further reference in Chapter 1. Nathanael is told that the angels of God will ascend and descend upon the Son of Man (John 1:51). The interpretations of the phrase "Son of man" are many and varied, but there can be no doubt that one of its meanings is that he is the inclusive representative of the ideal or redeemed community. In Genesis 28:12, the Hebrew may be translated either that the angels ascended and

1. Dodd, op.cit., p. 292.

descended upon Jacob or upon the ladder. The rabbis were divided about the right exegesis of the verse, but it seems clear that John accepted the former interpretation, and that for Jacob or "Israel" he substituted "Son of man". As Burney puts it, "Jacob, as the ancestor of Israel, summarizes the ideal Israel in posse, just as our Lord at the other end of the line, summarizes it in esse as the Son of Man".¹ For John, Israel is not the Jewish nation, but the new community of those who accept Christ, and of which he is the inclusive representative (Cf. 15:1). The rabbis also connected with this passage from Genesis the prophecy from Isaiah 49:3, "Thou art my servant Israel in whom I will be glorified".² John connects "glory" with the "Son of man", (John 12:23; 13:31) and also with his "lifting up" or exaltation (John 3:14; 7:28; 12:32, 34). Cf. Isaiah 52:13. This reference to Christ as the true Israel comes then in a roundabout way from the Second Exodus setting of Deutero-Isaiah, and this as we shall see is typical of John's method.

The notes of time in the first two chapters also call for comment. Since John is not primarily interested in

1. Aramaic origin of the Fourth Gospel, p. 115.

2. Dodd, *op.cit.*, p. 246ff.

chronology but in a theological interpretation of history, there must be some reason for his placing the events before the public ministry within the confines of a week. (The happenings of St. John 1:19-28 belong to one day, 29-34 to another, 35-42 to another, 43-51 to another, while St. John 2:1 makes up the seven.) The same period of time is marked off at the end of the ministry with even greater clarity (John 12:1). The first week then begins with John pointing to Jesus as the Lamb of God and ends with the marriage at Cana, while the last week begins with the anointing at Bethany and ends with the Crucifixion. On this fact Westcott comments: "St. John appears to mark the period (the first week) as the new Hexameron, a solemn period of 'six days', the time of the new creation. His Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week."¹ Strachan thinks that the first week gives the recollections of someone "who remembered the happenings of one momentous week before the public ministry began", and that they came to the Evangelist, probably in written form.² Loisy believes the same week to be the artificial chronology of the Redactor; Jesus "manifests his glory" on the seventh day, seven being the number of perfection.³

1. Gospel of St. John, p. 176.

2. The Fourth Gospel, p. 121.

3. Le Quatrieme Evangile, p. 379.

On St. John 2:1 Dodd notes that "it is in accordance with the view taken by this Evangelist that the whole of the ministry of the Incarnate Word should have the character of the 'third day' of his glory".¹ While, no doubt, this is the meaning of the "third day" in St. John 2:1, it gives no clue to any symbolism in the "first week". But there seems to be more here than a sacred week or a perfect number, and it lies in John's dating of the anointing at Bethany. The Synoptists date the incident two days before the Passover (Matt. 26:1; Mark 14:1); John places it differently - "Six days before the Passover, Jesus came to Bethany" (John 12:1). Since John's dating of events is according to Greek and Jewish rather than Roman custom, i. e. an inclusive dating, six days before the Passover gives us the tenth of Nisan. At the institution of the Passover in Egypt the lamb was chosen on that day. "Tell all the congregation of Israel that on the tenth day of this month they shall take every man a lamb according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for a household" (Ex. 12:3). In commenting on this verse J. H. Hertz says that "only on this occasion was the paschal lamb to be chosen on the tenth day of the month".² By chang-

1. The Fourth Gospel, p. 300.

2. Pentateuch and Haftorahs: Exodus, p. 125.

ing the date, John makes the anointing to be "the setting apart of the true Passover Lamb, the consecration of the Lamb of God for sacrifice".¹

On the first day of each of the weeks then, Jesus is proclaimed as the Lamb of God, in the first by prophecy, and in the last symbolically. It would therefore seem likely that there is a connection between the events of the last day of each week as well, the marriage feast at Cana and the Crucifixion, and the connecting words are "My hour is not yet come", which must refer to the hour of his death and glorification (John 7:30; 8:20 - the hour not yet come; John 12:23, 27; 13:1; 17:1 - the hour is come). The words which on the surface seem to refer to the immediate future bear also a secondary and deeper reference to his Crucifixion and Resurrection which in John are not two events but two aspects of the same event.² The wine of Cana points forward to the blood which flowed from the side of Christ when the soldier pierced his side (John 19:34).

It is also not without significance that the "sign" is given at a marriage. In the Synoptics a wedding feast is a symbol of the Kingdom of God (Matt. 22:1-14; 25:1-13), in St. Luke 12:35, 36,

1. A. McArthur, The Evolution of the Christian Year, p. 86.
2. ἡ ψαλμός means not only the "lifting up" upon the Cross, but also the Ascension.

it is introduced by a phrase from the Exodus story - "Let your loins be girded". The marriage then is a symbol of the Messianic Banquet in which all the hopes and expectations of Israel are fulfilled. Here then, John is saying, in the changing of water to wine at a marriage, Jesus is foreshadowing his death and glorification, and in so doing is fulfilling the Passover, at Cana by sign, and when "his hour comes" at Jerusalem in deed.

Allied with this thought is one of the themes from the prologue. The water of Jewish purification is changed into wine. All that the system of Jewish ceremonial observance stood for is raised by him to a higher level. The old religion is transfigured, not destroyed. "The Law was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John 1:17).

The public ministry then begins at the feast of the Passover (John 2:13). The last public act of Jesus' life in the Synoptics (Mark 11:15-18; Matt. 21:12-17; Luke 19:45, 46) becomes the first in John, but whereas in the Synoptics the cleansing of the Temple is the reforming of an abuse of the sacrificial system, in John it is the discarding of it altogether. The Temple itself will be destroyed and will be replaced by the "Temple of his body" (John 2:21); Christ, crucified and

risen, will assume the central place which the Temple held in the worship of the Jewish community. But our main interest here is the fact that it is placed next to the story of the marriage at Cana and that it takes place on the feast of Passover. If our understanding of Cana is right, the cleansing of the Temple is placed here because of the way in which both stories point to the meaning of the Christ. At Cana the marriage feast symbolises the heavenly banquet; there is therefore no further need of the Temple, for it has been superseded; the old has passed away, the new has come. And it takes place at the feast of the Passover for the same reason. The Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world is now present in the Temple, and takes the place of the Paschal Lamb. The sacrificial system has therefore become obsolete. What is implicit here is made explicit in the Johannine Apocalypse: "And I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev. 21:22).

The next Exodus reference is in St. John 3:14. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life". The reference is to the story in Numbers 21:4-9 where the people are healed of the bites of fiery serpents by

looking at a bronze serpent which Moses made and set on a pole. Jewish tradition, aware that Hezekiah had destroyed it (2 Kings 18:4), emphasised that it was not the serpent who cured the people. "They were not saved through what they saw, but by thee, the Saviour of all" (Wisdom 16:7). But it is not so much the serpent as the "lifting up" which is the point of comparison in John. The uplifted serpent was a symbol of salvation; the uplifted Jesus will give all those who believe in him eternal life. He will give in reality what Moses could only offer a symbol of. "The Law was given through Moses: grace and truth came through Jesus Christ".

The healing of the lame man at Bethesda or Bethzatha (John 5:1-9) and the subsequent controversy which it evokes gives the next implicit reference to our subject. Many commentators think that the text has been dislocated at this point and that chapter six should come before chapter five. Certainly the sequence of events moves more smoothly if this is done. Chapter four ends with Jesus in Galilee, in chapter five he goes up to Jerusalem and at the beginning of six he crosses the Sea of Galilee. If we reverse the chapters the order reads Cana, Capernaum, Jerusalem, Galilee where he goes to escape the wrath of the Jews (John 7:1), because of

the healing on the sabbath day in chapter five. This would also place the Jewish feasts in chronological sequence - Passover (chapter 6), the unnamed feast in chapter five, Tabernacles (chapters 7 and 8), Dedication (chapter 10) and then Passover of the following year (chapter 12 and following). This arrangement is all the more plausible when we recall that the controversy in chapter five is about the giving of the law, which was the central event commemorated at Pentecost.¹ However that may be, there is no manuscript evidence for this change, and no two commentators seem to agree as to the nature and extent of the dislocation.

Just as we had the water of Jewish purification at Cana, here we have the water which promises healing, but the cripple does not have the will to make use of it. When Jesus asks the question, "Do you want to be healed?" the reply is not a reason but an excuse. The law might show the way to life (Deut. 8:1), but it has not the power to give life. (Cf. Gal. 3:21 - "If there had been given a law which could make alive, righteousness would be by the law".) Only the word of Jesus can do that. "The law was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ".

In the controversy which ensues the right of Jesus to

1. Marsh, op.cit., p. 40.

disregard the sabbath law is questioned. His reply is that in giving life on the sabbath, he is only doing what God is always doing, and in saying this he is claiming to override Moses who gave the law of the sabbath. But further still, the Jews have misunderstood Moses himself. Far from being the author of a final revelation of God, Moses had himself pointed toward Christ. "If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote of me" (John 5:46). Instead of being their Mediator with God (Ex. 32:33 - If thou wilt forgive their sin - and if not, blot me, I pray thee out of thy book which thou has written), he now becomes their accuser (John 5:45). They have his writings in their hands, they have searched them diligently but never understood their real meaning, for if they had rightly used them, they would have been led, not to refusal to believe in Christ but to faith in him. Though they hope in Moses, they do not in fact believe what he says (John 5:45 - $\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}$ with the dative). If they did, they would recognize in Jesus the fulfilment of the feast of Pentecost which they were celebrating.

In the "sign" of the feeding of the five thousand and the discourse which follows, the Evangelist becomes much more explicit with the Exodus theme. He does not just repeat the

story in its well-known form (there are so many verbal similarities that it seems highly likely that he knew and used the two narratives of Mark 6:35-44; 8:1-9), but adds certain touches of his own to bring out what he believes to be its meaning. Jesus goes up into the mountain (*Το ὄρος*) with his disciples, and it is possible that there is an allusion here to Moses and Mount Sinai, since Moses is mentioned in verse 31. (In St. Matthew 5:1 Jesus goes up on the mountain with his disciples at the giving of the New Law.) He also gives the time as the feast of the Passover, which was not only the commemoration of a past event, but the ground of hope for a future deliverance. One of the rabbis had said that Passover was the night on which the Jews had been redeemed in the past, and on which they will be redeemed in the future.¹ Like the wine at Cana, the bread of this chapter is a symbol of the Messianic Banquet, as the Passover also was. "The movement from the miracle to the discourse, from Moses to Jesus (vv. 32-35, Cf. 1:17) and, above all, from bread to flesh, is almost unintelligible unless the reference to the Passover picks up St. John 1:29, 36, and governs the whole narrative".²

1. A. J. B. Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

2. Hoskyns & Davey, *The Fourth Gospel* (1st. ed.), p. 315.

The command to "Gather up the fragments left over, that nothing may be lost", and the filling of the twelve baskets must surely symbolise the ingathering of the twelve tribes of the true Israel. ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ is one of John's key words, and its use here must have a deeper meaning than just a loss of food.) Finally, in the Synoptic accounts, there are no "results" from the miracle; John makes it clear that it is a Messianic sign. "When the people saw the sign which he had done, they said, 'This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world'." (John 6:14) This is a clear reference to Deuteronomy 18:15 ff., one of the "Testimonies" used in the Apostolic Age (Cf. Acts 3:22, 23; 7:37). Jesus is the prophet "like to Moses". But this is only the opinion of the crowd. John goes far deeper than this in the walking on the water (John 6:16-21). Jesus is far superior to Moses. He himself can use the divine name, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota$ - the name of God revealed to Moses at Horeb (Ex. 3:14). It is true that the words may mean no more than "It is I", as they do in the Synoptic account of the incident, (Mark 6:45-52; Matt. 14:22-34), but in view of the fact that in other passages in St. John it does stand for the divine name (John 8:24, 58), it seems highly likely that it is here the equivalent of the

divine name also.

The discourse at Capernaum is based on the subject of the manna in the wilderness. If Jesus is "the prophet" then he will be able to renew the gift of manna as Moses' successor. In rabbinic tradition, this was one of the signs of the new age. "As was the first Redeemer, so is the latter Redeemer as the first Redeemer brought down the manna, so will the latter Redeemer bring down the manna".¹ The Apocalypse of Baruch (written about the time of the Fourth Gospel) says that, "the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of the time".² Jesus denies that the manna which Moses gave was the true bread from heaven, since it either was used up or became spoiled if it was not used (Ex. 16:15-21); it was only a symbol or type of the true bread. The true bread is present in the person of Jesus. "I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger" (John 6:35). And more emphatically still in verse 50: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he will live for

1. Ecclesiastes Rabbah 1:28.

2. 2 Baruch 29:8 (Charles' Translation).

ever". Those who ate the manna in the wilderness died, thus showing that it could not be the true bread of heaven.

The symbolism of the discourse now turns to the sacrifice of the Lamb and to the Eucharist, the Christian Passover. "The bread which I will give for the life of the world is my flesh" (John 6:51b). These words can hardly fail to suggest death while their combination with "drink my blood" in verses 53 and 54 suggests violent death.¹ Their similarity to the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper, which also had a Passover background, lead us to think that here John is anticipating the institution of the Eucharist, which he therefore does not record in his Passion Narrative.

Now while, as we have said above, the Passover Lamb was not an expiatory sacrifice, some rabbis held that the lamb slain in Egypt did have an expiatory value. J. Jeremias quotes one of them as saying that the Israelites were redeemed from Egypt for the merit of the blood of the covenant of the circumcision and the Passover blood.² If, as we have also seen, the anointing at Bethany is the consecration of Jesus as the fulfilment of the Passover Lamb of Egypt,³ then the mean-

1. Dodd, *op.cit.*, p. 339.

2. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 146, n. 4.

3. *Supra*, p. 68.

ing here also is that he is the true Paschal Lamb, who through his death becomes the bread of life to the world.

There is, of course, much more to be drawn from this chapter than Christ as the fulfiller of the Passover, but that is one strand of John's thought. The greatest of all the Jewish feasts is fulfilled in him.

There is also another line of thought connected with bread that should be mentioned. The Law is also referred to as bread. The bread which Wisdom offers in Prov. 9:5 (Come, eat of my bread) is cited as the proof text of this.¹ If John has this thought in mind, then the argument of the first part of the discourse is that Moses did not give the true Law, though the Law pointed to the truth. The true Law is the Son of man whom God gives. "The Law was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ".

