The Appropriation of Passover in Luke-Acts

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ABSTRACT

Within Lukan scholarship, studies on the theme of Passover have mostly been confined to the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). Few have ventured outside it and explored the presence, let alone the significance, of the theme in other passages throughout Luke-Acts. Thus, the aim of this study is to show where, how, and why Luke appropriates the theme of Passover in his writings. I propose that besides the passion narrative, allusions to Passover can be found in three other sets of passages: the infancy narrative, the Parousia discourses in Luke 12 and Luke 17, and the rescue stories of Peter (Acts 12) and Paul (Acts 27). My investigation shows that the theme of Passover plays a major role in how Luke structures his narratives. I also show that Luke associates Passover with Jesus' passion, enabling him to convey the message of God's salvation. The pairing of Passover and passion for explaining the salvation of God is not limited to the passion narrative. Instead, it is present in other Passover-related passages throughout Luke-Acts.

Using the foundational story of Passover in Exodus 12–13 as my point of departure, I begin my research with an analysis of references to Passover in early Jewish writings (Chapter 2). This chapter helps to set Luke within broader Jewish interpretive traditions. Next, I examine the Lukan text, beginning with the passion narrative (Chapter 3), where allusions to Passover are most concentrated and least disputed by scholars. This chapter prepares us to understand allusions to Passover in the infancy narrative (Chapter 4), two Parousia discourses (Chapter 5), and two particular rescue stories in Acts (Chapter 6). The final chapter synthesises all the findings (Chapter 7).

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

DECLARATION

This work has been submitted to the University of Durham in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is my own work, and none of it has been previously submitted to the University of Durham or in any other university for a degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDF	Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BHGNT	Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CRS	Classics in Religious Studies
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDB	*Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider. ET. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ESV	English Standard Version
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBPR	*Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research*
JCTC	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KJV	King James Version
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LCL	LOEB Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LOS	London Oriental Series
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
L&S	Letter & Spirit
LXX	The Septuagint
NA^{28}	*Novum Testamentum Graece*, Nestle-Aland, 28th ed.
NAC	New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTL	New Testament Library
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
PBTM	Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament

SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhA	Studies in Philo of Alexandria
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and K. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Joseph Fabry. Translated by John T. Willis, et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
TGST	Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
THOTC	Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary
TK	Texte und Kommentare
TLNT	*Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* . C. Spicq. Translated and edited by J. D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Situating the Research

This study is an attempt to understand how Luke[1] appropriates Passover, the Jewish festival that commemorates the exodus[2] from Egypt. The monograph will seek to accomplish three tasks: (1) to show the presence of allusions to Passover in Luke-Acts; (2) to detect which Passover elements and symbols are employed by Luke; and (3) to figure out the significance of the Passover within the Lukan narrative and theology.

Aside from an unpublished dissertation on Passover in the Gospel of Luke, to date, there has not been a single monograph about the appropriation of Passover in Luke-Acts. What we have are mainly shorter studies focusing on one particular Passover-related passage, often in isolation from other similar passages (see Section 1.2). The reason for the lacuna is rather puzzling, since, within the scholarly world, there is a growing interest in the study of the Passover. For instance, we can find works that investigate the Passover in relation to its early development and symbolism[3] or its relation to Christian rituals such as the Eucharist[4] and Easter.[5] We can also note the

[1] Throughout this work, the author of both the Third Gospel and the book of Acts is referred to as Luke. I assume the common authorship and the narrative unity of Luke-Acts. For recent discussion on this issue, see Joel B. Green, "Luke-Acts or Luke and Acts? A Reaffirmation of Narrative Unity," in *Reading Acts Today: Essays in Honour of Loveday C. A. Alexander*, ed. Steve Walton et al., LNTS 427 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 101–19; cf., Andrew F. Gregory and C. Kavin Rowe, eds., *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts* (University of South Carolina Press, 2010).

[2] In the present study, "exodus" refers to the foundational story/event of Israel's liberation from the slavery of Egypt, while the capitalised "Exodus" refers to the second book of the Pentateuch.

[3] E.g. Tamara Prosic, *The Development and Symbolism of Passover until 70 CE*, JSOTSup 414 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Notker Füglister, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Pascha*, SANT 8 (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1963); Judah B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover: From the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, LOS 12 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

[4] E.g. Brant Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 374–443; Joel Marcus, "Passover and Last Supper Revisited," *NTS* 59, no. 3 (2013): 303–24; Scot McKnight, *Jesus and His Death: Historiography, the Historical Jesus, and Atonement Theory* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005), 264–73; Barry D. Smith, *Jesus' Last Passover Meal* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993); Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1966), 15–88; cf. Deborah B. Carmichael, "David Daube on the Eucharist and the Passover Seder," *JSNT* 42 (1991): 45–67; Robin Routledge, "Passover and Last Supper," *TynBul* 53 (2002): 203–21.

[5] E.g. Clemens Leonhard, *The Jewish Pesach and the Origins of the Christian Easter: Open Questions in Current Research*, SJ 35 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006); Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds., *Passover and Easter: The Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons*, Two Liturgical Traditions 6 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds.,

interest in relation to certain Jewish or Christian texts, such as Jubilees,[6] Josephus,[7] the Gospel of John,[8] Melito of Sardis,[9] and the Mishnah.[10] Hence, the omission does not seem to stem from any lack of interest in the study of Passover.

It appears that reasons for the neglect come from scholarly tendencies in dealing with the Passover-related passages in Luke and/or Acts. First, scholars tend to place the Gospel of Luke under the heading of "the Synoptic Gospels" and treat the Passover-related passages across all those Gospels together. This is understandable in part, since, for those scholars, Luke-Acts is not the main text or focus of their studies. In their works, scholars usually group the Synoptic records together as part of their brief survey on the use of the Passover in other texts. This, in turn, results in a very short assessment of the Passover in Luke.[11] Such an approach assumes that there is no significant difference between the Passover-related passages in Matthew, Mark and Luke.

Second, scholars seem to perceive the Passover theme in John as much more developed than in the other Gospels and, thus, see it as more worthy of thorough investigation. As indicated above, in recent years, many have found the Gospel of John a rich ground for studying the Passover.[12] At times, scholars try to amplify the significance of the Passover in John at the expense of the Synoptic Gospels. Christine Schlund, for instance, concludes that the theme of Passover in the Synoptic Gospels is

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Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times, Two Liturgical Traditions 5 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

[6] Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Festivals of Pesaḥ and Massot in the Book of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 309–22.

[7] Federico M. Colautti, *Passover in the Works of Josephus*, JSJSup 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Birke Siggelkow-Berner, *Die jüdischen Feste im Bellum Judaicum des Flavius Josephus*, WUNT 2.306 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 49–184.

[8] Christine Schlund, *"Kein Knochen soll gebrochen werden": Studien zu Bedeutung und Funktion des Pesachfests in Texten des frühen Judentums und im Johannesevangelium*, WMANT 107 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005); Michael A. Daise, *Feasts in John: Jewish Festivals and Jesus' "Hour" in the Fourth Gospel*, WUNT 2.229 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Gerry Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts in John's Gospel*, SNTSMS 162 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 83–126.

[9] Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast: Melito, Peri Pascha, and the Quartodeciman Paschal Liturgy at Sardis*, VCSup 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[10] Baruch M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[11] E.g. Segal, *Hebrew Passover*, 34–35; Füglister, *Heilsbedeutung*, 17–19; Bokser, *Origins*, 25–26; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194–198; Colautti, *Passover*, 174–183; Leonhard, *Jewish Pesach*, 33.

[12] Daise, *Feasts in John*; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*; Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts*, 83–126.

hardly as developed as that in John. In fact, she argues that the role of Passover in the Synoptics is superficial.[13] For Schlund, these Gospels attach the Passover to frame the setting of Jesus' last meal; the meal itself does not have any Passover symbolism.[14] Such a comparative approach, unfortunately, has rendered the Passover theme in Luke insignificant.

Third, even when scholars do study the Passover in Luke, their focus is almost exclusively limited to the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). Again, this is understandable. In general, the first Lukan passage that comes to mind when Passover is mentioned is the Last Supper. Within that passage alone, the term πάσχα appears six times (vv. 1, 7, 8, 11, 13, and 15).[15] What is more, Luke sets the institution of the Lord's Supper within the Passover ritual meal (Luke 22:14–20). For some, the depiction of the Passover meal in Luke is useful for a historical reconstruction of Jesus' last meal, often in comparison with the Jewish Passover meal.[16] Others are interested in the source and redaction of the Passover-related passage in Luke 22.[17] Still others find the Passover important for understanding the Lukan passion narrative.[18]

If there is an undesirable effect of the focus on Luke 22, it will be the neglect of the possible significance of Passover in other parts of Luke-Acts. Aside from Luke 22, the word πάσχα also occurs in the story of the Passover visit of the boy Jesus (Luke

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[13] Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194; cf. the similar assessment by H. Patsch, "πάσχα," *EDNT* 3.50.
[14] Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194.
[15] Luke has more references to πάσχα in comparison to the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark. The term appears four times in Matthew (26:2, 17, 18, and 19) and five in Mark (14:1, 12 [twice], 14, and 16).
[16] See footnote 2 above. Some propose that Luke's depiction is close to the order of the Jewish Passover meal in the first-century Palestine (e.g. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols., AB 28-28A [New York: Doubleday, 1981–1985], 2.1390; John Nolland, *Luke*, 3 vols., WBC 35A-C [Dallas: Word, 1989-1993], 3.1047–1048; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, 2vols., BECNT [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996], 2.1718, 1722–23; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 757–758). Others, however, question such a comparison (e.g. Günter Stemberger, "Pesachhaggada und Abendmahlsberichte des Neuen Testaments," *Kairos* 29 [1987]: 147–58; Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 699).
[17] Heinz Schürmann, *Eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes, Lk 22, 7-38. Bd.1 Der Paschamahlbericht, Lk 22, (7-14) 15-18.*, 2nd ed., Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 19.5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1968); Joel B. Green, "Preparation for Passover (Luke 22:7-13): A Question of Redactional Technique," *NovT* 29 (1987): 305–19; cf. Marion L. Soards, *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*, JSNTSup14 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 23–58; Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation*, SNTSMS 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 44–50.
[18] Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1989), 162; cf. Green, *Luke*, 751.

2:41) and the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12:4). Even when scholars are aware of these Passover references, they tend to brush it aside as irrelevant. In the Passover visit of the boy Jesus (Luke 2:41–51), some argue that the Passover time marker is there only for the sake of the setting. For them, Jesus needs to be in Jerusalem, and the Passover makes a good reason for it. Beyond that, the Passover reference does not indicate any "paschal significance" in the passage.[19] Others, while discussing the background of the Passover feast, do not discuss its function and significance within the passage.[20]

As for the rescue of Peter in Acts 12, scholars suggest that the timeframe of Passover recalls the passion and resurrection story of Jesus.[21] However, this also causes some to judge the role of the Passover in the passage as inferior to the passion-resurrection. In short, its function is no more than to evoke the passion.[22] Conzelmann, for instance, concludes that there is "no thoroughgoing Passover symbolism" in Acts 12.[23]

One of the main reasons for these views on the presence and function of Passover in Luke-Acts, excluding Luke 22, is the tendency to analyse one Passover-related passage in isolation from the others. However, if we interlink all the Passover-related passages and analyse them together, a different picture might show up. Turning back to the story of the Passover visit of the boy Jesus, we might notice that when Jesus is left behind in Jerusalem, he is found "after three days" (Luke 2:46).[24] The phrase seems to allude to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. It is true that in Luke, the technical

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[19] H. J. de Jonge, "Sonship, Wisdom, Infancy : Luke 2:41-51a," *NTS* 24, no. 3 (1978): 336; cf. Dennis D. Sylva, "The Cryptic Clause *En Tois Tou Patros Mou Dei Einai Me* in Lk 2:49b," *ZNW* 78 (1987): 139–40, n. 22.

[20] E.g. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 126–127; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.439–40; Luke T. Johnson, *Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 58; Green, *Luke*, 154–55; François Bovon, *Luke*, 3 vols., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002–2013), 1.110–111; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 147.

[21] E.g. Susan R. Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage : Luke 9:31 and Acts 12:1-24," *CBQ* 52, no. 4 (1990): 672–74; Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, 4 vols. (Baker Academic, 2012–2015), 2.1866; Daniel Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 2 vols., CNT 5a-b (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2015), 1.429.

[22] Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 381–82.

[23] Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 93.

[24] Unless otherwise stated, biblical citations in English are from the NRSV.

phrase for Jesus' resurrection is "on the third day" (Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 46; Acts 10:40). However, the pairing of the reference to Passover and the phrase "after three days" might be more than a mere coincidence.[25] A similar case can be made for the rescue story of Peter in Acts 12. Luke notes that Peter is rescued around the time of Passover. The only other person who experiences suffering during the Passover but is ultimately vindicated is none other than Jesus himself (Luke 22–24). As noted above, it is likely that the rescue story evokes the passion-resurrection of Jesus.[26] Now we have two narratives that seem to recall the passion-resurrection of Jesus: the Passover visit of the boy Jesus and the prison rescue of Peter. Could there be a pattern that runs through these stories, using Passover as the time marker? Furthermore, could the timeframe of Passover indicate more than just evoking the passion and resurrection? It seems to be a case worth investigating.

As we delve deeper into Luke-Acts, we might notice a couple more passages that indicate the extent of the Passover appropriation. First, Luke seems to relate the Passover to the Parousia, indicating that there will be an eschatological Passover banquet when God's kingdom comes in its fullness at the Parousia (Luke 22:16). This might show that for Luke, the Passover is not associated with the passion alone, but also with the Parousia. Second, as shown above, the prison rescue of Peter in Acts 12 might mirror the story of the passion-resurrection of Jesus. If Luke recounts in Acts 12 a 'passion' story of Peter, using the Passover element, might he not do the same with his other main character, Paul? It is plausible that Luke also narrates a 'passion' story of Paul with Passover elements in it. One possible parallel to Peter's rescue in Acts 12 is the sea rescue of Paul in Acts 27. In that passage, we encounter the rather puzzling reference to the "fourteenth night" and the "fourteenth day" (Acts 27:27, 33). Richard Pervo, for example, proposes that this time marker might evoke Passover, which is celebrated on the fourteenth of Nisan.[27] Whether or not his reading is correct, the

[25] See Section 4.3.
[26] See Section 6.2.
[27] Richard I. Pervo, *Acts*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 663. See Section 6.3.

possibility of the presence of a Passover allusion in the sea rescue of Paul is sufficient as an entry point for further investigation.

The preliminary observations above suggest that the role of Passover might not be limited only to the passion of Jesus. Rather, the Passover could also be vital in the context of the infancy narrative, the Parousia, and the rescue stories of Peter and Paul. Based on these observations, a study on the appropriation of the Passover in Luke-Acts is both justifiable and necessary.

Thus, the goal of this work is to challenge the supposition that seems to befall Luke. I will show that not only can we detect the presence of Passover in several passages throughout Luke-Acts but also that the Passover is placed strategically within the narrative of Luke-Acts. This, in turn, will affect the way we understand the outline of Luke's narrative and his theology, especially in relation to the passion of Jesus and the Lukan message of salvation.

1.2 Survey of Previous Studies

The only monograph-length study on the Passover in the Gospel of Luke is the unpublished dissertation by Elaine M. Prevallet from 1967, bearing the title *Luke 24:26: A Passover Christology*.[28] Prevallet asks how Luke uses the Passover in his "presentation of the person and work of Christ."[29] She argues that the key passage to answer the question is found in 24:26, where Jesus asks, "Was it not necessary that the Messiah should suffer these things and then enter into his glory?" For Prevallet, this verse describes the realisation of the Old Testament not through the fulfilment of individual prophecies, but in a global fashion, by which she means that, "there seems to be present, above and beyond the number of the citations of individual passages, a principle which governs the kerygmatic formulation."[30] Prevallet claims that the governing principle is what she called "the principle of Passover":

[28] Elaine M. Prevallet, "Luke 24:26: A Passover Christology" (Ph.D dissertation, Marquette University, 1967).
[29] Ibid., ii.
[30] Ibid., 7–8.

> The principle of humiliation–exaltation was commonly used by the rabbis for their Passover expositions: "One ought to move from disgrace to glory." Given the centrality of the Passover setting for the Last Supper and passion accounts of the gospels, it seems obvious that the early Church would have picked up this principle for its own purposes. It seems clear that Luke has done so.[31]

For Prevallet, the so-called Passover principle "underlies the very shaping of the sources which Luke has at his disposal, and provides the controlling principle for his presentation of Christ."[32]

The basis for her argument is the assertion in Mishnah Pesaḥim 10:4, which states, "He [i.e. the household leader] begins with the disgrace and ends with the glory."[33] This passage notes how, during a Passover meal, the head of the household should explain the reason for the specific way of eating the Passover. In short, it explains why the Israelites should celebrate the exodus liberation. According to this passage, the head of the household should firstly depict the lowly and shameful state of the Israelites and continue the story until it reaches Israel's liberation and glorification. Prevallet believes that this movement from humiliation to exaltation underlines the depiction of Jesus from suffering to glory and from death to resurrection in Luke.

In her thesis, Prevallet virtually analyses every part of the Gospel, examining the baptism, the temptation and the Nazareth episode (Chapter 2), the notion of Christ as the prophet (Chapter 3), the Transfiguration (Chapter 4), the infancy narrative (Chapter 5); the travel narrative (Chapter 6), the last supper and passion narrative (Chapter 6), and the resurrection narrative (Chapter 7). She tries to show that Jesus' life and ministry, as a whole, follow the so-called Passover principle, that is, the movement from suffering to exaltation. In short, Prevallet argues that what is fulfilled in Christ is, first and foremost, the Passover principle.

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[31] Ibid., 9.
[32] Ibid., iii.
[33] Translation from Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 150. Prevallet's understanding of the role of the Mishnah Pesaḥim in the structure of the Gospels is influenced by David Daube, "The Earliest Structure of the Gospels," *NTS* 5, no. 03 (1959): 174–87; cf. Prevallet, "Passover Christology," 9 n. 6. Daube argues that the early exposition of the Passover by the rabbis has "a decisive influence" to the earliest account of Jesus ("The Earliest Structure of the Gospels," 174).

The main issue with Prevallet's study is the existence of the Passover principle. She bases her construction of this principle on a single passage from a rabbinic source, a phrase from Mishnah Pesaḥim 10:4. She uses this Passover principle as the basis for her whole work. Even if we do not rule out the possible existence of such a principle, there need to be more proofs to validate such a claim. In line with this issue is her assumption that this principle is at the heart of the Jewish tradition. There are many other similar structures in the OT, and they have never been described as the Passover-principle movement. These include the suffering and vindication of Joseph, the suffering and vindication of Job, the vindication of the righteous in the book of Psalms, the depiction of the Suffering Servant (Isa 53), as well as passages on Israel's return from exile. In addition, her work seems to focus mainly on the fulfilment pattern of Luke's presentation of Jesus and not so much on the Passover motif. She only provides a few pages to justify the existence of the Passover principle.[34] The rest of her work is an attempt to depict Jesus as a prophet and Messiah who fulfils the OT pattern of salvation, particularly the (new) exodus. Hence, Prevallet wrongly subsumes all the movements from shame to glory under the category of her Passover principle, whereas the other way round is more likely. The Passover principle, if there is one, should be considered as one example of the broader theme of humiliation-glorification.

Prevallet's work raises the issue of the limit and focus of studies on the topic of Passover. For Prevallet, her focus is on the Passover principle. For others, the focus might be the etymology of the term, the regulations of the festival, the foundational story behind it (Exod 12–13), or even the Passover Haggadah. Thus, it is necessary to explain from the beginning what we mean by the study of Passover (see Section 1.3).

Moving beyond Prevallet's dissertation, we will find that other studies on Passover in Luke and Acts are limited to journal articles, and mostly focusing on one single passage. August Strobel, for example, studies the allusions to Passover in Luke 17:20–37 and Acts 12.[35] On Luke 17, he argues that the issue behind the discourse is the

[34] Prevallet, "Passover Christology," 7–9.

[35] August Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung als urchristliches Problem in Lukas 17:20f," *ZNW* 49, no. 3-4 (1958): 157–96; August Strobel, "In Dieser Nacht (Luk 17, 34): Zu Einer älteren Form Der Erwartung in

expectation found in a Jewish Passover: whether God's salvation will come at the time of Passover.[36] Central to his argument is the term παρατήρησις ("observation") in verse 20 and the night reference in verse 34. He states that the term should refer to the Passover night watch (Exod 12:42) since, in later tradition, this is closely tied to the view that the eschatological salvation will take place at the festival of Passover. Strobel also argues that the night reference in verse 34 would strengthen this idea. On Acts 12, he shows that Peter's rescue contains many allusions to the Passover narrative in Exodus 12.[37] For Strobel, this indicates that the early church actually believes in the Passover night as the time of God's eschatological salvation.[38]

Strobel's studies are helpful in tracing the many allusions to the Passover in Luke 17 and Acts 12. There are, nevertheless, some limitations. First, he believes that the strong Passover symbolism occurs at the pre-Lukan stage, that is, in his sources. When the tradition is incorporated into the narrative, the argument goes, its significance is weakened or lost.[39] Since his focus is on the tradition behind the Lukan text, he does not see the Passover as having an important role in the Lukan narrative and theology. The present study, however, seeks to examine the Passover allusions as an integral part of the construction of the Lukan narrative and theology.

Furthermore, to support his argument, Strobel uses many Jewish sources (e.g. Exodus Rabbah, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Mishnah Pesaḥim and Aquila's OT translation),[40] which are considered late by the current scholarly consensus.[41] While use of later texts is not wrong methodologically,[42] there is a risk of anachronism. To avoid

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Luk 17, 20—37," *ZTK* 58, no. 1 (1961): 16–29; August Strobel, "Zu Lk 17:20f," *BZ* 7, no. 1 (1963): 111–13; August Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff," *NTS* 4, no. 3 (1958): 210–15.

[36] Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung," 164; Strobel, "Zu Lk 17," 111–113; cf. August Strobel, "A. Merx über Lc 17:20f," *ZNW* 51, no. 1-2 (1960): 133.

[37] Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff,."

[38] Ibid., 213.

[39] Strobel, "Die Passa-Symbolik und Passa-WUnder in Act 12:3ff," 213.

[40] Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung," 165–73.

[41] E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1160; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.852; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.515.

[42] For the use of Rabbinic material in NT study, see William Horbury, "Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Interpretation," in *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study*, WUNT 193 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006), 221–35; cf. Keener, *Acts*, 1.31.

this risk and to substantiate findings from late sources, I will primarily consult Jewish writings that are earlier or comparably close to Luke.[43]

The potential benefit of studying Passover references across Luke-Acts is shown in a study by Susan Garrett.[44] The focus of Garrett's study is on the role of Satan in the exodus motif found in Luke. For Garrett, the Jesus event depicts an exodus from the bondage of Satan. She argues that Luke mainly derives from Isaiah the depiction of release from Satan.[45] In particular, she tries to show that, in Isaiah, the exodus story is sometimes depicted with mythological language, in which the idea of a cosmic adversary is present. This juxtaposition between an exodus story and a cosmic adversary, the argument goes, can also be found in other Jewish writings.[46] For Garrett, the role of Satan in Luke is akin to the cosmic adversary in some passages about the exodus. Following her earlier monograph, she makes the connection between the fall of Satan in Luke 10:17–20 and the resurrection-ascension of Jesus, where the latter is the occasion for the fall.[47] Hence, with the exodus model, she proposes that the Christ event is an exodus from the bondage of Satan.[48]

To support this view, she turns her attention to Acts 12. Particularly important for her is the role of Herod, who is likened to Pharaoh, thus the indirect relation between Herod in the "passion-resurrection" of Peter and Satan in the "passion-resurrection" of Jesus.[49] Additionally, the fall of Herod is compared to the portrayal of fallen rulers in Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28–32, and 2 Maccabees 9. This, she points out, parallels the mythic pattern of the fall of Satan as recounted by Luke. In Luke, Satan seeks to be worshipped (Luke 4:6–7) and yet he falls (Luke 10:18). She concludes that, in this way, Herod represents Satan.[50] In other words, what is new is her insertion of the role of Satan in the exodus scheme of the Christ event in Luke-Acts.

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[43] I will engage again with Strobel's work in Sections 5.2 and 6.2.
[44] Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage."
[45] Ibid., 661–64.
[46] Ibid., 664–66.
[47] Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 46–57.
[48] Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage," 659.
[49] Ibid., 670–77.
[50] Ibid., 676–77

In evaluation, I do not share Garret's view regarding the role of Satan within the exodus model. There is no explicit reference to Satan within the passion narrative, which supports this scheme. It is true that Satan has a role, but only at the beginning of the passion, as an opponent to Jesus. Garrett only manages to show the central role of Satan within her exodus scheme indirectly via the notion of a cosmic adversary. Similarly, she only manages to associate Herod with Satan indirectly. In my opinion, she appears to read too much into Luke. Nevertheless, Garrett has shown the possible benefit of parallel reading to aid the overall understanding of a theme. If it is true that Acts 12 in many ways is similar to the story of Jesus' passion-resurrection, then it is likely that details from the passion-resurrection story would inform the reading of Acts 12 and *vice versa*. Moreover, the presence of Passover in the passion story of Jesus might also shed some light on the role of Passover in Acts 12. In terms of methodology, the reading of parallel passages is not only possible, but also valuable to our understanding of what the author wished to convey through the comparable pericopes.

To conclude, the survey above confirms the lack of any studies that carefully explore allusions to Passover throughout Luke-Acts, a shortfall which this work intends to fill. The survey also reveals two preliminary works that need to be done to guide the study and avoid any pitfalls. First, there is a necessity to establish the boundary of our study, explaining what we mean by the study of Passover, and which sources are we using to construct it. Second, there is a need for a suitable methodology, one that deals with issues such as parallel comparison, allusion, and the narrative outlook of Luke-Acts. To these two tasks I shall now proceed.

1.3 Establishing the Boundary

1.3.1 Exodus 12–13 as the Background for the Notion of Passover

In this study, the main narrative background for the notion of Passover is taken from Exodus 12–13.[51] Exodus 12–13 is used as the starting point, since this is the passage

[51] A fuller analysis of Exodus 12 will be conducted in Chapter 2.

where one finds the foundational story of the Passover. In fact, the most extensive account of Passover is found in Exodus 12–13.[52] Behind the Passover of Exodus 12–13 is the story of Israel's bondage under Egypt. When the Israelites, under slavery, cry out to their God, he remembers his covenant with their forefathers (Exod 2:24). The God of Israel tells Moses that he has come "to deliver them" (Exod 3:8) and commands him that he might bring the Israelites out of Egypt (Exod 3:10). This promise is reiterated in Exodus 6, when God says to the people of Israel, "I will bring you out (ἐξάξω ὑμᾶς) … and I will deliver you (ῥύσομαι ὑμᾶς) … and I will redeem you (λυτρώσομαι ὑμᾶς)" (Exod 6:6).

It is this promise that is fulfilled in Exodus 12–13. Especially important is the term "to bring out" (ἐξάγω),[53] which is concentrated in the Passover episode, with no fewer than seven references (Exod 12:17, 42, 51; 13:3, 9, 14, 16). This is worth noting. Even though Israel's final victory against Egypt takes place later, in the parting of the sea (Exod 14–15), the term does not appear there. It is safe to conclude, then, that from a literary point of view, the Passover episode (Exod 12–13) is the beginning and decisive moment for Israel's deliverance.

This beginning yet defining moment consists broadly of two interrelated stories. The first is the enactment of the tenth plague, the death of the firstborn. It is due to this death plague that Pharaoh finally releases Israelites from Egypt (Exod 12:29–33; cf. 11:1). Through it, God punishes both the Egyptians and their gods (12:12), but, unlike the first nine plagues, the last plague also threatens the lives of the Israelites. This gives rise to the second story: the institution and enactment of the Passover ritual. While death terrorises the Egyptians, no death will fall on the Israelites. The Passover is the means through which God protects the Israelites from the death threat.[54]

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[52] Frank H. Gorman, "Passover, Feast of," *EDB* 1013; Baruch M. Bokser, "Passover," *ABD* 6.756.
[53] MT: הוֹצִיא.
[54] Passover (פֶּסַח) gets its name from the fact that God, upon seeing the blood of the Passover victim, does not destroy the Israelites but passes over (פָּסַח) the people (cf. Exod 12:13, 23, 27). The LXX translates it with the corresponding term παρέρχομαι only once (12:23). Elsewhere the LXX uses σκεπάζω, "to shelter, cover, protect," (12:13, 27). In Greek, the word for the Passover feast is πάσχα (deriving from the Aramaic) and, less frequently, φάσκα (Josephus, *Ant.* 5:20; 9:271; 14:25; 17:213), φασεκ (2 Chr 30:1, 2, 5, 15, 17, 18; Jer 38:8; Philo, *Leg*. 3:94), and φασεχ (2 Chr 35:1, 6–9, 11, 13, 16–18).

The importance of Exodus 12–13 can be seen from its numerous retellings and reinterpretations found in later Jewish writings (e.g. Jub. 49; Philo's *Spec. 2.145–149*; *QE* 1; Ezek. Trag. 147-192; Josephus, *Ant.* 2:311–314; Wis 18:6–19; Mishnah Pesaḥim and Mekhilta *Pisha*). These writings, along with their Christian counterparts, would engage with some of the elements or motifs found in the Passover story of Exodus 12. What is more, they would reinterpret elements of the Passover story to suit their own needs and contexts. Samples of such elements include:

a. The Passover slaughter (Exod 12:6; Jesus as the slaughtered Passover lamb – 1 Cor 5:7; those who sacrifice become the sacrifice – Josephus, *J.W.* 4.402–403; 5.99–103; 6.428; 7.400–401).[55]
b. The function of the blood of the Passover lamb (Exod 12:7, 13; Jub. 49:3; Ezek. Trag. 156–159; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.313; Heb 11:28).
c. The symbolic meaning of the Passover food (Exod 12:8; Philo, *QE* 1.15; Mark 14:22–25 par.; m. Pesaḥ. 10:4).
d. The hastiness motif (Exod 12:11, 33, 39; Isa 52:12; Ezek. Trag. 180-183; Philo, *QE* 1.19; *Leg*. 3.154; *Sacr*. 63).
e. The 'destroyer' tradition (Exod 12:23; Jub. 49; Ezek. Trag. 159; Wis 18:25; 1 Cor 10:10; Heb 11:28).
f. Prohibition on breaking the bones of the Passover lamb (Exod 12:46; Jub. 49:13–14; John 19:36).
g. The significance of the Passover as a time of liberation (Exod 12:42; Jer 38:8 LXX; LAB 32:16–17; Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 12:42; Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 14).

In light of the tendencies in interpretation above, as part of the study, I will analyse which of these elements and motifs are appropriated by Luke and how they are used.

[55] In Josephus' account, numerous Jews were killed by the Roman soldiers during Passover festivals. Hence, it is as if those who sacrificed became the sacrifices themselves.

1.3.2 The Passover Festival and Passover Story

In this work, the idea of Passover will not be limited to the festival or ritual. As indicated above, my study will include the story surrounding the Passover ritual, for a good reason: it seems that, for Luke, the foundational story is more important than the exact ritual order. One example is the use of Passover as a time marker. Only Luke 22:7 is associated with the Passover ritual being observed by Jesus and his disciples (22:7–20). In other passages, Luke seems to mention the time marker without relating it to the ritual (Luke 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:3–4). Rather, he appears to depict them symbolically as the time of liberation, an association that is shared by some early Jewish writings.[56]

Another example of this is the instruction to eat the Passover in haste (Exod 12:11). There is no indication that Jesus eats the Passover with his disciples in haste. In fact, Jesus has a somewhat extended discussion with his disciples after the meal (Luke 22:1–38). Perhaps the rather relaxed celebration is due to the transformation and development of the meal ritual itself.[57] However, this does not seem to stop Luke from

[56] E.g. Jer 38:8LXX; Jub. 17:15–18:19; LAB 32:16–17; Josephus, *J.W.* 4.402; 5.98, 567; 6.290; 6.428; 7.400-401; Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 14; Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 4:3; 16:26; 18:14; Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 12:42; Tg. Neof. I Exod 12:42.

[57] Passover is not a stable ritual. Rather it is a dynamic, ever developing feast. Most of the Passover's core elements remain the same (e.g. the timing and the basic meaning). Nevertheless, even within the OT, different texts show different details of Passover adding or changing both the ritual elements and the meaning. To see the differences one only needs to compare the Passover account in Exodus 12 with Ezekiel 45 (in Ezekiel's Passover, a calf is sacrificed, and it functions as a sin offering – Ezek 45:18–20). It is important therefore to understand such variations before we move on in our research. There were days when Exodus 12 had a privileged place in the study of the Passover. It was assumed to be the bedrock of later Passover accounts, traditions, rituals and liturgies. As noted by Clemen Leonhard, "Ancient Israel is seen as celebrating Pesaḥ roughly according to Exodus 12f from earliest times to Second Temple Jerusalem, and even to some extent up to Rabbinic Galilee," (*Jewish Pesach*, 15). Such an assumption, Leonhard argues, must now be abandoned. He concludes that Exodus 12 is only important for understanding the meaning of the Passover. As for the liturgy and ritual of the Jewish Passover, it only has a marginal value (ibid., 425). This position, he argues, is also held by NT writers. The Synoptic Gospels, for example, associate Jesus' last supper with the Jewish Passover. However they do not associate the ritual with Exodus 12 (ibid., 33). Thus, he believes that "the notions such as 'the association of Exod 12 with Pesaḥ' would not have been held by the Jews or the Christians in the first century," (ibid., 72). While I do not agree with all his assessments, in principle Leonhard is correct. Exodus 12 is important to our understanding of the meaning and the story of the Passover but less so in its influence on the ritual of later Passover feasts. However, that, in terms of Passover ritual and liturgy, Exodus 12 only has a marginal value seems to be an overstatement. Even when later Passover rituals differ from Exodus 12, they constantly do so in engagement with Exodus 12 (e.g. Jub. 49; mPes 9:5; tPes 8:10–22). In other words, they take pains to explain why they are different from Exodus 12. Thus Exodus 12 is a constant partner, if not a constant issue to be dealt with for the more established Passover tradition.

using the hastiness motif elsewhere, where the context is not the Passover ritual meal (e.g. Luke 12:35; Acts 12:7–8).

1.3.3 Passover and the Broader Context of Exodus

In studying the concept of Passover, one cannot escape from the broader context of the exodus. Passover is indeed a part of the exodus story. Hence, one needs to justify the difference between a study on the subject of Passover and one on the exodus. The simple differentiation is that, in the study of Passover as advocated here, the emphasis is limited to the rescue story found in Exodus 12. By contrast, the exodus theme encompasses either the story from Exodus 1–15 or, to make it broader still, the movement from Egypt to the Promised Land.

Luke-Acts is packed with references to the exodus motif. One can find the theme of God's visitation both in Luke (Luke 1:68) and in Exodus (Exod 4:31). Jesus' forty days of temptation in the wilderness (Luke 4:1–13) is often compared to Israel's forty years in the wilderness. The Transfiguration narrative (Luke 9:28–36) is comparable to Moses' encounter with God in Exodus 24:15–18. The reference to the "finger of God" (δάκτυλος θεοῦ) in Luke 11:20 is found in Exodus 8:15 LXX. Both passages explain that the mighty power of the main characters (Jesus and Moses) comes from God.[58] Jesus is said to have his own 'exodus' journey (Luke 9:31). In Acts, the retelling of Israel's exodus appears twice, one time by Stephen (Acts 7:23–44) and the other by Paul (Acts 13:17–19). While these are motifs from the exodus, they are not part of the Passover story found in Exodus 12–13. In this research, the broader exodus theme will be incorporated to supplement the analysis of the appropriation of Passover.

[58] The term "finger of God" can also be found in Exod 31:18 and Deut 9:10. However, in these two passages, the term is related to God writing his law on the stone tablets.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Analysing the Lukan Text

In examining the Lukan writings, both synchronic and diachronic approaches will be used. My main tool for analysing the Lukan texts is *narrative criticism*.[59] Among the many elements of narrative analysis, the following four are most helpful to my study. First, I will pay attention to the narrative sequence. This aspect is important to understand how Luke makes certain theological points through the progress of his story. Those points might be detected from the way they become more explicit or from their strong presence in the climax of a narrative unit. This does not mean, however, that the analysis has to be sequential either. At times, I will read earlier passages in light of the later.

Second, I will examine the staging or setting of the narrative. Luke uses Passover a number of times in order to stage his narrative (Luke 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:3–4). More importantly, Luke seems to use the time of Passover in combination with certain places (e.g. Jerusalem, Luke 2:41–42; Luke 22:1) or situations (e.g. death threat, Luke 22:1; Acts 12:3–4). It is essential therefore to find out why Luke uses the Passover to stage his story in a certain manner.

Third, I will analyse how Luke depicts certain characters in each story and what their roles are. For instance, in the passion narrative, Luke introduces the character of Satan within the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:3). This figure is with high probability an addition of Luke as it is absent in both Matthew and Mark. The addition inevitably raises questions regarding the role of Satan and its possible association with the theme of Passover in that passage.

Fourth, I will observe the literary parallels and patterns. Literary patterns or parallelisms are well-known phenomena in Luke-Acts. Luke is fond of using this

[59] For general discussion on this method in NT studies, see Mark A. *Powell, What is Narrative Criticism?* GBS (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); idem, "Narrative Criticism," in *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation*, ed. Joel B. Green, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 240–58; James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005). For the study of Luke, see Joel B. Green, "Narrative Criticism," in *Methods for Luke*, ed. Joel B. Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 74–112.

literary device to depict continuity. The parallels are not limited to being between stories from the OT and Luke-Acts. Rather they also encompass parallels between events, characters, and narrative cycles within Luke-Acts.[60] The use of literary patterns will become prominent when we investigate the book of Acts. On a larger scale, I will also compare the Passover-related passages to each other and examine them in light of the wider narrative of Luke-Acts. This comparison will enable us to detect any patterns in the appropriation of Passover across Luke's writings. As shown above, scholars might have noted patterns in individual passages. Nevertheless, by reading those passages in light of each other, those patterns and other narrative nuances will become more striking.[61]

To sharpen my analysis, I will appropriate *redaction criticism* when investigating the Gospel of Luke. For my research, the priority of Mark is assumed. However, the exact relationship between Matthew and Luke will be left unanswered. While most scholars still favour the hypothetical Q, in recent years some have strongly challenged this position – preferring the alternative that Luke knows and uses Matthew.[62] Thus, when using this approach, I will compare a Lukan text with its parallel in Matthew and Mark, without involving the hypothetical Q.

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[60] Scholars have studied numerous patterns and parallels in Luke-Acts (see e.g. Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20 [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974]; G. W. Trompf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 116–78; Joel B. Green, "Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts: Contemporary Narratology and Lucan Historiography," in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 283–99). The most common pattern is the parallel between Jesus and the apostles, in particular Peter and Paul (e.g. Robert F. O'Toole, "Parallels between Jesus and His Disciples in Luke-Acts: A Further Study," *BZ* 27, no. 2 [1983]: 195–212; Susan Marie Praeder, "Jesus-Paul, Peter-Paul, and Jesus-Peter Parallelisms in Luke-Acts: A History of Reader Response," in *SBLSP 1984*, ed. Kent H. Richards [Chico: Scholars Press, 1984], 23–39; David P. Moessner, "'The Christ Must Suffer': New Light on the Jesus-Peter, Stephen, Paul Parallels in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 28, no. 3 [1986]: 220–56; Andrew C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, PBTM [Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001]). Others see Jesus' parallel to OT figures such as Moses and Elijah (e.g. David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989], 46–79; J. Severino Croatto, "Jesus, Prophet like Elijah, and Prophet-Teacher like Moses in Luke-Acts," *JBL* 124, no. 3 [2005]: 451–65; Thomas L. Brodie, "Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," in *New Views on Luke and Acts*, ed. Earl Richard [Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990], 78–85).

[61] Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986–1990), 1.3.

[62] E.g. Mark Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002); Mark Goodacre and Nicholas Perrin, eds., *Questioning Q*

My main purpose for using this approach is not merely to identify the redactional activity per se. The goal, rather, is to understand the total effect of the activity in the final form of the Lukan text as a whole. This broader and more holistic way of using redaction criticism is also known as *composition criticism*.[63] As such, the composition criticism is complementary to the narrative criticism, even though their origins differ.[64]

While the approaches above are helpful in examining the Lukan passages, another tool is needed to understand the development of the Passover tradition within the Jewish context. This is where the *tradition historical criticism* comes into play. Luke does not derive his Passover story and symbol from a vacuum. Behind his writings, there are streams of Jewish traditions that reuse and reactualise the story and symbolism of Passover. I will observe how these Jewish writings appropriate the theme of Passover. I will seek to answer what the theme is associated with, what the purpose of the appropriation is, and which elements are being used. My goal is to see if there are certain strategies or patterns of appropriation shared by those writings. This, in turn, will guide my interpretation of the Lukan text.

1.4.2 Verifying the Presence of the Passover in Luke-Acts

One of the major tasks of this work is to verify the presence of Passover in the Lukan corpus. To do so, some criteria are needed to justify any claim of an allusion to Passover. In the present study, allusion is defined as, "a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage."[65] In general, a writer does not explain the nature and

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(London: SPCK, 2004); Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 117–216.

[63] Richard N. Soulen and R. Kendall Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, 3rd ed. (Louisville: WJK, 2001), 38; Stephen D. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* (New Haven: Yale, 1989), 4. In Lukan studies, this approach is appropriated by Robert O'Toole, *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts* (Wilmington: M. Glazier, 1984), 11.

[64] Scot McKnight, *Interpreting the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 135–36; cf. Grant Macaskill, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Gospel of Matthew: A Comparative Study with 1 Enoch and 4QInstruction" (Ph.D dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 2005), 28.

[65] M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 11th ed. (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2014), 13.

significance of the allusion but assumes that the reader will be familiar with it.[66] Thus, an allusion is a means for "calling upon the history or the literary tradition that author and reader are assumed to share."[67]

In this study, a Passover allusion would refer to several forms of indirect or passing reference. First, it refers to the Passover story in general, a story that is rooted in Exodus 12. Here, the Lukan text does not necessarily refer to a specific text in Exodus 12–13. For example, Luke sometimes mentions the festival of Passover (Luke 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:4), without further explanations. This use does not bring any specific verses to mind, except, perhaps, the general idea of the meaning or significance of the festival. Second, it refers to certain elements or sub-elements of the Passover story. Examples of these include the Passover ritual (the timing, the slaughtering of the lamb, the daubing of the blood, the meal), the killing of the firstborn, the hasty manner of the meal's consumption, the plundering of the Egyptians, and the liberation at night. Third, it refers to specific phrases or strings of words within the Passover story from Exodus 12–13. While the first two forms of indirect passing can be categorised as 'topical allusion', the third one is referred to as 'textual allusion'.