The next annual feast, the Feast of Tabernacles, in origin a harvest festival (Ex. 34:22), but later associated with the wanderings in the wilderness (Lev. 23:42, 43), is the feast of the next episode in John's Gospel (John 7:1; 10:21). (Here again there seems to be some dislocation of the text, for the section St. John 7:15-24 bears on the controversy over

1. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to John*, p. 240.

the healing on the sabbath (John 5:1-9); it resembles the synoptic type of controversy about the keeping of the sabbath, e.g. Mark 3:1-6.) In this section it is the ceremonial of the feast in which John sees Christ as the fulfiller. One of its most distinctive ceremonies was the Water-libation. A golden flagon was filled with water at the pool of Siloam and carried in solemn procession, with three blasts of the shofar at the Water Gate, up to the Temple, where it was poured over the altar of burnt-offering. This took place on each of the seven days of the feast, and possibly on the eighth as well.¹ It was probably in origin a rain-making ceremony, since Tabernacles was celebrated about the time when the autumn rains began, but the crudity had been refined away, and the ceremony was associated with prayers for rain, and also with the water which had been supplied to the Israelites from the rock at Horeb (Ex. 17:1-7).² (The water of Siloam sprang from the rock on which the temple was built.) One of the Haftorahs for the feast was Zechariah 14:8³ which reads: "On that day living waters shall flow from Jerusalem". Against this background the saying of Jesus is a claim to fulfil the feast of Tabernacles.

1. Danby, *The Mishnah*, pp. 178, 179.

2. Westcott, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

3. H. St. J. Thackeray, *The LXX and Jewish Worship*, pp. 64-67.

"If any one thirst, let him come to me and drink. He who believes in me, as the scripture has said, 'Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water'." (John 7:36).

Another distinctive ceremony of this feast was the illumination of the Court of the Women in the Temple. At the end of the first festival day the golden candlesticks there, with golden bowls on the top, each holding about seven gallons of oil, were set alight; men danced before them with burning torches in their hands, singing songs and praises. The light was so brilliant that every courtyard in Jerusalem was illuminated by it.¹ The Haftorah mentioned above also has the sentence, "And there shall be continuous day (it is known to the Lord), not day and not night, for at evening time there shall be light" (Zech. 14:6). The light was regarded as symbolic of the pillar of cloud and fire which had guided the people in the wilderness (Ex. 13:21, 22).² Again in the same Haftorah it is said that "the Lord will become king over all the earth Then every one that survives of all the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, Lord of Hosts, and to keep

1. Danby, *The Mishnah*, pp. 177, 179.
2. Westcott, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

the feast of booths" (Zech. 14:9, 16). The ceremonial and the scripture connected with the festival find its fulfilment in Jesus. The light of the Exodus - transitory and partial - is a pointer toward the living light of the world. "I am the light of the world; he who follows me" (the thought of the pilgrimage may be here in this word) "will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (John 8:12).

Another allusion to a practice associated with Tabernacles has been suspected in this section. For six days of the feast the priests used to go in procession round the altar bearing willow-branches and singing "Ani wahu! save us we pray!" On the seventh day they went around seven times.¹ The words "Ani wahu" were regarded as the hidden name of God, for אניוהו was regarded as too sacred to be pronounced. In origin it appears to be a variation of אניוהו יצאנו which the LXX translates $\text{ἐξῆλθον ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ κύριος}$.² With ו added it was interpreted to imply the intimate relationship between God and Israel. In the controversy of St. John 8:12-59 this idea seems to be expressed. The words, "You will die in your sins unless you believe that I am he" (verse 24); "When you have lifted up the Son of man, then you will know that I am he"

1. Danby, The Mishnah, p. 178. 2. Dodd, op.cit., pp.93-96.

(verse 28); "before Abraham was, I am" (verse 58) all echo the ἐγὼ εἰμι of the Old Testament. Again in verse 16 we have, "I and he who sent me" and in verse 29, "He who sent me is with me". Both of these are so similar to $\text{אֲנִי וְהַשֵּׁלֵחַ}$ that it is possible John had them in his mind. The divine name given to Moses is placed upon the lips of Jesus himself. (The same divine name is found also in Deutero-Isaiah, the prophet of the Second Exodus - Isaiah 41:4; 43:10; 48:12.) So in this section we have three self-declarations of Jesus connected with the three events of the festival, which in turn are connected liturgically with the Exodus. All three have their counterpart in the prologue. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men" (John 1:4). "The Word was with God and the Word was God" (John 1:1).

We may note also that the rabbis talked about the Law under the symbols of water and light. "As water is life for the world, so also the words of the Law are life for the world".¹ "As oil is light for the world, so also the words of the Law are light for the world".² Again the words of the prologue come to mind: "The Law was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John 1:17).

1. Siphre on Deut. 11:22, Sect. 48. 2. Deut. Rabbah, 7:3.

The themes of life and light are now combined in the story of the man born blind (chapter 9). Some commentators, e.g. Westcott, Dodd, MacGregor, would make a new division at this point, but John's divisions are always marked by the mention of a Jewish feast, which does not occur until St. John 10:22. The subject matter of St. John 9:1 - 10:21, and particularly of chapter 9, is a development of St. John 8:12 rather than a new departure, for it describes the reaction to the light of one who believes in Jesus and those who do not. The blind man comes from darkness into complete illumination, while the Pharisees go into deeper darkness.

But for our purposes, the main point of the story is the healing itself. The man's eyes are bathed in saliva, which in ancient times was regarded as a portion of a man himself,¹ and he is then sent to the pool of Siloam, the pool from which the water was drawn on the Feast of Tabernacles. The word "Siloam" is derived from $\pi \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$ "to send" and the Greek participle by which John translates it means "He who has been sent". John, who uses $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \mu \pi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \iota \nu$ and $\lambda \acute{\iota} \nu \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \iota \nu$ upwards of forty times of the Father sending his Son into the world would therefore lead us to understand that through the water

1. R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, p. 202.

of Siloam the man received his sight, because it represents him who has been sent. Jesus is $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and he gives sight to the blind for he is the living water. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men" (John 1:4), and when the light shines in the darkness, the darkness far from overcoming the light (John 1:5), is dispelled by it.

In the ensuing controversy, Jesus and Moses are sharply contrasted (John 9:28, 29). "Disciples of Moses" does not seem to have been a regular name for rabbinic scholars,¹ but John uses it here to bring out the opposition between Jesus and the Pharisees. Men must choose between the new Moses and the old. There are some signs that this thought is continued in the allegory of the Good Shepherd in chapter 10. In one of his characteristic ways, John takes an Old Testament symbol, around which many ideas had gathered, and uses it to elaborate in a discourse the theme of the controversy in chapter 9. In the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms, Yahweh is portrayed as the Shepherd of his people (Ps. 23:1; 80:2; 74:1; 79:13; 95:7; 100:3), though the idea is also found in the prophetic literature (Is. 40:11; Jer. 31:9). In Psalm 78:70-72, Ezek. 34:24 and

1. Barrett, op.cit., p. 300.

Micah 5:3 David is spoken of as the shepherd of Israel, while in Isaiah 63:11 and Psalm 77:20 the symbol is applied to Moses. Unfaithful shepherds and the true shepherd are found together in Zechariah 11:4-9 and Ezekiel 34:1-24. There is also similarity of language found in the appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor (Num. 27:16-28). "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord may not be as sheep which have no shepherd" (Num. 27:16, 17). It is extremely difficult to say how many of these passages were in John's mind when he wrote the allegory, though we may be confident that Ezekiel 34 was, but since it is part of the episode connected with the Feast of Tabernacles, which commemorated the wandering in the wilderness, and since Moses is mentioned in the preceding controversy, it is highly probable that Moses was in his mind also. It is extremely unlikely that the words "All who came before me are thieves and robbers"(verse 8) have any reference to the worthies of the Old Testament, for it is one of the fundamental assumptions of John that they looked forward to Jesus and bore witness to him. "The verse is a

very strong expression, in negative form, of the fact that all truth is now present in the incarnate Lord".¹ Just as Moses was willing to die instead of the people (Ex. 32:33), Jesus is not only willing to die but does. "The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep" (John 10:11), and not only for the "sheep of the house of Israel" but for sheep "not of this fold". The Jewish believers are to be joined by Gentile believers in the flock of the new Israel. The old Israel had Moses as its first shepherd; the new Israel will have as its shepherd, Jesus Christ.

Embedded in the allegory of the Good Shepherd is the metaphor of the door (verses 7 and 9). If John is using Old Testament material for the allegory of the shepherd it would seem natural to suppose that he is using it here also. In Genesis 28:17 we have "the gate of Heaven", and in Psalm 78:23 "The doors of Heaven". There is also the reference in Exodus 33:9 to the pillar of cloud standing at the door of the tent of meeting when the Lord spoke to Moses, and in Exodus 12:22 of sprinkling the blood of the lamb on the door-posts. In the Synoptics there are many references to the door of life and to "entering the Kingdom of God", e.g. St. Matthew

1. Lightfoot, op.cit., p. 210.

7:13; St. Matthew 25:10; St. Mark 9:43. If we are right in seeing references to the Feast of Tabernacles in this section, and remember that "glory" is one of John's characteristic words, a word associated in the Jewish mind with the pillar of cloud, we would seem to have some ground for thinking that the door of the tabernacle is in John's mind, particularly when all the "I am" sayings up to this point have an Exodus background. Hoskyns also suggests that the door may have a connection with the sprinkling of the blood upon the door at the Passover,¹ since the words that follow "if anyone enters through me, he will be saved" expresses the purpose of the blood-sprinkling.

The next section, St. John 10:22 - 11:57, does not concern us in this essay since the Feast of Dedication celebrated the rededication of the Temple in 165 B.C. after its profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes. It is sufficient to say that as in the other festivals, Jesus is regarded as its fulfilment. John has already declared that as a result of Jesus' death and resurrection, the temple is to be destroyed and replaced by "the temple of his body"

1. Hoskyns, *op.cit.*, p. 632.

(John 2:17-21). In this section the ministry of our Lord is set forth as the true dedication, for he is the one whom the Father has consecrated and sent into the world (John 10:36).

We now come to the climax of the Fourth Gospel, the Passion Narrative. We have already seen that it begins (chapter 12) with the anointing at Bethany which we have interpreted as the setting apart of the true Paschal Lamb for sacrifice. This interpretation is borne out by the transitional section which precedes it (John 11:54-57), which tells of the people who went up to Jerusalem to purify themselves before the feast and who were looking for Jesus. Neither he nor his disciples are present for the purificatory rites, for the disciples will be purified in another way. Their purification will take place in the Upper Room - if we may borrow the place from the Synoptics, for John does not mention any place - at the foot-washing and in the conversation which follows it. "You are clean, but not all of you" (John 13:10). "You are already made clean through the word which I have spoken to you" (John 15:3). The statement that the chief priests and Pharisees had given orders that any information as to the whereabouts of Jesus should immediately be relayed to them, is John's subtle way of saying that if

Jesus had not come voluntarily to Jerusalem there would have been no "feast of the Passover", in the sense in which John wishes us to understand it. "Six days before the Passover" (John 12:1), would then mean six days before the slaying of the True Paschal Lamb.

The reasons given for the omission in John of the institution of the Eucharist are many and varied. Some have seen in the foot-washing an allegory of its institution.¹ Cullmann thinks that since Cana and the feeding of the five thousand are both meant to imply the Eucharist, John has no need to speak of the actual supper itself.² Jeremias holds that no mention is made of it because John does not want to disclose the "Christian secret" to the heathen.³ Whatever his reason, and it still remains an open question, the Passover motif forms part of the background. As the people were purified before they received the Law (Ex. 19:10), so the disciples are made clean before they receive the new commandment (John 13:34). The covenant is given in characteristic Johannine language, after the solemn utterance of the divine name: "... you may believe that I am (he).

1. Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

2. *Early Christian Worship*, p. 106.

3. *Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

Truly, Truly, I say to you, he who receives anyone in my name receives me; and he who receives me, receives him who sent me." (John 13:19, 20), with which we may compare Exodus 19:5, "If you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my possession".

In the discourses which precede the account of the Passion (John 14 - 17), the only passage which deals with our subject is the allegory of the vine (John 15:1 ff). In the Old Testament the vine is one of the symbols of Israel. In Isaiah 5:1-7 we are expressly told that "the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah are his pleasant planting". The picture is also found in Jeremiah 2:21; 12:10; Ezekiel 15:2-8; 19:10-14; Hosea 10:1. In all these passages the vine has become "wild" through its own fault. In Psalm 80:8-17 the vine "brought out of Egypt" is uprooted through the wickedness of others, and the Psalmist appeals to Yahweh to "have regard" for the vine that his "right hand planted", which by a change of metaphor he then calls "the man of thy right hand, the son of man whom thou has made strong for thyself". For John the true vine is no longer "Israel according to the flesh", for by rejecting the "Son of man" the nation has rejected its own vocation; it is

Jesus himself, and those who are, as branches, grafted into him. (There is probably here also a reference to the "cup of blessing" at the Last Supper, called in the Synoptics "the fruit of the vine".) The true Israel, cleansed and purified by Jesus' word (John 15:3), is now ready to keep the true Passover.

In the Synoptic accounts the day of the Crucifixion has the usual name for Friday - "the day of Preparation, that is the day before the Sabbath" (Mark 15:42). In John it is called "the day of Preparation for the Passover" (John 19:14); the Passover that year fell on Saturday - "that sabbath was a high day" (John 19:31). As in St. John 12:1, "the preparation for the Passover" in the account of the final stages of our Lord's trial before Pilate is meant not only to mark a day in the Jewish calendar, but also the last stage in the preparation of the sacrifice of the true lamb.

For it is not only the day in which John differs from the Synoptics but in the hour of the day as well. Mark says that Jesus was crucified at the "third hour" (Mark 15:25), while John tells us that the trial lasted until noon (John 19:14). John gives no further note of time, but it would seem obvious that our Lord did not die till later than three o'clock, which

is Mark's hour for his death (Mark 15:33-36). The clue here again is in the Exodus narrative. According to Exodus 12:6, the lamb was to be slain "in the evening". On this phrase J. H. Hertz comments: "This phrase means literally 'between the evenings'. According to the Talmud the 'first evening' is the time in the afternoon when the heat of the sun begins to decrease, about three o'clock; and the 'second evening' commences with sunset. Josephus relates that the Passover sacrifice "was offered from the ninth to the eleventh hour", i.e. between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m."¹ What John is implying is that when the passover lambs were being slain in the temple, the true Passover Lamb was being slain at Golgotha. This contention is borne out in two later verses in the narrative. Where Mark says that one of the bystanders put a sponge dipped in sour wine on a reed and gave it to Jesus (Mark 15:36), John says that they "put a sponge full of vinegar on hyssop and held it to his mouth" (John 19:29). Since hyssop is a small flexible plant, not stiff enough to hold a sponge to the lips of a man hanging on a cross, this can only refer to the Passover Narrative. "Take a bunch of hyssop and dip it in the blood which is in the basin, and touch the lintel and the two door-

1. Pentateuch and Haftorahs - Exodus p. 126.

posts" (Ex. 21:22). Having already told his readers that Jesus is the "Lamb of God" (John 1:29, 36) and the door (John 10:7, 9), he now alludes to the fact that it was the blood of the lamb on the door which ensured the safety of the Hebrews at the first Passover (Ex. 12:23). Again when the soldiers come to break the legs of the three who were crucified in order to hasten death, the legs of Jesus are not broken, for he was already dead. This, said John, is to fulfil the scripture, "Not a bone of him shall be broken" (John 19:36). This must be a reference to the directions given about the eating of the passover lamb (Ex. 12:46), though it is possible that there may be here also a free quoting of Psalm 34:20, one of the Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer.¹

In an appendix to his commentary on this gospel, R. H. Lightfoot² points out that there are no less than twelve references to the feast of the Passover in St. John (John 2:13; 2:23; 4:45; 6:4; 11:54-57; 12:1; 12:20; 13:1; 13:29; 18:28; 18:39; 19:14). Some of them are mere notes of time, but most of them, as we have seen, have a deeper meaning. It can hardly

1. C. K. Barrett, *op.cit.*, p. 464. Dodd, *op.cit.*, p. 233 thinks that this is the only reference. But this hardly seems to be borne out in the light of the Exodus imagery that occurs so much in John.
2. Lightfoot, *op.cit.*, pp. 349-356.

be doubted that one of the purposes of the Fourth Gospel is to set forth Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfiller of his nation's hopes for the future, and of its past history as well for it was through that history that knowledge of God had come into the world. "Salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22). He does this by tying the events of our Lord's life to the great festivals of the Jewish year, festivals which commemorated the saving acts of God at the beginning of Israel's history; he then goes on to show that only in Christ can their real significance, their real meaning be seen.

John tells us that Jesus' last word before he died was $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$. The Greek verb $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ can bear the meaning "to bring to an end", but its chief meaning is "to accomplish", "to fulfil", "to complete". The same word is used in the pregnant saying in St. Luke: "I have baptism to be baptised with, and how am I constrained until it is accomplished" (Luke 12:50). There, as we saw, it is the whole history of his nation that is probably in our Lord's mind. And the same thought is expressed here in another form. The Lamb is slain, the blood is sprinkled, salvation is now assured. The whole history of his nation has converged upon and been fulfilled in him; the demands of God

upon his people which they had never met, have been met by him. "I have glorified thee on earth, having accomplished the work which thou gavest me to do" (John 17:4).

Chapter Five

THE EXODUS IN THE PAULINE WRITINGS

"Whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that by steadfastness and by the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope" (Rom. 15:4). The scriptures "were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come" (1 Cor. 10:11). In these two sentences St. Paul sums up his belief about the Old Testament. It is not simply the Jewish Bible which, now that Christ has come, is of no further value, and may safely be left in the limbo of forgotten things; it is for the Christian, no less than for the Jew, a set of inspired books through which the character and will and purpose of God may be known. What Christ has done is to reveal the true meaning of them, for only through him can they be truly understood (2 Cor. 3:14).

It is not surprising then, to find frequent quotations of the Old Testament in the letters of St. Paul. Over eighty times he quotes directly with the formula "as it is written", or some similar phrase; some twenty times he introduces a quotation with the conjunction "for"; about seventy times he quotes indirectly giving the sense of a passage rather than its actual

words.¹ And not only that, but his vocabulary is to a large extent drawn from the same source. Clearly St. Paul's mind was so full of the Old Testament that when he wrote or dictated a letter his thought naturally expressed itself in Old Testament thought-forms. Nor is his knowledge confined to any one part of it. Of the thirty-nine books he quotes either directly or indirectly from twenty-three; true, there were some which he quotes from more frequently than others, notably Isaiah, the Psalms, Genesis and Deuteronomy, but this may be due to the fact that the subjects on which he is writing find their Old Testament expression in these books, rather than lack of knowledge of the others on his part. Nor does he make any distinction in this regard in so far as the destination of his letters is concerned. The Church at Corinth must have been predominantly a Gentile Church yet St. Paul presupposes that they have a great deal of knowledge of the Old Testament and its interpretation; on the other hand there are no quotations in the letters to the Church at Thessalonica, also a Gentile Church. In general we may say that he quotes the Old Testament most frequently in his arguments with those who would deny that he

1. J. Bonsirven, *Exegese Rabbinique et Exegese Paulinienne*, pp. 277-290.

was preaching the true Gospel, in order to show that what he is preaching is not alien to the true understanding of the old scriptures.

But in using them he exercised far more liberty with the sacred text than was claimed or exercised by the rabbinic schools. He does not hesitate to paraphrase, to substitute one word for another if it made his meaning clearer, and in general to disregard exact quotation. At the same time he does not, like the rabbis, set out to show that his views are found in the scriptures, at whatever expense to their literal meaning. There are occasions when he does lapse into this method of exegesis, which was a favourite one among the rabbis;¹ for example, when he is claiming that the Christian missionary has the right to be supported by the Church, he quotes Deut. 25:4 - "You shall not muzzle the ox when it is treading out grain", and then goes on to say that this law must refer to men since God is not concerned with oxen (1 Cor. 9: 8-10). As Bonsirven puts it: "St. Paul receives the Old Testament deposit with the respectful liberty of a son of the house, master of the inheritance of his fathers. He sees in

1. There are numerous examples in *Pirke Aboth*, Danby, op.cit., pp. 446-461.

it, not the rule of faith, which comes to him from Christ, but a teacher who has prepared the way for the reign of the divine Wisdom, and a faithful witness charged to attest the truth of Christianity. When he expounds the message of the Gospel, his memory, nourished by the sacred books, enables him to call the ancient witnesses to testify and confirm what he has said, especially on the more controversial points. He uses them freely, not hesitating to substitute, where necessary, another word to bring out the deeper meaning of the sacred document, or to combine texts which mutually support each other."¹

This use of the Old Testament is expressed in a variety of ways. He will use it to reinforce a moral exhortation. In entreating the Corinthians not to render sterile the grace of God which they had received, he quotes from one of the Servant songs: "At the acceptable time I have listened to you, and helped you on the day of salvation" (Is. 49:8), and then goes on to say that the day of salvation has now dawned (2 Cor. 5:1, 2). When he wants to prove a point, he will take a passage as a principle from which to draw out certain deductions. In his argument with the Judaizers of Galatia he

1. J. Bonsirven, *op.cit.*, p. 338.

makes three quotations from Genesis (12:3; 15:6; 18:18) as the premises from which to argue that all men of faith share in the blessings given to Abraham (Gal. 3:6-9). When the need arises he can be as strictly literalist as any rabbi. The promises made to Abraham were not meant for his "offsprings" but his "offspring", that is Christ (Gal. 3:15-18). He can analyse the historical background of a verse or section in order to show that it finds its fulfilment in his Lord. In a long dissertation in Romans 4 he shows, at least to his own satisfaction, that since Abraham was justified before he was circumcised, therefore circumcision is not an essential for those who desire to be heirs to the blessings of Abraham, but only faith in God who raised Jesus from the dead (Rom. 4:24). He will take a quotation out of its historical background or its context and apply it to another situation altogether. In Romans 10:9, for example, he takes an imprecatory passage from Psalm 69:22, 23, which originally applied to the enemies of a particular man and applies it to the Israelites who rejected Christ, while in the previous chapter he uses a verse from Psalm 19, describing the glories of the heavens, to describe the extent of Christian preaching. In a few instances he uses a phrase or

sentence in an exactly opposite sense from the original writer. Hosea (13:14) threatens destruction to a recalcitrant nation; St. Paul takes the verse to mean that death will finally be destroyed (1 Cor. 15:55).

But the method which he uses far more frequently than any other is the typological one. The past history of the chosen people finds its counterpart in the life of the Church, and therefore the scriptures were written for her instruction in a way that was never true even for those to whom they originally belonged, and this though it was out of these same scriptures that St. Paul, and we may add, the primitive Church received the clue to their interpretation. In this, as in many other aspects of his thought, St. Paul is not as far from the Christians of Judaea as is sometimes supposed.

For typology, in the sense in which St. Paul mainly uses it, is born of eschatology. The conviction that the purpose of God could not fail led the later Old Testament writers to declare that all things would be made new again, transformed into what they had been at the beginning when they came fresh from the hand of God.¹ When this transformation would take place is not tied down to any particular

1. Is. 11:6-9; 65:25 ff.

point of time until the apocalyptic writings, but the conviction is there none the less. In some of the rabbinic writings, it is connected with the feast of the Passover, which is the pre-figuration of the great redemption to come,¹ the liturgy of that festival being the point where past, present, and future met. The manner in which the Divine intervention would take place was a matter of intense speculation and there was a wide diversity of opinion on the subject. Sometimes God himself was expected to intervene directly, sometimes through his agent. When St. Paul came to the conviction that this divine agent was Jesus of Nazareth he naturally thought of him as the key to the understanding of "the oracles of God" which he had known all his life. Through him "the promises of God to the fathers had been fulfilled"; in him all things would be united; by him the consequences of man's disobedience had been undone. And as the people of God had come into existence through God's own mighty acts through Moses in Egypt, it was again natural for him to find in the Exodus language with which to express the mighty acts of God in Christ, and to see the Exodus in the words of another New Testament writer as the "shadow of things to come".

1. Exodus Rabbah, 15:1.

The vocabulary he mainly uses to express what Christ has done is taken from the events of the Exodus: redemption, salvation, bondage, freedom, deliverance, ransom, covenant, inheritance. In his letter to the Colossians (1:12-14), for example, he tells them that they share in "the inheritance of the saints in light", because they have been "delivered from the dominion of darkness", "transferred to the kingdom", and through Christ "have redemption". Here in one sentence he tells the Exodus story in Christian language,¹ or rather the Christian story in Exodus language. Nor is this an isolated case. There are some forty references or allusions² to the Exodus in his letters and to these we now turn. Some of them are little more than the use of language which naturally came to his mind, but a great many are used as the basis for an exhortation or a theological statement.

Though he nowhere uses the term, the thought of the Church as the New Israel is fundamental to St. Paul. He had been brought up to believe that the nation into which he was born had been called by God to be his own people among all

1. Phythian-Adams, *The Way of At-one-ment*, p. 23.
2. Vide Appendix II.

the nations of the earth. True enough, her history had also taught him that Israel had failed again and again to respond to the demands which God had placed upon her, but that did not alter the fact that the promises of God were still valid, and that Israel would, in the New Age, come into full enjoyment of those promises. Perhaps the fact that he was brought up in a Greek city made him more zealous for the faith of his fathers, for his religion would cut him off from a great deal of the life of Tarsus, make him conscious of his "Jewishness".¹ And then suddenly, he finds himself compelled to become a member of a community, the centre of whose devotion was One who had been put outside the pale of the Law, who had died under its curse, condemned by those whom Paul had been brought up to revere. The devotion to the Law which before had been the centre of his life was now replaced by a new centre - Jesus the Messiah. And because faith in Jesus as Lord was possible without being a Jew (Rom. 3:21), the Gentiles could become heirs of the blessings and promises of God. The Jewish religion allowed no one to share its privileges unless he was willing to become a Jew. In Christ barriers of nationality were broken down. "There is neither

1. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 66.

Jew nor Greek for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). And because the promises of God which had been made to Israel were now being fulfilled in the Church, the Church must be the true Israel, the "Israel of God" (Gal. 5:16). The Gentiles are no longer "strangers to the covenants of promise" (Ephes. 2:12), but "fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (Ephes. 2:19). Just as a proselyte could become a son of Israel by baptism, circumcision and the offering of sacrifice, so now by the blood of Christ the Gentile could become a son of the true Israel (Ephes. 2:13). They are no longer "strangers and sojourners" - terms applied by Jews to Gentiles living in their midst, but true Israelites. The people who were brought out of Egypt by the mighty act of God are their ancestors "after the spirit" (1 Cor. 10:1), no less than those of the Israelites "after the flesh". They are "Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29). So he can without any sense of incongruity give them a catena of quotations from the Law and the Prophets and say that it applies to them:

"I will live in them and move among them,
and I will be their God,
and they shall be my people.
Therefore come out from them,
and be separate from them, says the Lord,
and touch nothing unclean,
and I will welcome you,
and I will be a father to you,

and you shall be my sons and daughters
says the Lord Almighty."

(2 Cor. 6:16-18).

Paul works out his theory of the New Israel mainly in his letters to the Galatians and the Romans. In Galatians 3 he bases his argument on the superiority of faith to the works of the Law. The call of Abraham is the beginning of the historical process in which God is at work to make himself a people. With Abraham and "his offspring" God made a covenant that through them all the nations of the earth would be blessed (Gen. 12:7). The covenant with Abraham was made not because of his righteousness but because of his faith (Gal. 3:6). The Law works on a completely different principle; only he who fully keeps the Law will receive its blessings (Gal. 3:12). But since the Law is later in time than the covenant, the latter has a higher validity than the former. The Law is in fact a temporary measure, a custodian for Israel, until the offspring of Abraham should come in whom the promise of God was to be fulfilled (Gal. 3:23). Christ is the offspring of Abraham (Gal. 3:16), and therefore all who believe in him are the true children of Abraham. Stripped of its rabbinical method of argument, Paul is here saying that there are different levels of religion in the Old Testament, the level of personal

response as exemplified by Abraham, and the level of legalism which is bound up with nationalism. In Christianity it is the personal response that is all important, and that response comes from a realisation of one's inability to live up to the demands of God in one's own unaided strength. "The Law was added because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19). But since the revelation of God is given at a particular place and time and to specific people, those who respond to the good news of that revelation may rightly be called spiritual descendants of those who first received and responded to it.

In Romans 9 - 11 he attacks the problem from another point of view, in giving us what has been called his philosophy of history. Here he makes use of Isaiah's doctrine of the Remnant to show that the promises which Abraham received were not meant for all his physical descendants. It is only through one son, Isaac, that the blessing comes (Rom. 9:7), and then only through one son of Isaac, Jacob (Rom. 9:12, 13). In the time of Elijah only seven thousand remain faithful to Yahweh (Rom. 11:4), and only a remnant in the time of Isaiah (Rom. 9:27). This has again proved true in the case of the Messiah. In his death the old Israel seemed to have made its final rejection

of God, having killed the One who had gathered up into himself the whole of the Remnant, the true Israel. But in his Resurrection the true Israel had begun anew, and all who believe in him are members of it, for "everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. 10:13, quoted from Joel 2:32). Membership in Israel no longer consists in physical descent but in incorporation into the body of the Messiah. He quotes Hosea and Isaiah to prove his point. "Those who were not my people I will call 'my people', and her who was not beloved I will call 'beloved'" (Hosea 2:23). "I have been found by those who did not seek me; I have shown myself to those who did not ask for me" (Is. 65:1). As Dodd points out, the first quotation is not particularly well chosen, for it refers to the ultimate restoration of the nation, even though she has been rejected for her sins.¹ But that the prophets did herald the bringing of the Gentiles into the people of God cannot be disputed. For Paul they are the wild branches grafted into the olive tree, i.e. Israel (Rom. 11:17, 18).

But Paul in this epistle cannot bring himself to believe that Israel "after the flesh" has lost all rights to the promises. It must somehow be part of the purpose of God that the Jews

1. C. H. Dodd, Commentary on Romans (Moffatt Series), p. 160.

should reject the Messiah; because they did reject him, Gentiles have been brought into the Church, and when the full number of the Gentiles has been brought in, all Israel will be saved (Rom. 11:25, 26). This is rather a "post hoc, ergo propter hoc", argument and shows how deep his love was for his race. For the logic of his concept of the Church demanded that nationalism no longer had any place in the design of God; in others of his letters, as we have seen, it has none. In Galatians and Ephesians he finds great cause for rejoicing that the barriers between Jew and Gentile have been broken down by Christ and all distinctions of race done away.

The idea of the Church as the New Israel also underlies Paul's use of the word "Saint". The root significance of the Hebrew equivalent for the Greek *ἅγιος* is "set apart", and in origin had no moral significance; it mainly referred to any person or thing that was associated with a deity and thus set apart from all secular use. Largely through the teaching of the prophets the word was given a moral content though the religious content still remained. The people of Israel were called out of Egypt to be a "holy nation" (Ex. 19:6), i.e. set apart for Yahweh's possession and service. But they were

also to be holy in the moral sense. In the Holiness Code (Lev. 17 - 26), the command is given to Israel: "You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2), a law in which moral and religious are combined. Paul uses the word in both senses. Like the old Israel the Church is an assembly of holy ones (Phil. 1:1; Col. 1:2) but it is also to "make holiness perfect in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 7:1).