The following guidelines will be used to verify allusions:[68] We should detect the presence of similar vocabulary, word order, similar imagery, outline, situation, and theme(s). Similarities of vocabulary and word order can enable us to ascertain textual allusions, and similarities of imagery, outline, situation, and theme and are useful to ascertain broader topical allusions. There are, however, some qualifications in applying this guideline.

First, the more particular the shared similarities are, the more likely is the presence of an allusion. For example, in Luke 1:68b, Luke uses the term ἐπισκέπτομαι to denote the visitation of God. To argue from the term alone that it refers to God's

[66] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–31; Richard B. Hays, "Who Has Believed Our Message? Paul's Reading of Isaiah," in *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 34–45; Dale C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Trinity Press International, 2000), 10–13.

promise of salvation in Exodus is rather weak. While the term appears in Exodus to indicate God's favourable visitation (Exod 3:16 and 4:31), it also appears numerous times throughout the OT in the context of salvation or rescue (e.g. Gen 21:1; 50:24–25; Ruth 1:6; 1 Sam 2:21; Ps 8:5) and judgment (Exod 32:34; Ps 58:6; 88:33). To substantiate this claim, one should bring other proofs into consideration.[69] On the other hand, the term "finger of God" (δάκτυλος θεοῦ) in Luke 11:20 is specific enough that it most likely recalls Exodus 8:15.[70] Likewise, a notion of Passover can be evoked when a particular Passover element, term, or motif, or a set of them, is detected in Luke-Acts.

Second, the greater the density or volume of the shared similarities is, the more likely is the presence of an allusion. Density is measured by the number of similar strings of words (especially for ascertaining textual allusion), or the combination of other similarities stated above (i.e. a string of words, word order, imagery, outline, situation, and themes). For instance, to argue that the phrase "girded loins" evokes Exodus 12:11, where the Israelites are to eat the Passover with girded loins (αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι), is rather weak. The term is quite common in the OT. However, if we have a longer phrase with very similar words and order, such as the beginning of Luke 12:35 (Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι), the Passover allusion is more likely to be present.[71]

Third, it is more likely for a text to allude to foundational stories in Genesis and Exodus than to little-known verses elsewhere.[72] Thus, it is more plausible for those who read the miracles of the feeding of the 5,000 men (Matt 14:13–31 and par.) to recall the

[69] See Section 4.1.
[70] See Section 5.1.2.2.
[71] For further discussion, see Section 5.1.
[72] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 12. It is worth noting that what is foundational might not be the same among different traditions. The Adamic motif, for instance, has scarcely been used within the Jewish Scripture but it is expounded considerably in later Jewish literature (e.g. the Life of Adam and Eve). The Adamic motif is also used in some Pauline letters (e.g. Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:22, 45; 1 Tim 2:13–14). However, virtually every early Jewish and Christian tradition considered the exodus event as foundational; cf. Michael Fishbane, "The 'Exodus' Motif: The Paradigm of Historical Renewal," in *Text and Texture: Close Reading of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken, 1979), 121; John Bright, *Covenant and Promise: The Prophetic Understanding of the Future in Pre-Exilic Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 29; Eugene H. Merrill, "The Meaning and Significance of the Exodus Event," in *Reverberations of the Exodus in Scripture*, ed. R. Michael Fox (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), 1–2.

feeding of the Israelites in the desert (Exod 16) rather than the feeding of the 100 in 2 Kings 4:42–44.

Moving beyond the text, the alleged allusions should also find support from the history of interpretation. The question here is whether later interpreters also detect such allusions in the text. Support from later interpreters will increase the likelihood of an allusion. Nevertheless, a lack of support from later traditions does not negate the possibility of allusion in the text.

One final guideline to verify allusions is that the alleged allusion should enhance the meaning "in a manner congruent with a book's arguments or themes."[73] Thus, for our case, after arguing for the presence of Passover allusions, we have to show that those allusions fit into not only the narrative and argument of individual Passover-related passage but also the general narrative and theology outlook of Luke-Acts.

In some passages, the task of authenticating allusions to Passover is crucial, since the allusion in question is rather elusive, causing many scholars to deny its existence (e.g. the reference to the fourteenth night/day in the sea rescue of Paul [Acts 27]). In other passages, the presence of the theme of Passover is rather obvious. An example of this is the mention of the word πάσχα (Luke 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:4). The presence of this word is enough for us to assume that Passover is there. To verify the significance of the term within its passage, however, is a completely different matter. This would involve the task of finding which other themes the Passover is associated with, and to see whether other early Jewish texts also appropriate the similar linking.

On a slightly different but still related matter, in this study I am not only investigating allusions to Passover. There is a strong indication that, in Luke-Acts, the theme of Passover is closely tied to the theme of the passion. Hence, in this work, I will also analyse allusions to the passion of Jesus. Here the pre-text is not Exodus 12–13 but the Lukan passion story (Luke 22–23). The task to find parallels to the passion story will be most prominent in my analysis of the rescue stories of Peter and Paul in Acts.

[73] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 13.

At times, I will use the term ‘prefiguration’ or other equivalent words when discussing allusions to the passion in passages prior to the passion narrative (e.g. Passover-related passages in the infancy narrative). For Luke, the Christ event is a thing in the past, but in his narrative world, it is sometimes depicted as an event yet to happen. Whether verifying a prefiguration or an allusion, the method remains the same. Thus, in the task of verifying allusions to the passion narrative, I will follow similar guidelines to those used to authenticate allusions to Passover.

1.5 The Plan of the Present Study

I will begin my research by exploring references to the Passover in the early Jewish writings up to the first century CE (Chapter 2), using Exodus 12 as the starting point. This chapter seeks to understand how the Passover story is used and why it is used in those texts. The aim of this section is to locate Luke within the broader Jewish tradition where Passover appropriation can be detected. This sphere of interpretive tradition, in turn, will help us understand better the appropriation in Luke-Acts.

After establishing the context, the present study will move to the Lukan texts, beginning with the passion narrative (Chapter 3). The Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20), in particular, will be analysed. There are two reasons why the examination of the Lukan corpus begins with the passion narrative. First, the presence and significance of the Passover in this passage are least contested. Second, allusions to Passover are most concentrated in this passage. I will show that Luke mainly uses the Passover to explain the necessity of the passion in the story of God’s salvation. Thus, for Luke, Passover cannot be separated from the passion. This will become the basis for understanding the appropriation of Passover in other parts of Luke-Acts.

Having established the main function of the Passover, I will continue my analysis with other parts of Luke-Acts, dispersed into three chapters. In the infancy narrative (Chapter 4), two Passover-related passages will be closely examined: the birth narrative of Jesus (Luke 2:1–20) and the Passover visit of the boy Jesus (Luke 2:41–51). In the Parousia discourses (Chapter 5), two more passages will be explored: the

exhortation to “gird the loins”, that is, to be constantly ready for the Parousia (Luke 12:35–40) and the appeal not to seek when and where the Parousia takes place (Luke 17:20–37). Chapter 6 will analyse the pattern of Passover appropriation in two important rescue stories in Acts: the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12) and the sea rescue of Paul (Acts 27). In each chapter above, I will also examine possible prefiguration and allusion to the passion, to advance the argument that Luke always pairs the theme of Passover with the passion.

Finally, a concluding synthesis (Chapter 7) will be provided to bring together all the findings of the chapters and to explain the overall pattern of Passover appropriation in Luke-Acts and its significance to the Lukan narrative and theology.

2 PASSOVER IN THE EARLY JEWISH WRITINGS

In this chapter, I will examine the reception of the Passover story within the Jewish setting. The analysis will provide a plausible context for understanding the Passover allusion in Luke-Acts.

Since the purpose of this chapter is to support the study of Passover in Luke-Acts, the scope of the Jewish literature to be analysed will be limited. It is not necessary to observe every single text on the Passover.[1] I will limit my scope in two ways. First, I will focus on writings prior to and until the first century CE. This era seems to provide the most plausible background as well as suitable comparative texts to investigate Passover-related passages in Luke-Acts. For the analysis of the OT text, I will mainly examine the LXX, since the Greek OT is the Scripture that is known and used by Luke.[2]

Second, the analysis will concentrate primarily on the Passover narrative rather than the Passover regulations. Luke has more interest in the broader story of the Passover than the exact Passover regulations. Thus, passages that discuss the Passover regulations will not be examined in depth. Instead, I will focus on four types of texts:

a. The Passover celebration recorded in the biblical narrative (e.g. Exod 12–13; Jos 5:10–12; 2 Chr 30; 35:1–19; 2 Esd 6:19–22).
b. Passages that retell the Passover rescue story found in Exodus 12–13 (e.g. Josephus, *Ant*. 2.311–313; Jub. 49; Ezek. Trag. 152–192; Wis 18:6–20).
c. Passages that comment on the Passover story (e.g. Philo, *QE* 1).
d. Passages that allude to the Passover story (e.g. Jub. 17–18, Josephus, *J.W.* 2.10–13, 223–227; 4.398–409; 5.99–105; Wis 18:21–25; LAB 32:16–17). This category is especially important since it is the closest to how Luke uses the Passover theme in constructing his narrative and theology.

[1] Such study has been done by other scholars (e.g. Füglister, *Heilsbedeutung*; Segal, *Hebrew Passover*; Prosic, *Development*; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 7–114).
[2] E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.113–25; Albert Wifstrand, "Luke and the Septuagint," in *Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Era*, ed. Lars Rydbeck and Stanley E. Porter, trans. Denis Searby, WUNT 179 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 28–45.

2.1 Point of Departure: The Passover Story in Exodus 12:1–13:16

2.1.1 Sacred Time

Since Exodus 12:1–13:16 depicts the origin of Passover, it gives several explanations regarding the reason behind the ritual. In this account, the Passover is kept on the 14th of the first month.[3] No theological reason is given concerning the choosing of the 14th of the month as the time for Passover.[4] However, God instructs the Israelites to take the Passover month as the first month. In the Torah, the first month signifies a theologically invested reordering of time. The flood ends on the first day of the first month (Gen 8:13). The exodus from Egypt takes place in the first month (Exod 12:1–2). Also, the construction of the tabernacle is set up on the first day of the first month (Exod 40:2, 17). The reordering of time suggests that the exodus liberation "ushers in a new age of salvation."[5]

The importance of the Passover time as a new age of salvation is stressed in a number of instances in Exodus 12–13. It is often indicated through words such as this/that "night" (12:12, 41, 42), "day" (12:14, 17 [2x], 51; 13:3) or simply "today" (13:4). A comparison to the Red Sea account (Exod 14) shows the strong emphasis on the salvation timing in Exodus 12–13. While such temporal signals are mentioned nine times in the Passover narrative, they are only found twice in the Red Sea episode (14:13, 30).

The references to time above can be divided into two closely related groups. The first group links the day/night to God's salvific act. It is the night when God strikes the Egyptians and protects the Israelites (12:12). It is the time when God brings Israel out of Egypt (12:17a, 41–42, 51; 13:3, 4). The second group relates the time marker to Israel's obligation to remember and commemorate God's salvific act (12:14, 17b; 42; 13:3). The juxtaposition of the two types of time markers is reiterated quite often in the text.

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[3] Exodus 12 does not specifically name the first month. In the LXX, it is only identified as the month of the new things/ὁ μὴν τῶν νέων (Exod 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Deut 16:1). In the MT, it is known as the month of Abib (חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב). Later Jewish writings identify the first month as the month of Nisan (e.g. Josephus *Ant.* 1:81; 3:248; cf. Est 3:7 MT; 1 Esd 5:6; 4 Bar 5:34).

[4] Victor Hamilton, *Exodus: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011), 181.

[5] Thomas Dozeman, *Exodus*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 264.

In Exodus 12:12, God tells Moses and Aaron that he will pass through the land of Egypt "on this night" (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ) and strike down the firstborn of the Egyptians. The Israelites, however, will be protected. Thus, "the day" (ἡ ἡμέρα) will be a memorial for the people (v. 14). In Exodus 12:17, God restates the necessity to keep the ritual commandment, in this case, the Unleavened Bread. The reason is because "on this day" (ἐν ... τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ), God will bring the people out from Egypt. Therefore, the people should make "this day" (τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην) an everlasting edict throughout the generations. This juxtaposition is reiterated again in Exodus 12:41–42. Now it is the narrator who summarises the history thus far,

> [41]καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τετρακόσια τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐξῆλθεν πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις κυρίου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγυπτου νυκτός· [42]προφυλακή ἐστιν τῷ κυρίῳ ὥστε ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ αὕτη προφυλακὴ κυρίῳ ὥστε πᾶσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εἶναι εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν.[6]
>
> [41]And it happened after four hundred and thirty years that all the host of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt during the night. [42]It is a vigil for the Lord so that he might bring them out of the land of Egypt. That night is this vigil for the Lord so that it might be for all the sons of Israel throughout their generations.
>
> (Exod 12:41–42 NETS)

In verse 41, the narrator reports that all the Israelites ("the host of the Lord") go out from Egypt "at night" (νυκτός). At this point, the LXX differs slightly from the MT. In the MT, the time indicator for verse 41 is בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה (lit: "on that exact day"). The night reference is placed at the beginning of the next sentence in verse 42.[7] In the LXX, the dative νυκτός grammatically fits the previous sentence in verse 41 better. Thus, the LXX rendering has a strong emphasis on the nocturnal nature of the liberation. And the nocturnal nature of the salvation gives rise to the instruction to have a nocturnal

[6] The position of νυκτός in verse 41 follows John Wever (*Exodus*, Septuaginta: Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum II, 1 [Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991], 177; cf. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* [Scholars Press, 1990], 190; Daniel Gurtner, *Exodus: A Commentary on the Greek Text of Codex Vaticanus* [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 321). Rahlfs places it at the beginning of verse 42. The OT Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus follow the MT order but change the wording. Both use the nominative νύξ. Aquila has νὺξ παρατηρήσεων ("night of observations"), while Symmachus uses νὺξ παρατερημένη ("observed night").

[7] "That was for the LORD a night of vigil…" (לֵיל שִׁמֻּרִים הוּא לַיהוָה)

commemoration. Verse 42b states that "that night" (ἐκείνη ἡ νύξ) is a vigil to the Lord to be observed by all Israelites in all ages.[8]

Moving to verse 51, we find a final remark that summarises the significance of the Passover event. It states once again that "on that day" (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ) the Lord brings the Israelites out from Egypt. The final two Passover time markers are stated in Exodus 13:3–4. In Exodus 12, the importance of the Passover night/day is pronounced by God and the narrator. In this passage, they are stated by Moses, who instructs the people to remember "this day" (τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην) since "on this very day" (ἐν...τῇ σήμερον) they are departing from Egypt.

Overall, in Exodus 12–13, there are nine references to the Passover time marker in a variety of ways. They might seem redundant at first, but the centrality and significance of the Passover story may explain these numerous repetitions. The significance of the time indicator lies in the fact that it is the time of salvation, the dawn of a new age. That 'day', or that 'night' in particular, is the time when God saves his people and avenges the enemy. That 'day/night' is remembered not only as the time when God strikes the firstborn of the Egyptians and passes over the Israelites. That

[8] The MT uses the plural שמרים to denote the guarding/vigil. In the MT, the plural only appears twice, both in Exod 12:42:

Exod 12:42a That was for the LORD a night of vigil (לֵיל שִׁמֻּרִים הוּא לַיהוָה)

Exod 12:42b That same night is a vigil to be kept for the LORD (הוּא־הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה לַיהוָה שִׁמֻּרִים)

Exodus 12:42, and the "night of vigil" motif, in particular, seems to thrive in later traditions. In one Qumran scroll (4Q505 125), the "night of vigil" becomes the title of a Passover prayer (see Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 175–77; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 38). It has also been greatly expanded to denote God's salvific act past and future (Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 42:12; Tg. Neof. I Exod 42:12; Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 18; Exod. Rab. 18:12; see Roger Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale: essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII 42* [Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1963]).

Scholars differ in interpreting the two vigils in Exod 12:42. Some argue that verse 42a refers to God, who keeps the vigil by his salvific act to protect and liberate the people, while verse 42b refers to the people who are obliged to observe the Passover in remembrance of God's liberation (Alain Le Boulluec and P. Sandevoir, *L'Exode*, La Bible D'Alexandrie 2 [Paris: Cerf, 1989], 154; cf. William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 2 [New York: Doubleday, 1999], 416; J. I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 [Waco, Tex.: Word, 1987], 173; Dozeman, *Exodus*, 284). Others state that both parts speak about the Israelites who are called to keep the Passover. The only difference is that the first part makes reference to the first generation (i.e. those who experience the exodus liberation), whereas the second refers to the later generation (Wevers, *Notes*, 190–91; William Johnstone, *Exodus 1-19* [Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2014], 240; Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus: Volume 2 (Chapters 7:14–19:25)*, HCOT [Kampen: Kok, 1996], 204–205).

day/night is also commemorated as the beginning of Israel's exodus (cf. Deut 16:6). There will be no exodus without the decisive nocturnal salvation.

2.1.2 The Passover Ritual

It is rather safe to say that in the first Passover ritual, the animal victim is the most important element, because of the role it plays in God's salvific act. In the Passover narrative, God commands each of Israel's households to take a sheep (πρόβατον). It has to be a year old male without blemish (Exod 12:3, 5). It can be a lamb (ἀρήν) or a young goat (ἔριφος). They must slaughter it at twilight (v. 6), roast it (vv. 8–9), and burn whatever is left in the morning (v. 10). Moreover, no bones should be broken (v. 10, 46). They are to take some of the blood and put it on the doorposts and lintels of their houses (v. 7, 22). The blood shall serve as a sign (σημεῖον) on the houses. When God sees the blood, he will bypass the house and protect the people inside (v. 13, 23).

Some scholars argue that this is an apotropaic ritual: a ritual where a certain element, in this case, the blood, wards off any evil and protects the user.[9] Nahum Sarna, on the other hand, rejects this view. He concludes that what saves the Israelites is not the blood. For him, it is solely due to God's decision. The main requirement needed is faith.[10] It is true that trust is needed, and it plays an important role. The Israelites have to believe that such an act would save them, and that disobedience would result in death. Nonetheless, it is also true that the ritual contains an apotropaic element. The blood-mark, in a sense, protects the Israelites from death, although technically it is not the blood that protects Israel but the Lord who sees the blood-mark. In itself, the blood has no power to protect its user. Thus the blood functions as what the Lord indicates, a sign rather than a magical instrument.[11]

[9] E.g. Dozeman, *Exodus*, 282; Durham, *Exodus*, 154; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 54.
[10] Nahum Sarna, *Exodus=Shemot: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: JPS, 1991), 55, 57.
[11] Michael V. Fox, "Sign of the Covenant: Circumcision in the Light of the Priestly 'ôt Etiologies," *RB* 81, no. 4 (1974): 575.

Strictly speaking, the ritual killing of the Passover victim depicted in Exodus 12 is not an act of sacrifice.[12] Sacrifice generally incorporates the idea of offering the victim to the deity (e.g. Exod 8:25–29; 13:15; Lev 1–7). In Exodus 12, God instructs the Israelites to kill the Passover victim for their protection. However, the delineation is rather blurred as we come to Exodus 12:24–27, where Moses charges the people to make the Passover ritual a continuous ordinance to be observed in the future. He states that when their children ask about the meaning of the ritual, they should explain, "This Passover is a sacrifice to the Lord" (θυσία τὸ πασχα τοῦτο κυρίῳ, Exod 12:27). The MT is slightly different ("it is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD"/זֶבַח־פֶּסַח הוּא לַיהוָֹה). Nevertheless, the sacrificial tone in both versions is similar: the Passover victim is offered to the deity.[13] According to this passage, in the subsequent celebration, the purpose of the ritual killing is no longer to protect the Israelites from harm but to commemorate God's rescue on the Passover night. Thus, the Passover victim can be seen as a sacrifice to the deity.[14]

I will now turn to the second matter, the Passover meal (Exod 12:8–11). Moving the scene into the marked house, the Israelites should roast the Passover lamb before consuming it. It cannot be boiled, nor can it be eaten raw. It should be eaten with unleavened bread (ἄζυμα) and bitter herbs (πικρίς). No reason is given to explain why it should be roasted, and why it should be eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. At least, no symbolic theological meaning is attached.

The manner of eating the meal is rather specific,

[12] E.g. Dozeman, *Exodus*, 267.

[13] Similarly, Deut 16:2 "You shall slaughter the Passover sacrifice to the LORD…" (καὶ θύσεις τὸ πασχα κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου/MT: וְזָבַחְתָּ פֶּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ).

[14] Cf., J. Bergmann, H. Ringgren, and B. Lang, "זָבַח," *TDOT* 4.22; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 409. In later Jewish writings, the Passover victim is regarded as θυσία (e.g. Josephus' retelling of Exodus 12 in *Ant.* 2.311; cf. *Ant.* 11.110; Philo, *Spec.* 2.145–146; *Mos.* 2.224; ἡ τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσία, *Mos.* 2.226, 228; Wisdom 18:9 uses the verb θυσίαζω to denote the secret Passover sacrifice made by the Israelites). In other passages, the Passover is considered as offering to the Lord. In Numbers 9, some people could not celebrate the Passover on the appointed time because they are unclean. They complained to Moses, "why must we be kept from presenting the LORD's offering (τὸ δῶρον κυρίῳ/אֶת־קָרְבַּן יְהוָה) at its appointed time among the Israelites?" (Num 9:7; cf. v. 13).

> οὕτως δὲ φάγεσθε αὐτό· αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν, καὶ αἱ βακτηρίαι ἐν ταῖς κερσὶν ὑμῶν· καὶ ἔδεσθε αὐτὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς· πάσχα ἐστὶν κυρίῳ.
>
> Now in this way you shall eat it: your loins girded and your sandals on your feet and your staves in your hands. And you shall eat it with haste – it is the Lord's pascha.
>
> (Exod 12:11 NETS)

The point of the verse is that the Israelites should eat the Passover in haste. The girded loins, with sandals and staves readied, all indicate that they have to ready themselves to leave Egypt immediately.[15] That very night God will save them and they will have to go straight away. Furthermore, the hastiness is intensified by the fact that the Egyptians force them to depart quickly (καὶ κατεβιάζοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν λαὸν σπουδῇ ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, Exod 12:33). The Egyptians fear that they all will die if the Israelites remain in the land. Implicitly, the motif of haste is mentioned as the reason for eating the unleavened bread. Since the Israelites have to go immediately, in such short time, they can only bake some unleavened bread (12:39).[16] This motif of haste is also attested in a number of passages (e.g. Deut 16:3; Wis 19:2). It can be said that the motif is imprinted as part of the Passover-night rescue story.[17]

2.1.3 Passover, Unleavened Bread, and the Firstling Redemption

In Exodus 12–13, three religious rituals derive from the Passover story: the Passover ritual, the Unleavened Bread, and the Firstling redemption. Strictly speaking, the Passover in Exodus 12 is a ritual in response to the tenth plague, the death of the firstborn. It is clear from Exodus 12 that the Lord does not merely strike the people of Egypt but also executes vengeance over the gods of Egypt (v. 12), indicating the repayment of what Egypt has done to Israel. The battle for Israel's freedom would

[15] Hamilton, *Exodus*, 183; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 397; Durham, *Exodus*, 154; Houtman, *Exodus*, 182; Johnstone, *Exodus 1-19*, 228.

[16] A similar explanation is also found in Deuteronomy 16:3. However, in Deuteronomy the bread has a new description, "bread of affliction" (ἄρτος κακώσεως). Similar to Exodus 12, Deuteronomy gives no explanation regarding the reason behind the particular manner of cooking and eating the Passover lamb or the meaning behind the bitter herbs.

[17] Isaiah 52:12 depicts a future salvation that reverses the condition of the first exodus in terms of the hurriedness motif. The Isaiah text states that the Israelites will not go in tumult and in flight (ὅτι οὐ μετὰ ταραχῆς ἐξελεύσεσθε οὐδὲ φυγῇ πορεύσεσθε).

involve a cosmological clash. The Egyptians along with their gods are no match for the Lord, as is evident from the outcome.

What is not clear, however, is the presence of another character, the destroyer (ὁ ὀλεθρεύων). This character only appears in verse 23. It is the destroyer from whom the Lord protects the Israelites. In Exodus, the identity of the destroyer is unclear.[18] In later development, this entity is interpreted differently. Some leave it as it is, without any attempt to clarify its identity (e.g. Wis 18:25; Heb 11:28) while others make a clear identification (e.g. in Jubilees, it is called "Mastema"). Some take it as God's special angel with the task to destroy (cf. 2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:15; 2 Chr 32:21; Isa 37:36),[19] while others maintain that it refers to God himself (e.g. Mek. R. Shim. *Pisha* XV:I:2.A–B).[20]

The meaning of Passover is also juxtaposed with that of the second festival: the Unleavened Bread. The reason given for the festival is to commemorate how God brings Israel out of Egypt (Exod 12:17; 13:3–4). Though the two festivals are treated separately (the Passover in 12:1–13, 21–27 and the Unleavened Bread in 12:14–20 and 13:3–10), the two are tied together to form a unified feast.[21]

One other ritual that is also connected to the Passover is the redemption of the firstborn (13:1–2, 11–16). Only in Exodus 12 is the firstling ceremony associated with the Passover, especially the tenth plague. All the firstborn of the Israelites, whether human or animal, shall be consecrated to God. The firstborn of animals will be sacrificed, while the firstborn of the Israelites will be redeemed (Exod 13:14–15).

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[18] Durham, *Exodus*, 163. Durham thinks that the destroyer is the emissary of YHWH. Others argue that the presence of the 'destroyer' helps to distance YHWH from any direct act of killing or threatening (Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 409; Houtman, *Exodus*, 193–194; cf. Samuel E. Loewenstamm, *The Evolution of the Exodus Tradition*, trans. Baruch J. Schwartz [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992], 208–16). Later Christian writers equate the destroyer to the devil who is not able to harm the Christians who are protected by the cross (e.g. Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.43; Jerome, *Letter*, 130.9; John of Damascus, *Orthodox Faith*, 4.11).

[19] Johnstone, *Exodus 1-19*, 229.

[20] Reference taken from W. David Nelson, *Mekhilta de–Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai: Translated into English, with Critical Introduction and Annotation* (Philadelphia: JPS, 2006).

[21] The proximity between the two is suggested by a couple of textual facts: (1) the function of verse 14, which is both the summary of the previous passage about Passover and the introduction to the subsequent passage on the Unleavened Bread; (2) the overlapping regulation to eat unleavened bread "from the evening of the fourteenth day until the evening of the twenty-first day" (v. 18). This suggests that, in Exodus, the celebration of the Unleavened Bread begins on the Passover day.

2.2 The Story of Passover in Other OT Texts

2.2.1 The Journey to the Promised Land

Moving beyond Exodus 12, records of other Passover celebrations can be found in a number of OT texts. The first report is found in Numbers 9:1–5. It is now one year after the Passover-night rescue (v. 1). In the wilderness of Sinai, the Lord instructs the people, through Moses, to observe the Passover, and the people obey (vv. 2–5).

The next report is found in Joshua 5. The people have just crossed the river Jordan and arrived at the Promised Land (Josh 4). They are at the beginning of their conquest. But prior to the conquest, several matters need to be dealt with. The people, who are the second-generation Israel in the wilderness, are circumcised (Josh 5:1–9). God declares that on that day, through the circumcision, he takes away the disgrace of Egypt (v. 9). Afterwards, they keep the Passover on the fourteenth of the first month on the plain of Jericho (v. 10). They celebrate the Passover with the produce from the land. And on that day (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ), the manna ceases (v. 11). The ceasing of the manna symbolises the end of their long wilderness journey. Likewise, the consuming of the produce of the Promised Land symbolises the beginning of a new age. This turning point is aptly expressed through the Passover, since it symbolises the turning point from bondage to the beginning of a new age of salvation.[22] There is also a sense of continuation in terms of God's salvific act. In this passage, the Passover connects the exodus liberation with the occupation of the new land.

2.2.2 Passover in Chronicles and Esdras

After Joshua, the Passover is not recorded until the reign of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 30) and Josiah (2 Chr 35:1–19; 1 Esd 1:1–22).[23] Hezekiah's Passover is part of his

[22] Cf. L. Daniel Hawk, *Joshua*, Berit Olam (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000), 81; J. Gordon McConville and Stephen N. Williams, *Joshua*, THOTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 28.

[23] The second book of Kings mentions Josiah's Passover, though briefly (2 Kgs (= 4 Kgdms) 23:21–23). In contrast, the Chronicler greatly extends the story of Josiah's Passover. What is more, the Chronicler also mentions the Passover celebration during the time of King Hezekiah, a record that is absent from 2 Kings. As shown later, the addition of the Passover account of Hezekiah and the extension of that of Josiah indicate the Chronicler's interest in the festival.

reformation movement. His righteous reign is compared to that of David, Israel's king par excellence (2 Chr 29:2). His first step of reformation is to rededicate the Jerusalem Temple (29:3ff). He reinstitutes the temple worship and gathers the priests and the Levites. He asks them to consecrate themselves and the temple. After all these works, finally "the service in the Lord's house was restored" (30:35). After the temple consecration, the next major religious event to be held there is the Passover feast.[24]

The invitation to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem is extended to the Northern Kingdom, an attempt to reunite the people of Israel through the festivity (30:1). The invitation does not stress the feast. Rather it is a plea for the people to return to the Lord, the covenant God (30:6). The stress on repentance is clear from the numerous calls to return (30:6; twice in 30:9). It is believed that their devastation is due to their own unfaithfulness.

The prelude of Josiah's Passover is quite similar to that of Hezekiah. Like Hezekiah, his righteous reign is also compared to that of David (2 Chr 34:2). Josiah's restoration begins with the discovery of the book of the law in the temple of the Lord (34:15). Upon hearing the content of the law, the king repents and humbles himself. According to the law, God would bring disaster to the people of Israel for forsaking God (34:19–21). Thus, he gathers all the leaders to the temple, and they all rededicate themselves to follow the Lord according to his covenant (34:29–33). Like Hezekiah, he also commands the priests and the Levites to do their part according to their office.

After the recommitment to the covenant, Josiah initiates the Passover celebration (2 Chr 35:1). No celebration such as this has ever been carried out since the time of Samuel (35:18). It is worth noting that the first book of Esdras begins with Josiah's

[24] Hezekiah's Passover is held on the second month, instead of the usual first month. Two reasons are given for the change (2 Chr 30:2–3): (a) not all the priests have sanctified themselves, hence they are not eligible to conduct the ritual; (b) the people have not assembled to Jerusalem yet. The only other biblical passage that depicts a second-month Passover is Numbers 9:9–13. There, God gives the Passover law for those who are unclean due to their contact with a corpse and for those who are away on journey. Japhet has denied any possible connection between both of these, citing the different reasoning behind each delay (Sarah Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, OTL [London: SCM, 1993], 939–40). She also notes that the regulation in Numbers 9 deals with individuals, while 2 Chronicles 30 deals with a mass of people. The only connection is "the possibility *in principle* of postponing the Passover ceremony" (ibid., 940, italics original).

initiation of the Passover (1 Esd 1:1). Could it be an indication of the Passover's prominence as a sign of the hope of restoration and return from exile? This reading seems plausible.

The two Passover accounts above show how the Chronicler associates the festival with the restoration of Israel. In Hezekiah's account, it is linked to the reinstitution of the temple and its cultic worship. It is also related to the call to return to YHWH. In Josiah's account, it is related to the recommitment of the people to the covenant and the Torah.

The important role of the Passover in Chronicles has been noted by many. De Vries, for instance, argues that the feast is part of the festival schema which frames the narrative and theology of the book. Regarding Hezekiah and Josiah, he concludes, "by telling of two successive Passovers, the Chronicler shows his postexilic contemporaries that this is the premier sacral time, and the temple the premier holy place."[25]

The next Passover account is found in 2 Esdras (=Ezra) 6:19–22 (cf. 1 Esd 7:10–15). Association between temple dedication and Passover celebration can also be found in this text (2 Esd 6:1–18). There, the remnant community is granted permission to return to Jerusalem and to build the temple of the Lord. They finish the building on the month of Adar, the twelfth month. Next, they dedicate the temple and reinstitute the priests and the Levites for the temple service. They also sacrifice a sin offering for the people of Israel.

Afterwards, they celebrate the Passover. This account has the common Passover elements: the celebration on the fourteenth of the first month, the slaying of the Passover lamb, and the seven-day follow-up of the Unleavened Bread festival. It is also similar to the Passover depiction in 2 Chronicles 30 and 35, where the priests and the Levites are involved. They purify themselves beforehand and then conduct the ritual. They celebrate joyfully, not only because of the past liberation but also because of what God has done in their present situation. The Lord causes them to be joyful, and he has

[25] Simon J. De Vries, "Festival Ideology in Chronicles," in *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim*, ed. Henry T. C. Sun, et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997)), 104.

turned the heart of the Assyrian king to support the building of the Temple (2 Esd 6:22). Here we find another example of the past salvific act being linked to the present.

Joseph Blenkinsopp has pointed out that, from Ezra's point of view, the Passover celebration, together with the temple dedication before it, is one of the major turning points in the history of the people.[26] It epitomises the pinnacle of their religious renewal and marks the end of the exile.[27] In this passage, Passover becomes the marker of a new beginning. Yet, this is not the only passage that associates the Passover with pivotal moments in Israel's history. We have seen the association in the Passover account of Hezekiah and Josiah,[28] and even Joshua. Hence, it is possible to argue that some biblical writers appropriate the story of the Passover celebration to demarcate crucial stages in Israel's salvation history.[29]

The last remark bears no small implication for our investigation of the Lukan text. Is it possible that Luke also employs the Passover to mark his version of salvation history? If we recall from Chapter 1, Luke uses the term πάσχα as time markers in Jesus' first Passover visit to Jerusalem (Luke 2:41), the beginning of the passion (Luke 22:1, 7) and the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12:3–4). There is little doubt that the passion is pivotal to Luke's narrative and theology. But what about the other two passages? Curiously enough, the pericope of Jesus' first Passover visit marks the end of the broader infancy narrative section (Luke 1–2). Likewise, the prison rescue of Peter in Acts 12 seems to demarcate the end of Peter's role as the main character (Acts 1–12) before Paul takes over.

2.2.3 The Eschatological Passover in Jeremiah 38:8 LXX

It is worth noting a passage found in Jeremiah 38:8 LXX, since it provides an interesting depiction of a future Passover. The Greek text of the passage reads:

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[26] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 132.
[27] Ibid, 132; Prosic, *Development*, 79.
[28] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 132.
[29] Cf. Prosic, *Development*, 79.

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἄγω αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ συνάξω αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς ἐν ἑορτῇ φασεκ· καὶ τεκνοποιήσῃ ὄχλον πολύν καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν ὧδε.

Behold, I am bringing them from the north, and I will gather them from the farthest part of the earth at the feast of phasek, and you will breed a large crowd, and they shall return here.

(Jer 38:8 NETS)

The correspondent MT text is found in Jeremiah 31:8

הִנְנִי מֵבִיא אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ צָפוֹן וְקִבַּצְתִּים מִיַּרְכְּתֵי־אָרֶץ בָּם עִוֵּר וּפִסֵּחַ הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת יַחְדָּו קָהָל גָּדוֹל יָשׁוּבוּ הֵנָּה

See, I am going to bring them from the land of the north, and gather them from the farthest parts of the earth, among them the blind and the lame, those with child and those in labor, together; a great company, they shall return here.

(Jer 31:8)

Textually, the MT has בם עור ופסה. Many hold the position that the LXX derives its mistranslation from במועד הפסה.[30] At least one scholar suspects that it was a deliberate reworking of the phrase due to late orthodox editing.[31] It is also possible that the LXX derives the text from a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. To complicate the problem, the second part of the LXX text also shows a different variant. The LXX has καὶ τεκνοποιήσῃ ὄχλον πολύν ("and you will breed a large crowd"), while the MT version has הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת יַחְדָּו קָהָל גָּדוֹל (lit: "one who is pregnant and one who is in labour, together; a great company").[32] In the MT, those with child and in labour are in the same category as the blind and the lame. The LXX therefore, seems to give a grander depiction. It is difficult, and not our main goal, to decipher the origin of the LXX text. Our point of departure should be what is written in the text itself: a reference to the eschatological Passover.

[30] See the critical apparatus in BHS; William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah: Chapters 26-52*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 790; Georg A. Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 407; Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 21b (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 424.

[31] Douglas R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 388. He cites 31:14 (LXX: 38:14) as another example of such editing. There the LXX adds "υἱῶν Λευι" to clarify and specify the correct identity of the priest.

[32] In the LXX reading, הָרָה and יַחְדָּו are omitted, וְיֹלֶדֶת is read as וְיֹלֶדְתְּ (2fs). It is not clear whether ὄχλον πολύν is translated from the MT phrase קָהָל גָּדוֹל or from a different phrase altogether.

Textual debate aside, the LXX passage creates a unique contribution to the Passover tradition. Two implications are most inviting from the passage. First, the passage speaks explicitly about an eschatological Passover, a topic that is very rare in the Old Testament.[33] Second, the passage ties closely the future Passover with God's final restoration and salvation. God will restore and liberate his people at the time of Passover.[34] Through the LXX reading, we have, for the first time, a text that ties the timing of future salvation with the Passover celebration.

2.3 Jubilees

Jubilees is generally dated to about 160–150 BCE.[35] It is a selective retelling of Genesis and the first part of Exodus. The book assigns the origin of the many Jewish festivals to the time of Israel's patriarchs and the primeval narrative.[36] In the case of Passover, its earthly origin is found in the Akedah narrative (Jub. 17:15–18:19).

In Jubilees, the Akedah story begins with heavenly beings speaking about the faithfulness of Abraham. But along comes Prince Mastema, accusing the patriarch that he loves Isaac more than he loves anything else. He challenges God to test Abraham, to see whether the patriarch is truly faithful to God.[37] Then the storyline follows Genesis 22. Abraham is tested yet he proves himself faithful. In the end, Mastema is put to shame (Jub. 18:12).

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[33] In the OT, there are a number of texts that allude to the Passover story, as they depict the future salvation (e.g. Isa 26:20; 30:29; 31:5), yet they never explicitly mention the Passover celebration or the timing of Passover. The only other mention of a future Passover is Ezekiel 45:21–24. Even here, the focus is on the proper observation of the Passover (i.e. the Passover regulation).

[34] Taking ἐν as a temporal reference (cf. Walser, *Jeremiah*, 408).

[35] James C VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 21. Differing opinions regarding the composition of the book also affect and complicate the dating. For further discussion, see Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology, and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35–40, 319–22.

[36] Halpern-Amaru, "Pesah and Massot," 309.

[37] The story line is not unlike the heavenly court story in Job 1:6–12, prompting some to see Job as the intermediary text used in Jubilees (e.g. James Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, JSJSup 156 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 108). For further discussion on this motif, see J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "Abraham, Job and the Book of Jubilees: The Intertextual Relationship of Genesis 22:1–19, Job 1–2:13, and Jubilees 17:15–18:19," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and Its Interpretation*, ed. Edward Noort and Eibert J. C Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 58–85. Van Ruiten's himself denies Job 1 as the intermediary text for Jubilees. Instead, both happen to share a comparable theme, though from different older sources.

Segal argues that several elements in the Akedah story allude to the Passover.[38] First is the element of time. He argues that the sacrifice of Isaac happens on the fourteenth, the exact time when the Passover animal is slaughtered.[39] The exact dating itself is debated, since Jubilees does not state the date explicitly: it is scholars who try to pin down the date to either the fourteenth or the fifteenth.[40] Second, Isaac is addressed as Abraham's "firstborn son" (Jub. 18:11, 15). In the biblical text, Isaac is called Abraham's "only son" (Gen 22:12, 16). Jubilees' choice of words is another possible allusion to the Passover story, since Israel is called God's firstborn (Exod 4:22). During the first Passover, all the firstborn, including Israelite's firstborn, are in grave danger (Exod 11:5; 12:12), a condition that is similarly faced by Isaac. Third, a ram is sacrificed in place of Isaac. In the Passover event, it is the paschal lamb which is slaughtered. In the Akedah story, the life of Isaac as "firstborn" son is threatened by Mastema. Even so, he is saved, and a ram is sacrificed in his place. In Jubilees' Passover narrative, the lives of Israel's firstborn are also threatened by Mastema (Jub. 19:2–3). Despite that, they are saved. In their place, Passover lambs are slaughtered (Jub. 19:3). Finally, the place of the sacrifice is identified as Mount Zion (Jub. 18:13), a reference to Jerusalem. Following the regulation in Deuteronomy, the Passover is to be slaughtered at the place appointed by God, that is, the temple of Jerusalem (Deut 16:2, 5–6). Segal is correct to conclude that the Akedah story in Jubilees "should therefore be viewed as a foreshadowing of the pentateuchal Passover laws."[41]

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[38] Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 191–98.

[39] Ibid., 191–93; Halpern-Amaru, "Pesah and Massot," 310.

[40] We know that the heavenly discourse happens on the twelfth (Jub. 17:15). It is generally assumed that God makes known the test to Abraham on the same day. After the command, Abraham gets up early in the morning and arrives at the appointed place on the third day (18:3). Here lies the problem: Does "the morning" refer to the same day (twelfth) or the day after (thirteenth)? The former will put the sacrifice on the fourteenth, the latter on the fifteenth. Segal argues for the former. But to fit the chronology, we must assume that the heavenly discourse and God's command to Abraham take place at the preceding night, providing that the day begins at nightfall (cf. Jub. 49:1). Kugel, on the other hand, prefers the fifteenth, but with a different reasoning. The author of Jubilees is fond of significant days, and the significant days for the author are the first and the fifteenth (Kugel, *Walk through Jubilees*, 107).

[41] Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 198. Clement Leonhard, on the other hand rejects the Passover association with the Akedah. For him, the whole Akedah story only alludes to the feast of Unleavened Bread as described in 18:17–19 (see Leonhard, *Jewish Pesach*, 234–235). In Jubilees, Passover is not the only festival being linked to the Akedah story. The feast of Unleavened Bread also has its origin from the Akedah (Jub. 18:17–19). Though it is only identified as "the festival of the Lord", the reference to the feast of Unleavened Bread is clear. Abraham celebrates it for seven days, in concurrence with his seven-day

We will now proceed to the Passover passage (Jub. 49). The backbone material for Jubilees 49 is Exodus 12, with additional information from other parts of the Pentateuch.[42] The main concern in this passage is the precise observation of the Passover regulation. The people must celebrate the Passover at the exact timing (49:1, 7, 10–12, 14, 15; cf. the Unleavened Bread in 49:22). Such strict Passover law also regulates the manner of sacrificing the Passover (49:3, 12–14), the people who are qualified to join (49:17) and the only place to celebrate it, that is, in the Lord's sanctuary (49:16, 18). Failure to comply accordingly will result in severe punishment (49:9).

Aside from the Passover instruction, there are still some narrative recollections of the Passover in Egypt. These appear mainly in Jubilees 49:1–6. It describes how the Israelites who celebrate the Passover are protected, while the firstborn of Egypt are killed. The time marker ("For on this night," Jub. 49:2) is important. By emphasizing the night, Jubilees regards the night as the beginning of God's salvation, a position that is similar to Exodus 12. Furthermore, it shows that this very night is the beginning of both the Passover festival and joy. For Jubilees, the Passover night is a decisive turning point that changes the fate of the Israelites forever.

Jubilees, however, introduces a new character called Mastema.[43] Mastema is the leader of the spirits who has been granted authority over a number of spirits (Jub. 10:7–9). A few verses later, Mastema is also called "Satan" (Jub. 10:11). In the Passover story, it is "the forces of Mastema" who are sent to kill the firstborn of Egypt (Jub. 49:2). The same forces also threaten the lives of the Israelites (Jub. 49:3).

The exact role of Mastema and his relation to God are quite ambiguous. When Moses tries to release Israel, the prince, Mastema, is the one who counters him by helping the Egyptian sorcerers (Jub. 48:9). But for five days, from the fourteenth to the

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journey in the Akedah story. Later the people of Israel must also celebrate this seven-day feast. By associating the feast of Unleavened Bread with the Akedah story, the author tries to show that, from the beginning, Unleavened Bread is always celebrated in tandem with the Passover.

[42] Halpern-Amaru, "Pesah and Massot," 311–313; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 83–84.

[43] The entity is originally called "prince of enmity" (שר המשטמה) which later becomes Mastema. Mastema originally means "enmity" (see Shemaryahu Talmon, "Hebrew Written Fragments From Masada," *DSD* 3, no. 2 (1996): 172; cf. Jan Dochhorn, "Der Sturz des Teufels in der Urzeit: eine traditionsgeschichtliche Skizze zu einem Motiv frühjüdischer und frühchristlicher Theologie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Luzifermythos," *ZTK* 109, no. 1 (2012): 10–11).

eighteenth, he is bound, unable to accuse the Israelites (48:15). Another reason for his bondage is so that the Israelites can plunder the Egyptians without any impediment (48:18). He will later be released on the nineteenth to provoke the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites (48:16). However, when God punishes the Egyptians with the plague of death, it is "the forces of Mastema" that are sent to kill the Egyptian firstborn, and it is the Mastema whom the Israelites are protected from (49:2–3). Yet the forces of Mastema are also called "the Lord's forces" (Jub. 49:4).

This depiction of Mastema has its own problem. If Mastema is waging war against Moses and the Israelites, why would he strike the Egyptians? If Mastema is bound on the fourteenth, why is he at the same time sent to kill the firstborn? Segal suggests that the ambiguous role of Mastema is due to its function in Jubilees. In short, Mastema is there to distance God from evil actions.[44]

While this might not sort out all the inconsistencies, one thing is clear: there is another character in the exodus drama. In Jubilees, Mastema becomes the antagonist, the leader of the evil spirits. He seeks to ruin and bring failure to God's chosen people. Nevertheless, his action and power are restricted and controlled by God.[45]

I will now turn to the depiction and function of the blood ritual. The main passage for the blood ritual is Jubilees 49:3–4.

> This is [the sign][46] which the Lord gave them: into each house on whose door they saw the blood of a year-old lamb, they were not to enter that house to kill but were to pass over (it) in order to save all who were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its door. The Lord's forces did everything that the Lord ordered them. They passed over all the Israelites. The plague did not come on them to destroy any of them – from cattle to mankind to dogs.
>
> (Jub. 49:3–4)

[44] Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 224-27.

[45] Some have argued that Mastema is not quite an evil entity (e.g. Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* [Atlanta: SBL, 2012], 77–82). Sometimes he is depicted more as God's agent, who replaces God in doing things which are unfitting for the holy God. Nevertheless, the fact that he has the desire to stand against Moses and the Israelites is still valid. When Mastema stands against Moses in Egypt, there is no indication that he is ordered by God to do so (Jub. 48:9). This is also the case when he is bound for a certain time so that he will not be able to accuse the Israelites (48:15).

[46] VanderKam omits this phrase, noting that it is absent from older manuscripts. He suggests that the word is an explanatory addition, influenced by the similar term found at the end of the verse (VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 315). Others who take in the phrase include the edition by R. H. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees* [London:SCPK, 1917], 253), Wintermute ("Jubilees", 140), and Segal (*Book of Jubilees*, 224).

Similar to Exodus 12, in Jubilees 49 the blood functions primarily as a sign and not as a magical charm. The blood only protects the people indirectly. God is the one who saves and protects them from the forces of Mastema. The forces pass over the Israelites not only because of the blood but also because God orders them to do so. Some have suggested that Jubilees continues to advocate the apotropaic character of the Passover.[47] They state that this understanding is shown in 49:15,

> Now you order the Israelites to celebrate the Passover each year during their times, once a year on its specific day. Then a pleasing memorial will come before the Lord and no plague will come upon them to kill and to strike (them) during that year when they have celebrated the Passover at its time in every respect as it was commanded.
>
> (Jub. 49:15)

Those scholars conclude that, just as the blood protects the Israelites from the plague of death, a proper Passover celebration will help the later generation to ward off plagues. However, such a conclusion should be taken cautiously. It is not that the Passover ritual will ward off evil and plague, a function that is similar to other ancient magic or ritual. On the contrary, proper observance will ensure protection and blessing from the covenant God (cf. Jub. 1:10). Failure to do so will result in God's punishment, hence the plague. It is better to read verse 15 in the context of covenantal language. The blood is indeed apotropaic in function, but within the realm of God's covenant with his people.

The next section describes the Passover legislation (Jub. 49:7–21). There are two main emphases in Jubilees' Passover law: the timing and the location of the Passover ritual.[48] The focus on the proper Passover timing is evident from the widespread temporal indications throughout this passage. Already in the opening verse, Moses is reminded to "celebrate it [Passover] at its time on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may sacrifice it before evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset," (Jub 49:1; cf. vv. 7, 15). Jubilees' general timeframe is in line with the legal passages in the Pentateuch. However, Jubilees also

[47] Segal, *Hebrew Passover*, 233; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 108; Leonhard, *Jewish Pesach*, 29.
[48] VanderKam, "Exegesis of Pentateuchal Legislation in Jubilees and Related Texts Found at Qumran," in *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. Akio Moriya and Gohei Hata, JSJSup 158 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 191–92.

seeks to clarify some ambiguous timing. So sacred is the precise timing that those who fail to celebrate Passover at the appointed time sin against God and should be "uprooted" (v. 9).

Another legal concern in Jubilees is the location of the ritual. Following the cue from Deuteronomy 16, the people can only celebrate the Passover within the vicinity of the Lord's sanctuary, that is, the temple of Jerusalem (Jub. 49:16–17, 18–21).[49] The people should only kill the Passover victim there, and eat it in the temple courtyard. Passover observation outside the temple precinct is strictly prohibited.

In Jubilees, the Passover ritual follows and expands on the biblical description and laws. God commands the Israelites to slaughter a year-old lamb. They should roast it on fire; "boil" it on fire, the whole of it. Whatever is left in the morning should be burned. They should break no bone. Two reasons are given for the last command: (a) because no Israelites' bones will be broken and (b) because it is a festal day. For the meal, they are to eat the Passover lamb with wine (49:6). This is the first mention of wine as a part of the Passover meal. However, there is no mention of bitter herbs or unleavened bread to be eaten with the paschal lamb. The Passover participants are limited to males of 20 years old or above (v. 17). No age or gender regulations are mentioned in the Pentateuch.[50]

The last section of the Passover passage discusses the law of Unleavened Bread (49:22–23). Similar to the Passover, the Israelites are called to celebrate Unleavened Bread accordingly. They should celebrate it for seven days, bringing sacrifice on each of the days. In Jubilees, the seven days correspond to the duration of Israel's escape from Egypt to the crossing of the Red Sea. They should also celebrate it in a joyful manner. These journey and joy motifs hark back to the Akedah story, where it takes Abraham seven days to go and return from the test. Hence Abraham celebrates the seven-day festival "joyfully" (Jub. 18:17–19). This theme of 'seven days of festive joy' can also be found in the Passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr 30:21–23) and the remnant community (Ezra

[49] Before the temple is established, they are to celebrate Passover at the Lord's tabernacle (49:18, 21).
[50] However, similar legislation is found in the Temple Scroll 17.8.

6:22).[51] The author of Jubilees contrasts the joyous seven-day celebration with the first celebration in Egypt where the people celebrate it "hastily" (Jub. 49:23).

2.4 Ezekiel the Tragedian (*Exagoge*)

Exagoge is "a tragic drama from the hellenistic period which recounts the story of the exodus from Egypt."[52] The author is known as Ezekiel, the poet of Jewish tragedies. The drama is dated to the second century BCE, written most likely in Alexandria.[53] As a tragic drama, the work is written in dense metrical sentences.[54] Ezekiel's primary source for the exodus story is Exodus 1–15, with Moses as the main character. The relevant text for our study is found in lines 153–192. This is where the writer recounts the Passover law and the rescue story from Exodus 12. The Passover story in *Exagoge* appears after a reference to all the plagues (Ezek. Trag. 132–151). Most scholars now divide the passage into two parts. The first part (153–174) depicts God's speech to Moses while the second part (175–192) is Moses' speech to the Israelites.[55]

	God's speech	Moses' speech
"This month…" as the time of liberation	153–155	190–192
The ritual killing and the daubing of the blood	156–158	175–179, 185–186
Dreadful messenger/death	159	187
Eating the Passover in haste, driven out	160–161	180–184

[51] The term יום שׂמחתכם ("day of your joy") appears in Num 10:10, but it refers to the appointed festivals and the new moon festivals. It is likely that Jubilees derives the phrase from both 2 Chr 30:21–23 and Ezra 6:22 (Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Joy as Piety in the 'Book of Jubilees,'" *JJS* 56, no. 2 [2005]: 191). It is unclear why the festive joy is mainly related to the seven days of Unleavened Bread. In the biblical account, Passover is never related to the motif of joy. Jubilees, on the contrary, describes the Egyptian Passover as "the beginning of joy" (49:2). Following Halpern-Amaru and others, joy in the context of Jewish worship and festivals does not refer to a vague, subjective feeling. Rather, it is "a set of discrete behaviours' generally associated with sacrifice and festive consumption of sacrificial food," (ibid., 186).

[52] R. G. Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," *OTP*, 2.803.

[53] Ibid., 804; Howard Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 13; Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 4 vols. (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1983–1996), 2.311–313.

[54] He is using iambic trimeter, a common meter used in Greek tragic drama (Holladay, *Fragments*, 2.301; Robertson, "Ezekiel," 803).

[55] Robertson, "Ezekiel," 815; Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 122–24; Holladay, *Fragments*, 485–87. In general, these two sections follow the similar two Passover legislation sections in Exodus: God's command to Moses (Exod 12:1–20) and Moses' command to the people (Exod 12:21–27). Ezekiel however does not follow his source strictly, as evident by a number of allusions to Exodus 13 in the first section. He seems to rearrange the content of each section freely.

by the king		
The gifts of the Egyptians as payment	162–166	-
Celebrating the Unleavened Bread	167–171	188–189
Firstling Consecration	172–174	-

The content of the two speeches might indicate the Passover elements that Ezekiel deems essential in his retelling. The first Passover element mentioned is the time marker. Ezekiel places the time marker at the beginning of the first speech and the end of the second speech, thus forming an *inclusio* (Ezek. Trag. 153–154; 190–192):

> Ὁ μεὶς ὅδ' ὑμῖν πρῶτος ἐνιαυτῶν πέλει·
> ἐν τῷδ' ἀπάξω λαὸν εἰς ἄλλην χθόνα,
>
> This month will become the first of the year for you;
> in this month I will lead the people to another land,
> (Ezek. Trag. 153–154)

> κακῶν γάρ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγήσεται,
> καὶ τοῦδε μηνὸς ἔξοδον διδοῖ θεός·
> ἀρχὴ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ χρόνων οὗτος πέλει.
>
> For they will be set free from these evils,
> and in this month God will provide their Exodus.
> This marks the beginning of their months and seasons.[56]
> (Ezek. Trag. 190–192)

God's speech begins with the reckoning of the time (Ezek. Trag. 152–153: cf. Exod 12:2). That month will become the first month of the year for the people (Ezek. Trag. 153, 192). For on that month, God would bring the people out to the Promised Land (Ezek. Trag. 154). On that month, he will provide the exodus (Ezek. Trag. 191). The *inclusio* indicates a strong emphasis, not simply for the time marker, but for what the time signifies. It primarily signifies God's salvific act.

The next element is the slaughter and the daubing of the blood (Ezek. Trag. 156–158, 175–179, 185–186), which is closely related to the threat of the deadly angel or, simply, death (Ezek. Trag. 159, 187). Ezekiel seems to emphasise the significance of the Passover blood. Israel is to smear the door with blood "so the deadly angel might pass over the sign" (ὅπως παρέλθῃ σῆμα δεινὸς ἄγγελος, Ezek. Trag. 159). While the tradition

[56] The Greek text and its translation are taken from Holladay, *Fragments*.

of the destroying angel can be found in the biblical text (cf. 2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:15; 2 Chr 32:21; Isa 37:36), this is the first time the destroyer in Exodus 12:23 LXX is identified explicitly as an angel.

In *Exagoge*, the blood is regarded as a sign (cf. Exod 12:13). It seems that the apotropaic function of the blood is always connected to the blood functioning as a sign. In other words, in itself, the blood has no magical power to ward off death.[57] Some suggest that Ezekiel still considers the blood ritual, together with the manner of eating in haste, necessary for the Passover of the later generations.[58] But this is not clear from the text. Ezekiel is primarily depicting the exodus as a historical event. Thus, the Passover described should also be treated likewise. Even if he hints that the Passover should be celebrated by later generations, it is unclear which details should be followed. It suffices to say that Ezekiel's main purpose is not to present a proper Passover regulation.

After the story of the death threat, Ezekiel moves to the Passover meal (Ezek. Trag. 160–161, 180–184). In the first speech, Ezekiel writes that the Israelites have to eat the Passover meal at night (160). In the second speech, they have to do it with girded loins, shoes on their feet, and staves on their hands (180–182). In both speeches, Ezekiel mentions that Pharaoh will cast them out from Egypt "in haste" ([ἐν] σπουδῇ, Ezek. Trag. 161, 183).

According to the Exodus account, the Egyptians give whatever the people want because God has granted them favour (Exod 12:35–36). While Ezekiel also incorporates this section, he adds an important note. The Israelites are not plundering the Egyptians. Rather, what they receive is a payment for what they have suffered in Egypt. In other words, it is to compensate their hardship during slavery (Ezek. Trag. 166). This is important since the plundering motif might have caused anti-semitic sentiments toward the Jews living in Alexandria. Thus, the compensation motif serves as an apologia on behalf of the Jews.[59]

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[57] See the discussion on Jubilees in Section 2.3.
[58] Segal, *Hebrew Passover*, 25; see also Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 81–83.
[59] Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 127.

Afterward, Ezekiel mentions the Unleavened Bread festival. It is depicted as the "seven days unleavened" (ἕπθ' ἡμέρας ἄζυμα, Ezek. Trag. 189). Ezekiel adds some non-biblical material to the depiction of the festival. The feast is held for seven days since it takes seven days for the Israelites to travel from Egypt (Ezek. Trag. 168–169). As mentioned before, the seven-day journey can also be found in Jubilees, both in the narrative of the Akedah (Jub. 18:17–19) and the Passover (Jub. 49:22–23). By rooting the seven-day period in the exodus journey, the link between the feast and the exodus event is amplified. It answers the question of why they should celebrate it for seven days. Above all, the people should keep the Unleavened Bread "for they will be set free from these evils" (Ezek. Trag. 190).[60]

Closely related to the feast is the redemption of the firstborn (Ezek. Trag. 172–174). Since it is placed after the Unleavened Bread, Schlund believes that it is part of the feast. If this is true, then this inclusion can be found in no other text.[61] Another possible explanation is that Ezekiel is just following the outline found in Exodus 13, where the regulation regarding the Unleavened Bread (vv. 6–10) is followed immediately by the command to set apart the firstborn to God (11–15).[62]

2.5 The Wisdom of Solomon

Wisdom of Solomon is a hellenistic Jewish writing, most likely written in Alexandria, any time between 30 BCE and 40 CE.[63] The most relevant text for our study is Wisdom

[60] Jacobson argues that this phrase should be connected to the prohibition on eating leavened bread rather than the celebration of the feast in general. The reason is that leaven is commonly used in the early Jewish and Christian context as a symbol of evil or impurity. Hence, just as God frees them from evils, they should also avoid eating the symbol of evil, as a sign of their deliverance (ibid., 128–129). Schlund has questioned this interpretation, especially in light of the usage in the New Testament (*Kein Knochen,* 82).

[61] Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 81.

[62] This interpretation has its own problem though. Since Ezek. Trag. 152–174 is the part where God speaks to Moses (par. Exodus 12:1–20), the allusion to Exodus 13:6–15 seems to be out of place. This can only work if we assume that Ezekiel is quite free in arranging his material into his rather dense metrical text.

[63] See the different positions and discussions in Randall D. Chesnutt, "Solomon, Wisdom of," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 1243; Hans Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons*, Das Alte Testament Deutsch: Apokryphen 4 (Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 15–19; Lester L. Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 87–91; Samuel Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation*, JSPSup 23 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 145–149; David

18:5–25. Within the literary context, the passage is part the book's last section which extends from Chapter 11 to 19. Here the author tells the foundational story of Israel's exodus from Egypt, using seven antitheses to contrast the destruction of Egypt and the rescue of Israel.[64]

	Egyptians	**Israelites**
(1) 11:1–14	Nile changed into blood	Water from the rock
(2) 16:1–4	Swarms of beasts	Swarms of quails
(3) 16:5–14	Locust and flies	Healed from serpents
(4) 16:15–29	Rain of hail	Rain of manna
(5) 17:2–18:4	Darkness	Pillar of fire
(6) 18:5–25	Death of the firstborn	Israel's life preserved
(7) 19:1–13	Drowned in the Red Sea	Passes through safely

In the sixth antithesis, the author depicts the death of the Egyptian firstborn in contrast to the protection of the Israelites (Wis. 18:5–25). The author begins by stating how the Egyptians kill the infants of the Israelites (cf. Exod 1:22) and how one child, Moses, is rescued from the infanticide. In retribution, God takes the lives of Egyptian firstborn and, later, the lives of the Egyptians themselves, by flood (Wis 18:5). The author then describes the Passover-night rescue,

> ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ προεγνώσθη πατράσιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς εἰδότες οἷς ἐπίστευσαν ὅρκοις ἐπευθυμήσωσιν. προσεδέχθη ὑπὸ λαοῦ σου σωτηρία μὲν δικαίων, ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἀπώλεια· ᾧ γὰρ ἐτιμωρήσω τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, τούτῳ ἡμᾶς προσκαλεσάμενος ἐδόξασας.
>
> That night was made known beforehand to our ancestors, so that they might rejoice in sure knowledge of the oaths in which they trusted. The deliverance of the righteous and the destruction of their enemies were expected by your people. For by the same means by which you punished our enemies you called us to yourself and glorified us.
>
> (Wis 18:6–8)

"That night" refers to the time when God strikes the Egyptian firstborn (cf. Wis 18:10–19). The phrase itself, *ἐκείνη ἡ νύξ*, is also found in Exodus 12:42b. For the author of Wisdom, the Passover rescue story is known as the 'nocturnal liberation'. For him, the night is well known not merely because of the plague of death. The significance is far greater. First, it signifies the deliverance of Israel and the destruction of her enemy (Wis

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Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 43 (New York: Doubleday, 1979), 20–25.

[64] Grabbe, *Wisdom*, 21; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 8; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 11–12.

18:7). Second, 'that night' is also credited as being the time when God calls and lifts up Israel to be his people (Wis 18:8). That night is the beginning of Israel as a nation under God's rule. Third, the night of deliverance has also been made known to the patriarchs (προεγνώσθη πατράσιν ἡμῶν).[65] Since God has promised the deliverance, the patriarchs respond with joy, for they believe that God's promise will certainly be realised (Wis 18:6).

It is worth noting that, in Wisdom 18:8, the author uses the first person plural. It is no longer just about Israelites in the past. God punishes their enemies, and yet, in the same manner, he "glorified us" (ἡμᾶς ... ἐδόξασας).[66] The calling and glorification of Israel are not things of the distant past. The Passover night is seen as the beginning of Israel's life as the people of God.[67] Thus, the author uses the first person plural to intertwine the past and the present. It appears that the present Jews in Alexandria share a similar identity and fate to those in the past. As such, the God who liberated the Israelites in the past is the same God who will save his people in the present. This didactic point is shown in the conclusion of the book,

> κατὰ πάντα γάρ κύριε ἐμεγάλυνας τὸν λαόν σου
> καὶ ἐδόξασας καὶ οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ παριστάμενος
>
> For in everything, O Lord, you have exalted and glorified your people,
> and you have not neglected to help them at all times and in all places
>
> (Wis 19:22)

In short, the author of Wisdom recalls the story of the Passover-night rescue, along with other parts of the exodus story, to strengthen the faith of the Jews in Alexandria against the temptation or oppression of the gentiles.[68]

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[65] The mention of the patriarchs (plural) is rather ambiguous. Cheon argues that it refers only to Abraham. The plural is but a generalization of individual, one of Wisdom's interpretive techniques (*Exodus Story*, 83, 113). Hence, it is a reference to God's statement about the future fate of Israel in Genesis 15:13–14 (ibid., 82; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 315). Hübner, however, argues that it also refers to Jacob since God also speaks about Israel's future fate in Egypt in Genesis 46:3–4 (*Weisheit*, 213).

[66] The same manner here most likely refers to the firstling redemption (Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 315). While the firstborn of Egypt are killed, the firstborn of Israel are redeemed (cf. Exod 13:1–2, 11–16).

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 63–64; Grabbe, *Wisdom*, 93; Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 147.

Wisdom does not use the term πάσχα or equivalent. The closest one can get is the implicit mention of Passover sacrifice (Wis 18:9).[69] Wisdom notes that the people "offer sacrifice in secret" (κρυφῇ ... ἐθυσίαζον), and only the close community of Israel has access to both the ritual and its consequence (i.e. protection and deliverance).[70]

As shown above, the author of Wisdom uses antithesis to contrast the Egyptians and the Israelites. The antithetical parallel to the death of the Egyptian firstborn (Wis 18:10–19) is the preservation of Israelite lives (Wis 18:20–25). The latter part recalls Israel's experience of a death threat in the wilderness. In the biblical account, the story is found in Numbers 16:41–50.[71] To link the two episodes more closely, the author of Wisdom appropriates some elements from the Passover story.

One such element is the depiction of the ministry of Aaron in contrast to the blood sign in the Passover story. Wisdom relates the Passover night to the death of the firstborn (Wis 18:5–7). However, it does not depict how Israel is protected from the plague of death or the destroyer. It only mentions that God strikes down the Egyptian firstborn. The absence of blood daubing or protection language indicates a non-apotropaic outlook.[72] What is shown, is that the Egyptians cannot escape from the death of the firstborn inflicted by God's "all-powerful word" (ὁ παντοδύναμός ... λόγος, Wis 18:15). In contrast, the Israelites also experience the threat of death during their journey in the desert. But they are saved through the ministry of Aaron. Aaron becomes the mediator who shields the people through "prayer and propitiation by incense" (Wis 18:21), with which Aaron is able to fend off "the avenger" (τὸν κολάζοντα, v. 22), also known as "the destroyer" (ὁ ὀλεθρεύων, v. 25). The last term, ὁ ὀλεθρεύων, is especially close to the destroyer mentioned in Exodus 12:23 (τὸν ὀλεθρεύοντα). The author of Wisdom seems to know the tradition about the destroyer who poses a death threat to

[69] Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 84; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 316; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 79.
[70] Udo Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis als ein Beispiel frühjüdischer Textauslegung*, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 32 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 268; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 79; for the various interpretations of the term in Wis 18:9, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 316.
[71] The BHS and Rahlfs' LXX have a slightly different numbering. There, the passage is found in Num 17:6–15.
[72] Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 83.

Israel on Passover night. He, however, transfers it to the Aaron episode. It is possible that he downplays the apotropaic function of the Passover slaughter. As shown in Wisdom 18:20–25, it is the priestly role of Aaron, not the blood of the Passover animal, which wards off the destroyer.

Wisdom does not mention the motif of haste in Chapter 18. Instead, the author moves it to 19:2, where it becomes part of the seventh antithesis, the drowning and rescue at the Red Sea. In that passage, the author states how the Egyptians send the Israelites out in haste (μετὰ σπουδῆς προπέμψαντες αὐτοὺς), though they regret it later. However, in Wisdom 18:21, Aaron is said to act in a swift manner (σπεύσας ... προεμάχησεν). Aaron's quick act is already found in the biblical pretext (Num 16:46).[73] Nonetheless, the wording in Wisdom 18:21 (the verb σπεύδω) is closer to the story about Israel going out in haste (the noun σπουδή). It is possible that the author of Wisdom uses the similar root word as a strategy to make the two episodes closer to each other.

2.6 Philo of Alexandria[74]

There is no doubt that Philo's allegorical approach affects how he reads and presents the Passover. Such an approach is, in a way, different from that in other texts analysed so far. In his writings, Philo differentiates between the literal and the deeper, or allegorical, meaning. While still accepting the literal meaning, he nevertheless gives prime position to the latter.[75]

For Philo, the essence of Passover can be summed up in two Greek terms he uses to portray Passover: τὰ διαβατήρια (the crossing-festival) or simply διάβασις (crossing over). In classical Greek, διαβατήριον refers to the sacrifice or offering made before crossing a border.[76] Integral to Philo's Passover as τὰ διαβατήρια is the shift of its focal

[73] In Numbers, Moses orders Aaron to carry the censer quickly (ἀπένεγκε τὸ τάχος).
[74] Texts and translations of Philo's works are taken from F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, and Ralph Marcus (eds.), *Philo in Ten Volumes (and Two Supplementary Volumes)*, LCL (London: Heinemann, 1929–1953)
[75] Adam Kamesar, "Biblical Interpretation in Philo," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 77.
[76] Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, TSAJ 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 29; Isaak Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung: Kulturvergleichende Untersuchungen zu*

point. Passover is not seen primarily as the passing of the plague of death over the Israelites. Rather, it is understood in terms of Israel's crossing of the Red Sea, from the land of Egypt to the Promised Land (*QE* 1.4). In his allegorical interpretation, Passover is a ritual that celebrates the crossing of the soul from the passions (τῶν παθῶν, *Spec.* 2.147; *QE* 1.4; *Leg.* 3.94, 165; *Her.* 255; *Congr.* 106). It is the purification of the soul (*Spec.* 2.147), with the end goal of arriving at virtue and the divine and imperishable (*QE* 1.4; *Sacr.* 63; *Her.* 192; *Congr.* 106). It is clear that, for Philo, the crossing over from passions is the essential meaning of the Passover.[77]

Jutta Leonhardt suggests that the connection of Passover to passion in Philo might be derived from the rather similar Greek term πάσχα and πάσχειν.[78] Hence, based on Philo's usage, Füglister argues that the wordplay between πάσχα and πάσχειν may have been present among the Hellenistic Jews in the first century CE.[79] It is true that the early church also tries to link πάσχα with the passion of Jesus based on the term πάσχειν (e.g. Melito of Sardis and Justin Martyr).[80] However, in every case, one should accept the claim of Leonhardt and Füglister cautiously. Philo himself never uses the verb πάσχειν in relation to the Passover, but only the noun πάθος.[81]

Philo's symbolic reading of Exodus 12 is on full display in *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum* I. He uses parts of the exodus story to support the idea of the liberation of the soul from the bondage of passions. For example, he assumes that the term πρόβατον (sheep) is derived from προβαίνω, meaning, "to go forward, to advance". Hence a sheep is used as the Passover victim since it symbolises the advancement (προκοπή) of the soul into perfection (*QE* 1.3, 8; *Leg* 3.165; *Sacr*. 112). Unleavened bread represents the lowly soul, in contrast to the lofty arrogance of the leavened (*QE*

Philons Darstellung der jüdischen Gesetze (Hildesheim: Gerge Olms, 1962), 120. See also the comment in Colson, *Philo,*7.394–95.

[77] Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 35; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 75.

[78] Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 30.

[79] Füglister, *Heilsbedeutung*, 166. See also Michael Theobald, "Paschamahl und Eucharistiefeier: Zur heilsgeschichtlichen Relevanz der Abendmahlsszenerie bei Lukas (Lk, 22,14-38)," in "*Für alle Zeiten zur Erinnerung" (Jos 4,7): Beiträge zu einer biblischen Gedächtniskultur*, ed. Michael Theobald and Rudolf Hoppe, SBS 209 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2006), 160–62.

[80] See *Peri Pascha* 46; *Dial*. 40.1–3.

[81] Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 30.

1.15). The bitter herbs symbolise bitterness toward the former life and the bitterness of unlearning the lure of passions (*QE* 1.15; *Congr*. 162). To have "the loins girded" means to control and discipline the passions (*QE* 1.19). It also signifies the effort to constrain desire (*Leg.* 3.154), as well as readiness to serve (*Sacr*. 63). The last interpretation will be significant for understanding a particular Passover-related passage in Luke. In *De sacrificiis* 63, Philo joins up the allusion to "girded loins" with the readiness to serve (For we are bidden to keep the Passover… "with our loins girded" ready for service – καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα ... προστέτακται ποιεῖθαι τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας). The similar pairing of "girded loins" and the motif of readiness is found in Luke 12:35–40. In the Lukan passage, Jesus instructs his listeners to gird their loins (Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι, v. 35) and concludes with a call to be prepared (καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, v. 40) for the Parousia.[82]

Philo's allegorical interpretation enables him to place the Passover in Exodus 12 and the Passover of his time in a similar plane. Passover in Egypt is not significantly different from later celebrations. Such proximity is strengthened by Philo's particular view on two themes: (a) the priesthood of all the people and (b) the adornment for the house with the temple's dignity. In *QE* 1.10, Philo explains that, in the time of Exodus 12, priesthood has not been instituted yet, and the temple has not been built. This is why the people are permitted to manage the sacrifices at their own places. In another text, Philo adds that God edicts a law which permits such a practice once a year during the Passover.

> In this festival many myriads of victims from noon till eventide are offered by the whole people, old and young alike, raised for that particular day to the dignity of the priesthood (κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερωσύνης ἀξιώματι τετιμημένοι). For at other times the priests according to the ordinance of the law carry out both the public sacrifices and those offered by private individuals. But on this occasion the whole nation performs the sacred rites and acts as priest with pure hands and complete immunity (τότε δὲ σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἁγναῖς χερσὶν ἱερουργεῖ καὶ ἱερᾶται)…This practice which on that occasion was the result of spontaneous and instinctive emotion, was sanctioned by the law once in every year to remind them of their duty of thanksgiving.
>
> (*Spec*. 2.145–146)

[82] See the discussion in Section 5.1.1.

As Philo states, during the Passover festival, the people are the ones who sacrifice the animals. This is possible since, at that time, they receive the dignity of the priesthood. In other words, for that particular day, they become priests. God himself has granted such a privilege for them. Likewise, in *Mos*. 2.224–225, God ordains that during Passover the whole people exercise the priestly role (σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱερᾶται). Every person considers it an honour to participate in the priesthood (ἑκάστου νομίζοντος ἱερωσύνῃ τετιμῆσθαι).

The people's great joy is also given as one of the reasons for their special privilege. Philo notes that, "so exceedingly joyful were they that in their vast enthusiasm and impatient eagerness, they naturally enough sacrificed without waiting for the priest" (*Spec* 2.146; cf. *Mos*. 2.225). The Passover is, in a sense, a thank offering to God, who liberates them from Egypt.[83]

A similar logic is used to explain the domestic, non-temple, Passover sacrifice. On that day, each house is "invested with the outward semblance and dignity of the temple" (σχῆμα ἱεροῦ καὶ σεμνότητα περιβέβληται, *Spec*. 2.148). Every dwelling becomes an altar and a temple of God (*QE* 1.10). Philo uses this to explain the daubing of the doorposts with blood. Just as a divine offering with the pouring of blood is made on the altar of the temple, a similar offering is made at the entrance of the house (*QE* 1.12).

One cannot but wonder whether Philo legitimises a non-temple Passover celebration. The priesthood of all people and the temple-likeness of the houses, all suggest a domestic celebration. It is true that Philo has a high view of the Jerusalem temple. All sacrifices should be made there, the place where God dwells (*Spec*. 1.67–69). Despite that, he also believes that "the highest, and in the truest sense the holy, temple of God is…the whole universe," (*Spec*. 1.66). Scholars are divided in their opinion. Some posit that Philo's description of Passover is that of Jerusalem. Thus, they still sacrifice at the temple. Only the meal is extended to houses within Jerusalem.[84]

[83] Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 75.
[84] Segal, *Hebrew Passover*, 29; Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 32–33.

Others argue that it describes better the Passover in Alexandria since there is no mention of the temple or Jerusalem in the texts above.[85] A decentralised Passover position seems to be more plausible. This is especially clear from *Spec*. 2.145, in which the contrast between the common ritual practice (where the priests are in charge) and the Passover (where the people are in charge) clearly indicates two different ritual modes. Philo is not describing a ritual where the people are co-operating with the priests.[86] Even if Philo's description is actually about the Passover in Jerusalem, it does not really affect the theological message he wants to convey. Historical reconstruction aside, it is clear that somehow all the people are invested with the priestly role and all the houses with the character of the temple.

Several other Passover details can be observed in Philo's work. According to *Spec. 2.145*, the animal sacrifices number in tens of thousands. They are slaughtered from noon until evening. Elsewhere Philo notes that the sacrifice should be done before the ninth hour or 3 pm (*QE* 1.11). The Passover date remains the same, the fourteenth of the first month (*Spec*. 2.149; *Mos*. 2.222). Fourteen indicates a sacred number since it is the sum of two sevens or two weeks (Spec. 2.149; *QE* 1.9). Before the meal, each person needs to be cleansed through a purification rite and, during the meal, they celebrate it "with prayers and hymns" (*Spec*. 2.148). Some suggest that the hymns here are the Hallel, taken from Psalms 113–118.[87]

Philo also differentiates between Passover and Unleavened Bread. In his list of the ten festivals (δέκα ἑορταί) Passover is listed fourth, while Unleavened Bread is sixth (*Spec*. 2.41), though later he explains Unleavened Bread in relation to, and immediately after, Passover (*Spec*. 2.150–161). For Philo the reason for having the unleavened bread is not merely due to the hastiness of the people's going out of Egypt. He believes it has

[85] Nicholas de Lange, "The Celebration of the Passover in Graeco-Roman Alexandria," in *Manières de Penser Dans L'antiquité Méditerranéenne et Orientale : Mélanges Offerts à Francis Schmidt Par Ses élèves, Ses Collègues et Ses Amis*, ed. Christophe Batsch and Mădălina Vârtejanu-Joubert, JSJSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 165; Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Philo of Alexandria: A Thinker in the Jewish Diaspora*, trans. Robyn Fréchet, SPhA 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107; Joel Marcus, "Passover and Last Supper Revisited," *NTS* 59, no. 3 (2013): 309; See also E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (Philadelphia; London: Trinity Press International; SCM, 1992), 134.
[86] Contra Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 32.
[87] Ibid., 30; Hadas-Lebel, *Philo*, 107.

a universal significance. For Philo, the spring equinox is "a kind of likeness and portraiture of that first epoch in which this world was created" (*Spec*. 2.151). God uses every bloom and every flower to remind the people of the creation. The spring is "an image of the primal origin" (*Spec*. 2.152). Moreover, the fourteenth of the month is when the moon is full, hence the light and brightness throughout the day and night (*Spec*. 2.155). As for the unleavened dough, Philo explains,

> …the springtime, when the feast is held, the fruit of the corn has not reached its perfection, for the fields are in the ear stage and not yet mature for harvest. It was the imperfection of this fruit which belonged to the future, though it was to reach its perfection very shortly, that he considered might be paralleled by the unleavened food, which is also imperfect, and serves to remind us of the comforting hope…
>
> (Philo, *Spec*. 2.158)

In addition, the leavened is a work of art while the unleavened is the gift of nature (2.159). Thus, "the spring feast must restore man to the earliest times of the Creation and the uncorrupted innocence and frugality of primordial man."[88]

Philo's allegorical interpretation is strongly bound to his stance regarding the Greek version of the Jewish Scripture. He seems to believe that the Greek version is not inferior to the Hebrew counterpart. In fact, he indicates that the translation is done under divine inspiration. He records the story about King Ptolemy Philadelphus, who requests the Jewish High Priest for help to translate the Law of Moses into Greek. The High Priest then selects some who are well versed in the Jewish Scripture as well as Greek literature (*Mos*. 2.29–33). As they begin to translate the Law, Philo notes,

> They became as it were possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated by an invisible prompter.
>
> (*Mos*. 2.37)

He even asserts that those who know Hebrew and Greek will find both the Hebrew and the Greek versions to be "one and the same, both in matter and words" (*Mos*. 2.40). Hence for Philo, the Greek version is in itself a sacred text on par with the Hebrew

[88] Hadas-Lebel, *Philo*, 106.

version.[89] From this standpoint, it is possible for Philo to exercise allegorical interpretation based on Greek terms and phrases.

Overall, Philo's interpretation suits well to the context of Alexandrian Jews. Philo is able to solve the paradox of the Jews who celebrate the exodus from Egypt while still staying in Egypt. The priesthood of all people and the temple-likeness of the houses open the possibility of celebrating the Passover within the diaspora community, without the need to go to Jerusalem. Above all, through his allegorical approach, Philo is able to legitimise the Passover celebration outside of Jerusalem. The most important matter is not the crossing of the location, but the symbolic crossing of the soul, from passions to virtue and godliness.[90] This strategy of interpretation might also be at play in Luke-Acts. If Luke actually incorporates the theme of Passover and exodus into his narrative, then he is likely to depict some kind of movement from one point to another. Whether the movement is geographical or symbolic will be assessed in subsequent chapters.

2.7 Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum

Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (LAB) is most probably a work from the first century CE.[91] It is generally agreed that LAB was written originally in Hebrew.[92] By implication, it most likely has a Palestinian origin.[93] It is basically a rewriting of the biblical account from Adam to the death of Saul.

In LAB, there is no reference to Passover in the exodus account. In LAB 10:1–2, the writer crams the ten plagues into a short list. Then he moves straight away to the

[89] Ibid., 66.
[90] Ibid., 104.
[91] Jacobson prefers a post 70 CE dating while Murphy and Harrington argue for pre 70 CE. See Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 209; Frederick M. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3, 6; D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 299; On pre-70 dating, see also Daniel J. Harrington et al., *Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 2 vols., SC 229-230 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1976), 70–74.
[92] See the extended discussion in Daniel J Harrington, "Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum," *CBQ* 33, no. 1 (1971): 1–17; cf. Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo's*, 1.215–24; Harrington, *Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 2.76.
[93] Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo's*, 1.210–11.

Red Sea episode. The reason for the omission is unclear. Does the writer deem the Passover and the decisive night unimportant? This is not likely since the writer later alludes to the story of the Passover-night rescue.[94]

The importance of the night when God strikes the Egyptian firstborn and protects the Israelites is highlighted in LAB 32:16. The whole chapter of LAB 32 depicts the victory hymn sung by Deborah, Barak, and the people. Unlike the song in the biblical account (cf. Judges 5), the hymn in LAB describes God's glory, acts of salvation and election of Israel from the time he confuses the languages in Babel to the recent win over Sisera. In the context, the approaching night would end Deborah's song of victory. Hence, she calls the day not to end soon so she can continue to sing God's marvellous work of salvation. However, she then picks up the night motif and ties it to the theme of salvation.

> Wait, you hours of the day, and do not wish to hurry, in order that we may declare what our mind can bring forward, for night will be upon us. It will be like the night when God killed the firstborn of the Egyptians on account of his own firstborn.
>
> And then I will cease my hymn, for the time is readied for his just judgments. For I will sing a hymn to him in the renewal of creation. And the people will remember his saving power, and this will be a testimony for it…
>
> (LAB 32:16–17)[95]

The depiction in verse 16 shows that the author is familiar with the tradition of the Passover-night rescue. A combination of references to salvation and night is enough to trigger the association with the Passover rescue. It could be that "night" is the favoured time for salvation.[96] Furthermore, the author seems to depict an eschatological night of salvation, one that will be similar to the Passover-night rescue.[97] Some think that the night being mentioned is not the eschatological night, but simply the approaching

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[94] The absence of the Passover slaughter ritual, together with the lack of interest in temple sacrifice and the role of the priest, might support a post 70 CE dating (see Louis H Feldman, "Prolegomenon," in *Biblical Antiquities of Philo* [New York: KTAV, 1971], xxviii).

[95] Translation is taken from Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo."

[96] Harrington, *Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 2.175. Jacobson thinks that it is odd for Deborah to request the day to halt but then proceed to sing about the nocturnal salvation. He suggests that there might be a lacunae or a corruption in the text. Perhaps there were originally two nights: the approaching night which Deborah wishes to delay, and the depiction of the future night of salvation (*Pseudo-Philo's*, 2.293–94).

[97] Le Déaut, *La nuit pascale*, 225, 354 n. 50.

night.[98] However, scholars have noted the strong eschatological component in LAB.[99] Thus, it is more likely that the author has in his mind a future salvation. To regard the night as the night immediately after the victory has little significance in comparison to reading it as pointing to the eschaton, even indirectly. A reference to a future salvation also speaks more effectively to the present context of the author.[100]

Elsewhere in the book, Passover is explicitly mentioned in LAB. 48:3 and 50:2. Both identify Passover as the yearly festival in Shiloh. The parallel biblical accounts (Judg 21:19 and 1 Sam 1:3) only identify it as an annual festival. The term used to denote the yearly festival is מִזֶּמִים יָמִימָה (translated as, "from year to year"). This term is also found in Exodus 13:10. As a result, some suggest that the identification of Passover is based on the similar term being used.[101] However, the passage in Exodus is a regulation regarding the Unleavened Bread, not Passover. It seems that the people go Shiloh mainly to offer the yearly sacrifice (1 Sam 1:3; LAB 40:2). If this is the case, then Passover fits better since it is chiefly related to sacrifice (Exod 12:21, 27; Lev 23:5; cf. *J.W.* 6.423; *Ant*. 9.271; 11.109–110).

The only reference to the Unleavened Bread is in LAB 13:4,

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[98] E.g. Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo's*, 2.894.