Now if the Church is the New Israel, then the act of God by which it was recreated out of the old Israel will have its counterpart in the history of the old Israel and the language of the Old Testament can be used to expound and illustrate it. This is what we find Paul doing in some of his letters.

In 1 Corinthians 10 Paul is warning his converts about the danger of sharing in banquets in heathen temples. Even if they have been baptised and shared in the Eucharist, there is no need for them carelessly to expose themselves to temptation, for it is still possible for them to fall from grace. The sacraments are not talismans, automatic protection. And he draws upon the history of their "fathers" to illustrate his warning. Their spiritual ancestors had been "baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea", had eaten super-

natural food and drunk supernatural drink, yet they lapsed into idolatry, committed fornication, presumed upon God and grumbled about his dealings with them. The story of the old Israel in its wilderness wanderings may be repeated in the New Israel in the city of Corinth. For both are "parallel and yet continuous"¹ with each other. The Rock from which the old Israel had drunk in the wilderness was Christ. Paul is here drawing upon a rabbinic midrash which said that the Rock from which Moses brought the water with his rod followed the Israelites through their desert wanderings and supplied them with water,² but for Paul Christ was present with the old Israel as well as with the New.

Just as the old Israel had been created through the Exodus from Egypt, so the New Israel is created through the death and resurrection of Christ. In some passages in the Epistles this comparison appears to be in Paul's mind. In 1 Corinthians 5, in dealing with a question of illicit sexual-relationships he reminds his converts that they are to be like the unleavened bread of the Passover festival. "For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us therefore

1. W. D. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

2. J. Moffatt, *Commentary on 1 Cor.* (Moffatt Series), p. 130.

celebrate the feativial, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." (1 Cor. 5:7, 8) The whole Christian life is to be a Passover feast because of the sacrifice of Christ, the true paschal lamb. Whether this allusion was prompted by the nearness of the Jewish Passover at the time of his writing this epistle or not,¹ the fact remains that he sees in the death and resurrection of Christ the new Exodus of the People of God. In the same letter (1 Cor. 15:20), he says that Christ is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep". Here again the ceremonies of the Passover are in his mind, for the sheaves of the first fruits of the harvest were brought to the Temple and waved before the altar on the first day after the sabbath in Passover week (Lev. 23:9 ff.). In Deut. 26:1-11 the first fruits are commanded to be brought and offered with a liturgy of thanksgiving for the redemption from Egypt and for the gift of the land which Yahweh had promised to the fathers of the nation. Christ is the first fruits of the new inheritance. As we saw above in Col. 1:11-15 Paul sums up the work of Christ in language drawn from the Exodus. He delivered us from darkness, redeemed us from our sins,

1. T. W. Manson, J.T.S. (1946), p. 8.

and gave us the qualifications to share in the inheritance of the saints. The same thought is expressed in the doxology with which Ephesians begins (Ephes. 1:3-14). God has given us divine sonship, redeemed us through the blood of Christ, and sealed us with the Holy Spirit, which seal guarantees to us our inheritance. Though we may not go as far as Carrington who thinks that in Corinthians Paul is following a midrash on the Exodus story,¹ it is evident that Paul did connect the meaning of the crucifixion with the meaning which the rabbis gave to the Passover. The death and resurrection of Christ have the same significance for the New Israel as the passing through the Red Sea has for the old Israel.

Just as each succeeding generation of the old Israel made the redemption from Egypt its own by joining in the liturgy of the Passover, so the Christian makes the redemption by Christ his own by receiving the sacrament of baptism. Though Paul nowhere presents a clear exposition of the meaning of baptism, this does not mean that it holds for him an unimportant place in the Christian life. As Flemington points out, if particular groups of Christians had not had certain

1. P. Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Catechism*, p. 6.

particular problems, we might never have known what Paul thought and taught about many things.¹ The importance of a doctrine is not to be measured by the amount of space it occupies in the Epistles.

Baptism is first of all incorporation into the body of the Messiah. "By one Spirit were we all baptized into one body" (1 Cor. 12:13). "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27). "There is one body and one Spirit one Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Ephes. 4:4, 5). The same thought is expressed in Colossians by the use of the rite of circumcision. "In him you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands" (Col. 2:11). Because Christ is the heir of the promises made to Abraham, those who belong to Christ through baptism are the true descendants of Abraham, i.e. the true Israel (Gal. 3:16, 27-29). This incorporation into the New Israel is a sharing in the death and resurrection of Jesus; when he died, all died (2 Cor. 5:14). In baptism the Christian dies with Christ, is buried with him and is raised again with him (Rom. 6:3, 4). "You were buried with him in baptism in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of

1. Flemington, op.cit., p. 52.

God" (Col. 2:12). He expresses the same thought in the same epistle without the use of the word "baptism". The Christian is one who died and has been raised with Christ (Col. 3:3, 1). The use of the aorist form for the two verbs shows that he is referring to a definite point in time, which must be the moment of baptism. In Gal. 5:24 he equates baptism with crucifixion. "Those who belong to Christ crucified the flesh with its passions and desires". On this verse G. S. Duncan comments: "The tense of the Greek verb - the aorist - makes it plain that Paul is referring not to a process of spiritual 'crucifixion' continued throughout life, but to an act consummated at a definite point in time. In short he is referring to what took place at baptism."¹ He makes the same equation in 1 Cor. 1:13 in dealing with the factions that had arisen in the Church. "Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?"

In commenting on Romans 6:4 ff. (and this comment can equally apply to all the passages where baptism is linked with the death and resurrection of Christ), W. L. Knox says, "The death and resurrection of Jesus replace the Exodus from Egypt. The proselyte through circumcision and the proselyte's

1. Commentary on Galatians (Moffatt Series), p. 176.

bath was enabled to come out of Egypt and pass through the Red Sea into the promised land of Israel. Paul transfers the argument to the death and resurrection of Jesus. Those who share in it through faith pass through the waters of baptism, are delivered from the old Egyptian bondage to sin and pass into a new slavery to righteousness which results in sanctification. Here the union of the Christian with Jesus is stated in terms of an exchange from one slavery to another on the strength of the Christian conception of the passion and resurrection as the new Passover."¹ When however, Knox goes on to say² that this mode of thought by which a past event, embodied in a ritual action, is "brought home" to the present believer, is Hellenistic, his statement is open to question. As we saw previously in Chapters II and III the "presentness of the past" is an integral part of Jewish thinking. We may note also in passing that in Romans 6, Paul appeals to a common tradition in thus expounding the meaning of baptism. To a Church which he did not found he could say: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Jesus Christ

1. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 97.

2. op.cit., p. 98.

have been baptized into his death?"

The thought of the Church as the New Israel and admission into it as a New Exodus leads inevitably to the thought of the New Covenant. The key to this concept lies in the writings of Jeremiah. "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel This is the covenant I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord; I will put my law within them and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people for I will forgive their iniquity and I will remember their sin no more." (Jer. 31:31-34) The theology of the two covenants is fundamental to Paul's theory of salvation-history though he refers to them only three times (Gal. 4:24-31; 2 Cor. 3:6-18; 1 Cor. 11:23-26). In Galatians 4 he describes the New Covenant, without expressly calling it such, as a covenant of freedom, as contrasted with the covenant of bondage which came from Mount Sinai. In 2 Corinthians 3 the passage from Jeremiah is in his mind though he does not quote from it directly. The ministry of the Church as the ministry of the New Covenant (verse 6), the failure of the Old Covenant (verse 14) and the letter written on the heart

(verse 2) are all echoes of it. As in many other instances in which Paul's teaching is given as a result of a situation in one of his Churches, the teaching on the New Covenant arises out of the attack made upon himself by Jewish Christians who had come to Corinth. He had been accused of commending himself by claiming a personal authority instead of carrying letters of recommendation from the Jerusalem Church. To this charge he replies that he had no need of such letters, for the Church at Corinth was his recommendation, a letter written on the tablets of human hearts not on tablets of stone as was the old law. The Corinthian Christians were therefore one instance of the fulfilment of the prophecy that the time would come when the law would be written on the hearts of the Israelites (verses 2-4). Not that the power to write this letter came from himself but from God through Christ who had inaugurated the New Covenant. With this apology for his behaviour he goes on to discuss the ministry of the New Covenant. That there was a glory attached to the Old Covenant no one could deny. The glory was so great that the Israelites could not bear to look at the face of Moses when he came down from the mountain after receiving it (verse 7). But in comparison with the glory of the New Covenant, the glory of the Old was so insignificant that it could be said to have

no glory at all (verse 10). The glory of the Old was transient, the glory of the New is eternal (verse 11). The ministers of the New could therefore be bold; they did not need to veil their faces as Moses had to do or the Israelites would have seen that the glory on his face was a fading one (verses 12, 13). (There is no thought of this in Exodus 34:29-35. Here Paul says that Moses knew the glory would fade and hid that fact from the people. In verse 7 the reason for the veil is the reason given in the Exodus passage.) The veil on the face of Moses is also symbolic of the veil which lies over the minds of the Jews who do not turn to Christ, for only he can remove it (verse 14). As Moses took off the veil when he went in to speak to Yahweh (Ex. 34:35) so all who turn to the Lord will have the veil removed (verses 14-16). (It is not easy to decide in this passage whether "Lord" refers to God or Christ.)¹ The dispensation of Moses, written on stone, led to death; the dispensation of the Spirit leads to freedom, to an ever increasing glory (verse 18). In 2 Cor. 5:17 he states his conviction that "the old has passed away, the new has come". While he is here referring to the New Age, the New Covenant as one of the marks of the New Age is found in both Jeremiah

1. R.H. Strachan, Commentary on 2 Cor. (Moffatt Series), pp. 88,89.

and Ezekiel (Jer. 31:31-34; Ezek. 37:21-28). In 2 Cor. 6:16 he quotes directly from Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant: "I will be their God and they shall be my people". Even if 2 Cor. 6:14 - 7:1 is a fragment of another letter, as some commentators think,¹ this does not alter the fact that the passage from Jeremiah quoted above influenced the mind of Paul.

For Paul the New Covenant is inaugurated at the Last Supper. "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, 'This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me.'" In the same way also the cup, after supper saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes." (1 Cor. 11:23-26) A great deal of debate has been caused by the fact that the Pauline and Markan accounts of the institution of the Eucharist differ, and particularly in the words spoken over the "cup of blessing", some holding that Mark is more primitive than Paul, and

1. A. H. McNeile, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

others the exactly opposite view.¹ It seems safe to say with Vincent Taylor that neither is a considered variation of the other, that Paul may be just as original as Mark. "Similar sayings in different narratives may be, but need not be, identical; on the contrary they may be original variations on the same theme."² Jeremias also holds that the disparity in the words of Institution is only superficial, that the meaning of the two forms is the same.³ Mark's account looks back to Exodus 24:1-11 while Paul's mind turns back to Jeremiah 31:31-34. But Mark's reference is not explicit and W. Manson can say that it is not certain that Jesus had Exodus 24:8 in mind; he may have had Deutero-Isaiah's language about the Servant.⁴ There is no ambiguity about Paul's language; for him the New Covenant is made by Jesus with the members of the New Israel and is ratified in his blood, i.e. in his death. It may be that Paul gave the words over the cup the form that he did, because of his rabbinic sensibilities - "The new covenant in my blood" rather than "my blood of the new covenant" - but this does

1. W. D. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 246.

2. *op.cit.*, p. 205.

3. *op.cit.*, p. 112.

4. *Jesus the Messiah*, p. 146.

not essentially alter the meaning of his words. As Davies puts it, "the Pauline formulation is a Rabbinization of the tradition in which the offence of the 'blood' is removed".¹

The greatest difference between the two accounts lies in the words, "Do this in remembrance of me", which are omitted in St. Mark. Here again a large number of scholars hold that the command to repeat the rite is not an actual word of Jesus at the Last Supper,² while others say that we cannot be certain.³ Others hold that Paul has preserved an element of the tradition which is not mentioned in the Synoptics. When there is such a great difference of opinion about the same small piece of evidence, it would appear to be still an open question. It may be said in passing that the actions of the Last Supper over the bread would be repeated by the disciples every time they had a meal, while the actions over the cup would be repeated every time they had a meal together. What Jesus did was to give a new interpretation to two corporate acts which the disciples would have done as a matter of course whenever they ate together. If Jesus wished to connect the blessing of the bread at the beginning

1. W. D. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 250.

2. Jeremias quotes some thirty as favouring this view.

3. e.g. A.J.B. Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

of the meal and the blessing of the cup at the end with his death it would seem to be necessary to say so at the Last Supper.¹

As we have said in discussing the Last Supper in the Synoptics, whether the Last Supper was a Passover meal or not, it had Passover associations. For Paul, Christ is the Paschal Lamb who has been sacrificed for us (1 Cor. 5:7). The Eucharist is the proclamation of the Lord's death "until he comes". The connection then between the Passover and the Eucharist is explicitly made by him. Central in the celebration of the Passover was the looking back to the redemption from Egypt and the looking forward to the final deliverance. In the death of Christ God had brought about a new redemption for his people. As the old People of God looked back to the mighty act of God at the Red Sea, so the new People of God would look back upon the body broken and the blood shed, and look forward to their Lord's coming again. This looking back is no mere mental act. It is a representation of the Lord's life and death, which would make his sacrifice operative in the lives of his followers.²

1. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 55 ff.

2. D. Jones, *J.T.S.* (1955), p. 188.

G. B. Gray points out that this is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew **יְהִי עֵלְךָ** and that "the recitation of the story of the death of the Lord, in other words of the act of redemption in which the Christian Church originates and on which it depends, corresponds exactly to the Haggadah at the Jewish Paschal meal, the recitation of the act of redemption on which the Jewish nation depended",¹ and W. D. Davies suggests that **ἐἰς ἀνάμνησιν** is the equivalent of **יְזַכֵּר** in the Haggadah, Christ being substituted for "the day thou camest forth out of Egypt".²

With the inauguration of the New Covenant the New Israel is created. It is the disregard by the Corinthians of the fact that they are a community which leads Paul to discuss the Eucharist (1 Cor. 11:17-22). In all the passages in which he refers to the Eucharist, the idea of the community is present. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, because we all partake of the same loaf." (1 Cor. 10:16, 17) That "one

1. G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the O.T.*, p. 395.

2. W. D. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 252.

body" is the New Israel and the Eucharist is the antitype of the manna and the water from the Rock which the old Israel received in its wilderness wanderings (1 Cor. 10:3, 4).