[99] Harrington, *Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 2.53–57; Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 256–57.

[100] The notion of eschatological Passover rescue will resurface in early rabbinic as well as targumic literature. Discussion about the role of Passover on the future redemption is found in *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (late 3rd century CE). In one passage, the rabbis show different positions on this matter, with some affirming the role of Passover and others refuting it. Taking the cue from Exodus 12:42a ("That was for the LORD a night of vigil") Rabbi Joshua believes that, just as the Israelites are redeemed from Egypt on the night of Passover, the future redemption will take place on the same night

> *A Night of Watching unto the Lord*, etc. In that night were they redeemed and in that night will they be redeemed in the future – these are the words of R. Joshua, as it is said: 'This same night is a night of watching unto the Lord.'" (Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 14; Translation taken from Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael: A Critical Edition, Based on the Manuscripts and Early Editions*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: JPS, 1933), 1.115–16).

Perhaps the most famous of these is the passage of the four nights, an expansion of Exodus 12:42 found in Targum Neofiti 1 (3rd/4th century CE) and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (7th/8th century CE).

> Four nights are inscribed in the Book of Memorials before the Master of the world. The first night, when he was revealed to create the world; the second, when he was revealed to Abraham; the third, when he was revealed in Egypt, and his hand slew all the first-born of Egypt, and his right hand delivered the first-born of Israel; the fourth, when he will be revealed to redeem the people of the house of Israel from among the peoples. And he called all of them "nights of watching."(Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 12:42; translation taken from Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus*, ArBib 2 [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994], 195).

[101] Feldman, "Prolegomenon," cxxx.

> And when the times appointed for you come around, you will acknowledge me as holy on the festival day and rejoice before me on the festival of the unleavened bread and set before me the bread, celebrating the festival as a memorial, because on that day you went forth from the land of Egypt.
>
> (LAB 13:4)

This passage is a truncated version of Leviticus 23:4–8. Where the biblical passage mentions both the Passover and the Unleavened Bread, only the latter is mentioned here. The author seems to subsume the former into the latter. A number of keywords, though not mentioned in Lev 23:4–8, can be found in other accounts. The motif of rejoicing is found in 2 Chronicles 30:21–23, Ezra 6:22, and Jubilees 49:22–23. The commemorative nature of, and the reason for, the festival can be found in Exodus 12:14, 13:3, 8, Jubilees 49:22–23, and Ezek. Trag. 190–192.

2.8 Josephus[102]

In Josephus, discussion about Passover can be found in two books: *The Jewish War* (A.D. 75–79) and *The Jewish Antiquities* (around A.D. 93/94).[103] In *Antiquities* 1–11, Josephus describes all the narratives of Passover celebration in the Jewish Scripture, omitting most of the legal passages. Josephus records the Passover in Exodus 12 (*Ant*. 2.311–313), in the wilderness of Sinai (Num 9:1–5/*Ant*. 3.294), in the plain of Jericho (Josh 5:9–10/*Ant*. 5.20), the Passover in the time of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 30/*Ant* 9.271), King Josiah (2 Chr 35/*Ant*. 10.70), and the remnant community (Ezra 6:19–22/*Ant*. 11.104–110). His insistence on listing all the Passover-related narratives from the Jewish Scripture might indicate the importance of Passover to Josephus.

The way Josephus uses the term Passover (πάσχα/φάσκα) and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων) differs at times. He does use Passover as a standalone (*Ant*. 3.294; 5.20; 14.25; 18.90; 20.106), but sometimes he mentions Passover followed by Unleavened Bread as the subsequent seven-day feast (*Ant*. 2.313,

[102] Texts and translations of Josephus are taken from Henry St. J. Thackeray et al., *Josephus*, 9 vols., LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965). A full-length study of Passover in Josephus can be found in the work of Colautti, *Passover*. For the analysis of Passover especially in *Jewish War*, see Siggelkow-Berner, *Die jüdischen Feste*, 49–184.

[103] Steve Mason, "Josephus," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 828–829; Thackeray, *Josephus*, 2.xii; 4.x.

317; 248–250). Such usage is similar to biblical traditions and other second-temple writings. However, unlike the biblical accounts and other second-temple Jewish writings, when Passover is mentioned by Josephus, it does not incorporate Unleavened Bread. On the contrary, he employs the term ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων to incorporate Passover, both explicitly (e.g. *J.W.* 2.10; *Ant* 14.21; 17.213; 18:29) and implicitly (*J.W.* 2.224, 244, 280; 4.402; 5.99; 6.290). Even in the biblical account where Unleavened Bread is subsumed under Passover, he turns it the other way round (*Ant* 9.271; 10.70; 11.109–110). In some instances, the Passover refers specifically to the slaughtering ritual (*J.W.* 6.423; *Ant.* 9.271; 11.109-110). In other words, it is considered as a part of the entire feast. Consequently, at times, the first day of Unleavened Bread is not the fifteenth, but the fourteenth. The varieties found in Josephus show that it is possible to refer to Passover/Unleavened Bread in different ways. Josephus does not follow the standard reference in the biblical account strictly.

Such usage is not insignificant, since a similar case can be found in Luke. For example, in Luke 22:1, the Unleavened Bread is named first, with Passover as an additional explanation. Luke's choice of words is also close to that of Josephus.

> Ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα. (Luke 22:1)
> τὴν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην (*Ant*. 10.70)
> τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἣν πάσχα λέγομεν (*Ant*. 14:21)

Judging by the close wording, it cannot be that Luke has misunderstood the chronology or the nature of the two feasts.[104] It is possible that his usage is due to the common usage in the first century CE. More will be said on this in due course.[105]

In the post-biblical account, Josephus mainly appropriates Passover as the setting for the confrontation between the Jews and the Romans. This is especially clear in his *Jewish War*. Mason states that Passover "plays a basic role in the development of *War*'s plot."[106] In this work, there are at least seven Passover-related passages.[107] Within these

[104] Contra Bovon, *Luke*, 3:135.
[105] See the excursus in Chapter 3.
[106] Steve Mason, *Judean War 2*, FJTC 1b (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 11.
[107] Cf. Siggelkow-Berner, *Die jüdischen Feste*, 173–176.

passages, Josephus only uses the term πάσχα twice (*J.W.* 2.10 and 6.423). He primarily employs the Unleavened Bread festival as the reckoning for the timing of Passover (*J.W.* 2.10, 224, 280; 4.402; 5.99; 6.290, 423). Throughout the Passover-related passages in *Jewish War*, a basic storyline can be detected. It begins with multitudes of Jews coming to Jerusalem for the Passover celebration.[108] The majority of them come in peace, intending to fulfil their religious duty faithfully. They are not those who cause uproars. Instead, seditions come from the minority of insurgents (e.g. the Zealots, the Sicarii) who stir the crowds to violence and inflict chaos on the people (*J.W.* 2.10–13; 4.402–403; 5.98–105).[109] Sometimes the culprits are certain Roman individuals such as the soldiers or the leaders who either mock or oppress the people (*J.W.* 2.224–225; 2.280).[110] Their inappropriate or abusive behaviours cause great riots. In the end, many innocent Jews become victims of the outbreak of violence (*J.W.* 2.30, 224–227; 4.402–403; 5.98–105). Josephus intends to show that the majority of Jews and their religious life are not a threat to the Romans. The fault lies with the minority of Jewish rebels and individual Romans. It is possible to celebrate in peace, without any uproar (*J.W.* 2.244).[111]

However, peace cannot be achieved, and the situation continues to deteriorate. It escalates until the climax in A.D. 70 when Jerusalem is destroyed. It intensifies, as

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[108] Many now believe that Josephus' exaggerates the number of the people (three millions in *J.W.* 2.280 and more than two millions in *J.W.* 6.425).

[109] Siggelkow-Berner, *Die jüdischen Feste*, 176–177.

[110] Ibid., 177–178.

[111] Read in this light, it is plausible that Josephus also depicts the biblical account of Passover with the same script. Jews commemorate the Passover in accordance with the law given by God. Problems only arise when the Jews are not allowed to celebrate, or a certain group seeks to sabotage the feast. The Egyptians receive punishment due to their harsh treatment of Israel. Should they deal with Israel in a good manner, no calamity would befall them. When Hezekiah invites the northern country of Israel to celebrate the Passover, many reject his invitation. 2 Chr 30:10b only states that they "laughed them to scorn, and mocked them." Josephus, however, states that:

> …the Israelites were not only not persuaded, but even laughed at his envoys as fools; and, when their prophets exhorted them in like manner and foretold what they would suffer it they did not alter their course to one of piety toward God, they poured scorn upon them and finally seized them and killed them. And not stopping even at these acts of lawlessness, they devised things still worse than those mentioned…(*Ant.* 9.265–266)

In the time of the remnant community, we find a passage mentioning the Samaritans' aversion toward the people (*Ant*. 11.114). These hostile groups (the Samaritans and the violent northern Israel people) almost function as the prototype of later rebellious groups. The supportive Persian king can be either a mirror or an example to the Roman leaders (Caesar?) on dealing favorably with Israel.

Josephus points out, in the most ironic manner. The many people coming to slaughter the Passover have become the ones being slaughtered. The sacrificers share the same fate as the Passover victims. The depiction of the shared fate is painted most clearly where Antipater accuses Archelaus of cruelty (*J. W.* 2.26–33). In one part of the charge, Antipater describes Archelaus' most brutal act, the killing of the Jews during the Passover celebration.

> Proceeding to the main contention of his speech, he [Antipater] laid great stress on the multitude of Jews who had been massacred [by Archelaus] around the sanctuary, poor people who had come for a festival [i.e. the Passover, *J.W. 2.10*] and, while offering their sacrifices, had themselves been brutally immolated (οὓς ἐληλυθέναι μὲν ἐφ' ἑορτήν, παρὰ δὲ ταῖς ἰδιαῖς θυσίαις ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάχθαι).
>
> (*J.W.* 2.30)

This incident is also recorded in the *Antiquities*, where Josephus notes how the people coming to the Passover feast "had been slaughtered just like sacrificial victims" (ἱερείων ἐν τρόπῳ σφαχθεῖεν, *Ant.* 17.237).[112] This twist appears numerous times in *Jewish War* (e.g. 2.224–227; cf. 4.402–403). The scene of the Jewish feast with the most number of animal victims is now changed to a dreadful scene with a huge number of human casualties (*J.W.* 5.567). Thus, Passover as the great symbol of salvation and liberation (*J.W.* 4.402; 5.99) has now changed to a symbol of tragedy and destruction. As mentioned by Josephus, "the feast was turned into mourning for the whole nation and for every household into lamentation" (γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει, θρῆνον δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην οἰκίαν, *J.W.* 2.227).

While Josephus notes that the fall of Jerusalem occurs in September (*J.W.* 6.435),[113] he makes two references to the Passover before the fall in order to constitute a symbolic connection between the Passover and the fall. The first is the mention of a number of portents. Josephus states that these signs foretell the destruction (*J.W.* 6.288–299). Four of them occur around the time of Passover, presumably the last Passover celebration in Jerusalem. Just before the Passover, a bright light appears at night around

[112] Mason, *Judean War 2*, 24–25, 185.

[113] According to Josephus, it takes place on the month of Gorpiaios (Γορπιαῖος). Scholars identify this as the month of September; see, for instance Sacha Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 255–257.

the altar (*J.W.* 6.290). Then, a heifer gives birth to a lamb (*J.W.* 6.292). Around the same time, the massive eastern gate opens up by itself (*J.W.* 6.293). Finally, Josephus notes the presence of an army on the cloud "not many days after the festival/μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις" (*J.W.* 6.296). Although the last portent actually happens more than a month after the Passover,[114] through his wording Josephus clearly intends to place it within the context of Passover. Josephus notes that some perceive these signs as good signs. Perhaps this understanding is related to the liberation symbolism of Passover. However, the contrary is true. According to Josephus, they are, in reality, bad omens, foretelling the coming desolation and fall of Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6.291, 295–296).[115]

The second reference recalls the reason behind the extraordinary number of victims in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6.420–432). Josephus claims that more than one million people perish due to the siege of Jerusalem, most of whom are not from Jerusalem but have come to Jerusalem intending to celebrate the Passover/Unleavened Bread (*J.W.* 6.420–421). Josephus then calculates that there are around 2.7 million Jewish people gathering in Jerusalem at the last Passover, all of whom are pure and holy (*J.W.* 6.423–425). Their state of purity stands in contrast to the impurity of the Jewish rebel factions. The factions even fight each other off during the Passover to control the temple (*J.W.* 5.98–105). Josephus then describes that "now the whole nation had been shut up by fate as in a prison/τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἱρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθη τὸ ἔθνος…" (*J.W.* 6.428). For Josephus, the number of Jews who meet their death surpasses all of the previous calamities that befall the people (*J.W.* 6.429). I concur with Mason, who comments that, "[f]ate selected Passover, when the city overflowed with inhabitants, as the time to imprison them for the final catastrophe."[116] Josephus uses the Passover symbolism to depict the ironic fate of the Jewish people. While the first Passover in Egypt liberates the people, the last Passover in Jerusalem imprisons them

[114] This takes place on the 21st of Artemisios, the month after Xanthicus/Nisan.
[115] The tendency to find supernatural signs to decipher the time of salvation seems to be in the background of Jesus' debate with the Pharisees in Luke 17:20–21 (see the discussion in Section 5.2.1.1).
[116] Mason, *Judean War 2*, 11.

within the walls of Jerusalem. Instead of salvation, it seals their doom through death and suffering. There is no more joyous celebration, only sorrowful lament.

Furthermore, Josephus does not end the mention of Passover with the destruction of Jerusalem. The final association is mentioned during the siege of Masada. The rebel group, knowing that they will lose the battle against the Romans, chooses to end their own lives. It is better for them and their families to die an honourable death than to be taken as prisoners and slaves. Therefore, on the night before the Romans' final assault, they commit mass suicide. More than 900 of them, including women and children, perish. Josephus then notes that the tragedy (τὸ πάθος) takes place "on the fifteenth of Xanthicus/πεντεκαιδεκάτη Ξαντικοῦ μηνός" (*J.W.* 7.401).

In this passage, Josephus does not use the term Passover or Unleavened Bread, perhaps because, after the fall of Jerusalem and its temple, the celebration ceases to exist. However, the association with Passover is still clear. The mention of the fifteenth of Xanthicus (Nisan) indicates a possible Passover time marker. It is, after all, the night of the Passover feast, the time when the people are liberated. Furthermore, the basic storyline is similar to the Passover-related story of the siege of Jerusalem. Just as in the siege of Jerusalem, the rebels are trapped in Masada, surrounded by the Romans and, just like the fate of the people in Jerusalem, virtually all the insurgents in Masada perish. On this Passover, the hostility is finally put to an end.[117] While the Passover plays its climactic-yet-ironic role in the fall of Jerusalem, it does not end there. For Josephus, the fall of Masada is closely tied to the fall of Jerusalem. Both are part of the divine punishment. The Passover time marker serves as an important element to connect both episodes.

It is possible to divide Josephus' Passover-related stories of calamities into three sections: (1) the numerous passages that take place prior to the destruction of Jerusalem (2) the pivotal Passover-related passages on the destruction of Jerusalem; and (3) the passages after the destruction of Jerusalem (i.e. the fall of Masada). It is clear that the fall of Jerusalem (including the development of its story plot) is the most dramatic of all,

[117] Colautti, *Passover*, 120.

in terms of its effect, length, and number of victims. Even though the fall takes place months after the Passover, Josephus makes sure that the association is clear. In fact, for him, the connection even seems to be necessary. The ironic pairing of Passover and destruction is not limited to the fall of Jerusalem. In every Passover-related passage, the theme of destruction is not far behind. It will be intriguing to see whether Luke also appropriates the Passover in a similar manner, by using the many Passover-related passages to shape his narrative structure and theological message.[118]

In addition, Josephus' ironic depiction of Passover and the people of Israel seems to bear some thematic similarities to the Gospel account. Both recount the warning about Jerusalem's destruction: one through portents, another through discourse. Both warnings appear just around the time of Passover. Moreover, one can perhaps see Jesus as the sacrificer who becomes the sacrifice.

2.9 Synthesis

Passover is part of Israel's bigger story of the exodus rescue. It is the beginning, the dramatic and the decisive moment of Israel's liberation. It is the time when God finally fulfils his promise to bring the people out from Egypt. In general, the Passover story follows the passage from Exodus 12:1–13:16. It is safe to conclude that Exodus 12 is the primary source for later Passover-related passages, especially in terms of the narrative elements. Exodus 12 is the only biblical text that provides the background story for the Passover festival.

In some passages, the context for alluding to the Passover indicates the importance of the festival. In the biblical narrative, Passover celebrations are closely related to critical turning points in Israel's salvation history. It begins with the exodus from Egypt (Exod 12), the first celebration after the exodus (Num 9:1–5), the celebration after crossing into the Promised Land (Josh 5:10–11), during the restoration

[118] See Section 7.3.

of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 30) and Josiah (2 Chr 35), and finally the return of the exiled community (2 Esd 6:19–22).

The concept of Passover in Israel's salvation history is also found in non-biblical texts. In Jubilees, a Passover allusion is found in the Akedah story (Jub. 17:15–18:19). For Josephus, especially in the *Jewish War*, the Passover becomes a fitting symbol and time marker for the tragic fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish people. The festival that commemorates Israel's liberation through the hand of God has ironically become the witness of the destruction of Israel. In other texts, the eschatological salvation is associated with the time of Passover (Jer 38:8 LXX; LAB 32:16–17).

2.9.1 The Passover Time Marker

The Passover is identified primarily by the time marker. The most explicit identification is through the term 'Passover' (festival) or, the closely related, 'Unleavened Bread'. Another reference is by the date, that is, the fourteenth of Nisan, or an equivalent month. The time marker is not only employed to mark the festival time. Equally important is its use to signify the salvation event of the Passover story.

In some passages, the Passover rescue time is known simply as "that night" (Exodus 12:41–42; Jub. 49:2; Wis 18:6; LAB 32:16). As shown by LAB, a combination of a night setting and salvation is enough to recall the nocturnal rescue *par excellence*. Thus, it is likely that, in later tradition, the Passover rescue is synonymous with the nocturnal salvation.

The allusion or connection to Passover can also be made even though the event being related does not take place on the fourteenth of Nisan. Josephus shows this a number of times. In the passage regarding divine portents, Josephus never says that they occur exactly during the Passover. One takes place before the Passover, but within the timeframe when people come to Jerusalem to celebrate. The other takes place more than a month afterwards. By adding that it happens "not many days after the festival," Josephus is able to connect the portent to the Passover. A similar strategy is used when he describes the fall of Jerusalem. While the fall takes place in September, he uses a

flashback to the last Passover to explain the multitude of the human victims. Finally, Josephus uses the fifteenth of Xanthicus as the time marker for the massacre in Masada, a date that is still within the time of Passover celebration. Jubilees employs a similar strategy in the story of the Akedah. The author of Jubilees never states the time of the sacrifice of Isaac explicitly. The closest reckoning of time is that the command is given on the twelfth of the first month (Jub. 17:15). The readers are left to decipher the Passover allusion themselves. To support this, another Passover element is needed: the killing of the Passover victim.

2.9.2 The Passover Victim

Essential to the Passover killing ritual is the blood of the slaughtered animal. The specific function of it, however, differs among the texts. Some texts emphasise its apotropaic function following the Passover in Egypt (Exod 12:13, 23; cf. Jub. 49:3–4; Ezek. Trag. 159). The blood serves as a sign which protects the Israelites from God's plague of death, executed by an agent or an evil entity. Other texts alter the function of the blood. In Jubilees, the Passover ritual will protect Israelites from any disaster during the year of the celebration (Jub. 49:15). In Wisdom, the encounter with the destroyer is shifted to the journey episode in the desert, where it is not the blood that wards off the destroyer but the ministry of Aaron (Wis 18:20–25).

In some texts, the motif of Passover victim is extended beyond its ritual role. In Jubilees, it is associated with the Akedah story. The interplay between Isaac and the substitute ram parallels that of the Passover victim and the Israelites. In Jubilees, such an association is found in the Akedah. In the Akedah story, Isaac is rescued just as the Israelites are during the Passover night. In Josephus' *Jewish War*, the Passover celebration is associated not only with sacrifice but with a multitude of sacrifices. However, as the story develops, the many people who intend to sacrifice perish due to the violent uprising. They ironically share the same fate as the animal victims themselves. In the *Jewish War*, there is no rescue for the Jews. This is in contrast with

Jubilees' Akedah story and the Passover night rescue experienced by the Israelites in Egypt.

2.9.3 The Passover Meal

In the Egyptian Passover, the meal is consumed in a hurry. Phrases like girded loins, sandals on the feet, and staff in the hand are crucial in the story (Exod 12:11, 39; Ezek. Trag. 180–183). The hastiness is due to the swift liberation and exodus that the Israelites experience. The Egyptians are forcing the people out from the land (Exod 12:39; Ezek. Trag. 161, 183; Wis 19:2). The motif of haste is also closely associated with the Passover-night rescue. In Isaiah, God promises that the new exodus rescue will not come in great commotion and haste (Isa 52:12), a clear allusion to the first exodus rescue. In Wisdom, Aaron is said to save the Israelites in a hurried manner (Wis 18:21). Philo, however, interprets the readiness to journey spiritually. It symbolises self-discipline to control passion or desire.

When the celebration takes place in Jerusalem, such gestures are abandoned. The meal is consumed either inside the temple (Jub. 49:16), within Jerusalem's vicinity (*Ant*. 11.109), or in a domestic setting outside Jerusalem (Philo, *Spec*. 2.145–146).

Particularly important are the meanings which the meal symbolises. There are a number of meal items mentioned in Passover texts. Three items of food are essential: the Passover (lamb), unleavened bread, and bitter herbs (Exod 12:8; cf. Num 9:11). The Passover lamb is the most important item. Its centrality is due to the importance of the ritual slaughter of animals.

Besides the lamb, the unleavened bread is the only food with specific laws on its preparation. The symbolic meaning of the bread differs across the texts. In Exodus, no explicit meaning is attached to it, but it is related implicitly to the motif of haste. Since the people go out from Egypt so hastily, there is not enough time for the dough to be leavened (Exod 12:39; cf. Deut 16:3). In Deuteronomy, it is also called "the bread of affliction" (Deut 16:3). In Philo, it symbolises the lowly soul (*QE* 1.15).

Wine is a later addition to the meal, as first testified in Jubilees (49:6). However, it is possible that wine was incorporated much earlier since it normally symbolises joy – a common sentiment that accompanies a festive celebration. Also essential to the meal is the command to commemorate or remember the redemption (Exod 12:14; 13:3; Jub. 49:7, 15; Philo, *Spec*. 2.146).

In the end, the findings of this chapter open up the many possible comparisons and parallels between the appropriation of Passover in Early Jewish Writings and Luke-Acts. These comparisons will be conducted across the Lukan passages in the next chapters, beginning with the most critical section in Luke that appropriates the Passover: the passion narrative.

3 READING THE PASSION THROUGH THE PASSOVER

As noted in the introduction to this work, the main passage demonstrating the significance of the Passover is the beginning of the passion narrative, that is, the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). This passage is where the term πάσχα appears most frequently throughout Luke-Acts (Luke 22:1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15). The presence and significance of the Passover in this passage are also least debated among scholars. Thus, it is only natural to begin the investigation of the Passover with the Lukan passion narrative, analysing, in particular, the Last Supper pericope.

The aim of this chapter is twofold. I will argue that Luke primarily uses the Passover theme in relation to the death of Jesus. While the theme is mainly found in the Last Supper episode, it still points to the reality of the death of Jesus. I will also argue that Luke uses the Passover as one of the primary theological lenses to explain the necessity of Jesus' death in relation to God's salvific plan.

However, before we proceed to the main passage, we need to understand how Luke sets the stage for the passion story of Jesus.

3.1 Setting the Stage: The Expectation of the Exodus Liberation in Luke

One important, at times overlooked, factor in our understanding of the Passover in Luke 22:1–20 is the narrative build-up prior to the Last Supper passage. In particular, it is worth noting how Luke depicts the anticipation of Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem. At least three Lukan comments highlight the possible exodus expectation: the idea of Jesus' exodus (Luke 9:31), the people's expectation of the coming kingdom (Luke 19:11), and the people's declaration of Jesus as the coming king (Luke 19:38).

As early as Chapter 9:31, Luke has stated that Jerusalem will be the place for an event which he explicitly labels as Jesus' exodus. During the transfiguration, Moses and Elijah were talking to Jesus about his exodus which he was about to fulfil in Jerusalem (Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας ... ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἤμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ).

The use of the term ἔξοδος should not merely denote Jesus' departure, whether from life (i.e. death; cf. 2 Pet 1:15) or earth (i.e. ascension).[1] Rather, in this passage, it should also be taken to signify *the* exodus of Israel, that is, the great liberation in which God leads the Israelites out from Egypt and into the Promised Land.[2] In the LXX and other early Jewish writings, ἔξοδος is used numerous times in relation to the exodus event (Exod 19:1; of Pss 104:38; 113:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 2:309, 320; 3:61, 305; 5:72, 261; 8:61; T. Sim, 8:4, 9:1; T. Benj. 12:4; cf. Heb 11:22). It is likely, therefore, that the idea of the exodus event is behind the Lukan passage. In other words, Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension are parts of the divine mission (i.e. his exodus) which he must accomplish in order to realise salvation for the people.

As Jesus travels closer to Jerusalem, the association between Jerusalem and his death becomes clearer. According to Luke, Jesus must die in Jerusalem, following the fate of the prophets of old (Luke 18:31–32). In fact, Luke quite often states that Jesus' death is part of divine necessity (Luke 9:22, 44; 13:33; 17:25). This statement should have prepared Jesus' followers for what they were to expect when they reached Jerusalem. However, a different kind of expectation arises. Some people assume that when Jesus arrives in Jerusalem, the kingdom of God will also appear without delay (Luke 19:11). For them, the eschatological restoration and salvation will take place immediately there and then.

This triumphant expectation grows stronger when Jesus enters Jerusalem riding on a colt that has never been ridden (Luke 19:30), a clear depiction of the royal entry of a promised King and Messiah (Gen 49:11; Zech 9:9 LXX).[3] As Jesus rides into Jerusalem, his disciples give praise to God with a loud voice: εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ

[1] Some think that it encompasses the death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus (Johnson, *Luke*, 153; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.373; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 353; cf. Bock, *Luke*, 1.869–70).
[2] Jindřich Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Books of Luke," *NovT* 2, no. 1 (1957): 12–13; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:793; Sharon H Ringe, "Luke 9:28-36: The Beginning of an Exodus," *Semeia* 28 (1983): 83–99; Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage," 656–660; Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 285–305; Green, *Luke*, 382; John T. Carroll, *Luke: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: WJK, 2012), 217.
[3] Green, *Luke*, 684–85; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.8; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 629.

βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου (Luke 19:38). For them, the promised king has arrived, and he is ready to claim his throne.

Up to this point, the expectation of restoration stems from Jesus' symbolic entrance to Jerusalem. There is no indication that the expectation is driven by a temporal marker. Luke does not specify the time of Jesus' arrival. However, Luke will mention later that it is near the time of the Passover celebration (Luke 22:1). From this passage, we can deduce that in Luke's narrative world, Jesus arrives sometime before the Passover celebration. If this is true, then the Passover time marker seems to strengthen the understanding that an eschatological salvation is expected by the disciples.

As shown in Chapter 2, some early Jewish texts indicate that the eschatological salvation will take place at the time of the Passover (Jeremiah 38:8 LXX; LAB 32:16). What is more, Josephus' numerous records regarding the liberation efforts during the time of Passover might also indicate that such an expectation was not uncommon among people in the first century CE. It is likely, therefore, that the salvific symbol of the Passover, together with the notion of the eschatological restoration at the time of Passover, might further fuel the expectation of immediate liberation.

Nevertheless, Luke notes that the expectation is never realised, a theme that is also found in Josephus. As irony marks the expectation of liberation in Josephus, so the same portrayal can also be said to take place in the record of Luke, though in a different way. In Josephus, the people strive for liberation but fail and perish. In Luke, the deliverance does take place, but not as the people have expected. In Josephus, the death of the people virtually ends the hope of liberation, whereas in Luke, the death of Jesus paradoxically assures it. To explain this paradox, Luke draws deeply from the theme of Passover.

3.2 The Passover Framing of Luke 22:1–20

The theme of Passover bursts onto the scene at the beginning of the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1). Luke begins by stating that the Passover feast is now just around the corner. For Luke, the Passover time marker is necessary for framing his narrative

and, at the same time, conveying his theological point. Luke uses the Passover temporal marker no fewer than three times to shape the Last Supper account, as shown in the outline below:

1. The Plot to Kill Jesus (22:1-6)
    a. The temporal setting: near the Passover feast (v. 1)
    b. The leaders' intention to kill Jesus (v. 2)
    c. Judas' scheme with the Jewish leaders (vv. 3-6)

2. The Preparation of the Passover (22:7-13)
    a. The temporal setting: the Passover day (v. 7)
    b. Jesus' instruction to prepare the Passover (vv. 8-12)
    c. The fulfilment of Jesus' instruction (v. 13)

3. The Passover Meal Discourse (22:14-20)
    a. The temporal setting: "the hour" of the Passover meal (v. 14)
    b. Acts and Words over the Passover meal (vv. 15-18)
    c. Acts and Words over the Eucharist (vv. 19-20)

From this outline,[4] we can infer that each section begins with a temporal setting, one that is closely associated with the Passover. Luke places the timing of the first section (Luke 22:1–6) close to the time of the Passover feast. The Passover feast "was near"

[4] The passage division here is in agreement with most scholars. The only issue is the position of verse 14. Whilst some take verse 14 as the beginning of the third section, others place it at the end of the second section. Thus, instead of the division adopted above (22:1–7, 8–13, and 14–20), they divide the pericope into 22:1–6, 7–14, and 15–20. A majority of scholars prefer the first option (e.g. Christopher F. Evans, *Saint Luke* [London: SCM, 1990], 777; Green, *Luke*, 754; Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, THKNT [Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1971], 390; Jacob Kremer, *Lukasevangelium*, KNT [Würzburg: Echter, 1988], 210; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 789; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1031; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 697). Others prefer the second option (e.g. Bovon, *Luke*, 3.140; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1376). Fitzmyer sees verse 14 as a transitional passage, bearing little implication to the division. However, as shown later, the impact of the division cannot be underrated. Luke uses the division to communicate his theological emphasis on Passover. Bovon gives three arguments for the inclusion of verse 14 in the preparation narrative (7–14): (a) the thematic relation between verse 7 and 14; (b) the new departure in verse 15; and (c) the fact that Luke still follows his Markan source until verse 14 before proceeding with his own source in verse 15. For reasons (a) and (b), it can be shown that the division adapted in this chapter can equally explain the thematic relationship. In Luke 22, the function of verse 14 is similar to that of verses 1 and 7, as a temporal signal to begin a new section. For reason (c), the fact that verse 14 is taken from the Markan source does not mean that it cannot be attached to a new section. Even in the Markan preparation narrative (Mark 14:12–17), many scholars see Mark 14:17 (par. Luke 22:14) not as the conclusion of the preparation story but as the beginning of a new section (e.g. M. Eugene Boring, *Mark : A Commentary*, NTL [Louisville: WJK, 2006], 387–88; John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, SP 2 [Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002], 397; Morna D. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel Acording to St Mark.* [London: Black, 1991], 29; Joel Marcus, *Mark 8-16 : A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27A [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009], 949; Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark : A Commentary* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002], 284). Thus, it is also possible that Luke follows Mark to use Mark 14:17 (Luke 22:14) as the beginning of a new section, even though the content of the new section is different.

(ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ ... πάσχα). Here, he sets the stage for the unfolding drama of Jesus' death, showing how the Jewish religious leaders seek to kill Jesus and find an ally in Judas. The second section (Luke 22:7–13) takes place on the day of the Passover (v. 7). Here, Luke depicts the preparation of the Passover to be consumed by Jesus and his disciples. Finally, Luke 22:14–20 describes the Passover meal in which Jesus speaks of the meal in relation to his suffering and the kingdom of God, followed by the institution of the Lord's Supper. In this section, the story moves to "the hour" of the Passover meal (καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, v. 14).

However, more than just depicting the Passover time marker, Luke also links each marker immediately to the death of Jesus, directly or indirectly.

> Luke 22:1–2
> Now the festival of Unleavened Bread, which is called the Passover, was near (Ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ ...πάσχα). The chief priests and the scribes were looking for a way to put Jesus to death (καὶ ἐζήτουν ... τὸ πῶς ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν)...
>
> Luke 22:7
> Then came the day of Unleavened Bread, on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed (Ἦλθεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα).
>
> Luke 22:14–15
> When the hour came (Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα), he took his place at the table, and the apostles with him. He said to them, "I have eagerly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer (πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν) ..."

In each passage above, the temporal signpost is followed by a reference to the death of Jesus. The allusion is the clearest in verses 1 and 14–15 (taking παθεῖν as incorporating death). In verse 7, there is no explicit remark on the death of Jesus. It only states the necessity for the Passover lamb to be sacrificed. However, I will argue later that the passage symbolically points to the death of Jesus. One implication of the link between the Passover and the death of Jesus is the need to relate the Passover theme to the overall story of Jesus' passion, even though no explicit Passover time marker is present beyond Luke 22:14.[5]

[5] Cf. Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 43. Luke's interest in the Passover theme in relation to the passion can be detected by comparing the Lukan text with parallel passages in Matthew 26 and Mark 14.

3.3 Passover and the Plan to Kill Jesus (Luke 22:1–6)

After stating that the Passover is near (22:1), Luke mentions the discussion of the religious leaders regarding how they can put Jesus to death (v. 2). This is not the first time Luke records their death threat to Jesus. In Luke 9:22, Jesus has already predicted their hostility, and when he enters Jerusalem, the threat intensifies. While Jesus keeps on teaching in the temple, the religious councils seek a way to kill Jesus (Luke 19:47), having tried a less-violent way to drive him away (Luke 20:1), with no success. Jesus' response, apparently, worsens the enmity (20:19). All these passages show that when we come to the beginning of Luke 22, the death threat is not a new element. What is new, however, is the link between the threat and the Passover time marker.

In the Jewish Passover, the peril of death is a significant part of the Passover story (e.g. Exod 12:13, 23; 14:5–14; Jub. 19:2–3; Ezek. Trag. 159, 187; Wis 18:5). The question now is whether one should compare the death threat here with the similar threat in Israel's Passover story. In my opinion, such a connection is plausible. The two

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	Matthew 26	Mark 14	Luke 22
(a) Plan to kill Jesus	1–5	1–2	1–2
(b) Anointing in Bethany	6–13	3–9	x
(c) Judas' betrayal plan	14–16	10–11	3–6
(d) Passover preparation	17–20	12–17	7–14
(e) Words over Judas	21–25	18–21	21–23
(f) Words over the Passover	x	x	15–18
(g) The Eucharist	26–29	22–25	19–20

As shown above, all three Gospels begin with the plan of the Jewish religious leaders to put Jesus to death (section a). Only Matthew and Mark continue with the anointing story in Bethany (b). Contrastingly, Luke omits the story and moves directly to Judas agreeing to help the religious leaders (c). By omitting the anointing in Bethany, Luke is able to focus on the plot to kill Jesus, eliminating any unnecessary digressions. Furthermore, Luke moves the passage on Jesus' words over Judas (e) so that it comes after the Eucharist (g) rather than before it. This arrangement avoids unnecessary disruption to Luke's narrative flow, especially between Jesus' interpretive words over the Passover (22:15–18) and the Eucharist (22:19–20).

Aside from sectional removals and rearrangements, Luke also adds and changes some words. In 22:3, Luke introduces a new character, Satan. This addition is not found in either Matthew or Mark. In 22:7, Luke changes the construction into δεῖ + passive infinitive when he depicts the Passover sacrifice. Compared to Luke, Mark's sentence is more descriptive in tone. This change suggests a possible divine passive at play, an issue that I will discuss later. In Luke, Jesus is the one who initiates the Passover preparations (v. 8) whereas in Matthew and Mark, the disciples are the ones who initiate the preparations (Matt 26:17; Mark 14:12). Luke's longest addition is found in verses 15–16, where Jesus specifically talks about the Passover meal and its relation to his death and the kingdom of God (f). This section is absent in both Matthew and Mark. Luke also has the saying about drinking the wine in the kingdom of God in section (f). Matthew and Mark has this saying in the Eucharist passage (Matt 26:29; Mark 14:25). Thus, it can be concluded that, in Luke, the juxtaposition between the Passover theme and the death of Jesus is richer and more intense.

accounts are comparable in general. Both state the presence of the death threat even though the details are rather different. In Exodus 12, the death threat is part of the tenth plague, the death of the firstborn. It is primarily a punishment aimed at the Egyptians, though it also threatens the Israelites. In Luke 22, the death threat is directed towards Jesus, who is also called the firstborn (cf. Luke 2:7).[6] Aside from Jesus, no other person is explicitly threatened.[7] To push the two accounts closer, we need more supporting data that shows the parallel. One of these is provided by Luke 22:3, in the role played by Satan.

In Luke 22:3, for the first time, the attempt to kill Jesus is concretised. The missing link in the plan to put Jesus to death is Judas Iscariot, who is "one of the twelve."[8] Judas volunteers himself to hand Jesus over in exchange for a sum of money (22:4–5). However, Judas is not the mastermind behind the execution, nor is the religious council. For Luke, the real mastermind is Satan, who has entered Judas (εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν). Satan is the one who influences Judas to betray Jesus.

Scholars have noted the particular relation between the passage here and Jesus' temptation narrative (4:1–13). In Luke 4, the devil (ὁ διάβολος) tempts Jesus for forty days (4:2). After finishing the test, the devil departs from him "until an opportune time" (ἄχρι καιροῦ, 4:13). Most likely the "opportune time" refers to the story in Luke 22, where Satan influences Judas to find an opportune time (εὐκαιρία) to hand Jesus over (22:6).[9] However, why should the opportune time take place during the Passover period? In other words, why is the presence of Satan important in Luke 22?

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[6] The significance of the word "firstborn" for our research is discussed in Section 4.2.1.

[7] The death-threat motif is not exclusive to the Passover story. One can find this motif in other parts of the OT, such as in the death threat to the righteous (e.g. Ps 11:2–3; 37:12–14, 32; Isa 57:1; Lam 4:13; Wis. 2:10–20), to the prophets (e.g. Jer 11:18–23; 12:5–6; 20:10), and also to God's chosen one (most famously Isa 53).

[8] Literally "being of the number of twelve" (ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα). This cumbersome wording has confused scholars. Some believe it is an indication of Judas only being numbered as one of the twelve but not really belonging to the twelve (e.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 788; Hans Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium: Übersetzt und Erklärt*, KEK I/3 [Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006], 658). Others believe otherwise, stressing the ironical effect of the phrase. He is one of *the* twelve yet he betrays Jesus (e.g. Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 693). The latter reading is to be preferred.

[9] Green, *Luke*, 753 n. 23; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1374; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1029; Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 48. Conzelmann pushes it too far when he states that, between the temptation and the passion, Satan is absent from Jesus' ministry (*The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell [London: Faber, 1960], 16, 170, 199). Even though Satan's role is more prominent in those two narratives, his power is still present,

Scholars seem to overlook the possible link between Satan and the Passover. The book of Exodus does not record any demonic activities during the Passover night rescue. God declares, "I will strike down every firstborn in the land of Egypt" (Exod 12:12). God will pass over the Israelites, and therefore no plague will befall the Israelites (Exod 12:13). Here we only have three parties: God, the Israelites, and the Egyptians. However, further down in verse 23, we find a fourth character: a personified destroyer who seems to be a separate entity, differentiated from God.

> For the LORD will pass through to strike down the Egyptians; when he sees the blood on the lintel and on the two doorposts, the LORD will pass over that door and will not allow the destroyer (LXX: τὸν ὀλεθρεύοντα) to enter your houses to strike you down.
>
> (Exod 12:23).

In Exodus, the identity of the destroyer is unclear. In a later development, this being is interpreted differently. One interesting development is the identification of the destroyer as an evil being. This interpretation can be found in the book of Jubilees, where it is called "Mastema" or "Prince (of) Mastema". In Jubilees' retelling of the Passover story, Mastema plays the role of the destroyer. As shown in Chapter 2, Mastema is the antagonist in Jubilees, ever seeking to destroy or harm God's chosen people.[10] In one passage, he is even named "Satan" (Jub. 10:11). When Moses tries to release Israel, Mastema counters him by helping the Egyptian sorcerers (Jub. 48:9). However, when God punishes the Egyptians with the death plague, it is Mastema who is sent to kill. Likewise, it is Mastema whom the Israelites are protected from (Jub. 49:2–3). Even though he is an evil being, his action is constrained and controlled by God.

The role of Satan in Luke 22:3 seems to parallel that of Mastema in Jubilees. The presence of Satan indicates that Jesus' conflict is not merely with other human beings: it is elevated to a cosmic battle between him and the evil being who seeks to disrupt his mission.

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especially in the form of demon possessions (e.g. Luke 8:2; 8:26–49; 9:1–6; 10:17; 13:32). Conzelmann also seems to undermine the significant role of Satan in the passion narrative. He argues that Satan has merely a subordinate part without significant impact to the saving event, cf. Ibid., 156.

[10] See the discussion in Section 2.3.

Satan does not stop at Judas in his assault. In Luke 22:31, he attempts to destroy all the disciples. Jesus says that Satan has demanded to sift all of them like wheat (ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξῃτήσατο … τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον), for the purpose of wrecking their faith. Thus, we have to understand the disciples' running away and Peter's denial as the result of the devil's work. However, even though Peter and the disciples seem to fail, Jesus prays that Peter' faith will not (Luke 22:32). Like the Israelites, Peter and the disciples are protected from the assault of Satan.

Furthermore, as Jesus is captured, he says to those who capture him a rather enigmatic sentence, "this is your hour, and the power of darkness" (αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους, Luke 22:53).[11] It is likely that the reference to the power of darkness symbolises the power of Satan (cf. Acts 26:18).[12]

For Luke, Satan plays a significant role in the passion narrative.[13] As in Jubilees, Luke includes this other character in the narrative – an evil being. The real conflict is not between Jesus and the chief priests; rather, it is against this evil power, which seeks to destroy Jesus' disciples, especially their faith. By doing so, it tries to disrupt God's redemptive plan. As in Jubilees, its power is restricted and controlled by God. The phrase in Luke 22:31, "Satan has demanded (ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξῃτήσατο)," implies a request to the higher authority (i.e. God), before the action can be done.[14]

I do not say that Luke is influenced by Jubilees here. What I try to argue is that it is possible to have a demonic character within a Passover story, as shown in Jubilees. Moreover, since the passion is the climax of Jesus' story, it is more likely to highlight the presence of an evil supernatural power.

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[11] Satan's role in the Lukan passion has a strong affinity with the parallel text in John, in which Satan also enters Judas (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς, John 13:27; cf. 13:2). However, Luke is the only synoptic writer who casts Satan in the passion narrative. Mark and Matthew do not mention it in their parallel texts.
[12] Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 92; Bovon, *Luke*, 3:219; Green, *Luke*, 785; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 728; Carroll, *Luke*, 446.
[13] Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 46–47; Green, *Luke*, 753; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1773.
[14] It is probably safe to say that the idea of God restricting the action of the devil stems from the OT tradition, especially Job 1–2. See Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 79; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 716; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.177; Green, *Luke*, 772; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1072.

A comparison with Luke 4:1–13 also strengthens the plausibility of the Passover background for the role of Satan in Luke's passion story. In Luke 4:1–2, Jesus is tempted in the wilderness (ἐν τῷ ἐρήμῳ) for forty days (ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα).[15] The pairing of the spatial setting (wilderness) and the temporal (forty days) most likely recalls the 40 years journey of the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod 16:35; Num 14:33; Deut 2:7; 8:2; Josh 5:6). Through this passage, Jesus symbolicly re-enacts the history of the Israelites in the desert.[16] In his three temptations, Jesus responds by quoting from the book of Deuteronomy (Deut 8:3; 6:13; and 6:16). In Deuteronomy, the texts being quoted are found in the context of the wilderness temptation faced by Israel. There the people are tempted by hunger (Exod 16:2-3), tempted to test God (Exod 17:2-3), and tempted to worship idols (Exod 32). As the devil's activity in Luke 4:1–13 is important for the broader exodus theme in Luke, so is the role of Satan in Luke 22.

To conclude, in Luke's Passover story, Satan is the evil entity, possibly a transformation of the "destroyer" tradition, who masterminds the assault on the divine plan of salvation through Jesus.[17] The presence of the death threat and the involvement of Satan, within the temporal setting of Passover, indicate a situation that is likened to that faced by the Israelites during the Passover night in Egypt (Exod 12).

Excursus: The Passover Reckoning in Luke-Acts

In Luke 22, there are two references to the Passover feast (vv. 1 and 7). In both instances, the feast is placed in relation to the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Furthermore, in those verses, the Unleavened Bread is mentioned first, followed by the Passover as a further explanation of it. This might suggest that the Festival of Unleavened Bread seems to be the main way of reckoning the two festivals.

[15] For forty days representing forty years, see Num 14:34; Ezek 4:6.

[16] Not all scholars agree that Jesus is re-enacting Israel in the wilderness here. Bovon, for example, opts to compare Jesus' 40 days in the desert with Moses' 40 days in the mountain of God (Deut 10:10). See Bovon, *Luke*, 3.142. The main problem with this position is that Moses does not experience temptations, unlike the Israelites.

[17] Satan also plays a role in John's passion narrative (John 13:27). Since John is most likely later than Luke, John either used Luke as his source or at least they share a similar source/tradition.

v. 1: Ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα
v. 7: Ἦλθεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων [ἐν] ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα

While the two are technically different feasts, they are closely related to each other in such a way that the line is blurred. Some argue that, based on the usage in 22:7, Luke somehow confuses the two.[18] They assert that Luke inaccurately takes the Unleavened Bread as a one-day festival, hence the singular ἡ ἡμέρα.[19] Furthermore, even if Luke knows about the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread, the ritual killing of the Passover animal does not take place on the first day of the feast (15th Nisan), but the day before (14th Nisan).[20] Since this might put Luke's understanding of the Passover feast in question, I will address this matter.

Luke mentions the Passover and/or Unleavened Bread in several passages.

Luke 2:41	τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα
Luke 22:1	ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα
Luke 22:7	ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων [ἐν] ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα
Acts 12:3	[αἱ] ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων
Acts 12:4	τὸ πάσχα
Acts 20:6	τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων

As shown above, Luke is not fixed to one way of addressing the festival. He can refer to the Passover alone (Luke 2:41), to the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Acts 20:6), or to both festivals (Luke 22:1, 7; Acts 12:3–4). He surely understands the Unleavened Bread as a multi-day festival, as shown in the plural [αἱ] ἡμέραι (Acts 12:3) and τὰς ἡμέρας (Acts 20:6). Luke understands the Passover as being one of the days within the longer Festival of Unleavened Bread. It is also clear that he takes the Passover as one of the days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Luke 22:7; Acts 12:3–4).

The construction of Luke 22:1, for example, is very similar to Josephus' record:

Luke 22:1	Ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα
Ant. 10.70	τὴν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην
Ant. 14:21	τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἣν πάσχα λέγομεν

[18] E.g. Bovon, *Luke*, 3.135.
[19] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 695.
[20] So Bovon, *Luke*, 3.142.

This inevitably blurs the line between the two. The flexible identification of the two festivals is well known and well applied within early Jewish literature. Luke seems to follow this popular convention.[21]

In Luke 22:7, Luke wants to specify one of the many days of Unleavened Bread he has in mind. He refers specifically to the one day when the Passover lamb is slaughtered, which, again, is quite similar to another statement of Josephus:

Luke 22:7 ἦλθεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων [ἐν] ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα
Ant. 9.271 ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην φάσκα ...

Mark and Matthew also indicate a similar understanding, placing the Passover ritual on the first day of the festival of Unleavened Bread (Mark 14:12; Matt 26:7). We cannot assume that Luke is wrong about his Passover reckoning in this verse.

One should also take into account the different ways by which people reckon the day and night. The Jewish calendar begins the new day from sunset, whereas the Greco-Roman day starts at midnight or dawn.

	Jewish	Greco-Roman
Passover Sacrifice	14 Nisan	14 Nisan
Passover Meal (Unleavened Bread first day)	15 Nisan	14 Nisan

It is possible that the intertwining between the Passover and the Unleavened Bread is due to the reckoning of the Greco-Roman day. In the Jewish calendar, the Passover meal and the first day of Unleavened Bread begin on the 15th of Nisan. In the Greco-Roman calendar, that is still counted as the evening of the 14th of Nisan, so the Passover sacrifice, meal, and the first day of Unleavened Bread, all take place on the 14th of Nisan. Since both Luke and Josephus write to a gentile audience, it is very likely that they use the more common Greco-Roman calendar to portray the temporal reckoning of the Passover/Unleavened Bread.

In summary, Luke's reckoning is not a mistake, nor is it odd. Luke follows the popular, less rigid reckoning of the Passover/Unleavened Bread.

[21] Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Cmmentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke*, 4th ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 490; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 787; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 772; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1702; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 692.

3.4 The Preparation of the Passover (Luke 22:7–13)

3.4.1 Luke 22:7 and the Death of Jesus

Luke begins this passage by stating that the (first) day of the Unleavened Bread has come (ἦλθεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων). It is the day on which the Passover lamb has to be slaughtered ([ἐν] ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα). Some scholars have taken this short phrase to be an allusion to the death of Jesus.[22] Just as the lamb is slaughtered, likewise Jesus is killed. Others, however, disagree.[23] The main issue here is how to understand the term δεῖ.

Luke is fond of using this term to convey the motif of divine necessity.[24] It appears 18 times in his Gospel. Sometimes it is used in an ordinary way, without any concept of divine necessity (e.g. Luke 12:12; 13:14; 18:1). In most instances, however, Luke employs δεῖ to denote divine necessity as part of God's salvific plan.[25] For example, this notion is found when the twelve years old Jesus states that he must be in his Father's house (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με, Luke 2:49). Later when he begins his ministry, Jesus says that he must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God (εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke 4:43). Luke also credits Jesus' healing and encounter with sinners to the divine mandate (13:16; 19:5; cf. in the parable, 15:32). Above all, the idea of divine necessity appears most often in passages where Jesus states that he must suffer and be killed as part of his mission (9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 24:7, 26; cf. 23:37; 24:44–45). The question now is whether the δεῖ construction in Luke

[22] Grundmann, *Lukas*, 390; Green, "Preparation for Passover," 312; Kremer, *Lukasevangelium*, 211; Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 51–52; Johnson, *Luke*, 335; Green, *Luke*, 755; John P. Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts: An Audience-Oriented Approach*, SBLMS (Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 167.
[23] Nolland, *Luke*, 1033; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 778; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 696.
[24] John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, SNTSMS 76 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 166–185; Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 153–154; I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 106–111; Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Divine ΔEI in Luke-Acts: Investigations into the Lukan Understanding of God's Providence," *NovT* 26, no. 2 (1984): 168–90; Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 34–35; Kenneth Bass, "The Narrative and Rhetorical Use of Divine Necessity in Luke-Acts," *JBPR* 1 (2009): 48–68.
[25] Cosgrove, "The Divine ΔEI," 173–75; Squires, *Plan of God*, 167–173; Bass, "Divine Necessity," 51–53.

22:7 should be read likewise, especially in respect to the necessity for Jesus to suffer and die. A number of hints point to this line of interpretation.

First, as shown in the outline above, each section in Luke 22:1–20 begins with the Passover time marker (vv. 1, 7, 14). With two of the time markers (vv. 1, 14), there are references to the death of Jesus (vv. 1, 15). Thus, it is plausible that Luke 22:7 also follows this pattern, pairing the Passover temporal marker with the death of Jesus. If this is true, then the necessity of the slaughtered Passover lamb should allude to the necessity of Jesus' death.

Second, Luke changes the wording from that of Mark, his source. The parallel text in Mark 14:12 has καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων, ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθυον… ("and on the first day of the Unleavened Bread, when they sacrificed the Passover…").[26] In Mark, the phrase is descriptive. In Luke, the addition of δεῖ gives a more imperative sense. In Mark, the verb is active (ἔθυον–imperfect active indicative) whereas in Luke, it is changed into passive (θύεσθαι–present passive infinitive). Such changes, in effect, cast a greater emphasis on the Passover lamb. It is the time when the Passover lamb *has to be killed.*

One can argue that Luke's construction demands this change. A δεῖ construction requires an accusative noun as the subject. Since τὸ πάσχα becomes the subject, the verb has to be passive to fit in. In addition, with this construction, Luke can avoid the impersonal plural in Mark (ἔθυον).[27] Even though Luke mainly uses δεῖ to depict the necessity of Jesus' suffering and death, some scholars question a similar line of reading in Luke 22:7. For them, the term δεῖ only refers to the legal necessity – the lamb has to be killed as required by the Torah.[28] The phrasing in Luke is only descriptive in its meaning, not unlike that of Mark. Furthermore, some works on δεῖ as a reference to the divine necessity do not include 22:7 in their discussion – possibly indicating their denial

[26] The plural of the second phrase refers either to the crowd (i.e. impersonal sense) or to Jesus and the disciples. Some Bible versions change the phrase into passive, leaving out the ambiguous subject (e.g. NRSV, NASB; NJB).
[27] cf. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 791.
[28] Plummer, *Luke*, 492; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 791; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1382; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 778; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 661.

of the theme in that text.[29] However, the main question remains the same: why does Luke add the δεῖ into a descriptive phrase? Why does he not construct the sentence using a passive indicative verb (ἐτύθη), with which he can leave out the ambiguous δεῖ?[30] It is hard not to perceive a theological point here. Since words and syntax can only take us thus far, I will proceed to my next argument.

Third, there is a clear parallel between the Passover lamb being slaughtered and Jesus being killed. As stated above, Jesus mentions his suffering and death numerous times. They are essential parts of God's salvific plan. The Passover lamb fits neatly into this pattern. In the exodus story, the slaughtered lamb is necessary to God's plan to save the Israelites. If Luke understands the story and meaning of the Jewish Passover, it is not hard to see how he would use the slaughtered Passover lamb in 22:7 to allude to Jesus' death. In fact, in Luke 22:14–20, Jesus clearly uses sacrificial language to explain the bread and the wine in relation to his death (more on this in Section 3.6).

It is worth noting Josephus' description of the death of the Israelites during the Passover. In the post-biblical account, Josephus mainly uses the Passover as the setting for the confrontation between the Jews, the insurgents, and the Romans.[31] In more than one account, Josephus notes that those who sacrifice become, ironically, the sacrifices themselves (*J.W.* 2.224–227; 4.402–403; 5.98–105; 6.420–432; 7.400–401). The symbolism in these descriptions lies in the fact that multitudes of people are slain during the Passover because of the conflicts. Drawing from Josephus' numerous accounts, we can conclude that it is possible to transfer the image of the sacrificed Passover animal to the people who sacrifice them based on two conditions: (1) numerous people are killed and (2) they are killed around the time of Passover. However, even Josephus is fairly flexible in his depiction. In some cases, the people are not depicted as being in Jerusalem to offer the sacrifice. However, since they are killed around the time of Passover, the comparison to the slain Passover animal can still be made (*J.W.* 4.402–

[29] The verse is not discussed at all in the work of Squires. Cosgrove regards the usage in Luke 22:7 as an example of ordinary use ("The Divine ΔEI," 173).
[30] Paul uses the passive indicative when he writes about Jesus as the sacrificed Passover lamb (καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός – 1 Cor 5:7)
[31] See Section 2.8.

403; 7.400–401). In other cases, the death does not even have to be at the exact time of the Passover sacrifice. Even if the massacre takes place within a longer time frame, up to a few months after the Passover, Josephus still associates the incident with the slain Passover animal (*J.W.* 6.420–432).

The main finding from the reading above is that a person can be associated with the Passover sacrifice when they are killed around the time of the feast: a violent death during the time of Passover is more than enough to establish an association with the Passover sacrifice. Likewise, in Luke, Jesus' violent death around the time of the Passover is sufficient to recall the Passover sacrifice. In Luke, Jesus as the one who sacrifices (Luke 22:7) has become the sacrifice himself (Luke 22:19–20).

3.4.2 Preparations for the Passover Meal (Luke 22:8–13)

Despite the possible association between the slaughtered Passover lamb and the death of Jesus, Luke does not expand the theme further. Instead, he moves immediately to the preparation of the Passover meal.

For a passage about preparation, Luke 22:8–13 seems to be longer than necessary. Matthew, for example, has no problem in compressing the pericope into three verses (Matt 26:17–19). The length and the way the story is narrated indicate why the passage is significant. The passage begins with Jesus instructing Peter and John to prepare the Passover for them (v. 8). By placing Jesus as the initiator, Luke is able to portray Jesus as the one who is in control of the situation. It also shows that the Passover meal is an important part of his mission. This is strengthened through the manner in which the Passover is prepared. When the disciples ask about the location for the meal, Jesus gives a specific instruction about whom they will meet, where to go, what to say, and what will happen (vv. 10–12). Jesus begins with the emphatic and authoritative "behold" (ἰδού), and tells Peter and John that a man carrying a jar will meet them. They should follow the person into a house and, upon entering the house, they should ask the owner about the guest room (τὸ κατάλυμα) where Jesus intends to eat the Passover with his disciples. The only other passage where Luke employs the term κατάλυμα is in the

birth narrative (Luke 2:7), wherein no appropriate place is available in the κατάλυμα for Mary to give birth to Jesus. Here, there *will* be a place in the κατάλυμα. Could this be a parallel intended by Luke? In the next chapter, I will show that this is indeed the case.[32]

Jesus continues his speech by stating that the owner will show them a large upper room and they should prepare the Passover there. Peter and John obey and find everything just as he has told them (v. 13). Some argue that the Lukan Jesus has prearranged the location with the house owner, probably in secret to avoid disruption from Judas.[33] However, it is more likely that Luke is depicting the prophetic power of Jesus.[34] Jesus has to celebrate the Passover meal with his disciples, since it is an integral part of God's salvific plan. It must not fail or be disrupted. Thus the prophecy, representing divine power and involvement, is a warrant that the meal will surely take place.

Another particular highlight from this passage is the use of the preparation language, especially the use of ἑτοιμάζω, which appears in four passages in various forms (vv. 8, 9, 12, 13) and functions as an *inclusio* to the preparation pericope:

A: Jesus' command to prepare the Passover (ἑτοιμάσατε ... τὸ πάσχα, v. 8)
B: The disciples ask where to prepare (ποῦ θέλεις ἑτοιμάσωμεν, v. 9)

A': Jesus reiterates the command to prepare the Passover (ἐκεῖ ἑτοιμάσατε, v. 12)
B': The disciples prepare the Passover (ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα, v. 13)

The preparation motif is significant within the Lukan narrative, especially in relation to God's promised salvation. It is mentioned in connection with the ministry of John in preparing the people to be ready for the Lord (Luke 1:17, 76; 3:4). John is the voice in the wilderness, instructing the people to prepare for the coming Lord (φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, Luke 3:4; cf. Isa 40:3). In Luke 2:30–31, Simeon declares, "My eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples" (εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ὃ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον

[32] See Section 4.2.3.
[33] Plummer, *Luke*, 492; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 792; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1711.
[34] Grundmann, *Lukas*, 391; Kremer, *Lukasevangelium*, 211; Johnson, *Luke*, 336; Heil, *Meal Scenes*, 169; Green, *Luke*, 755; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.145; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 696.

πάντων τῶν λαῶν). Particularly important is the remark in Luke 9:51–52, the beginning of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. Luke notes that Jesus "set his face to go to Jerusalem," because the time of his ascension was near. After this decision, he sends some messengers, presumably his disciples, "to make preparation" (ἑτοιμάσαι) for his long journey (9:52). While the preparation in this verse might include a proclamation of Jesus and the good news, one must not exclude the more mundane preparation of lodging. Scholars rightly note that the preparation of the disciples in Luke 9:52 is very close to the earlier role of John in preparing the way for Jesus (Luke 1:17, 76; 3:4).[35] The bottom line is that even the more ordinary preparation of Luke 9:52 is significant to Jesus' accomplishment of his mission, and it should be counted as a part of a call to prepare for the coming Lord and his salvation.

It is likely that the preparation motif in Luke 22:7–13 should be interpreted in a similar vein. The Passover preparation is a part of the continuation of the call to prepare. In other words, the Passover preparation is also a preparation for Jesus to accomplish the salvific plan of God. Just as John the Baptist calls out to the people to be ready for the coming Lord, Jesus instructs his disciples to make ready for the coming salvation.[36]

3.5 Words over the Passover (22:14–18)

Jesus' Passover meal in Luke is often interpreted in the light of the Jewish Passover seder, as found in Mishnah Pesaḥim 10 and Tosefta Pisha 10.[37] Thus, for example, some claim that the cup and the thanksgiving in 22:17–18 represent the first cup of the seder with its blessing (m. Pes. 10:2), and that the cup and thanksgiving in 22:20 refer to the third cup of the seder with its blessing, since it is taken after the meal (m. Pes. 10:7). The problem with this approach is the late dating of both Mishnah (ca. 200 CE) and

[35] E.g. Johnson, *Luke*, 162; Green, *Luke*, 404; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.7; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 362; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 370.

[36] cf. Bovon (*Luke*, 3.142) who argues that the Passover preparation is an indirect preparation for the kingdom of God.

[37] E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1389–91; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 785; Johnson, *Luke*, 337, 339; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1047–1048; Green, *Luke*, 757–58. The work of Jeremias which outlines the Passover seder and compare it to the Last Supper is still influential (Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 84–88).

Tosefta (ca. 300 CE) and that such a seder is most likely to have come from the post 70 CE era.[38] Some have criticised this usage as methodologically flawed.[39] This does not mean, however, that there is no seder-like Passover ritual during the NT era. It may not be as elaborate as the Mishnaic seder, but some of the seder elements (food components, wine, blessings, songs) should already have existed.[40]

Even if it is still possible to compare the Lukan Passover and the Jewish Passover seder, it is rather inadequate for an understanding of the theology of Luke. Luke is neither interested in the Passover order nor the words of the blessing over the meal and the wine. The structure of Luke 22:16–20 reveals a different emphasis:[41]

I. The Passover meal (v. 15–18)
   a: Jesus' act and words over the Passover (v. 15–16)
   b: Jesus' act and words over the cup (v. 17–18)

II. The Eucharist (v. 19-20)[42]
   a': Jesus' act and words over the bread (v. 19)

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[38] For the dating of the Mishnah and the Tosefta, see, for example, Hermann L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, trans. Markus N. A Bockmuehl, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 109; Günter Stemberger, "Dating Rabbinic Traditions," in *New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Reimund Bieringer et al., JSJSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 82; Eyal Ben-Eliyahu, Yehudah Cohn, and Fergus Millar, *Handbook of Jewish Literature from Late Antiquity, 135-700 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 25, 27. The relation between Mishnah and Tosefta is rather complicated. Since Tosefta is dated after Mishnah, many see the Tosefta as an early supplement and commentary on the Mishnah. Bokser's work, for example, falls into this category (*Origins*, 32; cf. Abraham Goldberg, "The Tosefta - Companion to the Mishna," in *The Literature of the Sages. First Part: Oral Tora, Halakha, Mishna, Tosefta, Talmud, External Tractates*, ed. Shmuel Safrai, CRINT [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987], 283–302). More recently, however, scholars show that the relation is not that simple. In fact many traditions behind the Tosefta are earlier than those of the Mishnah (e.g. Joshua Kulp, "The Origins of the Seder and Haggadah," *CBR* 4, no. 1 [2005]: 125–28; Judith Hauptman, *Rereading the Mishnah: A New Approach to Ancient Jewish Texts*, TSAJ 109 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005]). Hauptman thinks that the Tosefta actually preserves the seder between 70 CE–200 CE. She believes that this version of seder is earlier than the one described in the Mishnah (ibid., 51–52). See the helpful discussion on the relation between Mishnah and Tosefta in Paul Mandel, "The Tosefta," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism Volume IV:The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 316–35. Even if the traditions behind the Tosefta are earlier, they are still placed after 70 CE and hence cannot really reflect the seder before the destruction of the Temple.

[39] Stemberger, "Pesachhaggada"; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 664; Wolter sees Jeremias as the main culprit that causes this lasting error (*Lukasevangelium*, 699).

[40] E.g. Marcus, "Passover"; Naomi Cohen, "The Passover Seder Eve in Philo's Writing," (2012): 1–19, http://www.jewish-studies.org/.upload/Cohen_Naomi.pdf. Rather than using the Mishnah to explain the NT text, the other way round is methodologically more plausible.

[41] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 699; cf. J. H. Petzer, "Luke 22:19b-20 and the Structure of the Passage," *NovT* 26, no. 3 (1984): 249–52; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.153.

[42] I am using the longer text in my research. I will discuss the textual issue with this text in the next sub-section.

b': Jesus' act and words over the cup (v. 20)

Luke's main goal is not to depict the chronology of the meal *per se*. Rather, the careful structuring helps the reader to interpret parts of the meal properly. As shown in the structure above, each section (I and II) has two parts (a–b and a'–b'). Within each section, the two parts should be understood in light of each other. Thus, (a) should be understood through (b) and vice versa, likewise (a') and (b'). Furthermore, (II) should also be understood in light of (I). Reading in this way, (a') cannot be properly understood without (a), likewise (b') in light of (b). Thus, through the structuring, Luke is able to parallel the Passover meal, which anticipates and commemorates the exodus liberation, and the Eucharist, which anticipates and commemorates the new salvation in Jesus.

Regarding the blessings, it is true that Luke mentions the blessings several times (22:17, 19, 20). However, he is silent over the exact words of the blessing. In addition, Luke chooses the term εὐχαριστέω (to give thanks) instead of εὐλογέω (to bless).[43] As will be shown later, Luke's main concern is Jesus' new interpretive words over the entire Passover meal, words that go beyond the Passover seder and its Haggadah.

3.5.1 Passover and Passion (Luke 22:15)

Jesus begins his discourse by stating his deep desire to eat the Passover with his disciples before he suffers (ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν, Luke 22:15). While, previously, Jesus' passion is associated with the Passover time marker (22:1) and slaughter (22:7), here it begins to be related to the Passover meal. Since Jesus' death is imminent, there is a sense of urgency in observing the Passover meal. The use of the cognate dative ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα ("I earnestly desired," lit: "I desired with desire") intensifies the urgency and the importance of the meal.

The relationship between Passover and Jesus' passion in this verse seems to be strengthened by the pairing of πάσχα with πάσχειν ("to suffer"), a phenomenon that can

[43] Cf. Mark 14:22; Matt 26:26.

be found in some early Christian writings.[44] There is a debate, however, on whether the wordplay is intended in Luke's Gospel. Some argue that this is unlikely, for good reason: Luke always uses the aorist infinitive form (παθεῖν) when he writes about Jesus' suffering (Luke 9:22; 17:25; 22:15; 24:26, 46).[45] If Luke wanted to make a wordplay, it would have been better for him to have used the present infinitive instead (πάσχειν).[46] However, the fact that later writers can link the two words shows that we cannot dismiss the possibility of wordplay. Luke is not the only one who places πάσχα and πάσχειν close to each other. In Philo's discussion about πάσχα, he also speaks about πάθος (e.g. *Spec.* 2.147; *QE* 1.4; *Leg*. 3.94, 165; *Her*. 255; *Congr*. 106).[47] Hence, some believe that Philo may make the connection due to the similarity between πάσχα and πάσχειν.[48] Within the Lukan text, some evidence also supports such a reading. Luke juxtaposes τὸ πάσχα immediately with πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν, making the two very close to each other.[49] In the light of this, it is plausible to see the link between πάσχα and πάσχειν.[50]

Another possible option is that the parallel is actually between παθεῖν and φαγεῖν. To recall, in Luke 22:15, Jesus says, ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. By placing the infinitive after the accusative, Luke is able to highlight the parallel.[51] The emphasis here is on the comparison between two activities: the consumption of the Passover on the one hand and the suffering of Jesus on the other.

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[44] E.g. Melito of Sardis (*Peri Pascha* 46) and Justin Martyr (*Dial*. 40.1–3).

[45] Luke's only other use of is in the perfect indicative (πεπόνθασιν), when he speaks about the Galileans who are killed by Pilate (13:2).

[46] E.g. Matt 17:12.

[47] See Section 2.6.

[48] Leonhardt, *Worship in Philo*, 30; Füglister, *Heilsbedeutung*, 166. Füglister pushes it a step further by stating that such a connection is known among the first century Hellenistic Jews.

[49] Theobald, "Paschamahl," 161–162.

[50]For additional discussion, see William Whallon, "The Pascha in the Eucharist," *NTS* 40, no. 01 (1994): 126–32.

[51] The first infinitive phrase above (ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν) basically consists of a main verb + accusative + infinitive as a complementary verb. Luke has no problem with placing the infinitive before the accusative (e.g. Luke 4:6 [...θέλω δίδωμι αὐτήν], 22:2 [ἐζήτουν...ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν...], 22:6 [ἐζήτει... παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν...], and 23:8 [ἦν...θέλων ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν]). The second infinitive phrase (πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν) consists of πρὸ τοῦ (denoting time) + accusative + infinitive. Only two other πρὸ τοῦ + infinitive phrases are found in the Lukan writings: Luke 2:21 (πρὸ τοῦ συλλημφθῆναι αὐτὸν...) and Acts 23:15 (πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγίσαι αὐτὸν...). In both verses, Luke places the accusative after the infinitive. Thus, it appears that Luke carefully constructs his phrasing in 22:15 by placing the two infinitives (φαγεῖν and παθεῖν) at the end each phrase. By doing so, he is able to amplify the parallel between the eating of the Passover and the suffering of Jesus.

If Passover is the backdrop for understanding Jesus' death, then in this passage Luke once again equates Jesus' suffering to the Passover story. The difference here is that the parallel is with the consumption of the Passover meal, not with the slaughtering of a lamb.

Whether the comparison is between two etymologies (πάσχα and πάσχειν) or two activities (παθεῖν and φαγεῖν), Luke's phrasing in this verse helps to bring the Passover and the passion closer.

3.5.2 Passover Celebration at the Parousia

After stating his deep desire to consume the Passover meal, Jesus explains the reason for his deep longing and the urgency of the Passover celebration (Luke 22:16). He begins by stating, "for I tell you" (λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν). The redundant λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν in the mouth of Jesus (also in v. 18) signals to the listeners that Jesus is about to state an essential truth (Luke 10:24; 14:24; 22:37; cf. in the mouth of John the Baptist, 3:8). In this case, it is an important prophetic pronouncement: Jesus will not eat the Passover until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God (οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ). From this statement, we can infer that it will be Jesus' last Passover meal with his disciples before his death.

Jesus' death is not the only reality depicted in verse 16, nor is it the ultimate one. The statement also implies that Jesus will celebrate the Passover again with his disciples. It is clear that Jesus speaks about the reality beyond his death. However, precisely what does the statement mean? What exactly is being fulfilled? When will it be fulfilled? Moreover, what is the relation between the Passover and the kingdom of God?

It is rather clear that the subject of πληρωθῇ in Luke 22:16 is αὐτὸ, and αὐτὸ refers to τὸ πάσχα in verse 15.[52] However, πάσχα can denote a number of things. It can represent the Passover lamb, usually in relation to the sacrifice (Luke 22:7; Exod 12:21;

[52] Some take the kingdom as the subject; hence it is the kingdom which finds its fulfilment or "until there is a consummation in the Kingdom of God" (Matthew Black, "The 'Fulfilment' in the Kingdom of God," *ExpTim* 57, no. 1 [1945]: 26). But this reading does not fit the syntax of the sentence.

Deut 16:2, 6; 2 Chr 30:15, 17; 35:1, 11, 13; Ezra 6:20; Jub. 49:19; Philo, *Leg*. 3.94, 165; Josephus, *Ant*. 9.271), the Passover celebration (Luke 22:1; Exod 12:11, 48; Num 9:2, 3–4; 28:16; 2 Chr 30:1, 2, 5; 35:1; Ezra 6:19; Jub. 49:10), or the Passover meal (Luke 22:8, 11, 13, 15; 2 Chr 30:18; Jub. 49:2; Philo, *Her*. 1.255). Most scholars think that it refers either to the lamb[53] or to the meal.[54] Others see the Passover festival as a possible reference.[55]

In my view, it should primarily stand for the Passover meal. Throughout Luke 22:8–20, Luke places the meal motif in the forefront. The Passover meal is the focus of the preparation (22:8–13). Furthermore, Jesus speaks about the fulfilment in the context of the Passover meal (vv. 15–18). It is a meal that commemorates past deliverance while looking forward to the future salvation. Through these verses, Luke is able to introduce the notion of a future salvation in relation to the Passover.

However, the way Luke constructs it, using the language of fulfilment, is quite startling. In this verse, Luke basically claims that the long tradition of the Passover celebration, with its rich history, is a mere shadow of the true Passover celebration, a mere pointer to what it has always been intended to mean. By implication, there is the idea that the deliverance commemorated at Passover is inferior in comparison to God's salvific acts in Jesus.[56] Bovon aptly summarises the implication of the statement in verse 16.

> Passover has its value, but it has not yet reached its fullness. Even though it has been wanted by God since the time of the exodus, even though it is respected by Jesus, the Passover is no less a human ritual, a sign that looks forward to the hoped-for reality, an imperfect celebration awaiting fulfillment.[57]

It is now clear that the Passover meal will find its fulfilment in the kingdom of God. From the parallel between 22:16 and 18, we can deduce that the fulfilment will happen

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[53] C. K. Barrett, "Luke XXII. 15: To Eat the Passover," *JTS* 9 (1958): 305–307; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 208.

[54]E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1384; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 784; Johnson, *Luke*, 337; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1050; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 701.

[55] E.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 796; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.157.

[56] Luke's intention is therefore contrary to the redaction of D, where it replaces πληρωθῇ with καινον βρωθη. The D text weakens the subversive nature of the fulfilment language.

[57] Bovon, *Luke*, 3.157; cf. Martin M. Culy, Mikeal C. Parsons, and Joshua J. Stigall, *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text*, BHGNT (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2010), 669.

when the kingdom of God comes. The question now is: when does the kingdom of God come?

Most likely, the fulfilment will take place at the Parousia, the time when the kingdom comes in its fullness. In other words, the fulfilment refers to the eschatological Passover meal at the consummation, and not the inauguration, of the kingdom.[58] Luke is keen on depicting an eschatological or messianic banquet (Luke 12:35–37; 13:28–29; 14:15–24), and the eschatological Passover meal can be seen in this light.[59] Such an idea is well known in the Jewish tradition (e.g. Isa 25:6–9; 32:12: 55:1–2; 65:13).[60] However, due to its Passover context, this meal should be understood differently, at least in terms of its symbolic meaning.

3.5.3 What does Passover have to do with the Kingdom of God?

On the one hand, the intersection between Passover and the kingdom seems inevitable. In Luke-Acts, the kingdom of God is one of the major theological themes.[61] Jesus' mission can be encapsulated as proclaiming the good news of the kingdom of God (Luke 4:43; cf. 8:1; 9:2, 11; Acts 19:8). Jesus teaches his disciples to pray for the

[58] Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1050; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1390; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 785; Senior, *Passion of Jesus*, 58; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.157; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 665; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 701. Johnson regards both options as equally possible (*Luke*, 337). Some scholars understand the phrase as a remark on the imminent future, that is, the post-Easter era (e.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 797; Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Passion according to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke's Soteriology* [New York: Paulist Press, 1985], 14; Plummer, *Luke*, 494). From this perspective, the Kingdom of God is inaugurated through the death-resurrection-ascension of Christ, and the disciples experience this new reality there and then. According to this view, the eschatological Passover should refer to the Eucharist, the new ritual meal that replaces the old Passover. Jesus, then, is seen as present symbolicly or spiritually with the believers. This line of reading, while plausible, can be contested. First, in some places, Luke describes the coming Kingdom as a future event, that is, at the Parousia (Luke 13:28–29; 21:27; cf. Acts 1:11; 3:21). Second, Luke never indicates that Jesus is present spiritually among the believers in the Eucharist after the resurrection. He is not their companion, let alone the host. The closest depiction of Jesus accompanying his disciples in a post-resurrection Eucharistic setting is found in the Emmaus narrative (Luke 24:13–35). Here, Jesus is present in a bodily form, not spiritually.

[59] Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1050; Stein, *Luke*, 541; Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper*, 491–92, 512.

[60] See also Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London: Epworth Press, 1971), 18–25; Brant Pitre, "Jesus, the Messianic Banquet, and the Kingdom of God," *L&S* 5 (2009): 125–153.

[61] See the works of Alexander Prieur, *Die Verkündigung der Gottesherrschaft: Exegetische Studien zum lukanischen Verständnis von βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, WUNT 2.89 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996); Costantino A. Ziccardi, *The Relationship of Jesus and the Kingdom of God according to Luke-Acts*, TGST 165. Roma: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 2008; Michael Wolter, "'Reich Gottes' bei Lukas." *NTS* 41, no. 4 (1995): 541–63; Robert O'Toole, "The Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts," in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, ed. by Wendell Willis (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 147–62.

coming of the kingdom (Luke 11:2). Jesus is proclaimed as the long-awaited Davidic king (Luke 1:33; 19:38; ironically, 23:2–3, 37–38). Furthermore, the people expect the kingdom to arrive (Luke 19:11; cf. 23:51). The book of Acts ends with a remark on Paul proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching about Jesus (Acts 28:31). In fact, some argue that the kingdom of God serves as an *inclusio* in Luke's double works.[62]

On the other hand, the juxtaposition is rather surprising. Passover is rarely connected to the kingdom of God. It is touched upon only once in Matthew (26:29)/Mark (11:25). Other NT writings do not speak much about the kingdom of God, let alone its relation to the Passover. Passover is also not connected to the kingdom of God in the OT and other second temple Jewish texts. This is mainly due to the lack of the phrase "kingdom of God" itself in those writings.[63] The teaching that the Passover finds its fulfilment in the kingdom of God through someone's death is only found in Luke.

In The Assumption of Moses, we do find the relationship between the death of the righteous and the coming kingdom. The Assumption of Moses speaks about a certain Taxo, a Levite who chooses to die in righteousness with his seven sons (As. Mos. 9:6). He believes that his death will surely move God, not only to vindicate him (9:7) but also to establish God's kingdom (10:1). Many believe that The Assumption of Moses can be dated from the early first century CE, from a Jewish milieu,[64] hence providing a window through which to understand Jesus.

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[62] Wolter, "Reich Gottes," 541; O'Toole, "Kingdom of God," 161; Agustín del Agua Pérez, "The Lucan Narrative of the 'Evangelization of the Kingdom of God' : A Contribution to the Unity of Luke-Acts," in *Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1999), 648.

[63] See for example D. Patrick, "The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament," in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, ed. Wendell Willis (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 67–79; John J. Collins, "The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, ed. Wendell Willis (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 81–95.

[64] E.g. Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*, SVTP 10 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), 116–19; others, like Israeli, think that it comes from a Christian milieu (Edna Israeli, "'Taxo' and the Origin of the Assumption of Moses," *JBL* 128, no. 4 [2009]: 752–57). She argues that "Taxo" is a highly symbolic name derived from the well known tetragram which states that Jesus Christ is the alpha and the omega (Ἰ[ησοῦς] Χ[ριστός] Α Ω), hence the combination ΙΑΧΩ. Another variation is to use the first two letters of Χριστός (Χ and Ρ), and the result is ΡΑΧΩ. By changing the first word with tau (Τ), a common symbol for the cross, we will get ΤΑΧΩ (ibid., 254–55). I do not find her argument convincing. The etymology for the name Taxo is quite speculative in nature, without any evidence from early Christianity.

While The Assumption of Moses shows numerous parallels to Jesus' own death, the book does not link the death of Taxo and the coming kingdom to the Passover. This absence might be important when we discuss the meaning of Jesus' death in Luke. Many have shown Luke's strong emphasis on Jesus as the righteous sufferer,[65] which is not unlike the depiction of Taxo. Some argue that the Lukan imagery of the righteous sufferer is comparable to the depiction of the righteous in Wisdom[66] and Isaiah's suffering servant.[67] Jesus' resurrection then is seen as God's vindication. However, this interpretation inevitably plays down the role of the Passover/exodus theme. Without the Passover/exodus theme, the vindication of the righteous is disconnected from Israel's great redemption in the past.

By juxtaposing the three themes of the passion of Jesus, the Passover, and the kingdom of God, Luke is able to explain how the kingdom will be established. Up to this point in the narrative, discourses on the kingdom of God mainly explain the fact that Jesus is the promised King (Luke 19:29–40; cf. 1:31–33) and that the kingdom will come (Luke 10:9, 11; 19:11; 21:31). Those discourses do not mention how it will be established. Thus, Luke 22:16 is the first explicit statement that explains the necessity of Jesus' death to establish the kingdom. For Luke, Jesus' death is not a failure. Rather, the death follows the scriptural blueprint (i.e. the exodus) of how God saves and establishes his people. One can even argue that the climax of the kingdom theme is not Jesus' entry into Jerusalem when he is proclaimed as king. Rather, the apex is found in Luke 22, where the kingdom is finally inaugurated through the Passover, transformed anew. Thus, rather than weakening the validity of the kingdom and its claimant, the Passover-passion connection strengthens the legitimacy of the kingdom in the Lukan perspective. If this is the case, then it slightly alters the way we interpret Jesus' royal entry to Jerusalem.

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[65] E.g. Robert J. Karris, "Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death," *JBL* 105, no. 1 (1986): 65–74.
[66] Peter Doble, *The Paradox of Salvation: Luke's Theology of the Cross*, SNTSMS 87 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[67] E.g. Joel B. Green, "'Was It Not Necessary for the Messiah to Suffer These Things and Enter into His Glory?' The Significance of Jesus' Death for Luke's Soteriology," in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, ed. I. Howard Marshall, Volker Rabens, and Cornelis Bennema (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 71–85.

3.5.4 The Passover of the King? Rereading Jesus' Entrance into Jerusalem

The story about Jesus' entry into Jerusalem begins with his instruction to two of his disciples to prepare for it. They are to find and bring back a colt from the village just ahead of them in their journey (Luke 19:29–30). As the disciples go to the village, they find it just as he has told them (ἀπελθόντες δὲ ... εὗρον καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, 19:32). The form of this section is very similar to the passage about the Passover preparation in Luke 22:8–13. In the latter passage, Jesus also instructs two of his disciples, Peter and John, to go ahead to prepare the Passover meal. Here too the disciples find everything just as he has told them (ἀπελθόντες δὲ εὗρον καθὼς εἰρήκει αὐτοῖς, 22:13). With so many parallels between the passages, scholars agree that the two are closely related and that those who read the passage about the Passover preparation will not fail to recall the earlier passage about the entrance preparation.[68] They conclude that both passages show the prophetic insight of Jesus.[69]

This interpretation, while helpful, fails to see another possible reason for the parallel between the two passages: the connection between Jesus' regal entry and Jesus' Passover meal. The similarity of form might be a signpost intended to show that the two stories are inseparable. The same Jesus, who claims, through his regal entry, to be the promised Davidic king, is also the one who states during the Passover meal that his kingdom can only be established by his death and resurrection. In other words, Jesus' mission does not end with the kingship claim on his journey to Jerusalem, or with his entrance into the Temple. Rather, the journey continues until his Passover, in other words, his death.

Support for a relationship between the two passages does not only come from the similar form of the preparation section. Another possible association can be shown from allusions to the book of Zechariah in both passages. To demonstrate this, I will begin with the concept of the new covenant in Luke 22:20. In this verse, Jesus says, "This cup…is the new covenant in my blood" (ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου). Scholars

[68] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 789; Kremer, *Lukasevangelium*, 211; Johnson, *Luke*, 333; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1034; Green, *Luke*, 755.
[69] Green, *Luke*, 755; cf. Johnson, *Luke*, 296, 333.

generally see the use of the phrase in Luke 22:20 as an allusion to either Exodus 24:8 and/or Jeremiah 31:31–34.[70] However, another possible pre-text is Zechariah 9:11.[71]

> As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you (LXX: ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης), I will set your prisoners free from the waterless pit.
>
> (Zech 9:11)

In this text, God promises that through the blood of his covenant with his people, he will set them free from captivity. Freedom from captivity is a major motif in Luke, as indicated in the scriptural quotation that defines the mission of Jesus. In Luke 4:18–19, Jesus reads the text from Isaiah where it states, among others things, that God "has sent me to proclaim release to the captives…to let the oppressed go free" (ἀπέσταλκέν με, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν ... ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει).

Furthermore, what makes Zechariah 9:11 particularly significant is the reference to the coming king earlier in the passage.

> Rejoice greatly, O daughter Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey.
>
> (Zech 9:9)

This verse functions as one of the pre-texts for Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, where he purposely rides a colt to enter Jerusalem, highlighting his royal entry (Luke 19:29–38). If Luke also sees Zechariah 9:9 as the background text for Jesus' entry, it will not be difficult for him to use the preceding Zechariah text on the covenant.