One further word may be added. We have said that in Ephesians 1:3-14 and Colossians 1:11-14 Paul describes the work of Christ in language drawn from the Exodus narrative. In these passages redemption is said to be wrought by the blood of Christ (Ephes. 1:7; Col. 1:14). These are probably references to the Passover lamb, rather than to the Hebrew sacrificial system in general. Now while the Paschal victim was not regarded as a means of expiation in the ritual of the Passover, it was held by the rabbis that the blood of the lamb slain in Egypt had a redemptive effect. Jeremias quotes extensively from the Talmudic literature to prove this point.¹ Since these two passages cited above are the only places where Paul uses the words "blood" and "redemption" in the same sentence, it is highly likely that we have here two other references to the New Covenant. The Old Age began with the blood of the Paschal lamb in Egypt; the New Age begins with the blood of Christ.²

1. Jeremias, *op.cit.*, pp. 146, 147.

2. Cf. J. A. Robinson, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, p. 39.

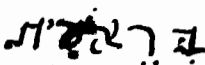
"I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. You shall have no other gods before me." (Ex. 20:2) The Law follows the "Gospel"; it is an integral part of the Old Covenant. It would logically follow from this that the New Covenant would also have a New Law to correspond with it. It does not concern us here to discuss Paul's attitude to the Old Law, or the apparent contradictions in his attitude towards it, except to say that while he fiercely contended that the Gentile Christians should not be subject to it, he remained devoted to it all his life. The Gentile Christian is to fulfil "the law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2), while Paul says that he himself is "under the law of Christ" (1 Cor. 9:20). True enough, this law is not written on tablets of stone, but on tablets of human hearts (2 Cor. 3:3). It is binding, not because it is written, but because the love which Christ revealed constrains those who believe in him to accept his moral authority. A few instances may be given of the way in which Paul quotes the words of Jesus as the final authority in matters of conduct. "To the married, I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband" (1 Cor. 7:10). "In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who

proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (1 Cor. 9:14). "If any one thinks that he is a prophet, or spiritual, he should acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord" (1 Cor. 14:37). In one instance where he is asked to give his judgment on a problem of conduct he says that he has no command of the Lord for this situation, so he gives his own personal opinion (1 Cor. 7:25). In addition to the direct quotation of the words of Jesus, Paul's moral teaching carries echoes of them. "Bless those who persecute you" (Rom. 12:14; Cf. Matt. 5:44). "Live peaceably with all" (Rom. 12:18; Cf. Mark 9:50). "Owe no one anything, except to love one another Love does no wrong to a neighbour therefore love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. 13:8-10; Cf. Matt. 22:39, 40). "Be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you" (Ephes. 4:32, which surely echoes the Lord's prayer). Clearly the words of Jesus are so much a part of Paul's mind that he uses them as though they were his own. For him they are the New Torah. Carrington has suggested that Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism developed along similar lines; in both, an important place was taken by a

"true" succession of teachers who passed on the Torah by oral means, and that Paul is the great teacher of the Gentiles.¹ Even a cursory reading of his epistles reveals that for a great many of his converts there was no relationship between religion and morality; emotional enthusiasm and ecstasy were for them the signs of the Spirit. Paul does not deny this (1 Cor. 12 - 14), but he has continually to warn them that the highest gifts of the Spirit are found in those attitudes and actions which build up the body of Christ, which lead them to imitate their Lord in all things. "You must no longer live as the Gentiles do in the futility of their minds; they have given themselves up to licentiousness, greedy to practice every kind of uncleanness. You did not so learn Christ! - assuming that you have heard about him and were taught in him as the truth is in Jesus. Put off your old nature which belongs to your former manner of life." (Ephes. 4:17-22) A Christian is to be a disciple of Jesus, the Rabbi, the Lawgiver.

Yet he is more. As in St. Matthew, so in St. Paul, Christ is not only the giver of the New Law, he is the New Law. Rabbi Simeon the Just said that the world was sustained by

1. P. Carrington, *op.cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

three things, by the Law, by the Temple service and by acts of loving-kindness.¹ "For Paul the world stood on Jesus, faith in him and love as the fulfilling of the Law".² Though nowhere does Paul explicitly state that Jesus is the New Torah, it is implied in many passages. In 2 Corinthians 4:6 he says "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God" has appeared "in the face of Jesus Christ". In Rabbinic thinking, the Law was the "embodiment of knowledge and truth" (Rom. 2:20) and the source of light for the world.³ Christ crucified is "the Power and Wisdom of God" (1 Cor. 1:24). He is "the Rock" from which the Old Israel drank in the wilderness (1 Cor. 10:4), the Rock which in Wisdom 2:4 is equated with the divine Wisdom. The idea of Christ as the divine Wisdom receives further elaboration in Colossians. "In him are all the treasures of Wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3). According to Burney, Colossians 1:15-18 is an elaboration in the Rabbinic manner of all the possible meanings that could be given to the first word of Genesis - , a word which the Rabbis usually applied to Wisdom.⁴ But they also equated Wisdom with the Torah. Wisdom is "the law which Moses commanded

1. Danby (The Mishnah), p.446.
3. Deut. Rabbah, 7:3.

2. W. L. Knox, op.cit., p.55.
4. J.T.S. (1926), p. 175 ff.

for an heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob" (Ecclus. 24:23), an identification which had become commonly accepted in Paul's day.¹ The syllogism implied but never stated by Paul is that Christ is the Wisdom of God, the Torah is the Wisdom of God, therefore Jesus is the Torah. It may be that Paul hesitated to come out boldly with this because of his long controversy with the Judaisers who laid such emphasis on the necessity for Gentiles to keep the whole Law. If he had done so he would have placed a weapon in the hands of his opponents.

The same reason probably lies behind his hesitation to speak of Christ as the New Moses. It would seem almost unavoidable for him to think of Jesus in these terms, when he uses so much of the history of the Old Israel to expound his concept of the New. In only one instance does he come near to doing it (1 Cor. 10:1-10). As Baptism for the New Israel is Baptism into Christ, Baptism for the Old Israel is Baptism into Moses. In his controversy with the Judaisers in 2 Corinthians he makes the claim that the Christian minister is as great a person as Moses for the light which shone on Moses' face shines also in the hearts of those who preach Christ (2 Cor. 4:6). Indeed the Christian minister is bolder than Moses for he speaks

1. W. D. Davies, *op.cit.*, p. 170.

with face unveiled, while Moses veiled his face when he came out from the presence of God (2 Cor. 3:12). The dispensation of Moses, the dispensation which led to death, glorious as it was, had only a fading glory (2 Cor. 3:12); the dispensation of Christ, the dispensation which led to righteousness and to freedom, has a glory that is permanent (2 Cor. 3:7-11). As Strachan says,¹ the claim that Paul here makes must have appeared "extraordinarily audacious" to those who opposed him.

As the final purpose of the first Exodus was the inheritance of the Promised Land, so the final purpose of the second Exodus is the inheritance of the Kingdom of God. For Paul, as for the rest of the Early Church, the final purpose of God was now being worked out on the plane of history. "It was not an early advent that they, i.e. the first Christians proclaimed, but an immediate advent. They proclaimed it not so much as a future event for which men should prepare by repentance, but rather as the impending corroboration of a present fact."² From one point of view the Age to Come has already come. "The Father has qualified us to

1. Strachan, *op.cit.*, p, 86.

2. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, p. 68.

share in the inheritance of the saints in light. He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son." (Col. 1:12, 13)

"Christ gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age" (Gal. 1:4). From another, it has not yet come. "The Holy Spirit is the guarantee of our inheritance until we take possession of it" (Ephes. 1:13, 14). "The end" has not yet come (1 Cor. 15:24), but the resurrection of Christ, "the first fruits" (1 Cor. 15:20) is a sign that the harvest of the ages will soon be reaped, that the Kingdom without end will come in all its glory. In 2 Corinthians 5 he seems to have modified this position somewhat, and contemplates the possibility of his own death before the Parousia. The point for us here is that in an indirect way he thinks of the "heavenly places" as the Promised Land. He calls his earthly body "a tent" - *σκηνή* ; a temporary dwelling such as the Israelites lived in during their journeying in the wilderness. If Manson is right in the article to which we have referred above,¹ Paul's thought is here influenced by the Feast of Tabernacles. In Chapter 3 of the same letter, he is thinking of the Christian dispensation as the New

1. J.T.S. (1945), pp. 1-10.

Covenant, in Chapter 4 of the transitory nature of his earthly body, which in Chapter 5 he compared to the tent or booth in which the Jew dwelt at Tabernacles, as a reminder of the time which their forefathers spent in the wilderness. The Spirit is a guarantee that God has prepared an eternal house when our wandering is over (2 Cor. 5:1-5). The earthly Jerusalem has its counterpart in the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of all who believe in Christ (Gal. 4:26).

Summing up then, we may say that one of the strands of Paul's thought, one of the ways in which he understands the Gospel, is through the history of Yahweh's dealings with the People of the Old Covenant. The Church is the New People of God who have experienced a New Exodus, through the blood of the true Paschal Lamb, entered into a New Covenant, stood at the foot of a New Sinai to receive a New Law, and have already received the guarantee of the New Promised Land, the heavenly Jerusalem, the inheritance of the saints in light, the Kingdom of God. It would be foolish to say that this is the only way in which he thinks of the person of his Lord and all that his Lord has done. He is not a systematic theologian writing a "Summa" or an "Institutes". But his

conviction that the God of Abraham and Moses and the prophets is also the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ led him to see their experiences reflected, though with greater light and greater knowledge, in the Christian Church.

Chapter Six

THE EXODUS IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Of all the New Testament writings, the Epistle to the Hebrews makes the most extensive use of the Old Testament. The quotations are not only numerous - there are some seventy of them either direct or indirect in a comparatively short book - they are sometimes lengthy, running to more than a hundred words. For example, the author gives in extenso (Heb. 8:8-12) Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant, while in Hebrews 3:7-11 he quotes almost half of Psalm 95. Other New Testament writers use the Old Testament mainly to illustrate a point or to prove an argument; the author of Hebrews uses it as the foundation on which to build up the whole structure of his book. It is interesting to note also that nowhere does he make use of the phrases found in other writers in introducing his quotations. Instead of "as it is written", or "that the scripture might be fulfilled", we have "God said" (Heb. 1:5; 5:5, 6), or "Christ said" (Heb. 10:5-7), or "the Holy Spirit says" (Heb. 3:7-11). The "word of God" spoken to the fathers is still "living and active" (Heb. 4:12), and the warnings and promises it gave to them are still valid. The rest which God

promised to the Israelites and into which they did not enter because of their unbelief and disobedience is still offered to all who will believe and obey (Heb. 3:7 - 4:11). The old dispensation, though it has now become obsolete and is therefore ready to disappear (Heb. 8:13), was the foreshadowing of the new dispensation of God in Christ. Though it was temporary and pointed beyond itself to something greater than itself, it none the less contained the form, if not the substance, of the later revelation and by faith we can discern within it the working of God. When Moses fled from the court of Pharaoh, he did so because he "considered abuse suffered for Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt" (Heb. 11:26). Christ was present at the Exodus, active though invisible, and Moses "endured as seeing him who is invisible" (Heb. 10:27). The revelation of God in Christ on the plane of history is but the consummation, the bringing to perfection (*ἡ τελειότης*) of the earlier revelation. Covenant, sacrifice and priesthood are true as far as they went, but they are imperfect, for in none of them was their complete meaning shown. In Christ we are given the "true form of these realities" (Heb. 10:1). God revealed himself only partially through the prophets, and his ways of revelation were many and varied. Now he has

finally revealed himself through one who "bears the very stamp" of his own nature (Heb. 1:1-3). In him the perfect revelation has come, and when that which is perfect has come, that which is in part is done away.

But that which is in part may still help toward an understanding of that which is perfect. It was a commonplace of eschatological thinking that the last days would be like the first days, and it is this thought which gives us a clue to the understanding of Hebrews, and to its wide use of quotation from the Old Testament. Since the Christians are living in the "last days" (Heb. 1:2; 10:25, 37), the days ushered in by the incarnation, death and ascension of their Lord and which will shortly come to an end when he appears "a second time" (Heb. 9:28), the author writes to some of them a "word of exhortation" (Heb. 13:22), based mainly on the happenings of the "first days". The chief points of his argument are drawn from words or incidents or figures found in the Pentateuch: Moses, the wilderness wanderings, the covenant, the tabernacle, the priesthood, the sacrificial system. (Even the midrash on Melchizedek is no exception to this rule, for while its starting point is Psalm 110, it goes back also to the passage in Genesis 14:18-20 where

Melchizedek meets Abraham. It may be noted also that the details of the stories of the Old Testament worthies in Chapter 11 break off abruptly with the entry into the Promised Land, and the others are only mentioned as a sort of rhetorical flourish.) Clearly the author of Hebrews regards his readers as placed in a situation parallel with that of Israel at the beginning of her days. Though he nowhere calls the Church the New Israel, his whole thesis would be pointless if he did not so believe. His nearest approach to it is when he speaks (Heb. 12:23) of the assembly of the first-born (πρωτότοκος) and we recall that in Exodus 4:22 Israel is called God's "first-born". The Christian life is a New Exodus which leads not to an earthly place of rest (Κατάπαυσις) but to the eternal rest which God has prepared and has himself entered upon (ἁββατισμός) (Heb. 4:1-9).

The name of the author of Hebrews has been a matter of conjecture since the second century and will probably never be known. Its date has also been a subject of debate, although all are agreed that it must have been written before the Epistle of Clement of Rome (circa 96 A.D.), for Clement bears traces of its influence.¹ The terminus a quo is not so easy to

1. McNeile, op.cit., p. 233.

decide. The people to whom it was addressed had suffered to a certain extent for their faith but none of them had yet been martyred (Heb. 10:32-34; 12:4). Hebrews 2:3 suggests that they are second generation Christians. The fact that the destruction of the Temple is not mentioned although it would have strongly supported the author's argument that the sacrificial system is now obsolete, suggests a date before 70 A.D.¹ If the destination of the letter was Rome as seems most likely from the salutation, "Those who come from Italy send you greetings" (Heb. 13:24), then the most likely date would be the early sixties before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution.

The commentators of the early centuries thought that the letter was addressed to the Hebrew nation as a whole. With the rise of modern scholarship the conclusion was reached that the recipients were a Jewish Christian community which was in danger of relapsing into Judaism, although some expositors of the Epistle held that it was addressed to Gentile Christians.² Recently both theories have been challenged by William Manson who holds that Hebrews was written to the

1. W. Neil, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 17.

2. E. F. Scott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 15-21.

Jewish Christians in Rome but that they were not in danger of abandoning Christianity. Rather they were stressing the Jewish part of their faith and so failing to see that they were part of a world mission.¹

But whatever the nature of the group, it is clear that its members were going through a critical period in their Christian life, and the author urges them to move out of the position they have taken. "Let us go on to maturity" (Heb. 6:1). Like Abraham they are to go out into the unknown, trusting completely in God (Heb. 11:8). Here is no abiding city, no permanent resting place (Heb. 13:14). These and many similar passages seem to bear out Manson's theory that the author is urging his friends to leave the security of familiar modes of thought and ways of life because in Christ they have become outmoded. The time for decision is short (Heb. 10:37) and the danger of falling away always present (Heb. 3:12). They will lose their share in Christ if they do not hold their confidence firm to the end (Heb. 3:14).