In fact, later Jewish texts make the exodus background in Zechariah more explicit. The Targum of Zechariah states that

> You also, for whom a covenant was made by blood, I have delivered you from bondage to the Egyptians, I have supplied your needs in a wilderness desolate as an empty pit in which there is no water.
>
> (*Tg. Zech* 9:11)[72]

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[70] E.g. Bock, *Luke*, 2.1726; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 807; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1402; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 791; Johnson, *Luke*, 339; Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1054; Bovon, *Luke*, 3.159.

[71] Evans, *Saint Luke*, 791.

[72] Translation taken from R. P. Gordon and K. J. Cathcart, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, ArBib 14 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, n.d.), 205–206.

In the Targum, the captivity motif is interpreted as an allusion to the bondage in Egypt, whereas the waterless pit recalls the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness. The Targum shows that it is possible to link the covenant motif to the exodus. Luke might have known of this juxtaposition and used it to strengthen the Passover framing of the Eucharist. Through Zechariah, Luke is also able to pull the story of Jesus' regal entry closer to Jesus' Passover meal. There will be no establishment of the kingdom and enthronement of Jesus without the Passover meal and, ultimately, the passion.

3.6 Words over the Eucharist (Luke 22:19–20)

After Jesus pronounces his words over the Passover meal in relation to the kingdom, he proceeds to his words over the bread and the second cup of wine. This passage (Luke 22:19–20) is one of the most problematic texts in Luke. Since verses 19–20 are important for developing my argument, a brief discussion of the textual issue is necessary.

3.6.1 The Textual Issue of Luke 22:19–20

Some manuscripts (Codex Bezae and the majority of the old Latin texts) omit 19b and the entire verse 20. What they have is καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου. Then they join 19a immediately to verse 21. Some scholars retain the long-text version as original, based mainly on the external evidence, since it is attested in the older manuscripts (𝔓[75], א, B).[73]

Other scholars, however, think that Codex Bezae and other similar textual witnesses might represent the earlier reading.[74] Codex Bezae and other western witnesses generally expand the Alexandrian text with additional words or phrases.

[73] E.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 799–800; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 139–59; Joel B. Green, *The Death of Jesus: Tradition and Interpretation in the Passion Narrative*, WUNT 2.33 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 35–42; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.1041; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1387–88; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1719–20; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 699. Bovon is not quite certain, though he includes the longer-text is his discussion (Bovon, *Luke*, 3.154–56).

[74] G. D. Kilpatrick, "Luke 22.19b-20," *JTS* 47 (1946): 49–56; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 790; e.g. Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 198–209; Carroll, *Luke*, 433–34.

However, in some instances, their texts are considerably shorter than the latter, a phenomenon known as the 'western non-interpolation'. This prompts some scholars to argue for their old age. This is the case with Luke 22:19b–20. Bart Ehrman, for example, has argued in favour of the shorter text, based on several reasons.[75]

First, he argues that the vocabulary, style, and the theology embedded in verses 19b-20 are non-Lukan. Phrases like ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν and ἀνάμνησιν only occur here and nowhere else in Luke-Acts. He says that Luke never writes about the covenant, let alone the new covenant. He also argues that Luke does not have an understanding of the theology of atonement since he does not mention the ransom saying of Mark 10:45. The only other place where atonement can be detected is in Acts 20:28, where Paul urges the Ephesian elders to take care of the church of God "that he obtained through the blood of his own (ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου)." Ehrman acknowledges that the blood must refer to Jesus. However, Ehrman also argues that the death of Jesus ("his blood") causes the people to realise their guilt and hence, brings them to repentance.[76]

Second, the structure of verses 19–22 shows a neat parallelism even without verses 19b–20. Ehrman suggests that the passage can be divided into two sections: 19a–21 and 22.

A (19a) Then he took a loaf of bread…
  B (21) But (πλὴν) see, the one who betrays (παραδιδόντος) me is with me…

A′ (22a) For the Son of Man is going as it has been determined,
  B′ (22b) but (πλὴν) woe to that one by whom he is betrayed (παραδίδοται)!

For Ehrman, the key to the parallel is the occurrence of the terms πλήν and παραδίδωμι in verse 21 and 22b. The use of the similar terms, as well as the similar structure of verse 21 and 22b, make the parallel between 19a and 22a more likely. Both sections begin with the depiction of Jesus' fate and end with the mention of the betrayer.[77]

Finally, Ehrman reasons that it is easier to explain the presence of the longer text from the shorter one rather than vice versa (i.e. the transcriptional probabilities). The

[75] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 198–209.
[76] Ibid., 202.
[77] Ibid., 206–207.

longer text is added to ascertain that Jesus experiences real suffering and death and that his death atones for the sins of the world. In this way, so he argues, the longer text becomes a means to counter the Docetic heresies in the early church.[78]

It will not be possible to tackle all of Ehrman's arguments.[79] It suffices to say that his first two arguments are debatable. Regarding vocabulary, the many hapaxes in verses 19b–20 could well be due to Luke's light redaction or absence of it. He merely follows the traditional text as it is. Regarding the theology of atonement, it is harder to explain the blood purchase in Acts 20:28 as being due to guilt (as argued by Ehrman) rather than atonement. To buy something, one needs to pay the cost. Moreover, the cost should refer to Jesus' redemptive death on the cross, not merely a violent death.[80] Furthermore, the phrasing of verse 19a already implies the concept of sacrificial death on behalf of his disciples.

> 19a Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον...ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου
> 19b τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

The comparison above shows that the statement in verse 19b is already present, though implicitly, in verse 19a. The phrase, "which is given for you," (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον) is already implied by Jesus' act of breaking and giving the bread to his disciples. The instruction to commemorate the bread breaking is supported by the many mentions of bread breaking in Luke-Acts (Luke 24:30, 35; Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7). In fact, why would Jesus undertake the highly symbolic act of breaking and sharing the bread if not for the purpose of remembrance? Thus, the argument that the theme of the longer text (19b–20)

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[78] Ibid., 207–209.

[79] The full-length monograph which addresses the textual problem of Luke 19b–20 is by Brady S. Billings, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Disputed Words in the Lukan Institution Narrative (Luke 22.19b-20): An Historico-Exegetical, Theological and Sociological Analysis*, JSNTSup 314 (Sheffield: T&T Clark, 2006). His discussions and critiques of the main issues and previous proposals to explain the disputed text are particularly helpful.

[80] "For the appeal in Acts 20.28a it is sufficient to think of the church as being set free and purchased at the cost of the cross. But once this is seen, the cross must be understood as the costly means of redemption and not simply as the path to resurrection and exaltation; there is no 'cost' attached to resurrection!" I. Howard Marshall, "The Place of Acts 20.28 in Luke's Theology of the Cross," in *Reading Acts Today: Essays in Honour of Loveday C. A. Alexander*, ed. Steve Walton et al., LNTS 427 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 166.

is alien to Luke does not seem to be strong. At the very least, the idea found in verse 19b already exists in verse 19a.

As for the structure, while Ehrman's suggestion is plausible, the traditional structuring that includes verses 19b-20 is equally possible (see the beginning of Section 3.5).[81]

It seems that the argument for the shorter-text is the strongest when it comes to the transcriptional probabilities. To explain the longer text as a later addition is easier than to show the shorter text as a subsequent omission.[82] However, this is the only argument in favour of the shorter reading. Even here, Ehrman's reasoning about the anti-docetic interpolation is debatable. In the post-resurrection narrative, Luke mentions that Jesus asks the disciples to touch him, proving that he is not a ghost, but a human with flesh and blood (Luke 24:36–40). If that is not enough, Luke also notes that Jesus asks for food and eats it before the disciples (v. 41–43). This episode should be convincing enough to counter any docetic teachings. If Ehrman were correct, why would an interpolator add the longer text to counter Docetism when it is already countered in Luke 24? At the very least, Ehrman's explanation based on the transcriptional probability of Luke 22:19b–20 is rather weak.

The strongest indication in favour of the longer text is from the evidence of the manuscripts. Virtually only one Greek manuscript supports the short text (Bezae); others are Latin manuscripts. Other Greek manuscripts from a more diverse area also support the longer-text. In balance, it is safe to conclude that the longer-text is part of Luke's intended text. I will now proceed with the interpretation of the passage.

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[81] Petzer has shown, quite convincingly, that Luke 22:15–20 is highly structured with plenty of parallelisms (Petzer, "Structure").

[82] Even here, many scholars have tried to explain the change from the longer-text to the shorter. A more recent view is proposed by Billings. He argues that due to the social circumstances faced by the editor of the codex Bezae, the longer text is omitted. In particular, the cannibalistic tone of the longer text, together with the possible paganistic overtone of the term "covenant", are seen by Billings as the main reasons behind the omission (*Do This*, 165–174).

3.6.2 The Eucharist

> Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.
>
> Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, "This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me." Moreover, he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, "This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood."
>
> (Luke 22:19–20)

The Lukan depiction of the Last Supper (Luke 22:19–20) is similar and yet, at the same time, different from the Jewish Passover meal. Bovon, for instance, notes this ambiguity by stating that "[t]he atmosphere may be that of the Passover, but what takes place here is not the Passover."[83] This ambiguity has caused some debates regarding the position of the Eucharist in relation to the Jewish Passover. Some maintain that the Eucharist is, in fact, a ritual that eclipses and substitutes the Passover of old.[84] Others argue that the Eucharist is not the Christian version of the Jewish Passover; it is seen as an addition.[85] Whatever one's position is regarding the Eucharist *vis-à-vis* the Passover, there should be no doubt that the Lukan version of the Last Supper is permeated with allusions to the Passover.

We can establish some parallels between the Last Supper and the Passover. The clearest association is the setting of the meal itself. The Eucharist is instituted in the context of the Passover meal (Luke 22:15–20), conducted at the time of the Passover (22:7, 14). In fact, the parallels between the Passover meal (vv. 15–18) and the institution of the Eucharist (vv. 19–20) demonstrate the proximity of the two meals. For instance, Jesus' act of sharing and giving thanks for the meal (vv. 19, 20) is not exclusive to the Eucharist. Already in verse 17 Jesus is said to have taken a cup of wine, given thanks, and distributed it to his disciples.

> καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν· λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς·

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[83] Bovon, *Luke*, 3.158.
[84] Nolland, *Luke*, 3.1056; cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1392; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1722.
[85] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*.

> Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he said, "Take this and divide it among yourselves (Luke 22:17)
>
> καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ...
> Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them (Luke 22:19)
>
> καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι
> Moreover, he did the same with the cup after supper (Luke 22:20)

This understanding of a shared meal in the Eucharist passage stems from a similar idea in the Passover meal. The Passover participants share the communal meal, symbolising a shared fate and identity. The parallel shows the continuation of the Eucharist from the Passover.

Another implication of such an outline is the parallel between Jesus' acts and words over the Passover (15–16a) and his acts and words over the bread (19). The bread is certainly likened to the Passover lamb. Since the bread represents the body of Jesus, that is, his death, the parallel indirectly links the death of Jesus to the slaughtered Passover lamb. As mentioned before, one major element of the Passover story is the death of the Passover lamb. In Luke, the only character who dies in the passion story is Jesus. Thus, it seems clear that Luke associates the death of Jesus with the Passover lamb.

The idea of anamnesis in Luke 22:19 also supports the parallel between the two meals. There, Jesus instructs his disciples to receive and eat the bread "in remembrance of me (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν)". The remembrance element is also essential in the Passover ritual.

> This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the LORD; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance.
>
> (Exod 12:14)

> You must not eat with it anything leavened. For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread with it -- the bread of affliction -- because you came out of the land of Egypt in great haste, so that all the days of your life you may remember the day of your departure from the land of Egypt.
>
> (Deut 16:3)

The relationship between the Passover and the Eucharist is strengthened using the anamnesis motif. The Israelites are to commemorate the day when they depart from Egypt. The emphasis is on the particular day when God begins his redemptive act, that is, the day of the Passover meal. Likewise, the disciples are to remember God's redemptive act through Jesus, in particular, his death. It is his death that is tied specifically to the Passover and Eucharist.[86]

The final parallel is the position of the celebration relative to the actual salvific acts. Both rituals are celebrated before the rescue takes place. In the Exodus account, God instructs the Israelites to celebrate the Passover before he performs his mighty act to lead them out from Egypt. In the Lukan passage, Jesus charges his disciples to commemorate the new ritual meal before he accomplishes the mission to save his people. This parallel is rather significant. Logic would dictate that a ritual celebration only takes place after the attempt for liberation is successful. The placement of the ritual before the actual salvation shows the conviction that the attempt will be successful. In the case of Luke, the death of Jesus is never seen as an unfortunate event or failure; rather, it is decisive for the salvation to take place.

For every parallel between Passover and the Last Supper/passion, we also find some differences – details that go beyond the traditional Passover script. It is clear, for instance, that in Luke, Jesus is not linked directly to the Passover lamb. Instead, it is the bread that represents the body of Jesus. The emphasis is quite different from the traditional Jewish Passover ritual where the lamb is given the primary position in the ritual meal. As shown in the previous chapter, there are three food components required in a Passover meal: the Passover lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs (Exod

[86] Contra Wolter (ibid., 706). While it is true that the remembrance must have included the life and teaching of Jesus on earth, the focus is on his suffering and death. The whole context of Luke 22:1–20 is built upon the theme of Jesus' passion. Wolter also argues that the act of remembrance is only related to the bread and not to the wine (ibid., 700, 703). In Luke, there is no explicit anamnesis tied to the wine, unlike the Pauline Eucharist (1 Cor 11:25). The advantage of his argument is that even with no mention of the wine, the notion of bread-breaking alone implies a Eucharistic meal. This might explain the numerous post-resurrection bread-breaking activities in Luke-Acts (Luke 24:13–35; Acts 2:46; 20:7). It seems that bread-breaking is how Luke refers to the Eucharist. As shown elsewhere, there is more than one way to refer to the Eucharist. Paul uses the phrase κυριακὸς δεῖπνον/Lord's supper (1 Cor 11:20). Didache 9:1 uses ἡ εὐχαριστία (the thanksgiving). It is not likely that Luke deems the drinking of the cup unnecessary and excludes it from the anamnesis. "Bread-breaking" is the way Luke denotes the Eucharist.

12:8; Num 9:11). In every case, the Passover lamb is the core element of the meal since it is related, first, to the act of daubing blood, and later to the Passover sacrifice at the Jerusalem Temple. The primacy of the lamb might also be the reason why Jubilees only notes the eating of the lamb, with no mention of the other two components (Jub. 49:6). The other two components of the meal receive little or no symbolic significance in the OT and the second-temple literature, apart from Philo. The unleavened bread does not convey any soteriological significance in the record of Exodus 12. The bread is unleavened due to the hastiness of the exodus (Exod 12:33–34). Only in Deuteronomy is the bread seen as the bread of affliction (Deut 16:3). However, at least that is more than the bitter herbs, which receive no symbolic or theological explanation.

The depiction above indicates two major shifts that set the Eucharist apart from the Jewish Passover. First, the focus is shifted from the lamb to the bread. In Luke, the bread has replaced the lamb as the symbol of the redemptive act. In the Lukan Eucharist, the bread represents the body of Jesus, broken and given to the disciples. The acts of breaking and giving signify the death of Jesus on their behalf – a sacrificial death.[87] Luke continues this idea through Jesus' acts and words over the cup of wine. Wine is a later requirement for the Passover meal, probably first recorded in Jubilees 49:6. However, the consumption of wine in the setting of a feast would have signified joy and celebration (cf. Ps 104:15; Eccl 10:19). For Jesus, it would be none of those. As a consequence, in the Lukan account, wine becomes the symbol of blood, and the

[87] There is a great debate on whether Luke exhibits a theology of atonement. Whereas some affirm the presence of such a doctrine in Luke (e.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1401; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1726–27); John Kimbell, *The Atonement in Lukan Theology* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014)), others deny it. Even those who deny it have different opinions regarding the significance of Jesus' death (see the discussion in Hermie C. Van Zyl, "The Soteriological Meaning of Jesus' Death in Luke-Acts: A Survey of Possibilities," *VE* 23 [2002]: 533–57; cf. Green, "Was It Not Necessary"; Timothy W. Reardon, "Recent Trajectories and Themes in Lukan Soteriology," *CBR* 12, no. 1 [2012]: 77–95). More recently, Michael Gorman has proposed a new model (i.e. the new covenant model) that might explain the conundrum. The covenant model acts almost like a theological umbrella that can incorporate many elements related to the death of Jesus. He states that "For Luke, then, this means Jesus' death, as part of a whole divine event of deliverance (suffering, death, resurrection, ascension/exaltation), has a particular purpose that is *not less* than atonement (something that effects the forgiveness of sins) but is *much more* than that," (Michael J. Gorman, *The Death of the Messiah and the Birth of the New Covenant: A (Not So) New Model of the Atonement* [Eugene: Cascade Books, 2014], 39 italics original). In other words, the forgiveness of sin is only part of the larger significance and meaning of the death of Jesus (see ibid., 35–43).

poured out cup of wine represents the blood of Jesus being shed for the sake of his disciples. Luke has already stressed the importance of the wine in Jesus' Passover meal (Luke 22:15–18). However, the celebratory character of the Passover wine is postponed to the Parousia (Luke 22:18).

Luke also associates the cup of wine/blood of Jesus with the new covenant. In fact, the cup, which is poured out for his disciples, is the new covenant in his blood (Luke 22:20). Such a notion also goes beyond the Passover symbolism of the wine, but it is not totally disconnected from the exodus theme. The idea of the new covenant is found in Jeremiah 31:31 (38:31 LXX; cf. Exod 24:8; Zech 9:11), where God promises that he will make a new covenant with the Israelites. It will surpass the one that God had made with their forefathers when he brought them out of Egypt (v. 32; cf. Exod 24:8).

The second major shift is the focus on the meal instead of the sacrifice. In Luke, the meal clearly takes precedence over the sacrifice. The shift is clear when we compare it with the Jewish writings up to the second-temple period. Though there are records and instructions regarding the consumption of the Passover meal, some records give the impression that the Passover festival is mainly known for its numerous sacrifices. One example is the story of the Passover of Josiah (2 Chr 35). It is worth noting that the preparation language is also used extensively in this passage. The term ἑτοιμάζω appears numerous times (2 Chr 35:4, 6, 12, 14[2x], 15, 16).[88] Such intensive use is also found in the parallel text of 1 Esdras (1:4, 6, 14, 15). While both 2 Chronicles and Luke use ἑτοιμάζω numerous times, it is the difference that reveals the focus of Luke. In 2 Chronicles 35, the term is mainly used in relation to sacrificial activity. To prepare the Passover means to prepare the lamb for sacrifice at the Temple. In Luke 22:7–13, the term is used exclusively in relation to the Passover *meal*. Nothing explicit is mentioned about preparing the sacrifice.

Another example is found in Josephus. He recounts the Passover-related stories mainly in terms of the slaughtering of the Passover animals (*Ant*. 2.311–313; 3.248,

[88] In the MT, the corresponding term כּוּן, usually in hiphil form, also appears in verse 10 but not in verse 12. In verse 10 the LXX uses κατορθόω to translate כּוּן. In verse 12, The MT has the hiphil of סוּר ("to remove").

294; 9:271; 10:70–72; 11:110; *J.W.* 6:423). In particular, for Josephus, the Passover is mainly known from the offering of multitudes of sacrifices to God (*Ant.* 14:25; 17:213; *J.W.* 2:10). The remark on the Passover sacrifice in Luke, found in one verse (Luke 22:7), looks completely pale in contrast to the grandiose portrayal in Josephus. For Luke, not only the Eucharist has eclipsed the Passover, but the ritual meal has also overtaken the sacrifice.

The movement beyond Passover symbolism becomes more prominent when we note the development of the spatial and temporal setting of the passion narrative. Regarding the spatial setting, the Christ event, from passion to resurrection and ascension, does not take place at the temple. In fact, when we come to Luke 22 (the beginning of the passion story), the temple disappears and will not return to the narrative until after the ascension (Luke 24:53). The temple, in a sense, is being bracketed out from the salvific event. This omission might partly explain the move from sacrifice to the meal, and from the lamb to the bread. The focus now is on Jesus and not the temple. The sacred is embodied in him, and wherever he goes, there the presence of God also lies.

A similar strategy of bracketing out the importance of the temple can be found in Philo and the Mishnah. For Philo, the Jews can still celebrate the Passover in Alexandria on an equal footing with those who are in Jerusalem. Philo argues that once a year only, at the time of the Passover, God grants permission for the lay people to conduct the sacrifice in their houses, for the people are adorned with the dignity of the priest (*Spec*. 2.145–146; *Mos*. 2.224–225) and their houses with the dignity of the temple (*Spec*. 2.148; *QE* 1.10).

The Mishnah moves a step further. According to Baruch Bokser, the Passover regulation in the Mishnah is a response to post 70 CE Judaism, when the Temple is already a past reality.[89] Without the Jerusalem Temple, the ritual sacrifice cannot be officiated. Thus, the Mishnah makes a number of changes.[90] Instead of the slaughtering

[89] Bokser, *Origins*, 1.
[90] Ibid., 37–48.

ritual, the focus is on the meal. In a way, such changes relegate the importance of the Passover lamb. In Mishnah Pesaḥim 10:5, Rabbi Gamaliel instructs that the three food items (the Passover lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs) should be verbalised.[91]

A. Rabban Gamaliel said, Whoever did not say these three things on Passover did not fulfil his obligation:

B. Pesaḥ, maṣṣah, and merorim [=passover offering, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs]

C.1 Pesaḥ – because the Omnipresent skipped over the houses of our ancestors in Egypt.

C.2 Merorim – because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our ancestors in Egypt.

C.3 Maṣṣah – because they were redeemed.[92]

D. Therefore we are obligated to give thanks, to praise, to glorify, to crown, to exalt, to elevate the One who did for us all these miracles and took us out of slavery to freedom, and let us say before Him Hallelujah (Ps. 113:1ff.).[93]

Bokser argues that "by requiring that all three items be verbalized, Gamaliel in effect equates them. The verbalisation contributes to the larger effort of making the unleavened bread and bitter herbs as necessary as the sacrifice."[94] In the text, each item takes a particular symbolic meaning. He believes that this is yet another strategy to downplay the importance of the Passover sacrifice in comparison to the unleavened bread. It is the unleavened bread that symbolises the redemption. The Passover lamb, meanwhile, only refers to the part when God passed over the houses of the Israelites.[95]

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[91] The translation is taken from Ibid., 30. Bokser bases his translation on manuscripts that contain better and earlier Mishnah texts (ibid., 29, 107; Kulp, "Origins," 111). Examples of these manuscripts are the Kaufmann manuscript (Kaufmann MS A50), Parma A manuscript (de Rossi MS 138) – both available online at http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud – and Loewe manuscript (http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-00470-00001/1). Text from these manuscripts differs from the printed editions of Mishnah, the base text for many English translation of Mishnah (e.g. Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth*, 6 vols. (New York: Judaica Press, 1963); Danby, *Mishnah*).

[92] In the printed text, the explanation of the bitter herbs is given after the unleavened bread. Also, the explanation of the unleavened bread reads: "because our forefathers were redeemed in Egypt."

[93] Later manuscripts add, "In every generation a person is duty-bound to regard himself as if he personally has gone forth from Egypt, since it is said, And you shall tell your son in that day saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt (Ex. 13:8)." See Bokser, *Origins*, 119–20 n. 13.

[94] Ibid., 42.

[95] Ibid., 79.

We can see that such a strategy is also at play in the Lukan text. On one hand, Luke shows that Jesus' death is likened to the sacrifice of the Passover lamb. On the other hand, he moves away from a sacrificial understanding of the lamb and focuses on the bread and the wine.

However, Luke goes further than Philo and the Mishnah go, by also moving beyond the border of the Passover time marker. Whereas Philo and the Mishnah still regard the Passover time marker as a non-negotiable element of the Passover celebration, Luke does not comply. For all the similarities to the Passover story and symbolism, Luke does not depict a Passover night rescue. There is no miraculous liberation on that night, as might be expected by the disciples. Rather, what we have is a partially anti-climactic scene. After the last supper discourses, Jesus and his disciples return to the Mount of Olives. There, he instructs them to pray so they may not fall into temptation (Luke 22:40). For his part, Jesus prays, but the disciples fail to do so, for they are sleeping because of grief (v. 45). The optimism that accompanies the disciples during the triumphant entrance has turned into anguish. No imminent liberation is to be found, only the imminent death of Jesus, their leader. The passion story itself extends far beyond that night through to the third day. As Bovon points out,

> Luke 22 causes us to enter into the Passover, the most sacred time of year in the Jewish religion. But the decisive event does not coincide with the most sacred moment of that ceremony: to the Passover, Luke adds the Sunday resurrection. When the Sabbath is mentioned (23:54, 56), it is a time of waiting that is brought to fulfilment only in an unexpected – and therefore provocative – manner on the next day and not at the end of time (24:1ff). For its part, the death of Jesus keeps its profane and historical character that no liturgical veil covers, no paschal typology affects … The most somber moment does not occur in the middle of the night![96]

Bovon's observation shows that Luke mainly uses the Passover and its symbolism for a theological purpose. The Passover becomes a helpful theological lens to help people to understand the passion of Jesus without dictating the overall storyline.

[96] François Bovon, "The Lukan Story of the Passion of Jesus (Luke 22-23)," in *Studies in Early Christianity*, WUNT 161 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 76.

3.7 Closing the Stage: The Realisation of the Exodus Expectation in Luke

Luke has now established what he intended to: showing the significance of the Passover and its unbreakable association with the passion. There is only one matter left for him to deal with. Prior to the passion story, he has carefully shown the escalating expectation of the exodus liberation. Now he needs to present a closure, in the form of an exodus realisation, to complete the exodus framing of his story.

Two passages seem to indicate the exodus framing. The first passage is Luke 24:44. In the context, Jesus has just appeared to his disciples. Responding to the shock of the disciples who think that he is a ghost, Jesus tries to prove that he really has a body with flesh and bones and is able to consume a meal (vv. 36–43). Afterwards, Luke notes that Jesus begins his teaching, explaining the necessity of the events thus far. The beginning of Jesus' teaching, however, is rather similar to the beginning of the book of Deuteronomy.

> Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὢν σὺν ὑμῖν
> Then he said to them, "These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you
>
> (Luke 24:44)

> οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἐλάλησεν Μωυσῆς παντὶ Ισραηλ ...
> These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel … (Deut 1:1)

Excluding the speaker and the addressee, virtually all other words are the same: οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὓς, ἐλάλησα/ἐλάλησεν.[97] Since Luke depicts Jesus as a prophet like Moses (Acts 3:22; 7:37), it is plausible that the Lukan text is intended to recall the beginning of Deuteronomy. The similar occasion of both texts also lends support to the association. At the beginning of Deuteronomy, Moses sums up Israel's past in the wilderness before he exhorts the Israelites to listen to and obey God's ordinances. Likewise, in Luke, Jesus begins his explanation by reiterating his previous teachings to his disciples and, later, exhorts them to be his witnesses (Luke 24:44–49).

[97] Peter W. L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspectives on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 79. Another similar phrase is found in Jeremiah 30:4 (37:4 LXX), where it says, "These are the words that the LORD spoke concerning Israel and Judah (Καὶ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἐλαλησεν κύριος ἐπὶ Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα)." Though similar, it is more likely that the Lukan text recalls Deut 1:1 due to the association between Jesus and Moses.

The second possible reference to the exodus is found in the use of ἐξάγω in Luke 24:50. In that verse, Luke notes that Jesus leads his disciples out to Bethany (Ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς [ἔξω] ἕως πρὸς βηθανίαν), blesses them, and then ascends to heaven. The term ἐξάγω is only used once in the Gospel of Luke. In Acts, the term is commonly used to depict how God brings the Israelites out from Egypt (Acts 7:36, 40; 13:17; cf. Heb 8:9). The term "to bring out" (ἐξάγω) is often used in the OT, especially in the Pentateuch (aside from Genesis), to describe how God brings the Israelites out of Egypt (e.g. Exod 3:8, 10–12; 6:6–7;12:17, 42, 51; 13:3, 9; 32:1, 7, 11, 12, 32; Lev 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; Num 15:41; 21:5; 23:22; Deut 4:20, 37; 5:6, 15; 6:12, 21, 23; 9:26, 29; 13:10). It is thus highly probable that its usage in the Lukan text also recalls the exodus theme.[98]

The location of the 'leading out' might explain the presence of the exodus allusion. Luke first mentions the place in 19:29 (cf. Mark 11:1), at the beginning of the story of Jesus' royal entrance to Jerusalem. It is located near the Mount of Olives (τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν), a place that bears eschatological significance. In the OT, Zechariah prophesies that the feet of the Lord shall stand on the Mount of Olives at the eschaton, to save his people (Zech 14:4). It is likely that Luke is aware of its eschatological significance. In the Jerusalem narrative, Jesus always returns to this place rather than staying overnight in Jerusalem (Luke 19:37; 21:37; 22:39). In Acts, after the ascension of Jesus, the disciples return to Jerusalem "from the mount called Olivet" (ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος), another way of designating the Mount of Olives (Acts 1:12).

It is possible, therefore, that Jesus' act of leading his disciples out from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives signifies a new exodus. Through his passion-resurrection-ascension, Jesus has completed his exodus (cf. Luke 9:31) and is now leading his people out from Jerusalem, a symbolic act of leading the believers to himself, in which God's salvation is realised.

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[98] Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Books of Luke," 20; Gerhard Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu: Untersuchungen zu den Himmelfahrts- und Erhöhungstexten bei Lukas*, SANT 26 (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1971), 164; Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City*, 79. Some argue that such an interpretation is rather weak (e.g. Arie W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan Christology*, NovTSup 87 [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 87; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 795). (Zwiep 87; Wolter 795)

It is true that the so-called exodus from Jerusalem to the Mount of the Olives looks pale in comparison to the great exodus from Egypt, at least in terms of its geographical or spatial movement. However, in reading Luke, one might recall the interpretation of Philo. Philo, too, emphasises a spiritual or symbolic understanding of the exodus. According to Philo, the true meaning of the Passover for the later generation it is the crossing of the soul, from passion to virtue. For him, the exodus is not primarily geographical, nor is it even necessary. The Jews who are in Egypt can still live in Egypt while celebrating the Passover faithfully. Likewise, in the Lukan text, the movement from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives is essentially symbolic, evoking the eschatological symbol attached to the latter. Thus, there is no problem for Luke to depict the disciples as returning to Jerusalem afterwards (Luke 24:52).

3.8 Synthesis: The Shaping of the Passover-Passion Pairing

We have examined how Luke appropriates the Passover in his passion narrative. The Passover theme appears in full force in the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). In that passage, Luke uses the theme in various ways. First, he employs the Passover time marker to frame not only the Last Supper but also the death of Jesus. On three occasions, the Passover time marker is closely related to Jesus' passion (vv. 1, 7, 14). Second, Luke makes use of the Passover story line to depict Jesus' passion. He combines the death-threat motif and the involvement of the evil entity to shape his narrative. In the Jewish Passover story, Israel faces a death threat from the personified "destroyer". In Luke, Jesus faces a death threat masterminded by Satan. Moreover, Luke places the ritual before the actual salvation is executed, a chronology that mirrors the Passover story in Exodus 12. Third, Luke recalls the sacrificial element of the Passover ritual. Luke uses sacrificial language in the depiction of the Last Supper meal. He also notes that the Passover lamb has to be slaughtered, a possible prefiguration of the necessity of Jesus' death. However, the association between the Passover lamb and Jesus is rather vague. Finally, Luke uses the Passover meal to frame the new ritual meal of Eucharist. In particular, the Passover food components (bread and wine) and the

commemoration element have been transferred into the Eucharist. Luke also associates the food components and the commemoration motif with the imminent death of Jesus.

It should be clear by now that Luke primarily uses the Passover theme in relation to the death of Jesus. To be precise, the Passover becomes a theological lens to explain the necessity of Jesus' death within the broader salvific program. One needs to be cautious here. I am not claiming that it is the only explanation for the death of Jesus, nor is it an exhaustive one. Luke employs many theological motifs to explain the reality of Jesus' death.

This finding is an important complement to some models proposed by a number of scholars to explain the death of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke. For many years, scholars have questioned whether Jesus' death bears any salvific significance in Luke-Acts. The majority deny such a notion.[99] Conzelmann, for instance, claims, "the most important finding…is that there is no trace of any Passion mysticism, nor is any direct soteriological significance drawn from Jesus' suffering or death."[100] Thus, scholars have tried to find an alternate model to explain better the Lukan data. Some of the models seek to compare Jesus to certain individual types. These range from seeing Jesus as a martyr (Martin Dibelius),[101] the righteous sufferer (Robert Karris, Peter Doble),[102] the suffering servant (Joel Green),[103] the second Adam (Jerome Neyrey),[104] to the hellenistic noble death (Gregory Sterling, Peter Scaer).[105] While these models are very diverse, they all have one similarity: all of them exclude or diminish the apparent role of the Passover in the death of Jesus.[106] By intentionally or accidentally setting the

[99] "All agree to recognise that Luke rarely confers a soteriological function on the cross," (Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 183–84); for a recent survey regarding this topic, see Hermie C. Van Zyl, "The Soteriological Meaning of Jesus' Death in Luke-Acts: A Survey of Possibilities," *VE* 23 (2002): 533–57.
[100] *The Theology of St. Luke*, 201.
[101] Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, Second revised. (Cambridge: Clarke, 1971), 201.
[102] Karris, "Luke 23"; Doble, *The Paradox of Salvation*.
[103] Most recently Green, "Was It Not Necessary," 80–84.
[104] Neyrey, *Passion*, 165–83.
[105] Greg Sterling, "Mors Philosophi: The Death of Jesus in Luke," *HTR* 94, no. 04 (2001): 383–402; Peter J. Scaer, *The Lukan Passion and the Praiseworthy Death*, NTM 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005).
[106] It seems that the unpopularity of the Passover model stems from its connection to the expiation or atonement model which some scholars have proposed (e.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1401; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1726–27; cf. Kimbell, *Atonement*). In this model, Jesus is depicted as the Passover lamb being sacrificed on behalf of the people.

Passover theme aside, explanations of the death of Jesus become rather fragmented, showing no strong continuity with God's salvific acts found in the Jewish Scripture. Furthermore, while models which likened Jesus to the Jewish martyr or righteous sufferer also have precedence in the Jewish Scripture and other second-temple literature, they do not have the grand soteriological impact of the scale of the exodus event.

By using the Passover as his theological lens, Luke is able to achieve two outcomes. First, he is able to establish the continuity and parallels between Israel's foundational story and the new foundational story through Jesus. The Passover story of Exodus 12 stands as the beginning-yet-decisive moment in Israel's history and identity making. Likewise, the Passover story of Jesus accomplishes a comparable feat. Continuity, especially to the Jewish Scripture, is an important and constant theme in Luke-Acts, for it gives more credence to the significance of the Lukan story.

Second, Luke is able to explain the necessity of Jesus' death. Death is an essential part of the Jewish Passover story and similarly essential for the exodus liberation. There will be no exodus without the notion of death, no liberation without slaughtered Passover lambs. Luke seems to understand this connection and makes extensive use of it. As shown above, virtually all elements of the Passover theme, whether the time marker, storyline, sacrifice, or ritual meal, all point to Jesus' death. In fact, through the lens of Passover, Luke is able to explain the necessity of Jesus' death for the programme of salvation. While the Passover script requires death, it does not end with it. Rather, there is only one result, that is, salvation. For Luke, Passover is to the exodus what Jesus' passion is to God's salvation. Consequently, in his passion narrative, Luke always places Passover in tandem with the passion of Jesus. Passover never stands alone. It always points to the passion, and, whenever Passover-passion is found, the theme of salvation is never far behind.

4 PASSOVER IN THE INFANCY NARRATIVE

If Passover is so vital in Luke's passion narrative, it is also possible that Passover plays a substantial role in other parts of the Lukan narrative. Furthermore, if Passover is closely associated with Jesus' passion, being a theological lens to explain the latter, it will be interesting to see if the pairing of Passover-passion is also found elsewhere in Luke-Acts.

In this chapter, I attempt to show that the Passover theme is already present and plays a significant role in the story of salvation depicted in the infancy narrative. I will demonstrate that, already in the infancy narrative, Luke pairs the themes of Passover and Jesus' passion, following the fundamental story of salvation as newly described in Luke's passion narrative. Furthermore, the Passover and its interplay with the passion narrative will gradually become clearer and will reach its climax in the final part of the infancy narrative (i.e. the finding of the boy Jesus), where the explicit reference to Passover finally appears.

4.1 Setting the Stage: The Exodus Theme in Zechariah's Hymn (Luke 1:67–79)

Since remarks about Passover are somewhat elusive in the infancy narrative, I will begin my investigation by tracing the allusions to the broader exodus theme in the hymn of Zechariah. The presence of the exodus in this passage would raise the possibility of an allusion to Passover in the infancy narrative.[1] The hymn of Zechariah can be divided into two parts. The first part depicts the coming salvation and saviour (vv. 68–75), while the second part deals with the role of John (vv. 76–79). The focus of our investigation is the first part.

[1] Some scholars argue that Luke 1:51 also alludes to the exodus theme (Bovon, *Luke*, 1.62; Green, *Luke*, 104). In that verse, Mary speaks about how God has shown his strength "with his arm" (ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ). The OT frequently describes how God brings Israel out of Egypt with his arm (Exod 6:6; 15:16; Deut 4:34; 6:21; 7:8, 18–19; 9:21, 29; 26:8; 2 Kgs 17:36; Pss 76:15–16; 135:10–12). While the argument is plausible, the phrase seems to be the only allusion to the exodus detected in Mary's song. The lack of support from other part of the song will lessen the plausibility of this reading. In this way, Zechariah's song is different to that of Mary. As I will show later, we can detect numerous allusions to exodus in Zechariah's song.

At first glance, two OT themes seem to be prominent: the promise of a Davidic king (v. 69) and the covenantal promise to Abraham (v. 72–73). Luke has introduced these two themes earlier in the narrative (Luke 1:32–33, 54–55). However, standing behind them are allusions to many other OT texts and themes, including the exodus. We might detect the first exodus allusion in Luke 1:68b where Zechariah declares that God "has visited" (ἐπεσκέψατο) his people.

> Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ,
>
> Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he has looked favourably on [lit: for he has visited] his people and redeemed them.
>
> (Luke 1:68)

Zechariah uses the term ἐπισκέπτομαι again in verse 78 when he states that the Davidic Messiah, portrayed as the dawn from on high,[2] will visit (ἐπισκέψεται) the Israelites.[3]

In Luke, the term always denotes God's favourable visit to rescue his people, when God is taken as the subject (Luke 1:78; 7:16; 19:44; Acts 15:44).[4] In the OT, the use of the term is rather broad. When God is the subject, the OT writers use ἐπισκέπτομαι to denote either God's favourable visit (e.g. Gen 21:1; 50:24–25; Exod 3:16; 4:31; Ruth 1:6; 1 Sam 2:21; Ps 8:5 LXX; 105:4 LXX) or judgment (e.g. Exod 32:34; Ps 58:6 LXX; 88:33 LXX). Since ἐπισκέπτομαι is widespread in the OT, we need to justify its connection to the exodus. Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 1, if there is more than one possible pretext, the likeliest pretext is the one that is foundational to Israel's tradition, identity, and history. Among the many possible OT pretexts for ἐπισκέπτομαι, Exodus 4:31, in particular, fits the category.

> And the people believed and were glad <u>because God had observed [lit: visited] the sons of Israel</u> (ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ) and because he had seen their oppression. Then the people bowed down and did obeisance.
>
> (Exod 4:31 NETS)

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[2] Green, *Luke*, 119; Bovon, *Luke*, 70.

[3] Some manuscripts have the aorist ἐπεσκέψατο (א[2] A C D K Γ Δ Ξ Ψ). The aorist would tie it closely to the divine visitation in v. 68, which also has the aorist form. However, the future fits the context of vv. 76–79 better, as the depiction is mainly in the future tense.

[4] Hence the NRSV translation of Luke 1:68, "he has looked favourably."

There are several parallels between Luke 1:68 and Exodus 4:31: God is the subject, the similar form ἐπεσκέψατο is used, and Israel, God's people, is addressed. What is more, both also portray God's favourable intention to save his people. Though the actual salvation is not realised yet, the certainty of it has been declared beforehand. The grandiose scale of salvation described in Luke 1:68, where God's salvific act is so immense that Israel's enemy will be defeated and that the people will be able to worship and serve him again without a single hindrance (vv. 71, 74–75), can only be compared to, and recall, the exodus event.[5]

The second part of Luke 1:68, ὅτι … ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ (lit: "for … he has made redemption for his people"), is close to Psalm 110:9 LXX, λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλεν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ("he has sent redemption for his people"). Scholars have noted the allusion to the exodus in Psalm 110 LXX.[6] The exodus theme is especially clear in Psalm 110:4–6 LXX,

> [4] He made mention of his wonderful deeds;
> merciful and compassionate is the Lord.
> [5] Food he provided for those who fear him;
> he will be ever mindful of his covenant.
> [6] Strength of his works he proclaimed to his people,
> to give them heritage of nations.
>
> (Ps 110:4–6 NETS)

One way of interpreting these verses is that they reflect the story of the exodus, from the beginning of the liberation from Egypt to the occupation of the Promised Land. The phrase "wonderful deeds" in verse 4 most likely recalls God's salvific acts to liberate his people from Egypt. In verse 5, the provision of food might allude to the giving of the manna to the Israelites in the wilderness. Finally, the giving of "the heritage of the nations" in verse 6 should refer to the giving of the Promised Land. The remark on

[5] Compare this, for example, with the use of ἐπισκέπτομαι in Ruth 1:6. In this verse, Naomi decides to return to Israel after hearing that God has been favourable toward Israel. However, in Ruth, the issue that God dealt with is famine, not salvation from the enemy. Certainly, in terms of scope, this is less grandiose than the Exodus event.

[6] Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-50*, rev., WBC 21 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 125; Samuel Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 757, 758; John Goldingay, *Psalms, Volume 3, 90-150*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 304–5; Walter Brueggemann and William H. Bellinger, Jr., *Psalms*, NCBC (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 483.

covenant remembrance (cf. Ps 110:9b LXX) also fits the exodus story (Exod 2:24; 6:5). If the exodus is the primary background of this Psalm, then the remark about God's redemption of his people in Psalm 110:9a should also recall the exodus event. Moreover, based on this exodus background, some scholars argue that the cultic setting for Psalm 110 LXX is, in fact, the Passover festival.[7] If Luke actually alludes to Psalm 110 LXX, is he aware of the exodus association of the Psalm?[8] The possibility will be weak if we only have one example of such usage. It does not warrant that Luke also knows and wants to show the exodus association behind the Psalm. However, if we can find other exodus-related Psalms in Zechariah's song, it will raise the possibility that Luke indeed knows and intends to allude to the exodus theme via the Psalms. In fact, this is precisely the case when we examine Luke 1:71.