It has been held that the argument of the Epistle is shaped under the influence of Platonic philosophy. The sacrificial system of the Old Israel is but a copy, a shadow

1. The Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 24.

of its eternal archetype in the heavens. Though the author makes use of apocalyptic language about the coming age, this does not correspond to his fundamental thought. "His faith is directed not to the new age but to the invisible world in which all earthly types have their ideal counterparts".¹ But as Cullmann points out, the Epistle speaks constantly of the future, and futurity has no place in Platonic philosophy. "The Greek conception of blessedness is spatial; it is determined by the contrast between this world and the timeless beyond; it is not a time conception determined by the opposition between now and then".² And the contrasts in Hebrews lie along the time line rather than the space line. The "rest" of God is the present possession of those who believe (Heb. 4:3) and yet they have at the present time only "tasted the powers of the age to come" (Heb. 6:5), and they may lose it through disobedience (Heb. 4:11). Christians "have come to the heavenly Jerusalem" (Heb. 12:22) and yet they "seek the city which is to come" (Heb. 13:14). Even the tabernacle which is said to be "a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary" (Heb. 8:5) is related temporally to it - "it is symbolic for the

1. E. F. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

2. *Christ and Time*, Eng. Trans. F. V. Filson, p. 52.

present age" (Heb. 9:9).¹ The ministry exercised in the heavenly tabernacle which is now going on (Heb. 9:24), had its origin on earth "at the end of the age" (Heb. 9:26) and will again be manifested when Christ appears "a second time" (Heb. 9:28). Eternal redemption has been obtained (Heb. 9:12), but its complete fulfilment is still awaited. "But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God, then to wait until his enemies should be made a stool for his feet (Heb. 10:12, 13). The language of Platonic philosophy may be used but it is made to serve the purposes of eschatology. And eschatology is in turn used both for encouragement and for warning. "We have confidence to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus, by the new and living way which he opened for us" (Heb. 10:19, 20), yet we are to fear that we may fail to reach the sabbath rest that remains for the people of God (Heb. 4:11).

The main purpose of the author is to prove the finality of the Christian revelation. He wants his readers to see that by refusing to accept the logical conclusions of their own scriptures they are being false even to what these same

1. C. K. Barrett, *The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, p. 385.

scriptures proclaim. For the truths contained in the Old Testament pointed forward to their fulfilment in the future; unfulfilled prophecy shows that the Old Testament is incomplete and that it demands fulfilment before it can be completely understood. The institutions of Judaism were indeed ordained by God (Heb. 8:5) but they were not given a permanent validity, for they could not "perfect the conscience of the worshipper" (Heb. 9:9). Only a full Christianity can therefore understand the true meaning of them, as pointers to him who would "purify conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (Heb. 9:14). "Vetus testamentum in Christo patet".¹

He begins his Epistle by showing that Jesus is the final and supreme word of God to man in the final stage of history. The superiority of the revelation which he brings is shown by the status, the person and the work of him who brings it. He is more than a prophet through whom God might give a partial revelation; he is a Son, the agent of God in creation, who reflects the glory of God and is stamped with the divine character; he has done what has never been done before, made complete purification for sins, and he now is

1. C. K. Barrett, *op.cit.*, p. 392.

enthroned at the centre of the universe (Heb. 1:14).

He then goes on to show that Jesus is superior to the angels (Heb. 1:5 - 2:5). It has been thought that the prominence here given to angels was due to the tendency towards angel-worship in certain parts of the Jewish and Christian Church,¹ and which St. Paul writes against in Colossians, but it is much more likely that he is thinking of the role which angels played in the giving of the Law according to Jewish tradition. St. Paul tells us that "the Law was ordained by angels through an intermediary" (Gal. 3:19) and St. Stephen gives us the same theory in Acts 7:53. The same belief is found in the Rabbinic literature.² In stating that Christ is superior to the angels, he is saying also that his revelation is superior to that given in the Law. "The message declared by angels was a valid one", and disobedience of it was punished (Heb. 2:2), how much more serious a matter is it if we disobey the message of him to whom God has subjected the world to come, a position never given to angels!

Not only is Christ superior to the angels, he is superior to Moses (Heb. 3:1-6). Moses was entrusted by God with the care of the house of Israel, but only as a servant. Christ was

1. W. Manson, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

2. E. F. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 70

not only the founder of the house but the heir to it as well. Moses was only the custodian until Christ should come, and he pointed forward to Christ. Jesus therefore has been counted worthy of more glory than Moses.

A transitional word of encouragement, "We are (Christ's) house if we hold fast our confidence" (Heb. 3:6), leads him to compare the Christian life with the Israelites' journeying through the wilderness (Heb. 3:7 - 4:11). What happened at the First Exodus serves as a warning of what might happen at the Second. The Gospel was preached to those who entered upon the First Exodus (Heb. 4:6 - $\xi\upsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) but they never entered into the Promised Land, "the rest" promised by God to his people, because of their disobedience and unbelief. The Second Exodus, taking place at the last "Now" of time, promises a far greater "rest", the "rest" of God himself. But that too may be forfeited if a man's heart becomes "hardened by the deceitfulness of sin" (Heb. 3:13). Yet the "rest" which the Israelites who finally entered the Promised Land did obtain was not the true "rest"; it was only a foreshadowing of the true "rest" - "the sabbath rest of the people of God" (Heb. 4:9, 10).

The main section of the Epistle (Heb. 4:14 - 10:39) now

begins, dealing with the nature of the High Priesthood of Jesus. As St. Paul had endeavoured to show in Romans and Galatians that the moral side of the Law had failed in its purpose, the author of Hebrews wishes to show that the ritual and cultic aspects of it had also failed. (For the first century Jew, or Jewish Christian this distinction would not be drawn; no part of the Law was more important than any other part.) The priesthood of Israel derived from Aaron, but it had been delegated to him by Moses (Lev. 8:1-9). Christ by opening a way to God which the High Priest could not open shows himself to be superior in every way to the Israelite priesthood.

His superiority lies first of all in his origin. The priesthood of Israel derived from Aaron who was called to that high office by God himself (Heb. 5:4). The priesthood of Jesus derives from Melchizedek who must be superior to Aaron for Aaron's ancestor, Abraham, paid tithes to Melchizedek (Gen. 14:20). While there can be no doubt that Psalm 110 played an important role in early Christian thinking about Christ, our author does not regard Jesus as literally fulfilling the type of Melchizedek who was "without father or mother or genealogy" (Heb. 7:3), for he goes on to say in the

same chapter (verse 14), that our Lord came from the tribe of Judah.

He is superior too in that he can do what the Levitical priesthood could not do. If the Levitical priesthood had been able to bridge the gulf between man and God, there would have been no need for a later priesthood. Since Jesus is of the tribe of Judah the Levitical priesthood is abrogated and with it the Law that established it (Heb. 7:12-14). The Levitical priesthood had to offer sacrifices not only for the sins of the people, but also for its own sins, and that daily; Christ had no need so to do, for he was "holy, blameless and unstained" (Heb. 7:26). His "one oblation of himself, once offered" was sufficient for all men for all time. The priesthood of the first Exodus was replaced by that of the Second.

He then goes on to show that the institutions connected with the priesthood also find their fulfilment in Christ. The heavenly ministry of Christ is of a higher order because he is the mediator of a better covenant based upon better promises (Heb. 8:6). The Old Covenant, valid as it was at the time of its origin, had failed, but even when the failure had become evident, Jeremiah said that the day would come

when God would make a New Covenant with his people (Jer. 31:31-34). As the Old Covenant dated from the Exodus and marked the redemption of Israel from Egypt, so the New Covenant will follow upon a new Exodus. Redemption will be not from earthly bondage, but from bondage to sin. It is the forgiveness of sins that is the crowning mercy of the New Covenant for our author, for he quotes it again when he returns to the theme in Chapter 10:16-18. As Manson points out, the inadequacy of the Old Covenant was not because it was based on a sacrificial system. It was due to the fact that the sacrificial system was imperfect. He can find no better word to describe the work of Christ than to call it a sacrifice,¹ one which fulfills all sacrifices.

The same is true of the tabernacle, of the ritual of the Day of Atonement and of animal sacrifices in general (Heb. 9:1 - 10:18). The earthly tabernacle, though it is erected on a heavenly pattern (Heb. 8:5), shows by its very structure of an inner tent and an outer tent that access to God is not yet available. The High Priest goes through the veil that separates the two tents only once a year, and then the blood-offering which he makes can cleanse only from

1. Manson, *op.cit.*, pp. 128, 129.

ritual defilement. Christ has gone through the veil of the heavenly tabernacle and by his offering of his own blood has cleansed mankind from moral defilement. The Old Covenant had promised to Israel an earthly inheritance; the New Covenant gives to "all who are called" an eternal inheritance. The ratification of the Old Covenant was performed by its mediator, Moses, sprinkling the blood of animals upon the people and all the utensils connected with animal sacrifice. Jesus, the mediator of the New Covenant, cleanses the heavenly tabernacle with his own blood. (By this our author probably means that he opens the way to God.)¹

Summing up his whole argument in this section, he comes back first of all to the failure of the ritual sacrifices which he sums up as "The Law". They can never take away the sins, for if they could they would not be repeated. The coming of Christ, his life of obedience and his sacrificial death alone availed to do so. That has abolished the first covenant and established the second (Heb. 10:9).

We may also note that nowhere does the author of Hebrews give any rational explanation as to why blood-sacrifice was necessary either in the First Covenant or in the Second.

1. Neil, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

He has inherited that concept and does not question it. It was a principle embedded in the Law. This is further proof, if proof is required, that our author regards the institutions of Israel as divinely ordained. The fault to be found with them is that they were of limited value. Nowhere does he suggest that they were evil in themselves.

The whole tenor of his argument in this central section then, is that the institutions of the "first days" illuminate our understanding of what Christ has done in the "last days". The priesthood and the sacrificial system, the tabernacle and its appurtenances, the Law itself, and Moses the giver of the Law, the redemption from Egypt and the covenant which followed it, all are pointers toward "him who was to come". Our approach to God is by a "new and living way", a way which the Old Covenant foreshadowed but could not reveal. The end of the Christian's journey - he has reached journey's end but is still on his pilgrimage - is not Mount Sinai of the Old Covenant, the mountain which blazed with fire, shook with storm and was surrounded by gloom and darkness, a sight so terrifying that even Moses trembled with fear; it is Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, the place where he comes face to face with Jesus, the mediator

of the New Covenant, whose blood has replaced the blood ritual of the Old Covenant. The angels who were the traditional deliverers of the Law to Israel are replaced by the angels of the Glory, and the Old Israel is replaced by the New Israel (Heb. 12:18-24). But this vision of encouragement carries with it a word of warning. If no escape was possible for those who refused to listen to the words from Sinai, how much less chance is there for escape for those who hear the words from Zion (Heb. 12:25).

For the Church, though it has reached Mount Zion is still "the Church in the wilderness" (Acts 7:38); the Christian is to go forth to Christ "outside the camp, bearing abuse for him" (Heb. 13:13). He is to follow the example of his fathers of the first days: Abraham who went out "not knowing where he was to go" (Heb. 11:8), who saw the promise afar off and acknowledged that he was an exile on earth (Heb. 11:13); Moses, who shared the sufferings of his people when he could have escaped from them, and in so doing threw in his lot with Christ (Heb. 11:26), who celebrated the Passover because he believed that God had a future for his people, and trusting in God led the people through the Red Sea (Heb. 11:28, 29). And as Joshua

(*Ἰησοῦς* in the LXX) led the people into the promised land in the "first days", so will the new and greater Joshua bring them to their everlasting rest in the "last days"¹ provided that they remain faithful and run the race with perseverance (Heb. 12:1). So our author closes his "word of exhortation" (Heb. 13:22) with a prayer that the "God of peace" who brought Jesus from the dead as he had led Israel out of bondage - Jesus the great shepherd of the New Israel as Moses was of the Old - "through the blood of the eternal covenant" which the Old Covenant foreshadowed, would work in them all that was pleasing in his sight (Heb. 13:20).²

1. Cf. C.P.M. Jones, The Epistle to the Hebrews in the Lucan writings in *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. Nineham, p. 119.
2. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 448.

Chapter Seven


THE EXODUS IN 1 PETER

With the exception of the First Epistle of St. Peter, there are no direct references to our subject in the Pastoral or the Catholic Epistles. It may be that the salutation in St. James, "To the twelve tribes in the dispersion" is a description of the Church as the New Israel now scattered throughout the world, but there is so little in the Epistle that could not have come from Jewish sources, that some have thought it is a Jewish homily with a few Christian interpolations. Whether this is so or not, there is no confirmatory evidence in the Epistle itself to help us decide whether the letter is addressed to Jewish Christians - in which case the salutation would be a perfectly natural one, or to Gentile Christians when the words would be given a theological meaning.¹

When we turn to 1 Peter however, we find the author using the Exodus typology as the basis for most of his exhortation in the first two chapters. Beginning with the

1. McNeile, *op.cit.*, p. 201 ff.

salutation and continuing for several paragraphs, his mind turns back to the event by which the Old Israel was brought into being in order to explain the birth of the New Israel.

There is a wide divergence of opinion among scholars as to the purpose, date and character of this Epistle. Many take it for what it says it is - a letter written by Silvanus at St. Peter's request, to encourage his readers to stand fast in their faith when threatened by persecution.¹ Others, while agreeing that this is the purpose of the letter, think it is pseudonymous and must be dated later than the time of St. Peter.² Others still, think that the main body of the document (1 Peter 1:3 - 4:11) is a baptismal homily, to which has been added a short letter at a time when persecution had become a reality.³ Recently F. L. Cross has made the suggestion that the baptismal homily is really a baptismal liturgy, and that what we are given is the celebrant's part in the Easter Baptismal Eucharist, or at least a selected portion of it. He thinks that the many references to suffering in the main section of the Epistle are due to the fact that in the LXX the Hebrew  is translated by

1. E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, pp. 39-56.
2. W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 199 ff.
3. F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter*, pp. 9-41.

τιδὲ ἔτι, which came to be regarded as derived from
τιδὲ ἔτι - to suffer, when the Church became

predominantly Gentile and Jewish institutions grew less and less familiar.¹ As Cross shows by quotations from pre-Nicene writings, this etymology was widely accepted, though there were some who criticized it.² The internal evidence which has been frequently used to prove that the Epistle was written for a definite situation would, on this view, not be as valuable.

When there is such a wide diversity of opinion, it is obvious that the place of 1 Peter in the life of the Early Church is still far from settled. But that those for whom the letter or homily or liturgy was intended knew the story of the Exodus and the typological use of its imagery, is clear from the fact that though neither Exodus nor Passover is mentioned, sections of the document would be unintelligible without knowledge of them.

The thought of the Paschal section is so closely woven together that it seems best to prove our point by exegesis of the verses in which we think Exodus or associated imagery can be found.

1. 1 Peter - A Paschal Liturgy.

2. loc. cit., pp. 12-17.

1:1 - "The elect sojourners of the Diaspora".

This phrase cannot refer to the Jewish Diaspora, for it is clear that the writer is addressing people who had come into the Church from the Gentile world. "You were redeemed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers" (1 Peter 1:18). "Once you were no people, but now you are God's people" (1 Peter 2:10). "Let the time past suffice for doing what the Gentiles like to do" (1 Peter 4:3). The Church has been elected to take the place of the Old Israel, or rather it is the true Israel as God intended it to be. In Deuteronomy the election is connected with deliverance from Egypt. "Because he loved your fathers and chose their descendants after them, he brought you out of Egypt " (Deut. 4:37). But even when the people had been brought into the Promised Land, they were still to remain sojourners. "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. 25:23). Cf. 2:11: "I beseech you as foreigners and sojourners". Words which were originally applied to aliens living in Israel are here applied by the Code of Holiness (Lev. 17 - 27) to Israel itself. Peter in turn applies it to the Church. We may note here that in Ephesians the words are given their original meaning. "Ye are no longer foreigners and sojourners" (Ephes. 2:19).

1:2 - "Unto obedience and blood-sprinkling of Jesus Christ".

This language is taken from Exodus 24:3-8, where the people promise obedience to "all that the Lord has spoken", i.e. the Law received on Sinai. Moses then takes the blood and throws half against the altar and the other half upon the people, with the words: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you". The blood of Christ is the sign of the New Covenant which, like the Old, requires the response of obedience.

1:3 - "By his great mercy we have been born again unto a living hope".

ἀναγεννηθέντες is not found elsewhere in the New Testament except in verse 23 of this chapter. The idea of re-birth is common in the mystery religions and it has been thought that language of this type was introduced into the Christian vocabulary by Gentile teachers. But it also could have come from Rabbinic circles where it was said that the proselyte converted to Judaism was like a new-born child, and his baptism a symbolic passing through the Red Sea into the Promised Land.¹ That this is probably the idea here is seen from the next verse. The Christian is born into an inheritance. As we have seen,

1. W. L. Knox, op.cit., p. 97.

the Pauline metaphor for Baptism is death and resurrection, the Christian dies and rises again with Christ. In Peter's thought it is through the power of the resurrection that the new birth is possible. The idea is the same though the terminology is different.

1:4 - "Unto an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled and unfading".

The Christian inheritance, the inheritance of those who experience the New Exodus, is far superior to the inheritance of the Old Israel. Κληρονομία is the word regularly used in the LXX of Canaan as the divinely - given land. Unlike Canaan, the inheritance of the Christians is not ravaged by hostile armies, nor defiled by evil, nor subject to the decay of time.¹

1:13 - "Girding up the loins of your mind".

With this we may compare Exodus 12:11 - "In this manner you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it in haste; it is the Lord's Passover". ἀγλίσσωμεν occurs only here in the New Testament; τίς βιβλίσσωμεν, the word used here in the

1. E. G. Selwyn, op.cit., p. 124.

LXX is found twice in St. Luke 12:35-37 where the imagery is that of a meal,¹ and also at St. Luke 17:8 with the same imagery. Taken by itself the phrase might mean nothing more than to be mentally ready, but that the Exodus is in mind can be seen in the three following verses. In verse 14 we have the phrase "children of obedience" a reminder of the covenant in verse 2.

1:15, 16 - "As he who called you is holy, be holy yourselves in all your conduct; since it is written, 'You shall be holy for I am holy'".

The quotation is taken from Leviticus 11:44, 45, where we are told that the divine demand for holiness from his people rests upon the redemption from Egypt. "I am the Lord your God; consecrate yourselves therefore, and be holy for I am holy For I am the Lord who brought you up out of the land of Egypt to be your God; you shall therefore be holy, for I am holy."

1:17 - "The time of your sojourning".

The same idea as in 1 Peter 1:1; the life of the true Israelite is a journey. Here he has no continuing city.

1. P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, p.28.

1:18, 19 - "You know that you were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot".

λυτρώω is found only three times in the New Testament, but frequently in the LXX, where one of its main uses is to describe the deliverance from Egypt (Ex. 6:6; 15:13; Deut. 7:8 et al). In the LXX the word for the Paschal Lamb is ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ while here we have ἄμνος as in St. John 1:29, 35. ἄσπιλος is equivalent to τέλειον in Exodus 12:5. But while the words may be different, the idea underlying this passage is surely that the blood of the Passover Lamb, by means of which redemption from Egypt was achieved, is a type of the redemption wrought by Christ through his blood.

2:1 - "Like new-born babes, long for the pure spiritual milk".

"Milk" here may be nothing more than a figure suggested by the thought of new-born babes. Beare thinks that it is probably a reference to the cup of milk given to the initiate in the mystery-cults.¹ There is a great deal of evidence that milk and honey were given to the newly-baptized at the Paschal Eucharist by the middle of the second century.² The explanation of the custom is given to us by Hippolytus (circa 225 A.D.).

1. Beare, op.cit., p. 89.

2. Selwyn, op.cit., quoting J. H. Bernard, p. 155.

At the Baptismal Eucharist the neophyte was given "milk and honey mingled together, in fulfilment of the promise to the fathers wherein he said, I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey".¹ Selwyn tentatively suggests that this verse from 1 Peter may be one of the starting points of the custom,² but it is possible that the custom goes back to the first century, particularly if the following verse, "you have tasted the graciousness of the Lord", is a reference to the Eucharist, as some commentators are inclined to think.³ If this is so, then we have another piece of Exodus imagery.

2:9, 10 - "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. Once you were no people, but now you are God's people; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy."

Here the writer looks back to Exodus 19:4 ff., where just before the giving of the Law from Sinai, Moses is told to give this message to the people of Israel: "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now therefore if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession

1. Apostolic Tradition, 23:2.

2. op.cit., p. 155.

3. Beare, op.cit., p. 90; Selwyn, op.cit., p. 157.

among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." The phrase "chosen race" is taken from Isaiah 43:21 as is also "wonderful deeds" ($\tauὰς ἀρετὰς$).

The description that Peter here gives of the Church is thus drawn from scripture dealing with the Exodus and with the return from Exile, which return Deutero-Isaiah describes as a second and greater Exodus. "I am doing a new thing: I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert" (Is. 43:19). All the privileges given to the Old Israel are here described as privileges of the New. It is given this status that it may show forth the "marvellous deeds" of God. Christians are to declare the great things that God has done for them in Christ, as the Old Israel was to declare the wonders of the Exodus by which they were made the "People of God". As Bigg points out,¹ $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$ never signifies moral quality in the Bible, except in very few instances. Here it means God's mighty acts, and is almost the equivalent to $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ in Acts 2:11. The work that God in Christ has done is the antitype of the First Exodus.

The same idea is continued in verse 10. They had

1. C. Bigg, The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, p. 134f.

been used by Hosea (1:6, 9; 2:1) to signify Yahweh's rejection of his people and their subsequent restoration. Peter applies them to the Gentiles. Before they came into the Church they were not God's people; after their baptism they had become citizens in the Kingdom of God.

The only further reference to the Exodus is in 2:11 - "foreigners and sojourners", which we have dealt with above.

So we see then that the author of this Epistle has covered nearly all the imagery of the Exodus which we have found in other New Testament writers, the New Israel, the Covenant, the Exodus itself, and the New inheritance. He has dealt with it in a much more allusive way than St. Paul did, so that it is unlikely his ideas are drawn from that source.

Chapter Eight

THE EXODUS IN THE APOCALYPSE

Like the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse was written as a book of encouragement, and like Hebrews it is saturated with ideas drawn from the Old Testament. It has been calculated that in its 404 verses there are no less than 518 Old Testament references and numerous echoes, though there is not one direct quotation.¹ The imagery which John uses to describe the vision which he saw is mainly drawn from Daniel, Ezekiel and Zechariah; he has also been greatly influenced by the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Exodus and the Psalms.

The book has at all times been an enigma and almost every commentator has a different method of explaining both its structure and the detail of the visions. Nearly all are agreed that it was written towards the end of the first century to the Christians in the western district of Asia Minor, exhorting them to remain steadfast under persecution by giving them a picture of the glory prepared for them, and telling them

1. Preston & Hanson, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, p. 24.

of the means by which God would bring it about, but there agreement just about ends. Moffatt divides the book on the basis of its numerology, seven churches, seven seals, etc.¹ R. H. Charles thinks that the book as we have it is the work of a redactor, who re-arranged, altered and made interpolations in the original.² Kiddle, on the other hand, says that the book as we now have it comes from the hand of John and that the visions are parallel as to their purpose and complementary in their scope; the repetition of the seven is meant to convey the certainty and also the horror of the coming Judgment.³ The most ingenious explanation is given by A. M. Farrer, who leads us through the week of creation, the Jewish liturgical year and then the signs of the Zodiac, each of which he finds running like a thread through the whole book.⁴ E. F. Scott⁵ sees the book as a combination of Jewish apocalypses and John's visions, into which are inserted certain "interludes" in order to explain what has happened or what will happen. This is how he would account for the complexity of the book.

1. Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, pp. 485-488.
2. The Book of Revelation, Vol. I, pp. XXV ff.
3. The Revelation of St. John, pp. XXVII ff.
4. In "A Rebirth of Images".
5. The Revelation of John, pp. 44-51.

The same difference of opinion is seen when we come to the detail of the visions. To cite but one example - the vision of the Redeemed in Chapter 7. Who are the 144,000 and are they to be identified with "the great multitude which no man could number" (Rev. 7:1-8; 9 - 17). Preston and Hanson think that they are the same people looked at from different points of view; the 144,000 tells us that the whole Church will be saved, for it is the number of completeness; "the great multitude" emphasises the size of the Church.¹ Carrington believes that the 144,000 are Jews who have been found faithful, "the multitude" are Gentile Christians,² while Kiddle sees them as "the noble army of martyrs", not the whole Church. The first part of the vision identifies them as the heirs of Old Israel, the second part gives us a glimpse of the glory awaiting them after they have died for their faith.³

When such a welter of explanations is forthcoming, it is fortunate that one does not need to understand either how the author conceived and planned his book, or the details of each vision, in order to understand what he is saying. God reigns, no matter what evil man may do, and all that opposes God's will and purpose is doomed to eventual destruction. Those

1. Preston & Hanson, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

2. *The Meaning of the Revelation*, p. 141.

3. *op.cit.*, pp. 136 ff.

who remain faithful to Christ will suffer persecution but at the end they will enter into glory.

Of one thing we may be sure. Even if some of the imagery and ideas found in the Apocalypse are derived from ancient mythologies, as seems very likely, it is highly improbable that John borrowed them directly. Anyone as steeped in the Old Testament and as opposed to paganism as he is, would have shrunk from doing such a thing. When he found them or heard them they had been given a Hebrew interpretation by some Jewish writer. We need go no further than Jewish thought to discover the meaning behind John's symbolism.

It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the development of John's vision of "the end of all things" from its beginning in Revelation 4:2 to its grand climax in the heavenly Jerusalem. We are only seeking to discover if John has been influenced in any way by the story of the Exodus in his telling of what he saw.

There can be no doubt that for John the Church of Christ is the true Israel. It is composed of those whom Christ has "made a kingdom, priests to his God and Father" (Rev. 1:6), as Israel at the Exodus had been called a kingdom of priests

(Ex. 19:6). "Grace and peace" come to them from "him who is and who was and who is to come" (Rev. 1:4), a paraphrase of the name of God given to Moses at Horeb (Ex. 3:14), that he might declare it to the Israelites in Egypt. Christians alone are the true Jews. Those who call themselves Jews are not Jews at all, but "a synagogue of Satan" (Rev. 2:9; 3:9). The number of the Redeemed is reckoned in terms of the tribes of the children of Israel, 12,000 from each tribe (Rev. 7:4-8; 14:1). In the vision in Chapter 12, the "woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars", is the mother of the Messiah, i.e. Israel (verse 5). This vision may have its origin in pagan mythology but it is told in Jewish terms; we need look no further than Joseph's dream (Gen. 37:9-11) and Isaiah's prophecy to Ahaz (Is. 7:10-14) to account for most of it. By saying that the dragon, after he had been thrown out of heaven (Rev. 12:9), went off to make war on the rest of the children of the woman, "on those who keep the commandments of God and bear witness to Jesus" (Rev. 12:17), John is identifying the Church as the true heir of the Old Israel. In the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem, the Church is the Bride of Christ (Rev. 22:5), a concept which the prophets

used to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel (Hosea 2:14-16; Is. 54:4-7).

As Israel of old went through tribulation to victory, it was natural then for John to think of the deliverance of the Church in the light of the Old Testament story of the great deliverance, particularly when it was a Jewish belief that the Exodus was the prefiguration of the greater redemption "at the end of the days". Though John does not make a line by line comparison between the two deliverances, a careful reading of his book shows how frequently Exodus imagery occurs. It is not always easy to disentangle it from imagery which he has garnered from other sources, and scholars are not always agreed as to the source from which any particular concept is taken.

As we have said above, the name of God at the beginning of his book comes from Moses' call at Horeb. It is again used in the chapter which marks the beginning of the vision of things to come (Rev. 4:8), a chapter in which we also find reminiscences of the theophany at Sinai - the trumpet, thunders and lightnings (Ex. 19:16). It occurs also at Revelation 11:17 where we are given a "preview" of the final triumph of God, and at Revelation 16:5.

As the deliverance from Egypt was preceded by plagues of various kinds so plagues will mark "the beginning of the end". Before the plagues begin, "the servants of God" are sealed (Rev. 7:4), just as God's people were distinguished by the blood on their houses to protect them from the destroying angel in the last Egyptian plague. Before the first trumpet blast, we are again given the signs of Sinai, except that the earthquake is substituted for the trumpet (Rev. 8:5). The first trumpet blast is followed by "hail and fire, mixed with blood" (Rev. 8:7), a recalling of the plague of hail in Exodus 9:22-25. John has heightened the effect by substituting "fire mixed with blood" for "fire mixed with the hail". The second trumpet brings a burning mountain into the sea and a third part of the sea becomes blood (Rev. 8:8), obviously an allusion to the first plague in Egypt where the Nile was turned into blood (Ex. 7:17-19). After the third trumpet blast, a star called Wormwood turns a third of the fresh waters bitter (Rev. 8:10, 11). Here we have one of the blessings of the Exodus turned into a curse. When the Israelites came to the water of Marah, i. e. Bitterness, the water was made sweet when Moses threw a tree into it (Ex. 15:22-25). The darkening of the sun, moon and stars, after the fourth trumpet

(Rev. 8:12) recalls the plague of darkness in Egypt (Ex. 10:21-23). For his description of the plague of locusts which follows the fifth trumpet blast, John depends on Exodus 10:12-20 and also Joel 1 and 2 where the locusts are a sign of the last days. There is no parallel to the sixth trumpet in the plagues of Egypt, while the seventh trumpet, after which we again have the signs of Sinai (Rev. 11:19) is the prelude to the seven "bowls of wrath" (Rev. 16:1).

The plagues which follow the seven bowls are in some instances duplicates of those which follow the trumpets, in others they are like the Egyptian plagues which have not been previously mentioned. The first bowl brings a plague of sores (Ex. 9:8-12), the second and third the turning of both salt and fresh water into blood, the fifth is followed by a plague of darkness, the sixth by "three foul spirits like frogs" (Ex. 8:8-14) and the seventh by an earthquake and heavy hail. Like Pharaoh after the plagues, mankind would not repent of the evil it was doing (Rev. 9:20; 16:9, 11, 21). We may note also that just as the Israelites could not come near the mountain where God was, even though they had "washed their robes" (Ex. 19:10), so no one could enter the temple "till the seven plagues of the seven angels were over" (Rev. 15:8).