Luke 1:71 describes how God has spoken through the prophets that he would save the Israelites from their enemies and those who hate them. The pairing of "the enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) and "the one who hates" (ὁ μισῶν) is found most often in the Psalms (e.g. the LXX of Pss 17:18; 20:9; 37:20; 43:11; 54:13; 67:2; 82:3; 88:24; 105:10). There are three possible opposing sides to the "enemies" and "those who hate": God (Pss 20:9; 67:2; 82:3), an individual (Pss 17:18; 37:20; 54:13; 88:24), and Israel as a whole (Pss 43:11; 105:10). Of all the Psalms with the pairing, Psalm 105:10 LXX appears to parallel Luke 1:71 the closest.[9]

Psalm 105:10 LXX	Luke 1:71
καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς μισούντων καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθροῦ·	σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς,

[7] Terrien, *Psalms*, 758; Goldingay, *Psalms 90-150*, 304.

[8] Although Bovon does not link the verse to a specific OT pretext, he still thinks that it might be a recollection of the exodus tradition (Bovon, *Luke*, 1.72). Rusam suggests that Luke 1:68 alludes to Exodus 4:31 (for ἐπεσκέψατο) and 2 Sam 7:23 (for ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν) due to the relation of the two OT texts to exodus tradition (Dietrich Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, BZNW 112 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003], 69). The allusion to 2 Sam 7:23 might not be necessary since we have shown that the phrasing in Luke 1:68b is closest to Psalm 110:9 LXX and that Psalm 110 itself has a strong exodus background.

[9] Cf., Nolland, *Luke*, 1.87. Contra Wolter, who argues that the pairing is more generic, without referring to any specific pretext (Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 114). Even if Wolter is correct, it does not mean that the usage in Luke 1:71 has no indirect reference to the theme of exodus. A cumulative view of God's salvation in the past cannot escape its grounding from the foundational exodus event.

And he saved them from the hand of people that hate and redeemed them from an enemy's hand (NETS)	that we would be saved [lit: salvation] from our enemies and from the hand of all who hate us.

In both texts, the people of God are saved from their enemy/enemies and from the hand of those who hate. In Psalm 105 LXX, Israel as a whole is opposed to its enemies. This national scope is similar to that found in Zechariah's song. Likewise, the term 'salvation' is found in both passages.[10] What is more, Psalm 105:10 LXX speaks of God's redemption, a theme that is also found earlier in Luke 1:68. If Psalm 105:10 LXX is indeed the main pretext, it strengthens the exodus reference in the Lukan text since we can detect the presence of the exodus in Psalm 105 LXX.

> And he rebuked the Red Sea, and it became dry,
> and he guided them in the deep as in a wilderness.
> And he saved them from the hand of people that hate
> and redeemed them from an enemy's hand.
> And water covered those that afflicted them;
> not one of them was left.
> And they believed in his words,
> and they sang his praise.
>
> (Ps 105:9–12 NETS)

As shown here, the context of Psalm 105:9–12 LXX is about how God rescues the people from the Egyptians, leading them safely across the Red Sea. Read in this context, the enemy and those who hate the Israelites in verse 10 should be the Egyptians.

Now we have allusions to two exodus-related Psalms: Psalm 110:9 LXX in Luke 1:68, and Psalm 105:10 LXX in Luke 1:71. The presence of two exodus-related Psalms should lend support to the argument that Luke knows the exodus background of those Psalms and alludes to them in order to convey the exodus theme.

Moving to Luke 1:72–73a, Zechariah declares that God "has shown the mercy promised to our ancestors, and has remembered his holy covenant, the oath that he swore to our ancestor Abraham." The motif of covenant remembrance can be found numerous times in the OT (e.g. Gen 17:7; Exod 2:24; Lev 26:42; Ps 104:8 LXX; 105:45 LXX). The covenant or promise to Abraham is not always related to the exodus theme.

[10] The verb σώζω in Psalm 105:10 and the noun σωτηρία in Luke 1:71.

Elsewhere in Luke, the remark about Abraham has nothing to do with the exodus theme (e.g. Luke 1:54–55; Acts 3:25; 7:8). Thus, some argue that the covenant remembrance motif in Luke 1:72 does not indicate an exodus typology.[11] However, the covenant remembrance in this passage is different. It is placed within the larger context of God's coming salvation, which alludes to, and recalls, the exodus event a number of times. It is possible that the usage of the motif in Luke 1:72 is similar to that in Exodus 2:24 (cf. 6:5), where God is said to have heard the cry of the Israelites, and he "remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ και Ιακωβ). In both passages, God's remembrance of the Abrahamic covenant causes him to rescue the Israelites.

The evocation of God's covenant within the exodus setting is also found in Wisdom 18.[12] The Passover-night rescue is made known to the patriarchs, and they rejoice in the certainty of the oath (Wis 18:6). While the author of Wisdom does not use the word "covenant" (διαθήκη), he uses another term, "oath" (ὅρκος). In Luke 1:72–73, ὅρκος is used alongside διαθήκη. Later, the author of Wisdom combines both terms when he depicts the ministry of Aaron (Wis 18:22). With his words, Aaron is able to save the lives of the Israelites, by "calling to mind the oaths and covenants given to the fathers" (ὅρκους πατέρων καὶ διαθήκας ὑπομνήσας). I have shown in Chapter 2 that the depiction of Aaron's ministry in Wisdom 18:20–25 should be read in relation to the exodus rescue mentioned in Wisdom 18:6–19.

Perhaps the strongest case for the link between covenant remembrance and exodus rescue in the song of Zechariah is the further explanation given regarding the covenant. Zechariah states that God has shown mercy and remembered his covenant (Luke 1:72) so that the people, being rescued from the enemies (ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας), may worship/serve him (λατρεύειν αὐτῷ) without fear (Luke 1:74). Being rescued in order to worship God is a recurring motif in the exodus story.[13] God continuously demands that Pharaoh release the people of Israel so they can worship him

[11] E.g. Bovon, *Luke*, 1.74.
[12] See Section 2.5.
[13] Green, *Luke*, 117; Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 72.

(Exod 4:23; 7:16, 7:26; 8:16, 9:1, 13; 10:3). In fact, at least on one occasion, the demand is tied closely to the threat of the tenth plague: unless Pharaoh submits, the Egyptian firstborn will perish (Exod 4:23). Pharaoh finally surrenders and orders Israel to go away and serve the Lord as demanded (Exod 12:31).

To conclude, there is strong evidence that the first part of Zechariah's song (Luke 1:68–75) alludes to, and recalls, the exodus event. While the exodus story is not the only OT pretext, it remains one of the main thematic backgrounds.[14] Having established the possible presence of the exodus, it would actually be surprising if Luke does not follow it up in his next passage, the birth narrative.

4.2 The Nativity Scene: The Firstborn and the Shepherds (Luke 2:8–20)

That the birth of Jesus is not commonly associated with the Passover is hardly surprising. There seems to be no Passover allusion, let alone clear citation in the text.[15] Nonetheless, judging from the density of exodus allusions in the song of Zechariah,

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[14] It is worth noting another possibility of discovering the Exodus background in Luke 1:68–74. As shown, virtually all of the phrases above are not exclusively linked to Exodus but to numerous similar phrases found in the Greek OT. This might indicate a widespread and common usage of those phrases, without the attempt to pinpoint a particular pretext. The meaning and significance of those phrases come from their accumulative and continuing usage. This produces a common understanding of what those terms, phrases, and themes mean for the Jewish people. For example, the notion of a coming Davidic king does not necessarily recall one OT pretext. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that the people would understand this idea derives from the OT. Thus, instead of textual allusion, what we have here is a thematic allusion.

Assuming that this is the case, we can still argue for the Exodus background in the Lukan passage. The passage describes a new salvific act of God, on a par with the exodus event. Since the exodus is the blueprint for later liberation and salvation, the reference to a new or eschatological salvation will be compared to it. As argued by Fishbane:

> …the "Exodus" motif emphasizes the temporal-historical paradigm in whose image all future restorations of the nation are to be manifest. A concord between the first and succeeding redemptions is the issue, for each generation looked to the first exodus as the archetypal expression of its own future hope (Fishbane, "The 'Exodus' Motif," 121).

[15] Perhaps the closest attempt to place the incarnation within the context of Passover is in the work of Saint Ephrem, a fourth century Christian writer from Syria. In his commentary on Exodus 12, he explains that just as the Passover lamb is taken on the tenth of Nisan, likewise Jesus is conceived on earth on the same date. In order to do this, Ephrem places the angel's pronouncement to Zechariah on the tenth of the seventh month. Then the angel's visit to Mary is six months after the visit to Zechariah (cf. Luke 1:36). Hence, the visit/pregnancy takes place on the tenth of the first month (Ephraem, *The Exodus Commentary of St. Ephrem*, trans. Alison Salvesen, Rev. ed., Moran Etho 8 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011], 32). For a possible reason behind Ephrem's reconstruction, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Passover, Annunciation and Epiclesis : Some Remarks on the Term Aggen in the Syriac Versions of Lk 1:35," *NovT* 24, no. 3 (1982): 224–25.

there is a possibility that Luke also intertwines some Passover/exodus elements into the birth narrative. Two details are particularly significant: the depiction of Jesus' birth (Luke 2:7) and the depiction of the shepherds (Luke 2:8, 15–20).

4.2.1 The Birth of Jesus, the Firstborn (Luke 2:7)

Within the birth scene, the actual description of the birth of Jesus is recorded in a single verse (Luke 2:7). After a long journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the time has come for Mary to give birth. Luke writes that Mary "gave birth to her son, the firstborn" (καὶ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον). The function of the term "firstborn" (πρωτότοκος) in this verse has been a subject of discussion among commentators. Michaelis, for example, expresses his bemusement, "It is hard to say what the special point of describing the newborn child as πρωτότοκος is."[16] The common reading among scholars is to take τὸν πρωτότοκον as the modifier (i.e. the attributive adjective) of τὸν υἱὸν, hence the translation, "she gave birth to her firstborn son."[17] In this construction, the πρωτότοκος functions primarily as a social title, describing Jesus' position in relation to Mary. Reading it in this way, scholars try to explain the importance of the term in a number of ways. Some think that it is an apologia to prove that Mary is indeed a virgin prior to the birth,[18] or that Jesus is indeed the first child of Mary.[19] However, an apologia for Mary seems unnecessary. The virginity of Mary has already been documented during the visit of the angel Gabriel (Luke 1:26–38), where Mary is addressed twice with the term παρθένος (both in v. 27). Later, when the angel says that Mary will bear a son, she questions whether it is possible, since she has not yet had any sexual relations (πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω, v. 34).[20] In response, the angel states that the divine power will enable her to conceive – a strong prefiguration of the virgin birth. Accordingly, it is unnecessary for Luke to reiterate the defence by using πρωτότοκος in the birth narrative.

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[16] W. Michaelis, "πρωτος, κλη," *TDNT* 6.876.
[17] So NRSV; cf. ESV, NASB, RSV, KJV.
[18] E.g. Green, *Luke*, 128. cf. Michaelis, *TDNT* 6.876.
[19] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 125.
[20] Lit: "How will this be, since I know no man?"

Others argue that through this term, Luke indicates he is aware of Jesus' other siblings who are born to Mary later (Luke 8:19–20).[21] However, why does Luke need to explain the existence of Jesus' younger siblings in this passage? If this is the case, then the term seems to bear little theological or narrative significance. Another opinion is that the term does not necessarily require comparison with subsequent births. Hence, the argument goes, πρωτότοκος does not deny μονογένης.[22] Nevertheless, the question remains the same: why is Luke using πρωτότοκος instead of μονογένης?

Another way of reading, which is more plausible, is to take the πρωτότοκος primarily in relation to God. In this reading, τὸν πρωτότοκον functions substantivally, independent from τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, hence, the translation "she gave birth to her son, the firstborn."[23] Even if τὸν πρωτότοκον operates as a modifier, the placement of the adjective specifies an emphasis on the modifier[24] and thus, the translation above is still acceptable. In this construction, the πρωτότοκος is taken as a possible Christological title. The main emphasis is not that Jesus is the firstborn of Mary; rather, he is "the firstborn" in relation to God, denoting the special bond that they share.[25]

The use of πρωτότοκος to refer to the special relationship with God has its precedent in the OT. David is called the firstborn by God (Ps 88:28 LXX). This Davidic motif might fit into the context of the Lukan passage since Jesus is the promised Davidic king (Luke 1:32–33).[26] The reference to the city of David as the place where Jesus is born (Luke 2:4) also supports this theme.

There is, however, another possible parallel. Luke seems to invoke the exodus story, especially where God calls Israel his firstborn (Exod 4:22),[27] denoting God's special relation to his people. In Exodus, there is a clear interplay in the use of the term.

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[21] E.g. Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 107.
[22] E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.407–8.
[23] Cf. the similar syntax in Luke 3:22 (σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός) in which the adjective is taken substantially in NRSV ("You are my Son, the Beloved").
[24] cf. Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 306.
[25] Bovon, *Luke*, 1.85–86; Eugene Laverdiere and Paul Bernier, *The Firstborn Of God: The Birth of Mary's Son, Jesus: Luke 2:1-21* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Pubns, 2007), 33–36; cf. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 106.
[26] Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium 1. Teil: Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1–9,50*, HThKNT III (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), 104; Spicq, *TLNT* 3.211.
[27] E.g. James R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Luke*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 73.

If Pharaoh does not release God's firstborn (Israel), then God will kill all the firstborn of the Egyptians (Exod 4:22–23; 11:5; 12:12, 29). At the same time, God will protect all the firstborn of the Israelites from the death threat. In turn, God requires the Israelites to sacrifice firstborn male animals to him in order to redeem their firstborn (Exod 13:2, 13, 15).

Support for the exodus context of the term is found later when Jesus visits the Temple of Jerusalem for the first time during his infancy. Luke notes that Jesus' parents take him there to fulfil the Mosaic law regarding the firstborn son.

> Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως, ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα παραστῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται...
>
> When the time came for their purification according to the law of Moses, they brought him up to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, "Every firstborn male [lit: every male which opens the womb] shall be designated as holy to the Lord")…
>
> (Luke 2:22-23)

Although the term πρωτότοκος is not used in this passage, we can detect the notion of the firstborn from the phrase πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ("every male which opens the womb"). Most scholars think that the presentation shows the piety of Jesus' parents in following the law, and that Jesus is raised in a proper religious manner.[28] However, the focus is still on Jesus. A comparison to the infancy story of John the Baptist shows the importance of the firstborn reference for Luke. While John is also a firstborn, the firstborn label is given exclusively to Jesus. Furthermore, only Jesus is presented to God. This privilege indicates that, for Luke, the firstborn identity of Jesus is special. It is more than being merely firstborn as in the first of many children. It indicates his special relation to God. The scriptural quotation in Luke 2:23 shows that Jesus is set apart, consecrated to God (cf. Luke 1:35).[29] The presentation of Jesus to God at the Temple

[28] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.421; Johnson, *Luke*, 56; Green, *Luke*, 140–41; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 135.
[29] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 117; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.99.

prepares the reader for the coming narrative, the boy Jesus in the Temple, where Jesus himself claims his unique relation to God as his Father.[30]

The Passover association of the firstborn ritual can be derived from the fact that, in the Jewish Scripture, the firstborn ritual is always linked to the Passover rescue. Luke 2:23 is cast as a proper Scriptural citation, shown from the formula καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου. It is a loose quotation, closest to Exodus 13:12, with seven similar words.

> καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται (Luke 2:23)
>
> καὶ ἀφελεῖς πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ· πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἐκ τῶν βουκολίων ἢ ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου, ὅσα ἐὰν γένηταί σοι, τὰ ἀρσενικὰ ἁγιάσεις τῷ κυρίῳ. (Exod 13:12)

As noted above, the command to set apart the firstborn male is stated three times in Exodus 13 (vv. 2, 12, and 15). This firstborn ritual is also described in Numbers 3:13; 8:17. All these passages tie the firstborn ritual to God's salvific acts in Egypt, especially the slaying of the firstborn (cf. Ezek. Trag. 172-174). If all the OT texts above connect the firstborn ritual to the Passover rescue, one should suspect that Luke knows about this tradition and might have incorporated it into his narrative.[31] If this is the case, then identifying Jesus as "the firstborn" implies two things. First, it denotes Jesus' special relation to God, parallel to the relation between Israel and YHWH (Exod 4:22). Second, by recalling, and having Jesus participating in, the firstling sacrifice (cf. Exod 13:14–15), Luke introduces the Passover rescue story into the background.

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[30] The presentation motif has led some to argue for the parallel between the presentation of Jesus and Samuel (Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 117; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.421; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, Updated edition. [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 450–51; Green, *Luke*, 142; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.99). Wolter rejects this parallel claim, noting a number of differences, such as the lack of a firstborn motif, that Samuel was brought much later, and that he remained at the temple after the presentation (*Lukasevangelium*, 135).

[31] Scholars do not fail to notice this special relation, referring to this recurring motif in Jesus' presentation at the temple (Luke 2:22–23) and, later, Jesus' explanation of his relation to God in the first Passover visit (Luke 2:41–51). See Nolland, *Luke*, 1.105; Stein, *Luke*, 107; Brown, *The Birth*, 418; Green, *Luke*, 128; Carroll, *Luke*, 65. What is lacking, however, is the discussion of the Passover/exodus underlying those texts. Luke does not simply describe Jesus or his parents as pious Jews who observe all the necessary religious rituals. He also points out the significance and the foundational story behind those religious acts (i.e. the foundational story of Passover/exodus).

4.2.2 The Shepherds who Watch by Night

The first group of people who receive the news of Jesus' birth are the shepherds. Scholars disagree on why the shepherds are chosen as the first recipients of the news. To answer this question, several interpretations have been proposed. First, some consider the shepherds as sinners whose trades are deemed unclean.[32] However, such a negative description of shepherds comes from literature after the time of Luke.[33] Moreover, shepherds receive a positive outlook in Luke-Acts and elsewhere in the NT (Luke 15:4; Acts 20:28; cf. Mark 6:34; John 10; Rev 17:7). Thus, this interpretation is not likely.

Second, shepherds represent those who are socially and economically needy, being regarded as lower-class peasants.[34] This connection is possible, since the motif of lowliness is found earlier in Mary's song (Luke 1:52). However, if this is the case, we still need to answer why the shepherds are chosen instead of other groups. They are not the only group who are deprived both socially and economically. There are many others in this category. Even if this interpretation is possible, the shepherds should have another function in this passage.

Third, the presence of the shepherds helps to portray the coming saviour as the true shepherd of Israel. This reading is supported by the fact that David was and is known as a shepherd. Here the angel declares that Jesus is the awaited Davidic king, and that he is born in the city of David. This interpretation is possible since it is not difficult to link the shepherd symbolism to David. On top of that, David was a shepherd who tended his father's flock in the vicinity of Bethlehem (1 Sam 17:15).[35] However, this interpretation is not without problems. Marshall, for example, argues that the link would make more sense if the child, and not the witnesses of his birth, were the one related to the shepherd symbolism.[36]

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[32] F. L. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, 2 vols. (T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1976), 1.130.
[33] E.g. b. Sanh. 25b. In this Talmudic text, the profession of the shepherds is deemed unclean, since they are said to intentionally let their cattle graze on someone else' land. Hence, they are grouped together with the tax collectors and the publicans.
[34] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 108; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.408; Green, *Luke*, 130–31.
[35] Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 108; cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.395, 409.
[36] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 108; cf. Carroll, *Luke*, 69.

Fourth, the shepherds provide the link to the so-called "Tower of the Flock" (מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר /Migdal Eder), where the promise of the coming Messiah has been foretold. The main pretext for this association comes from Micah 4:8 where God, addressing the Tower of the Flock, promises the restoration of the kingdom.[37] While scholars differ in assessing this view,[38] Luke seems to allude to the text of Micah (especially Chapters 4 and 5) in his infancy narrative. For instance, some thematic similarities can be found in Luke 1:33 (Mic 4:7), 1:74 (Mic 4:10) and 2:14 (Mic 5:5[5:4 MT/LXX]). Another possible allusion is to Micah 5:2 (5:1 MT/LXX).[39] While Micah 5:2 is quoted only in Matthew (2:6), the wording of Luke 2:11 can be viewed as Luke's rendering of the Micah text. However, one major issue with this interpretation is that in Micah 4:8, the tower is identified as part of the vicinity of Zion/Jerusalem and not Bethlehem.[40]

Finally, some propose that the shepherds symbolise the Greco-Roman idea of either an ideal humanity or the Golden Age.[41] In all likelihood, even if this proposal is plausible, the Lukan context seems to demand, primarily, Jewish background and symbolism rather than Greco-Roman.

Despite the differences, all the proposed interpretations above focus on the (symbolic) identity or quality of the shepherds. None, however, has analysed the night setting and the shepherds' actions, in order to understand their role in the birth narrative.

Given the findings in Chapter 2, a night setting might have greater importance than being merely the background for a story, especially when it is placed in the context

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[37] "And you, O tower of the flock (מגדל-עדר), hill of daughter Zion, to you it shall come, the former dominion shall come, the sovereignty of daughter Jerusalem" (Mic 4:8). See Brown, *The Birth*, 421–3; Bovon argues that options 2 and 3 are both present to show the birth of the messianic shepherds (Bovon, *Luke*, 1.87).

[38] Brown, for instance, argues in favour of this view (Brown, *The Birth*, 421–424; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.87). Fitzmyer, on the other hand, thinks that it pushes the data too far (ibid., 1.87; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.395).

[39] "But you, O Bethlehem of Ephrathah, who are one of the little clans of Judah,
from you shall come forth for me one who is to rule in Israel,
whose origin is from of old, from ancient days"

[40] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.395.

[41] More recently, Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 127; idem, "Die Hirten in der Weihnachtsgeschichte," in *Theologie und Ethos im frühen Christentum: Studien zu Jesus, Paulus und Lukas*, WUNT 236 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 355–72; Stefan Schreiber, *Weihnachspolitik: Lukas 1-2 und das Goldene Zeitalter*, SUNT 82 (Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

of God's salvation.[42] While the story of God's salvation can be found virtually everywhere in the OT, and within a variety of contexts, it is more likely to associate the notion of nocturnal salvation with the Passover night rescue (e.g. Exodus 12:12, 41–42; Deut 16:1; Jub. 49:2; Wis 18:6; LAB 32:16).[43] In the Lukan passage, we have both the night setting and the salvation message. Luke writes that the shepherds keep their flocks "by night" (τῆς νυκτός, Luke 2:8) and, on that night, an angel of the Lord proclaims to them the good news, that a saviour (σωτήρ) is born on that day (Luke 2:11). The nocturnal setting alone does not prove the presence of an allusion to the Passover. However, this is the first hint of the concept.

The second hint is found in Luke 2:8 where the action of the shepherds is described. Luke notes that they are in the fields, "keeping watch over their flock by night" (φυλάσσοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν). The issue here is whether to take the phrase in a neutral sense, a mere setting for what is to come, or in a theological/religious sense. In the theological sense, the notion of keeping watch, or better, the obligation to keep watch at night is a motif found in the Passover night rescue (see Section 2.1). The religious duty of watching at night appears in Exodus 12:42. The night observance is in response to God's great act of salvation.[44]

If salvation by night is part of the people's religious repertoire, we have to rethink the significance of this Lukan phrase. Night rescue is close to the memory of the Passover rescue. Luke does not situate Jesus' birth by night. Strictly speaking, it is the announcement to the shepherds that takes place at night. Is it particularly important to have the declaration of salvation depicted by night? If exodus is indeed in the background, then the night is a reminiscence of the Passover rescue. Furthermore, one

[42] See Section 2.9.1 in this study. Marshall reckons that somehow Luke chose the night as the "appropriate time …for divine revelation" (*Gospel of Luke*, 108). However, he does not explain why it is so. For some, the sole purpose of the night setting is to dramatise the angel's appearance in glorious light (Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.409; Nolland, *Luke*, 1.106).

[43] See the conclusion of Chapter 2.

[44] A number of scholars interpret Exodus 12:42 through the shepherd imagery. U. Cassuto argues that the language of watching in Exodus 12:42 is derived from the depiction of the watch of the shepherd. (*Commentary on the Book of Exodus* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967], 148). Hamilton comments on the verse by stating, "here is Heaven's Shepherd "keeping watch o'er his flock by night,"" Hamilton, *Exodus*, 195.

of the reasons why the shepherds are suitable as the first recipients of the good news is because they kept watch by night. They might represent the proper attitude of the righteous: to keep watch for God's coming salvation.

I do not say that the shepherd's symbolism is only related to the Passover rescue theme. It is somehow still related to the Davidic theme. However, I am arguing that it is not limited to the Davidic theme. Just as in Luke 1:68–74, it is possible to combine a number of motifs within a passage. In addition to the Davidic theme, the Passover theme is helpful when it comes to interpreting the importance of the night setting, as well as the remark about the action of the shepherds (to keep watch by night). If the Davidic theme focuses mainly on the "who", that is, the identity of the coming king and saviour, then the Passover theme refers primarily to the "how", in other words, the manner of God's salvific acts. The presence of the Passover not only evokes the memory of exodus liberation but also, within the Lukan narrative, it foreshadows the way Jesus accomplishes God's salvation: through his passion-resurrection.

Is it therefore possible that Luke casts the shepherds as the model response to the message of salvation? Is it because they are keeping watch by night, when everyone else is sleeping, that they receive the message of salvation? Judging from the analysis above, such an interpretation is possible.

Luke continues to depict the action of the shepherds as a model response in Luke 2:15–20. Following the angelic proclamation and praise, the shepherds decide to go to see the saviour in Bethlehem. So they "went with haste" (ἦλθαν σπεύσαντες) and found Jesus there, just as the angel had said to them. If Luke actually alludes to the motif of the night watch, then the motif of haste documented here might also allude to Israel's hasty journey out from Egypt during the Passover night.[45] What is rather clear from Luke is the function of the shepherds as model respondents. They respond to the angelic announcement appropriately, going quickly to Bethlehem to see the saviour (Luke 2:15–16). Later they tell others about their experience (2:18) and, in the end, they return from

[45] This is not the first time the act of going with haste is recorded by Luke. When Mary goes to visit Elizabeth, she too, goes with haste (Μαριὰμ ... ἐπορεύθη...μετὰ σπουδῆς, Luke 1:39). In the case of Mary, no additional Passover allusion is found.

Bethlehem, "glorifying and praising God" (δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν, Luke 2:20). The exemplary function of the shepherds can be stretched further back to include their alertness during the time when the salvation is revealed, symbolised by their watchfulness by night.

4.2.3 The Prefiguration of the Passion in the Birth Narrative

So far, I have examined allusions to the Passover in the birth narrative. I will now proceed to the next task: establishing the prefiguration of the passion, which is found in Luke 2:7

> καὶ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον, καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνέκλινεν αὐτὸν ἐν φάτνῃ, διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι.
>
> And she gave birth to her firstborn son and wrapped him in bands of cloth, and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn
>
> (Luke 2:7)

The description of Jesus' birth has been a puzzle for many interpreters. This perplexity is especially true for the second part of the scene, where Jesus is said to be wrapped in swaddling cloths and laid in a manger. This unusual portrayal occurs again later. When the angel announces the birth of Jesus to the shepherds, he gives them a sign (καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν τὸ σημεῖον):[46] they will find a baby "wrapped in bands of cloths and lying in a manger" (ἐσπαργανωμένον καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ, v. 12). Later still, when the shepherds go to Bethlehem to find Jesus, they find the baby "lying in a manger" (κείμενον ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ, v. 16). The repetition of the unusual description should cause us to pause. Why does Luke emphasise this? It is true that it becomes a sign that helps the shepherds to find Jesus, but being a sign for the shepherds cannot be the only function that the swaddling cloths and the manger have. Luke usually uses repetition to stress important themes or messages. For example, Luke repeatedly describes John the Baptist as the one who prepares the people for the coming Lord (1:17, 76; 3:4), emphasising his role as the forerunner of Jesus. Luke also describes the conversion of Paul at length on three occasions (Acts 9:1–22; 22:3–21; 26:9–18), stressing the impact of Paul's conversion on

[46] Cf. Exod 3:12; 2 Kgs 19:29; Jer 51:29 LXX for the similar construction.

his calling and mission. Perhaps the best-known example is the numerous predictions of Jesus' death and resurrection. This message is mentioned repeatedly in the Lukan Gospel (9:22, 44; 17:25; 18:32–33; cf. 24:7), indicating its important role within the foundational story of salvation in Jesus. The three examples above show that, through the strategy of repetition, Luke intends to convey theological messages. We should suspect that a theological message is intended through the repetition in the birth narrative. Some think that the manger is a sign of lowliness, as it contrasts with the royal identity of the baby.[47] Others think that it should be read alongside Isaiah 1:3, through which the Lukan manger would symbolise the God who finally sustains his people.[48]

One possible function of the sign, apart from helping the shepherds finding the baby Jesus, is to point the reader to the passion of Jesus. However, associating the manger with the passion seems to be unwarranted. To substantiate the association, I will begin with another term that is found in both the birth scene and the passion, κατάλυμα. This term only appears twice in Luke, once in the birth scene (2:7) and once in the Passover preparation (22:11). In the birth narrative, Mary is said to give birth in the manger since there is no place for them in the guest room (ἐν τῷ καταλύματι).[49] Fast forward to the Passover preparation, Luke notes that Jesus instructs his disciples to ask about the guest room to be used for having the Passover meal (ποῦ ἐστιν τὸ κατάλυμα ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου φάγω;). Reading back from the passion, the reader would recall the birth scene through the usage of the same term.[50] In the infancy narrative, access to the κατάλυμα is denied. In contrast, in the passion narrative, Jesus and his disciples are granted access to the κατάλυμα.

If it is true that Luke uses the term to bridge the passion narrative and the birth, and if it is important for him to bridge the two, then Luke might also use other details to

[47] Bovon, *Luke*, 1.89; Carroll, *Luke*, 67. Wrapping is a common custom even for the ancient Jews (Ezek 16:4); see Edwards, *Luke*, 72. Carroll (*Luke*, 67) also thinks that it symbolises the nurture of the mother that is fitting to royalty (cf. Wis 7:4–6).
[48] Brown, *The Birth*, 419; Green, *Luke*, 135.
[49] Contra NRSV, "in the inn." "Guest room" would be a better translation since Luke uses another term for "inn" (i.e. πανδοχεῖον); cf. Green, *Luke*, 128–29; Edwards, *Luke*, 72–73.
[50] Heil, *Meal Scenes*, 170; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1383.

support the link. One shared term might not be enough to establish the association. At this point, we need to return to the sign of the manger.

The significance of the manger is partly found in its meaning. A manger is a feeding trough for animals. Thus, 'feeding' seems to be the keyword. Cyril of Alexandria might not be that far from deciphering the puzzling image when he says that Jesus, by being laid in a manger, becomes the food, while the people are the beasts. According to Cyril, the image recalls another picture: Jesus as the bread of heaven.[51] There is little doubt that Cyril's portrayal derives from the Johannine context (John 6:22–59). Cyril is the one who associates the manger with the bread of heaven, not Luke. Nevertheless, there is a grain of truth in Cyril's logic, a reasoning which Luke also shares: a manger is mainly associated with food or feeding.

If the manger actually invokes the image of feeding, then the closest parallel should be the Last Supper. Jesus' Last Supper and his Passover meal are held in the κατάλυμα. The bread and the wine, which the disciples consume, symbolise his body and blood, sacrificed on their behalf. Through his death, Jesus has become the nourishment to feed his disciples.

Thus far, we have observed that the birth narrative can be associated with the Last Supper pericope through the similar use of the κατάλυμα and the idea of feeding. However, the prefiguration does not stop there. L. T. Johnson proposes another parallel, that is, between the birth scene and the burial of Jesus (Luke 23:53), where Joseph of Arimathea "took [the body of Jesus] down, wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid it in a rock-hewn tomb where no one had ever been laid" (καὶ καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος). In both stories, we find a rather similar act: Jesus is wrapped in cloth and laid down. Johnson argues that through these two passages "birth and burial mirror each other."[52] However, more is

[51] *Commentary on Luke*, Homily 1 (cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke*, trans. R. Payne Smith [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859], 11).

[52] Johnson, *Luke*, 53. Carroll's interpretation actually is not too far from Johnson's (Carroll, *Luke*, 67). He focuses on the last phrase in Luke 2:7 ("because there was no place for him"). He believes that it prefigures Jesus' later rejection in Nazareth as well as his struggle to find a place to "lay his head" (Luke 9:58). Yet, is Jesus not facing the ultimate rejection in his suffering and death?

needed to verify the link. Strictly speaking, the two episodes use different words and phrases to denote the wrapping of the cloths and the laying down of Jesus. In the birth narrative, Luke uses σπαργανόω ("to wrap with cloths") and ἀνακλίνω ("to lay down"). In the burial scene, Luke uses the phrase ἐντυλίσσω σινδόνι ("to wrap with linens") and τίθημι ("to place"). At best, the two stories are linked not through similar terms, but concepts. However, a case of similar terms can be made through the verb κεῖμαι. In the birth narrative, when the angel informs the shepherds about the sign, he states that they will find a child wrapped in cloth and "lying in a manger" (κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ, Luke 2:12). Later, when the shepherds go to Bethlehem, they find the child "lying in the manger" (κείμενον ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ, Luke 2:16). In the burial episode, Luke mentions that the place where Jesus is buried is a new tomb, "where no one had ever been laid" (οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος). Among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke alone adds this phrase. Mark and Matthew only state that Nicodemus "placed" (ἔθηκεν) the body of Jesus in the tomb (Matt 27:60; Mark 15:46; cf. John 19:42, who uses the plural ἔθηκαν). The Gospel of John also indicates that the tomb has never been used before. However, John uses the more common term "to place/τίθημι" (μνημεῖον καινὸν ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος, John 19:41). It is plausible that Luke uses the participle κείμενος in Jesus' birth (Luke 2:12, 16) and burial (Luke 23:53) to bridge the two accounts.

In conclusion, in the birth narrative, allusions to the passion of Jesus are packed into the only verse that actually describes the birth of Jesus (Luke 2:7). For Luke, the passion needs to be prefigured from the beginning of Jesus' life (i.e. his birth). The link seems to have an explanatory function, to show that Jesus' death is not an accident but a necessary part of the divine plan of salvation. In the birth narrative, Luke points his reader to the passion mainly through the unusual description of the birth: being wrapped in bands of cloth and laid in a manger, an animal feeding trough, for there is no place for him in the κατάλυμα. The presence of the Passover in the birth narrative would also create an associative link between Jesus' death and God's plan of salvation, for the Passover rescue story also intertwines death and salvation.

4.3 Jesus' First Passover: A Story of Prefiguration? (Luke 2:41–52)

The final passage to be analysed in this chapter is the story of Jesus' first Passover (Luke 2:41–52). It is in this passage that the term πάσχα first appears.

> Καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα. Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα, ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς…
>
> Now every year his parents went to Jerusalem for the festival of the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up as usual for the festival.
>
> (Luke 2:41–42)

In this scene, Jesus goes to Jerusalem with his parents to celebrate the Passover. When they have finished the celebration, the parents return to Nazareth. Jesus, however, remains in Jerusalem, forcing his parents to go back to Jerusalem to find him. After three days (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς), they find him in the temple, listening to and questioning the religious teachers. When the parents question his behaviour, Jesus responds by asking why they search for him. They should know, Jesus replies, that he must be in his Father's house/affairs (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με). Nevertheless, in the end, Jesus obediently follows his parents back to Nazareth.

Scholars differ on the significance of the Passover in this passage. Their interpretations depend on whether or not they see the passage as prefiguring Jesus' death and resurrection. We can divide their interpretation into two camps. The first group affirms that the passage anticipates the death and resurrection of Jesus, and thus, takes the "Passover" as a proleptic sign to the passion-resurrection narrative. On the contrary, the second group denies the proleptic reading; hence, they consider the Passover time marker to be insignificant.

Proponents of the prefiguration reading can be traced back to the church fathers such as Ambrose and Origen. They base their reading mainly on the phrase "after three days" (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς) in verse 46.[53] They claim that the phrase refers to the three-

[53] Ambroise de Milan, *Traité sur L'évangile de s. Luc I: Livres I–VI*, trans. Gabriel Tissot, SC 45 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1956), 2.63; Origène, *Homélies sur s. Luc*, trans. Henri Crouzel, François Fournier, and Pierre Périchon, 2nd ed., SC 87 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1998), Fr. 46; cf. Réne Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple : mystère de Paques et foi de Marie, en Luc 2, 48-50*, Études Bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1966), 169; Arthur A. Just, Jr., *Luke*, ACCS NT III (Downer Groves: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 54.

day period of Jesus' death-resurrection. Some modern scholars have picked up this proleptic interpretation and attempted to show that other motifs in the passage (e.g. divine necessity, the reference to Jerusalem, the lost-and-found, and the incomprehension of the parents) also support the prefiguration reading.[54]

However, virtually all scholars nowadays reject such an interpretation.[55] They argue that, in Luke, the phrase "after three days" (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς) is never used to refer to Jesus' death and resurrection. Luke consistently uses the phrase "on the third day" (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Luke 9:22; 24:7, 46; τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, Luke 18:33). They conclude, therefore, that μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς signifies an ordinary designation of time or a non-exact time interval (i.e. "after several days").[56] For them, the purpose of the passage is to show Jesus' special relation to God, his extraordinary wisdom and knowledge, and/or his role as Israel's teacher.[57] These have nothing to do with the death and resurrection of Jesus.

Since the incident takes place in the Jerusalem Temple, scholars think that reason is needed to move the setting from Jesus' hometown of Nazareth to Jerusalem. Thus, the Passover festival, on which the Jews are required to go to the Holy City, is only necessary to enable the change of the narrative location with no further role. As a result, most scholars regard the Passover time marker as bearing no major influence on the content of the story. De Jonge, for example, concludes, "The explicit reference to the feast of the Passover in 41-2 serves to explain how Jesus came to be in Jerusalem, and not to give the whole episode a paschal significance."[58]

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[54] Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple*, 95–109; cf. J K. Elliott, "Does Luke 2:41-52 Anticipate the Resurrection?," *ExpT* 83, no. 3 (1971): 87–89; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age: A Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 75; Johnson, *Luke*, 59, 62. J.-J. Lagrange notes that the three-day duration is similar to the resurrection (also three days – quoting from Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34), though he does not press it further (*Évangile selon saint Luc* [Paris: Gabalda, 1948], 95).

[55] E.g. de Jonge, "Sonship," 326–27, 336–37; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 127; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.441–42; Sylva, "The Cryptic Clause," 139–40 n. 22; Nolland, *Luke*, 1.128, 130; Brown, *The Birth*, 487; Bock, *Luke*, 1.266–67; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.112; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 148.

[56] cf. J. B. Bauer, "Drei Tage," *Bib* 39, no. 3 (1958): 355–57.

[57] de Jonge, "Sonship," 353–54; Sylva, "The Cryptic Clause," 139; Brown, *The Birth*, 483, 486–87; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.437.

[58] de Jonge, "Sonship," 336; cf., the similar statement by Sylva: "Luke mentions the Passover in 2:41 in order to provide a reason for Jesus to be in the temple, and not so as to refer to the resurrection," ("The Cryptic Clause," 139–40 n. 22).

Contrary to the majority view, I will argue for two main premises. First, the passage can and should be read as a prolepsis to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. I will try to advance new arguments to counter the many objections raised against this position. Second, the Passover reference has a significant role in this passage, beyond what scholars have assigned to it. In short, it is not here just to point to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. Rather, through the reference, Luke heightens the expectation of God's salvation, a major theme that appears throughout Luke 1–2.

4.3.1 Reading Luke 2:41–52 as a Prolepsis to the Passion-Resurrection of Jesus

It is important to note that the proleptic and symbolic interpretation does not deny the non-proleptic and more literal reading of the passage. In other words, the passage does not exist only for the sake of another passage (in this case, the passion narrative). We can find, in this passage, some themes that are not found in the passion narrative but are closer to the context of Luke 1–2. Examples of these themes are:

(a) The piety of the parents, shown during their regular visit to Jerusalem for the religious festival (Luke 2:41; cf. Luke 2:22–23 – see also the similar description of the piety of Zechariah and Elizabeth in Luke 1:6)

(b) The growth of the boy Jesus in wisdom and favour (Luke 2:40, 52; cf. the growth of John the Baptist in 1:80)

(c) The significant role of Mary (she is the one who speaks to Jesus, not Joseph – 2:48; cf. Luke 1:26–56; 2:34–35; Mary is said to treasure some sayings and events in her heart, cf. Luke 2:51; cf. 2:19).

I argue that on top of the 'normal' reading, the reader can sense another, a proleptic and symbolic one. The passage seems to require that the interpretation does not stop at the here and now, but anticipates a future event. I will discuss five main motifs that point toward the passion: the journey to Jerusalem, the reference to "after three days", the lost-and-found motif, the answer of Jesus, and the incomprehension of the parents.

4.3.1.1 The Journey to Jerusalem

In the opening scene, Jesus is said to go to Jerusalem during the Passover. In the Gospel, Luke only records Jesus' journeying to Jerusalem on four occasions. The first is when the baby Jesus is presented to God through the firstling sacrifice (Luke 2:22–23). The second passage is our current text (Luke 2:41–52). The third passage is when Satan takes him to Jerusalem to be tempted (Luke 4:9). The last record is of Jesus' final journey to fulfil his mission. Out of the four passages, only two link the Jerusalem journey to the Passover festival – our current passage and the story of Jesus' final journey. Since Jesus' last journey to Jerusalem is crucial, indicated by Luke's numerous mentions of it (Luke 9:31, 51; 13:22; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28; cf. see Section 3.1), any similarity to that journey should cause us to pause: why would Luke portray another, and only one other, Passover journey to Jerusalem? The similar setting is the first hint that is given by Luke to alert the reader to the possible parallel between the two passages.[59]

4.3.1.2 The Lost-and-Found Motif

After the setting comes the incident. When the parents go back to Nazareth, the boy Jesus is somehow left behind in Jerusalem. When they cannot find him, they return to Jerusalem to continue their search. The search for Jesus is frequently mentioned in this passage (2:44, 45, and 49). After three days, they finally find him in the Temple. The delay in finding Jesus certainly heightens the tension, but there seems to be more than just a dramatic effect. It is plausible that the lost-and-found motif in this passage symbolises death and resurrection. L. T. Johnson suggests this interpretation by comparing it with the parable of the prodigal son,[60] where the father, upon welcoming back the younger son, orders the servants to prepare a feast, "for this son of mine was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found" (ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἦν ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὑρέθη, Luke 15:24; cf. v. 32). In this passage, we find the

[59] see Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple*, 95–99.
[60] Johnson, *Luke*, 60.

first explicit reference that equates being lost to death and being found to resurrection/coming back to life.