"The terror of the presence when the Law was first given is exceeded by its terror when the penalties of the Law are finally inflicted".¹

The focal point of John's vision is "the Lamb standing, as though it had been slain" (Rev. 5:6). This designation of Christ occurs twenty-seven times in the Apocalypse, and though the word used is $\lambda\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\nu$ instead of $\lambda\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ as in the rest of the New Testament with the exception of St. John 21:15, there can be no doubt that one of the pictures that the seer has in his mind is the Passover Lamb. He has fused it with the horned lamb of Jewish Apocalypses² and "the lamb led to the slaughter" of Isaiah 53:7 to produce the most magnificent symbol possible along this line of imagery. That the Paschal Lamb is in his mind can be seen from the doxology which is sung at the first appearance of the Lamb in his vision: "Worthy art thou for thou was slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God" (Rev. 5:9, 10). Christ has ransomed the New Israel, which consists of all nationalities, as God ransomed the Old Israel out of Egypt by the blood of the Paschal

1. Kiddle, op.cit., p. 314. 2. Charles, op.cit., p. CXIII.

Lamb. When they came to Sinai, Yahweh told them that they would be to him "a kingdom of priests; in like manner, the Paschal Christ has made the New Israel "a kingdom and priests" to his Father. Paschal overtones can also be seen in the title given to Christ in the greeting which opens the Apocalypse. He is "the first-born of the dead" (Rev. 1:5) as Israel was Yahweh's first-born (Ex. 4:22). Because Pharaoh would not let Yahweh's first-born go from Egypt, Yahweh slew Pharaoh's first-born. For this reason all first-born children were to be redeemed by the death of an animal (Ex. 13:13-15) as Israel had been by "the blood of the lamb". Christ is the new Paschal victim, by whom God's children are redeemed; yet he lives, the first-born of the dead.¹

In the story of the first Exodus the slaying of the Paschal Lamb is followed by the deliverance from Egypt. In Chapter 12, John shows that the victory over the enemy is assured; though the followers of the Lamb have to go through a period of tribulation, their fortunes are linked up with the eternal purpose of God, and they will in due time share in the triumph of the Lamb. The war that is waged against them on earth is the result of Satan's attempt to capture heaven for

1. Farrer, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

himself (Rev. 12:7), and on being defeated and thrown down to earth he renews the struggle, with the confident hope that the Church can be defeated. But his hopes are premature, for the Church will be protected from his machinations, and after a brief, if distressful, period of testing she will be victorious. This chapter, which E. F. Scott calls the "pivotal chapter of the whole book",¹ is the Exodus story told in the language of mythology (Rev. 12:1-6; 13 - 17). The woman, as we have said, is the Old Israel out of which the Messiah was born. The dragon or crocodile of the Nile is, according to Ezekiel, a type of Pharaoh and Egypt (Ezek. 29:3). The dragon tried to destroy Moses when he was born, but he was brought under the protection of the throne, that he might eventually save his brethen (Ex. 2:1-11). The woman fled into the desert, where she was protected for twelve hundred and sixty days (Rev. 12:6), or a time, and times, and half a time (Rev. 12:14), which in Revelation 11:2, 3 is said to be the same as forty-two months, corresponding to the forty-two years wandering in the wilderness. John further says that the woman was given the two wings of an eagle, that she might escape from the serpent into the wilderness (Rev. 12:14).

1. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

This is in all probability a recollection of Exodus 19:4 where Yahweh says: "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself". The dragon would have drowned the woman with a flood of water from his mouth, but the earth opened its mouth and swallowed the water (Rev. 12:16), which is a way of saying in the language of myth that Israel was saved by going through the midst of the Red Sea.

For John is not mechanical but imaginative in the use of his imagery. In Chapter 13 the dragon hands over his power to the beast which symbolizes the Roman Empire (Rev. 13:3). In Revelation 11:8, the "city of this world" is said to be at one and the same time, Sodom, Egypt and Jerusalem. After the announcement of the fall of Babylon (Rev. 14:8), we are given the vision of the Redeemed in heaven, standing by the sea of glass and singing the song of Moses and the Lamb (Rev. 15:3). "The sea" for John signifies separateness from God and hostility to his purposes; in the new heaven and the new earth, the sea would be no more (Rev. 21:1). In Chapter 12 the dragon pours a river from his mouth and in Chapter 13 the beast comes out of the sea. Since the followers of the Lamb have been victorious over both the dragon and the

beast (Rev. 14:1-3), they are able to sing the song of Moses and the Lamb. The way in which John has written Chapters 12 - 14, followed by the song in Chapter 15, would also lead us then to see in these chapters the travail of God's children in both the first Exodus and the second, and the first as a prefiguration of the second.

It was natural for John, in writing a book to encourage steadfastness, to pile up his imagery of the reward that will be the lot of the faithful. Like other New Testament writers, he thinks of the reward to come as an inheritance. "He who conquers will inherit these things" (Rev. 21:7). The heritage to come, which the faithful also have at the present (Rev. 1:6), is described in language redolent of the Exodus, though other Old Testament and also Christian metaphors are called upon. It is to eat of the manna of the wilderness, which had been hidden from desecrating hands at the first fall of Jerusalem, but which will now be restored (Rev. 2:17). It is to come into the presence of God as the Israelites could not do at the Exodus although they had washed their robes (Ex. 19:10; Rev. 7:15). It is never to know hunger or thirst again as the wandering people of God did after the first Exodus (Ex. 16:3; 17:1; Rev. 7:16). It is to serve in the temple of

God as the priests of Israel did at the Feast of Tabernacles, with palms in their hands and singing Hosanna (Rev. 7:9, 10),¹ for heaven would be the great ingathering of which Tabernacles was a type, where God would shelter his people with his presence as he did in the wilderness wandering (Ex. 40:34; Rev. 7:15). It is to share in the Messianic Banquet, "the marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. 19:9), of which the Passover meal was a foretaste. It is to be the Bride of Christ (Rev. 21:9), as Israel was when Yahweh brought her out of Egypt. It is to be a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, whose gates are the leaders of the Old Israel (Rev. 21:12) and whose foundation stones are the twelve leaders of the New (Rev. 21:14).

The whole Exodus pattern then, can be found in the Apocalypse. By means of allusion and imagery, John takes us through the experience of Israel at the time of her birth as a nation. The divine revelation of the Name, the Egyptian plagues, the Passover Lamb, the crossing of the Red Sea and the wilderness wandering - all are employed as types of the experience of the Church in its life in this world. The end of the Christian's journey, like the end of the journey of his forefathers "after the spirit", is entrance into his inheritance.

1. Danby, The Mishnah, p. 178.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION

We have now come to the end of our New Testament survey. We have seen that, with few exceptions, the New Testament writers have used the story of the Exodus as a means of proclaiming and expounding the life, death and resurrection of our Lord, though none of them has used it in exactly the same way. St. Matthew's predominant motive in his use of it - and perhaps St. Luke's also - is to set forth Christ as "the prophet like to Moses", while St. John wishes us to see his Lord as the true Paschal Lamb. St. Paul, because of the varying circumstances which underlay the writing of his letters, touches on all the Exodus themes; if one aspect of the story is more important to him than another it is the theme of the New Covenant, and the same is true of the writer of Hebrews. Part of the First Epistle of St. Peter runs along lines similar to the Passover Haggadah of Judaism. The writer of the Apocalypse thinks of the Exodus as an immense symbolic foreshadowing of the end of time; in this he is following the Jewish thought of his time, except that for him the Messiah has already appeared on the stage of history.

In none of these writings is any attempt made to prove that Christ is the "fulfiller" of the Exodus. That is the thought that underlies all of them, the basic assumption on which the argument is built up. It is also part of the common tradition which all the writers have received. Writers as diverse in outlook and style as St. Paul, St. John, and the writer of Hebrews, who quite obviously have little or no literary or theological dependence on one another, have all accepted it and have felt quite free to interpret it, each according to his own turn of mind, each using one aspect of "the saving event" or another, as his argument proceeded. So Christ could be thought of at one time as the leader of the New Exodus and at another as the true Paschal lamb without any sense of incongruity. It is almost as if they were saying that their concept of him was too great to be tied down to any one piece of imagery, any one "type"; it broke through these bonds and escaped.

C. H. Dodd has shown us, as we said previously, that the quotations made from the Old Testament by New Testament writers are not a random selection of "proof-texts". The main "plot" of the contexts from which the selections have been made is humiliation and defeat followed by victory. "Very diverse

scriptures are brought together so that they interpret one another in hitherto unsuspected ways. To have brought together, for example, the Son of Man who is the people of the saints of the Most High, the Man of God's right hand, who is also the vine of Israel, the Son of Man who after humiliation is crowned with glory and honour, and the victorious priest-king at the right hand of God is an achievement of interpretative imagination which results in the creation of an entirely new figure."¹ But are the scriptures which Dodd cites as diverse as would appear at first sight? For the "plot" common to them all is the "plot" of the Exodus, and if we examine them closely we find that in one way or another they are connected with the Exodus and its fulfilment. Israel is the vine brought out of Egypt, "the man of God's right hand", of Psalm 80; she is also the Son of Man, the people of the saints of the Most High, who in Daniel 7 will "at the end of the days" enter into possession of the inheritance. The Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah is the leader of the New Exodus, for as we have seen, the unknown prophet thinks of the return from Babylon as a New Exodus, and while we may isolate the Servant-songs from their context, the New

1. According to the Scriptures, p. 109.

Testament writers did not. Indeed it may well be that the idea of vicarious suffering as a means to salvation goes back to the tradition that Moses was willing to die instead of Israel (Ex. 32:31-33); in Deuteronomy 9:13-21 he is represented as the great intercessor who prays that the people may be spared, while in other places in Deuteronomy he is included in the punishment of Israel and suffers because of them. "The Lord was angry with me on your account" (Deut. 1:37; 3:26; 4:21). What the writer of the Servant-songs has done is to take this tradition and universalize it.¹ Moses suffers for Israel, the Servant suffers for "the many" (Is. 53:12). It is still a matter of dispute whether the Servant is an individual or a collective figure in Deutero-Isaiah, and it is possible that the prophet intended him to be both.² The Servant is Israel, and also the one who suffers for Israel; he is the New People of God, and also the New Moses, their leader.

It is along similar lines that we can understand all the other Old Testament quotations. The New Covenant in Jeremiah is part of a New Exodus, and the doom pronounced

1. Aage Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, p. 108.

2. Dodd, *loc.cit.*, p. 95.

upon a faithless people by Isaiah is followed by the promise that "a Remnant will return" (Is. 10:21). The Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer, while they do not mention the Exodus, have the Exodus theme, oppression and defeat followed by deliverance. The "Myth and Ritual" school thinks that the pattern of these psalms goes back to the "divine combat" in the Enthronement festival of the New Year, a festival common to all ancient religions, but that the "enemies" had become "historified" because of the influence of the Exodus on the thinking of Israel.¹ Whether this is so or not, it is quite impossible for the New Testament writers to have thought in this way. For them the Psalms were to be accepted at their face value.

The Israelite nation had begun its history with the divine judgment on Egypt and the deliverance of Israel. The covenant with Yahweh was conditional on Israel's obedience. But Israel failed to keep its side of the covenant and so judgment fell upon her as well. Deutero-Isaiah proclaimed a new deliverance on the ground that Israel had "received from the Lord double for all her sins" (Is. 40:2). But again the nation had failed and again judgment had come. The

1. Bentzen, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

great hope that the prophet of the Exile had held out failed to be realised, the hope that Israel, having gone through her Second Exodus, would by vicarious suffering bring the nations to the worship of the Lord of all the earth.

The belief of the New Testament is that in Christ the final Exodus has taken place. In Dodd's words, "absolute judgment and absolute redemption"¹ was now manifest among men. If we may carry Dodd's argument back a step farther, what creative mind was responsible for seeing the life of Christ as the final Exodus, so that all or nearly all the quotations made from the Old Testament by New Testament writers revolve around or reflect this central theme? The New Testament itself avers that it was Christ himself who first, by action as well as by word, directed the thoughts of his followers along this line. He had found in the history of his own people the description of the ideal Israel which according to the will of God he had to "actualize" in himself. His choice of the Twelve, his deliberate choice of the time of his own death at the feast of the Passover, his linking of his death with the New Covenant, are acted parables of the Exodus, though of course they are much more. They also bring into effect what they portray. To

1. Dodd, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

use the theological language of a later age, they are instrumental as well as symbolic. They are the means by which the New People of God is brought into being. Already existent in Jesus himself, the New Israel will also come into existence when he has kept his Passover (Luke 22:15), and accomplished his Exodus (Luke 9:31). The mind of the early Church had no difficulty in accepting this apparent contradiction; the same tension is seen in the individual and corporate use of the term "Son of Man", and between prophecy that has been realised and yet is not completely fulfilled. In fact Israel present and yet-to-be combines both these tensions.

It follows from this that the predictions of the Resurrection contained in the Passion sayings in the Gospels cannot simply be dismissed as vaticinia post eventum, as they have been by some scholars. Slavery in Egypt had been followed by the Exodus, the Exile in Babylon had been followed by the Return; to speak of death without speaking of resurrection would be to leave the twofold rhythm of the pattern of Israel's history incomplete, the promises of God unfulfilled. Our Lord went to his death with the confident hope that what God had done for his people in the past, he would again do in the present; he was dying for Israel, but in him Israel also was dying and in him would rise again to newness of life. The new life would be

unlike the old life; it was new, and yet it sprang out of the old life and could be described in terms of the old life. It comes into existence as a result of the mighty acts of God (Acts 2:11), as the old life had come through the "wonderful works of old time" (Ps. 44:1); the hope that it brings is the hope of an inheritance, not of an earthly one, but of one that is "imperishable, undefiled and unfading" (1 Peter 1:4).

That is not to say that the Passion sayings, as we now have them, have not been "coloured" in the light of subsequent events. It is highly unlikely that as they came from the lips of Jesus they contained references to spitting and scourging and deliverance to the Gentiles (Mark 10:33, 34). But to omit any reference to the Resurrection would be to omit the final purpose of God from the central event of the Gospels. Jesus was "delivered up according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God" (Acts 2:23); part of that plan was that through Israel all the nations of the earth would be blessed (Gen. 12:3), and since the Old Israel had failed, the blessing could only come through the New Israel, which had to "recapitulate" the experiences of the Old Israel, or it would not be the New Israel at all but something else. The plan of God would have failed and a completely fresh start would have to be made. To

put it another way, the Old Testament would be obsolete.

And that would make nonsense of the New Testament.

The Resurrection, no less than the Death of Christ, took place "in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:4). This is usually said to refer to a passage in Hosea: "After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, that we may live before him" (Hos. 6:2). On the basis of the identification of Christ with Israel, this passage could be made to refer to the Resurrection, but it is nowhere quoted in the New Testament, and one passage of scripture hardly seems sufficient to bear the weight of the central fact of the primitive Kerugma. There is the further point that the Resurrection is "in accordance with the scriptures" -

κατὰ τὰς γραφάς - and St. Paul never uses the plural unless he is referring to the Old Testament as a whole. The tradition that he has received is that the whole of the Old Testament, and not one particular passage in it bears witness to the saving act of God in Christ. "The promises which God made to the fathers, he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus" (Acts 13:32, 33). The life, death and resurrection of Jesus is the antitype of the types of Old Testament salvation, the Exodus from Egypt and the Return from Babylon.

APPENDIX I
REFERENCES TO THE EXODUS IN THE PSALMS

18:7-19	81:5-10
44:1-3	95:7-11
47:1-4	105:23-42
66:5, 6	106:7-33
68:7-10	111:5-9
74:12-15	114:1-8
77:11-20	135:8-12
78:12-55	136:10-22
80:8-11	

APPENDIX II
REFERENCES TO THE EXODUS IN THE PAULINE WRITINGS

Rom. 7:7	Eph. 1:14
9:4, 5	Phil. 2:15
9:15	Col. 1:12-15
9:17	
9:18	
1 Cor. 5:6-8	2 Cor. 3:3
10:1-10	3:7
15:20	6:16
11:25	8:15
	3:13
	3:16

This is a summary of the evidence. In 1 Cor. 10:1-10 there are no less than nine references to some aspect of the Exodus.

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