We should be cautious with this comparison; the context is rather different. In the parable, the lost son represents sinners who are led astray but later repent. Jesus, however, is the one who has come to find and save the lost (cf. Luke 19:10). Thus, the two lost-and-found incidents have a rather different sense. Nevertheless, it is still plausible to accept the general idea of lost and found as denoting death and coming back to life without the need to compare Jesus and the lost son in detail. This general association of lost and found to death and coming back to life is depicted later in the resurrection scene.

When we read the resurrection narrative, we can detect that Jesus' response to his parents is somewhat similar to the angels' response to the women who visited Jesus' tomb. In Luke 2:49, Jesus asks his parents why they search for him (καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με), whereas in Luke 24:5, the angels ask the women why they look for Jesus (lit: why do you look for the living among the dead/τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, Luke 24:5).[61]

The presence of the lost-and-found motif alone would not be enough to prove the death and resurrection prefiguration in Luke 2:41–52. There is one important factor that would verify the association between the lost-found motif and the death-resurrection of Jesus: the mention of μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

4.3.1.3 "After Three Days"

It is remarkable how a temporal marker can strongly lead the Lukan reader to grasp the prefiguration of the passion-resurrection in our passage. Had Luke not mentioned μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, the prefiguration argument would be very shaky. However, with the addition of the phrase, it is hard not to see the association. In reading the saying, one cannot fault the Lukan reader for recalling the resurrection of Jesus. The phrase is used

[61] Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple*, 108.

in this sense a couple of times in the NT (Matt 27:63; Mark 8:31, 9:31; 10:34). There is, nevertheless, one key issue with the phrase.

As previously mentioned, scholars generally object to the proleptic interpretation because Luke uses a different phrase whenever he refers to the resurrection of Jesus. Instead of "after three days" (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς), Luke prefers "on the third day" (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Luke 9:22; 24:7, 46; Acts 10:40; τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, Luke 18:33; cf. 1 Cor 15:4). This is one of the main weaknesses of the proponents of the proleptic reading. They recognise that the phrase in Luke 2:46 is different from Luke's standard phrase for the resurrection. Even so, they fail to argue why one could still read the expression in Luke 2:46 as a prolepsis to the resurrection. My goal here is to argue that μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς can refer to the resurrection. To state it negatively, I will show that scholars cannot use the different phrasing to substantiate the argument against the proleptic reading.

To begin with, the Synoptic Gospels use both the cardinal μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας and the ordinal τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ/τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ to depict the resurrection of Jesus. Mark's preferred phrase is μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34). Mark never uses "on the third day" in his writing. The only other variation is "in three days" (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν/ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις), referring to Jesus' claim that he would rebuild the Temple in three days (Mark 14:58; 15:29; cf. Matt 15:32; 26:61; John 2:19, 20). Matthew's preference for denoting the resurrection is τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Matt 16:21; 17:23; 20:19). However, in Matthew 27:63, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας is used for resurrection, showing that Matthew has no problem in using two different phrases to describe the resurrection, a position that Luke might also adopt.

In Acts, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας appears in 25:1 and 28:17.[62] In both cases, the saying bears no allusion to Jesus' passion-resurrection. Scholars apply this to prove that μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας could not allude to the resurrection. However, this can be contested. The similarity of a phrase does not necessarily imply a similarity of function. The context dictates the usage and function of a phrase. In the NT, the expression "on the third day"

[62] Acts 25:1 Three days after (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας) Festus had arrived in the province, he went up from Caesarea to Jerusalem.
Acts 28:19 Three days later (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς) he called together the local leaders of the Jews.

does not always refer to the resurrection. For example, the short form τῇ τρίτῃ ("on the third [days]") in Acts 27:19 makes no allusion to the resurrection. On the other hand, when Luke notes that Saul is without sight "for three days" (ἧν ἡμέρας τρεῖς) after his encounter with Jesus (Acts 9:9), scholars think that the phrase might evoke the resurrection.[63]

To support my claim that the ordinal "on the third day" and the cardinal "after three days" are at times interchangeable, we need to look at another linguistic parallel: Luke's use of the ordinal "on the eighth day" and the cardinal "after eight days". References to eighth day/eight days occur three times in Luke (1:59; 2:21; and 9:28) and once in Acts 7:8. In Luke 9:28, the phrase is not related to any religious time marker, and it only functions as time marker without further theological sense.[64] Both Luke 1:59 and 2:21 tie the time marker to the ritual of circumcision, the first is the circumcision of John, the latter of Jesus. Acts 7:8 also depicts circumcision. Luke, however, uses two different phrasings in those verses:

Luke 1:59 On the eighth day (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ) they came to circumcise the child.

Acts 7:8 And so Abraham became the father of Isaac and circumcised him on the eighth day (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ).

Luke 2:21 After eight days had passed (ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ), it was time to circumcise the child.

The first two verses share a similar phrase. Both use the ordinal number ("eighth day"). This usage is attested, albeit with variations, in other writings (e.g. Gen 21:4 LXX, Lev 12:3 LXX, Josephus' *Ant.* 1:192, 214; Phil 3:5). In spite of that, Luke has no problem in using the cardinal number ("eight days") to refer to the same religious time marker

[63] "The explicit mention of "three days" is provocative, especially since Luke is concerned to conform Paul to the image of Jesus, … but there is not enough evidence to support an argument for a deliberate allusion" (Luke T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina 5 [Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992], 164). Others follow Bauer's view that "three days" here is a mere round and conventional number Bauer, "Drei Tage"; cf. Rudoph Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, EKKNT 5 (Zurich: Benziger, 1986), 2.305 n. 27; Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, KEK 3 (Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 281 n. 22.

[64] "Now about eight days (ὡσεὶ ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ) after these sayings Jesus took with him Peter and John and James, and went up on the mountain to pray."

(Luke 2:21; cf. Gen 17:12 LXX). The variations show that Luke does use different phrases to refer to the same religious time marker, even though he has a default phrase. The usage is similar to the issue of "after three days" and "on the third day". Luke uses the ordinal numbering as his default phrase, although also uses the cardinal phrase as a variation.

To conclude, the construction μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας cannot be used to reject an allusion to the resurrection in Luke 2:46. Thus, reading it alongside the journey motif (Jesus going to Jerusalem at Passover) and the lost-and-found motif (the parents find Jesus "after three days"), the phrase μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας most likely points the reader to the resurrection.

4.3.1.4 Jesus' Answer

After the parents locate Jesus, they question his behaviour. Jesus' response is one of the most enigmatic sayings in Luke, answering the question and the complaint raised by his parents.

> καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με; οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με;
>
> He said to them, "Why were you searching for me? Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?"
>
> (Luke 2:49)

What does ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου exactly mean? Scholars generally interpret this saying in four ways:[65] First, it indicates the location, hence the house of my Father (i.e. the temple).[66] Several reasons are given in favour of this reading: the main issue raised by the parents is the whereabouts of Jesus, that is, the question of locality. Thus, it is most natural that Jesus also gives an answer in line with the question. Second, it refers to the

[65] For a detailed discussion on the interpretation, see Laurentin (*Jésus au Temple*, 38–72). He presents five possible interpretations that have been suggested by scholars, including the early church fathers: (1) taking τοῖς as "things"; (2) taking τοῖς as people; (3) domain/sphere; (4) affairs; (5) house or dwelling place. Laurentin himself argues for the spatial option (house/dwelling place). He is aware of the suggestion of an intended ambiguity – that is, it has double meanings (both locality and activity). Nevertheless, Laurentin rejects such an interpretation (see his reasoning in pp. 68-72).

[66] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 128; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.443; Brown, *The Birth*, 475–6; Nolland, *Luke*, 1.131–32.

business or the affairs of the heavenly Father.[67] Some think that the issue here is not the location but the task of Jesus. He is to do what the Father has sent him to do. Third, it denotes "those of my father," that is, the people belonging to God.[68] Finally, the ambiguous phrase causes some to see double references at work. In other words, it refers to both the location (temple) and the task of Jesus.[69] For some, the task refers to the teaching of Jesus.[70] The fourth option seems to be most fitting. While the first option appears to be most natural, Jesus' activity suggests an extended symbol of the Temple that would include his task (i.e. the affairs of the Father).[71] Strictly speaking, the affair should be related to the Temple locality. Since it is related to the Temple, and it is in the context of the teaching in the Temple (among the teachers), it must refer to Jesus' teaching ministry at the Temple. That it is specifically referring to the teaching ministry is in agreement with Luke's theology.[72] The only other time when Jesus goes to the Temple and teaches there is in Luke 19–21. Similar to the passage here, Luke 19 depicts Jesus going to Jerusalem (19:28) and then proceeding to the Temple (19:45). Jesus is described as teaching in the Temple more than once (21:36–37). D. Sylva is correct in stating that the enigmatic phrase also prefigures Jesus' teaching in the Temple.[73] Sylva, however, does not address why Luke singles out Jesus' teaching at the Jerusalem Temple. In other words, why is the prefiguration of teaching in the Temple crucial for Luke? Once again, the temporal marker might provide the answer. Luke 19–21 is part of the broader Passion Week narrative. It shows Jesus at the climax of his ministry. Sylva's interpretation actually lends support to the passion-resurrection interpretation of this

[67] Johnson, *Luke*, 61.
[68] See the discussions in Brown, *The Birth*, 476–77; and Bock, *Luke*, 1.269.
[69] de Jonge, "Sonship," 333–5; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.114; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 149–50.
[70] John J. Kilgallen, "Luke 2:41-50 : Foreshadowing of Jesus, Teacher," *Bib* 66, no. 4 (1985): 557–59; Sylva, "The Cryptic Clause," 136.
[71] We should also note that what is clear from the phrase ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου is Jesus' special relation to his father. In fact, it could be Luke's intention to highlight the relation rather than the task. Whatever the ambiguous task is, it comes from and is related to the heavenly Father. This is not the first time Luke denotes Jesus' unique identity. Luke first expounds this idea in Luke 1:35, by mentioning Jesus as "Son of God". Later in the birth narrative, Jesus is "the firstborn" not only of Mary, but also of God (Luke 2:7). Luke picks up this notion again when depicting the baby Jesus being presented to the Lord at the Jerusalem Temple (Luke 2:22–24).
[72] See, for instance, Robert F. O'Toole, *Luke's Presentation of Jesus: A Christology*, SubBi 25 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 13–21.
[73] Sylva, "The Cryptic Clause."

passage. One cannot escape from the impression that Luke 2:41–52 has a proleptic function, and the prolepsis is specifically referring to the Passion Week, the final and climactic part of Jesus' ministry. As Craig Evans puts it, Jesus' teaching "may very well anticipate his final teaching in the temple at Passover time during Passion week."[74]

4.3.1.5 The Incomprehension of Jesus' Parents

If we accept that all four motifs being discussed so far point to the passion-resurrection, then it is very likely that the incomprehension of Jesus' parents also denotes such a reading. After Jesus explained that he had to be in his father's house/affairs, his parents became perplexed, since they "did not understand what he said to them" (καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ συνῆκαν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς, v. 50). In the Gospel, Luke uses the term συνίημι four times. It is found in Luke 2:50, 8:10, 18:34, and 24:45. In Luke 8:10, the term is used when the Lukan Jesus explains why he speaks in parables to the crowd: so that they may not understand when they hear him (καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν – cf. Isa 6:9; Matt 13:13; Mark 4:12; Acts 28:26). In this passage, no passion-resurrection prefiguration is found. However Luke 18:34 paints a different picture. In the context of that passage, Jesus is explaining that he will go to fulfil the Scriptural prophecy in Jerusalem, namely, he will suffer, be killed, and rise again on the third day (vv. 31–33). Luke then notes that the disciples "understood nothing about all these things" (καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τούτων συνῆκαν). The short discourse about Jesus going to Jerusalem is shared by both Matthew (20:17–19) and Mark (10:32–34). Even so, only Luke depicts the incomprehension of the disciples. Later in the post-resurrection narrative, Jesus would overturn their lack of understanding. Jesus reiterates what he has said before, that he must fulfil what is written about him in the Scripture and that he is to suffer, die, and rise again on the third day (Luke 24:44, 46). By doing so, Jesus tries to make them understand (τότε διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς, v. 45).

It is clear that, in the latter two passages (Luke 18:34 and 24:45), the use of συνίημι is related to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. However, in what way does the

[74] Craig A. Evans, *Luke*, NIBC (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), 42.

usage in Luke 2:50 also point in the same direction? The key, once again, is the narrative development up to this point. If we take that, earlier in the passage, Luke has already established the prefiguration through the depiction of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem at Passover and the finding of Jesus after three days, then the incomprehension of the parents is similar to the incomprehension of the disciples in Luke 18:34 (and the overturning of it in 24:45).

4.3.2 The Function of the Passover in Luke 2:41–52

Having shown the likelihood of the prefiguration of Jesus' passion-resurrection, I will now focus on the function of the Passover. The clearest function of the Passover in this passage is to assist with the proleptic interpretation of the passage. As shown above, the combination of the journey to Jerusalem, the Passover timing, and the three days to find Jesus, all point forward to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. However, aside from this function, are there other reasons for the mention of the Passover in this narrative? If its role is only to point to the passion-resurrection, the Passover seems to be secondary to the passion-resurrection. In other words, it is there only for the sake of the proleptic interpretation. Thus, it appears to have no inherent significance. Nevertheless, some findings point in a different direction. Luke seems to attach more to the Passover than we might think. To understand other possible functions of the Passover, we need to analyse the role of time markers in Luke-Acts.

4.3.2.1 The Role of Religious Time Markers in Luke-Acts

In Luke-Acts, some temporal markers play little role, but others are closely integrated with the theological meaning and function of the related passage. The latter is especially true when the time marker in question is connected to the sacred or religious calendar. Here, I will examine three religious time markers in particular: the eighth-day circumcision, the Sabbath day, and Pentecost.

The circumcision on the eighth day is a common practice within Jewish custom (Gen 17:12; 21:4; Lev 12: 3; cf. Acts 7:8; Phil 3:5). Luke also mentions this practice in

relation to John the Baptist (Luke 1:59) and Jesus (2:21). However, Luke seems to be more interested in one part of the ritual, the naming of the child.[75] In the case of John, the people wish to name him after his father Zechariah, presumably in accordance with their custom. However, the choice made by Elizabeth, and later, by Zechariah himself, shocks them, for his parents want to name the baby "John", following the instruction of the angel (Luke 1:13). For the people, the decision of the parents is beyond the common practice. At least, they should give him a name that is used by one of their relatives (v. 61). However, the naming incident escalates quickly when Zechariah, after naming the baby through writing, is able to speak and even prophesy about the child immediately (vv. 63–64, 67). This causes people to wonder about the future of the child (v. 66).

There is an inherent expectation in the religious ritual, in this case, to name the child after the father, or at least, one of the relatives. It seems that naming after the father or one of the relatives indicates the bonded identity that a child has to his kin. Moreover, most of the time, the child will also follow in his father's footsteps. However, what happens in this passage is beyond the expectation. The naming incident shows that the identity and task of the child are determined by God. The divinely-given name will accomplish the divinely-given task.

A similar, though less dramatic, scene is also found in the circumcision of Jesus. The focus is on the naming of Jesus. Similar to John, Jesus, receives his name from the angel before he is even conceived in the womb (Luke 1:31; cf. 2:21). As in the case of John, here the divinely-given name shapes the identity and mission of Jesus. What we have in these two circumcision scenes is the pattern of orientation, disorientation and reorientation.

This threefold pattern is also at play in Jesus' conflicts on the Sabbath. In Luke, the Sabbath is the setting for Jesus' polemic and reinterpretation of the Sabbath law. In

[75] Commentators struggle to find other texts that incorporate the naming of the child into the eighth day circumcision, since a child is usually named when he is born. The only parallel example is found in the rabbinic tradition (Pirke Rabbi Eleazar 48 [27c]), where Moses is named on the occasion of his circumcision. Another issue derived from this passage is the tradition of giving a boy his father's name. Naming after the grandfather seems to be more common (Brown, *The Birth*, 369; Nolland, *Luke*, 1.79; cf. Bovon, *Luke*, 1.70; Green, *Luke*, 109). In every case, in the narrative, Luke presents them as common customs.

fact, Luke puts two Sabbath incidents close to each other (Luke 6:1–5, 6–11). In both cases, Jesus or his disciples act against the Sabbath law, at least according to the Pharisees and the scribes (vv. 2, 7). The religious leaders expect them to behave according to the Sabbath law, and they are furious when Jesus and his disciples break the Sabbath prohibition. However, through the incidents, Jesus gives his authoritative rereading of the Sabbath law, and thus, defends his actions (vv. 3–5, 9–11). The temporal setting (i.e. the Sabbath day) is necessary to heighten the dispute and to achieve greater impact rather than if Jesus only had a discussion on the Sabbath law without the accompanying subversive act on the Sabbath day.

Moving to Pentecost, in Acts 2, Luke uses the festival as the setting for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. At first, the people who have come to Jerusalem are perplexed when they hear the disciples speak in many different languages (Acts 2:1–13). Some even think that they are drunk (Acts (2:13). Nevertheless, Peter then explains that the *glossolalia* is the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy (Acts 2:14–21).

The exact reason for choosing Pentecost as the setting for the outpouring is debated. It might be that Pentecost is chosen since it is the nearest pilgrimage festival after Passover. Some, however, have argued that the sequence of Jesus ascending to heaven and the descending of the Holy Spirit is parallel to Moses' ascending to Mount Sinai and returning with the Law. In this reading, Pentecost, where the people receive the Holy Spirit, is seen as the celebration of the Sinai event, where the people receive the Torah from God.[76] The similar motion of divine ascending and descending is significant in showing the continuity of God's work, shaping and building his people: then with the giving of the Torah, now with the giving of the Holy Spirit.

All three examples above show that religious time markers make significant contributions to the understanding of the related passages. Jesus' action will only produce the most significant impact when it takes place at a particular time. Without the time marker, the passage loses its theological weight. Without the naming ritual on the

[76] See the discussion in Sejin Park, *Pentecost and Sinai: The Festival of Weeks as a Celebration of the Sinai Event*, LHBOTS 342 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 176–238.

eighth day, the naming itself might not create any uneasiness among the people. Without the Sabbath time marker, the discourse about Sabbath will have a lesser impact. Furthermore, without the Pentecost time marker, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit will not have a sense of continuity with Jewish history. It will also lack a sense of the national scope of the event. Consequently, it is very likely that the Passover time marker in Luke 2:41–51 has a significant function.

We have noted in previous chapters that, first and foremost, Passover celebrates God's great act of salvation on a national scale (i.e. the exodus liberation). Luke appears to direct his readers to such an association when they read the reference to πάσχα. The association does not only come later in Luke 22. Instead, it is already present in Luke 2, when the first reference to πάσχα enters the view. In Luke 2, not only does the reference to the Passover bring forth the message of salvation, but it also becomes the climax of the culmination of the salvation message throughout Luke 1–2.

4.3.2.2 The Culmination of the Salvation Message in Luke 1–2

It is safe to say that salvation is the major theme that unifies the whole of Luke 1–2. To be precise, Luke 1–2 is loaded with remarks about how God will soon fulfil his promise of salvation through Jesus. They come in different ways and subthemes. In the very first scene (Luke 1:5–24), the angel announces to Zechariah that John the Baptist will "turn many of the people of Israel to the Lord their God" (Luke 1:16), a strong indication of Israel's restoration. When the angel visits Mary, he states that Mary will conceive a son, who is the promised Davidic king (Luke 1:32), a theme that is concomitant to the eschatological salvation. Mary later picks up the salvation theme in her song, stating, among other things, that God has helped Israel, since he remembers the covenant he has made (Luke 1:54). In the next scene, Zechariah combines all the remarks above in his prophecy, stating that God will redeem his people (Luke 1:68), and he will raise the Davidic king (Luke 1:69), for he remembers his covenant (Luke 1:73). Furthermore, Zechariah also notes that his son, John, will provide knowledge of salvation to the people (Luke 1:77).

Luke continues to invest the narrative with the message of salvation in the birth scene. Jesus, the firstborn, is born in the city of David (Luke 2:7), substantiating the claim to the Davidic kingship. Later an angel appears to the shepherds and proclaims that "a Saviour, who is the Messiah, the Lord" is born (Luke 2:11).

Luke completes the depiction of the hope of salvation through the story of Simeon and Anna. Simeon is described as someone who is waiting for "the consolation of Israel" (Luke 2:25). After seeing Jesus, Simeon declares that his eyes have seen God's salvation (Luke 2:30). Finally, Anna also speaks about Jesus "to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem" (Luke 2:38).

Though there are a variety of themes in Luke 1–2 (new exodus, Davidic king and messiah, redemption, restoration, and consolation), all point to the eschatological salvation that is now imminent. This conditioning creates a strong sense of salvific hope as we go along in the narrative, each time stronger than before. It is in this light that we should read the first reference to πάσχα.

Having oriented his reader to numerous mentions of the expectation of salvation, Luke finally introduces the Passover explicitly. If we follow Luke's narrative progress so far, where the expectation of salvation is strongly present, we could not but see that the mention of Passover also conveys the hope of salvation. What I am trying to show is that we cannot read Luke 2:41–52, which is the final section of the infancy narrative, separately from earlier narrative development. Since the earlier narrative constantly conveys the message of salvific hope, the same message should also be present in Luke 2:41–52, and the keyword that associates the passage to the theme of salvation is πάσχα.

While Luke builds up the expectation of salvation through the notion of Passover, he also uses it for another reason. While building up the salvific hope throughout Luke 1–2, he introduces another theme that is not part of the common portrayal of salvation: the necessity of Jesus' death to accomplish the work of salvation. Luke is careful in presenting the passion within Luke 1–2. Each time the presentation grows stronger and more explicit. The first anticipation of passion, as noted above, can be detected from Luke 2:7. In this verse, we find allusions to the Last Supper and the

burial of Jesus. Even so, these allusions are rather vague. Later, when we encounter Simeon, the "dark" side of the salvation is one step clearer. In his prophecy to Mary, Simeon says that a sword will pierce her soul (Luke 2:35). Some think that it refers to the redefinition of kinship in Jesus's teaching. Mary, as the mother, has no special privilege. Mary, like many others, has to learn the way of obedience and trust, changing her perspective of true kinship as discipleship.[77] Others think that it refers to the pain of witnessing the suffering, rejection, and death of Jesus.[78] Green suggests that it could refer to both of the above.[79] If it is true that Mary's pain includes Jesus' suffering and death, then it lends support to the possibility that Simeon's saying already foreshadows the passion of Jesus. Within the infancy narrative, the prefiguration reaches its climax in Luke 2:41–52, where numerous allusions to the passion-resurrection of Jesus are found.

By associating the pairing of Passover-passion as early as the infancy narrative, Luke is able to prepare his reader to reflect on their possible link, and thus, compatibility. It is true that Passover conveys the message of salvation, but it is also true that within the story of Passover, there is the motif of death.

To sum up, the reference to the Passover in Luke 2:41–42 is necessary for three reasons. First, it orients the reader to the message and hope of salvation, a theme that Luke builds up continuously in the infancy narrative. Second, it reorients the reader to see the possible compatibility of God's salvation and Jesus' death, since both salvation and death are part of the Passover story. Finally, it helps to point to the passion-resurrection story of Jesus, where Luke will once again delve into the Passover theme to explain the relation between Jesus' death and God's salvation.[80]

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[77] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.430; Brown, *The Birth*, 463–66; Carroll, *Luke*, 79.
[78] Nolland, *Luke*, 121–22; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 123; Bovon, *Luke*, 1.105.
[79] Green, *Luke*, 149.
[80] If the critics are correct, that the Passover serves only to move the setting to Jerusalem, then Luke should be partly at fault for making streams of possible allusions to the passion-resurrection. He should rather use a different religious festival, or an anonymous one. However, as it stands, it is more likely that Luke actually intends to parallel the two narratives.

4.4 Conclusion

Aware of the importance of the Passover and its unbroken tie to the passion of Jesus, Luke brings the two together as early as the infancy narrative (Luke 1–2), virtually at the beginning of his Gospel. After a preparatory work, where Luke presents scores of allusions to the exodus event (Luke 1:67–79), he carefully introduces the Passover in, of all places, the birth scene. Jesus, as the firstborn, will be presented to God via the firstling ritual, a ceremony that is rooted in the Passover story. The Lukan shepherds, who keep watch by night and who rush to see the baby Jesus reflect the Passover night watch and the hasty journey of the exodus, all for the purpose of seeing (the Lukan shepherds) and experiencing (the Israelites in Egypt) God's salvation. In the midst of these, Luke begins to introduce the passion of Jesus through the prefiguration of the Last Supper and the burial of Jesus.

The pairing of Passover-passion becomes more prominent in the final part of the infancy narrative (Luke 2:41–52). With the culmination of the message of salvation throughout Luke 1–2, the introduction of the Passover intensifies the expectation. Luke, however, reorients the understanding by presenting numerous anticipations of the passion-resurrection in the same passage. Luke presents the possible compatibility of God's salvation and Jesus' death through the Passover. It is true that Passover recalls God's great salvation. Yet, Luke also notes that the Passover depicts the necessity of death as part of the salvation story. It suffices to say that the Passover theme is well integrated into a net of Jesus' death-resurrection prefiguration in the infancy narrative.

5 PAROUSIA AND THE PASSOVER VIGIL

Does the Passover have anything to do with the Parousia? In Lukan studies, Parousia is a topic that gains much attention from scholars. For instance, Conzelmann's groundbreaking study operates with the fundamental assumption that Luke is handling the issue of the delay of the Parousia. Later interpreters often take Conzelmann's study as a partner in dialogue,[1] resulting in some studies on the Parousia and the eschatology of Luke.[2] However, these studies do not significantly incorporate the place and the function of Passover in their discussion – a gap that I attempt to bridge.

We should begin with what we already know. In our examination of the Last Supper, we know that Luke extends the Passover symbolism to the final celebratory meal at the Parousia (Luke 22:16). For Luke, the celebration at the Parousia is the ultimate Passover feast. Luke does not denote a feast similar to the earthly Jewish Passover, for it would be a digression from the Eucharist, the Christian transformation of the Passover commemoration meal. We should take the future Passover meal reference in a symbolic way, signifying the celebration of God's eschatological salvation. What is not clear from the depiction is whether the Passover at the Parousia will also take place at the time of the earthly Passover. Luke is cautious not to attach the Passover time marker to the Parousia. Luke never states that the Parousia will take place at the Passover. As will be shown later, the question of time is a sensitive issue, and Luke needs to handle it carefully. It is possible that, within the Jewish or Christian circles, there existed a belief that the final salvation would happen at the Passover. How

[1] For an overview of scholarly opinions in response to Conzelmann, see Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 1–85; cf. John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 92 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 1–30.

[2] E.g. A. J. Mattill, Jr., *Luke and the Last Things* (Dilsboro: Western North Carolina Press, 1979); S. G. Wilson, "Lukan Eschatology," *NTS* 16, no. 04 (1970): 330–47; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Eschatology of Luke-Acts Revisited," *Encounter* 43, no. 1 (1982): 27–42; Carroll, *Response*; Michael Wolter, "Israel's Future and the Delay of the Parousia, according to Luke," in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, ed. David P. Moessner (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), 307–24; Anders E. Nielsen, *Until It Is Fulfilled: Lukan Eschatology according to Luke 22 and Acts 20*, WUNT 2.126 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2000); Michael Wolter, "Eschatology in the Gospel According to Luke," in *Eschatology of the New Testament and Some Related Documents*, ed. Jan G. van der Watt, WUNT 2.315 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 91–108.

would Luke deal with this problem? To answer this question, I will analyse two passages in particular, Luke 12:35–40 and 17:20–37.

5.1 The Girded Loins: Parousia and the Passover-like Vigil (Luke 12:35–40)

Luke 12:35–40 is part of a long section that runs from Luke 12:1–13:9. In this unit, the Lukan Jesus exhorts his hearers to be watchful and to prepare for the coming judgment.[3] No passage within this section is more explicit in its vigil exhortation than Luke 12:35–40, where we find strong allusions to the Passover.

5.1.1 Passover Allusion in Luke 12:35

> [35]*Let your loins be girded* and your lamps lit (Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι); [36]be like those who are waiting for their master to return from the wedding banquet, so that they may open the door for him as soon as he comes and knocks. [37]Blessed are those slaves whom the master finds alert when he comes (οὓς ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος εὑρήσει γρηγοροῦντας); truly I tell you, *he will gird himself* (περιζώσεται) and have them sit down to eat, and he will come and serve them. [38]If he comes during the middle of the night, or near dawn, and finds them so, blessed are those slaves. [39]But know this: if the owner of the house had known at what hour the thief was coming, he would not have let his house be broken into. [40]*You also, be ready* (καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι), for the Son of Man is coming at an unexpected hour.
>
> (Luk 12:35-40)[4]

This passage begins with the command, "Let your loins be girded and your lamps lit" (Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι). People gird their loins (i.e. adjusting the long robe with a waist-belt) when they are set to travel or work; hence the idea of being prepared or dressed for action. The imagery of girded loins is quite common in the OT (1 Kgs 18:46; 20:32; 2 Kgs 4:29; 9:1; Job 38:3; 40:7; Prov 31:17; Isa

[3] Nolland, *Luke*, 2.ix; Green, *Luke*, 27; cf. Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, ix. Marshall brackets this section from Luke 12:1–13:21 (Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 9).

[4] Words in italic are my own translation. Luke 12:35–38 has no parallel in Mark and Matthew. Scholars generally suggest that the closest parallel in Matthew is the parable of the ten bridesmaids (Matt 25:1–13). Similarities include the theme of watchfulness, the night setting, the waiting motif, the preparedness motif, and the mention of the lamps. But even here there are differences in terms of characters, words for "lamp" (λαμπάς in Matthew and λύχνος in Luke), and scenarios. The closest Markan parallel to the Lukan passage is Mark 13:32–37. Luke 12:39–40 has a parallel in Matt 24:42–44. For discussion on the relation and sources behind this passages, see, for example, Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.984–85; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.699–70; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.229–30.

32:11; Jer 1:17; Ezek 23:15; 44:18).[5] However, some scholars think that the Lukan wording is closest to Exodus 12:11, a passage which depicts God's instruction to the Israelites to eat the Passover with their loins girded.[6] Some also find support for the Passover background in the second part of Luke 12:35. The command to have the lamps lit postulates a nocturnal setting, a situation similar to the Passover rescue story which also occurs at night.[7]

Apart from the argument from verbal agreement and the possible night setting, proponents of the Passover allusion hardly substantiate their view further, and as such, others have contested this interpretation. Michael Wolter, for example, argues that the verse denotes the readiness of someone, presumably slaves, to serve and not the readiness to travel. In short, what is in the background is not the Passover, but the portrayal of household slaves, readying themselves to serve their master.[8] For him, the domestic setting in verse 35 is explained further in verses 36–38 when the Lukan Jesus follows up the exhortation with the illustration of the servants who have to stay awake and wait for the return of their master, whether it is in the middle of the night or near dawn.[9] As a reward for their wakefulness, the master will "gird himself" (περιζώσεται – a similar term used in verse 35) and serve them (v. 37). Furthermore, Wolter argues that the pairing with "be prepared/γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι" (verse 40) shows that this passage is

[5] Different LXX texts use different terms for "to gird". Besides περιζώννυμι, the terms commonly used are ζώννυμι (2 Kgs 4:29; 9:1; Job 38:3; 40:7; Ezek 23:15), ἀναζώννυμι (Prov 31:17), and συσφίγγω (1 Kgs 18:46). For some, the context is the putting on of the sackcloth, a sign of lament (1 Kgs 20:32; Isa 32:11). The context of Ezekiel 44:18 is on the proper clothing of the priest.

[6] Green, *Luke*, 500; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.231; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Gospel Thief Saying (Luke 12.39-40 and Matthew 24.43-44) Reconsidered," in *Understanding, Studying and Reading: New Testament Essays in Honour of John Ashton*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, JSNTSup 153 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 50–51; cf. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 59–60; Josef Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1977), 407–8; cf. August Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem: auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Habakuk 2,2 ff*, NovTSup 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 209 n. 4. L. T. Johnson proposes that it is "a very loose translation of the biblical expression" found in Exodus 12:11 (*Luke*, 203). However, what Johnson means by "a very loose translation" is not clear. It does not seem to have any difference from "allusion". Fitzmyer, on the other hand, is open to the possibility of an allusion to Passover, but he argues that later, the phrase becomes a common expression of instruction for readiness (*Luke*, 2.987).

[7] "Once the simultaneous and paradoxical presence (is not the night supposed to be for rest?) of the belt and the lamp is noticed, the allusion to the Passover is undeniable" (Bovon, *Luke*, 2.231).

[8] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 461.

[9] Ibid.; Danker, *Jesus and the New Age*, 253; cf. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 535.

thematically closer to other passages where similar pairings are found (1 Maccabees 3:58, Philo's *De sacrificiis* 63, Shepherd of Hermes, *Similitude* 8.4.2, and Luke 17:8).[10]

To respond, it is true that verbal agreement alone is not strong enough to substantiate the presence of the Passover in the background of Luke 12:35. It is also true that verse 35 should be read alongside verses 36–38 where the setting is that of domestic slaves who are ready to serve their master. However, the domestic background does not negate the possible Passover reference.[11] In fact, contrary to Wolter, Philo's *De sacrificiis* 63 has a strong reference to Exodus 12:11.

> Let us then say nay to all hesitation, and present ourselves ever up-girded and ready to give thanks and honour to the Almighty. For we are bidden to keep the Passover, which is the passage from the life of the passions to the practice of virtue, "with our loins girded" ready for service (καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα, τὴν ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν, προστέτακται ποιεῖσθαι "τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους" ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας). We must grip the material body of flesh, that is the sandals, with "our feet," that stand firm and sure. We must bear "in our hands the staff" of discipline, to the end that we may walk without stumbling through all the business of life. Last of all we must eat our meal "in haste" (Exod. xii. 11). For it is no mortal passage, since it is called the passover of the Un-create and Immortal one. And right fitly is it so called, for there is no good thing which is not divine and is not of God.
>
> (*Sacr*. 63)

Here, the readiness to serve is part of Philo's exposition of the Passover story, especially Exodus 12:11. At first, Philo points out that the people are instructed to keep the Passover, which symbolises the crossing from desire to virtue. The manner of the keeping is with girded loins (τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους), which for Philo, represents the readiness to serve (ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας). Later, he will continue his spiritual interpretation of elements from Exodus 12:11 (e.g. the meaning of "the sandals on our feet," and eating "in haste"). This passage shows that Philo is able to pick up the element from Exodus 12:11, in this case the "girded loins", and pair it with the motif of readiness. This appears to be what Luke seeks to achieve, namely, to ground the motif of readiness and watchfulness of the Parousia in the Passover story (v. 40). Philo has no

[10] Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 461.

[11] A number of scholars acknowledge the domestic setting, yet they still argue for the presence of the Passover (e.g. Green, *Luke*, 500; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.228, 231).

issue with switching the image of the readiness to travel (as required by the context of Exodus 12:11) to the image of the readiness to serve. It is possible that Luke also does not restrict the context of Luke 12:35 to a domestic setting alone. It is likely that by using the phrase "girded loins", Luke wants to present the basic, broader idea of readiness. In this way, it is possible for him to incorporate the image of the Passover night into the composition.

Second, even though the imagery of the girded loins is rather extensive in the OT, the wording of Luke 12:35 is very close to that of Exodus 12:11.

Luke 12:35 Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι·
Exodus 12:11 οὕτως δὲ φάγεσθε αὐτο· αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι...

Aside from one different word order, the Exodus text is virtually identical to Luke 12:35a. The similar vocabularies and almost identical word order seems to be strong enough for the reader to recall the Passover story. At least one early Christian commentator (Cyril of Alexandria) thinks that the phrasing of verse 35 recalls the similar exhortation in the Passover night.[12]

Could it be that Luke phrases it in such a way to recall the Exodus text? This seems to be the case. In his Gospel, the term περιζώννυμι appears in three places (Luke 12:35, 37; and 17:8).

Luke 12:35 Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι·
Luke 12:37 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοῦς ...
Luke 17:8 ἑτοίμασον τί δειπνήσω καὶ περιζωσάμενος διακόνει μοι ἕως φάγω καὶ πίω

From the comparison above, we notice that only in 12:35 Luke joins ὀσφύς with περιζώννυμι. The term περιζώννυμι is capable of standing alone as an intransitive verb, and the examples above show that Luke may use it in this way (12:37, 17:8). By incorporating ὀσφύς in 12:35, it is likely that Luke wants his reader to recall Exodus 12:11.[13]

[12] "….the Saviour elsewhere spake: 'For let your loins, He says, be girt, and your lights burning.' But by their loins being girt, He means the readiness of the mind for every good work…And in like manner the law also of Moses plainly commands those who ate of the lamb: 'Thus shall ye eat it: your loins shall be girt…'" (Cyril of Alexandria, *Luke*, 204; cf. 436).

[13] It is also possible that the presence of ὀσφύς enables Luke to create a symmetric sentence, pairing αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι with οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι, where both consist of article + noun + participle. However,

Third, the reference to the Passover is supported by the fact that Luke creates a slight distance between verse 35 and the imagery that follows (vv. 36–38). In other words, the setting of verse 35 is not completely bound by the domestic imagery of verses 36–38, opening the possibility of another setting (in this case, the Passover night story). When the discourse begins in Luke 12:35, there is no explicit reference that points to servants in a domestic setting. In that verse, Jesus only says that the disciples need to be ready, as those who are constantly prepared and alert throughout the night. Only later in verse 36, Jesus urges his disciples to emulate those who wait for their master to return, and it is here that we first encounter the servant motif.

Reading in this way, it is possible to take verse 35 as referring not only to the servant imagery (vv. 36–38) but also to the thief imagery (v. 39). Assuming that thieves usually break in at night, the house owner should keep watch by night, with the light on. The breakdown of this passage is as follows:[14]

verse 35: be girded…be lit (imperative)
verse 36–38: example 1 – servants who prepare for the coming master (at night)
verse 39: example 2 – house owner who prepares for the coming thief (at night)
verse 40: be prepared (imperative)

In the outline above, verse 35 serves as the general exhortation, verses 36–39 are the two examples of verse 35, and verse 40 is the conclusion, forming an *inclusio* with the exhortation from verse 35.[15]

There are two arguments for taking both verses 35 and 40 as general exhortations. First, as mentioned above, verse 35 is presented before the example in verses 36–38. Furthermore, it is distanced from 36–38 by a new introduction in verse 36a ("and you [should be] like the men waiting/καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις…"). Though we need to add a verb to clarify verse 36a, for there is no

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by placing αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι first, the reference to Exodus is stronger than if Luke were to place it second.

[14] Cf. Evans, *Luke*, 198; Carroll, *Luke*, 273–74. Contra some interpreters who prefer to divide the passage into vv. 35–38 and 39–40. See, for example, Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 532–33; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.985–86; Bock, *Luke*, 2.1172.

[15] Bovon, *Luke*, 228. Others posit that the exhortation of verse 35 also encompasses verses 41–48 (see J. J. J. van Rensburg, "A Syntactical Reading of Luke 12:35-48," *NeoT* 22, no. 2 [1988]: 436–37; Green, *Luke*, 500).

verb there, we cannot supply it from verse 35. Ἔστωσαν is a third person plural, while verse 36 demands a second person plural verb since the subject is ὑμεῖς. In short, while it is true that verse 36 is joined to the previous verse, the link is rather loose, due to the different form of verb required.[16]

Second, at least one early church writing (the Didache at the end of the 1st century CE) seems to know and juxtapose verse 35 together with the instruction in verse 40, showing that both function as a general exhortation.

> Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.
>
> Watch over your life: do not let your lamps go out, and do not be unprepared [lit: do not let your loins loose], but be ready, for you do not know the hour when our Lord is coming.
>
> (Did. 16:1).[17]

Though not certain, it is possible that the passage above derives from Luke 12:35–40.[18] At the very least, one cannot deny that the pairing of "loins girded" and "lamp" is only found here and in Luke 12:35, thus indicating some sort of relation between the two.[19] The order to keep watch (γρηγορεῖτε) is found in Luke 12:37, while the exact phrasing referring to being ready (γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι) is found in Luke 12:40, along with the explanation that nobody knows the time of the return of the κύριος (Luke has ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

[16] e.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 535.

[17] Text and translation from Michael W. Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 366–67.

[18] B. C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Didache, Ch. XVI," *JTS* XI, no. 2 (1960): 268.

[19] The level of certainty about this relationship, however, differs greatly among scholars. Butler is most certain that Didache is dependent on Luke, whereas Tuckett is more cautious in his affirmation (Butler, "Literary Relations"; Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research: 1996*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper, AGJU 37 [Leiden: Brill, 1996], 108–110). Some admit that there is some kind of relationship, but it is not possible to ascertain it (e.g. Murray J. Smith, "The Lord Jesus and His Coming in Didache," in *The Didache: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle in Early Christianity*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper and Clayton N. Jefford [Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015], 387–388; Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period Before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*,WUNT 2.169 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 120). Some argue that the similar expression comes from a common source (e.g. Burnett H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates* [London: MacMillan, 1924], 511; Richard Glover, "Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 5, no. 1 [1958]: 21–22; Jonathan A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research: 1996*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper, AGJU 37 [Leiden: Brill, 1996], 87). At the end of the spectrum, some deny any relationship between the two (e.g. Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998], 124).

ἀνθρώπου). Whether the Didache is reliant on Luke or both derive the phrasing from a shared tradition, both writers seem to understand the passage in a similar way. The writer of the Didache does not see the instructions as coming from two different categories, where the first part is based on servants in a domestic setting and the latter from a different setting. Rather, both speak of the same thing. They can be used interchangeably, since all of them are instructions for the reader to be ready for the Parousia. Following the reading of the Didache, it is likely that the Lukan text also assumes the same understanding. The instructions in verses 35 and 40 have a similar function, and their meaning is not bound by the particular examples in verses 36–38 and 39. The main idea concerns continuous alertness and readiness for the coming Lord. Hence, the broader scope of verse 35 lends support to a possible reference to the Passover rescue. The imperatives to let the loins be girded (v. 35) and to be prepared (v. 40) are not mere depictions of being prepared to serve, as argued by Wolter; instead, they comprehend the broader preparation for an encounter, in this case, the encounter with salvation in the Parousia (cf. Luke 12:46–47).

By taking Luke 12:35 as encompassing both the servant imagery (vv. 35–38) and the house owner/thief imagery (v. 39), it is possible to argue that Luke uses the Passover allusion in verse 35 to ground his Parousia exhortation in Luke 12:35-40 as a whole. What began as a Passover exhortation in Exodus 12:11 is now transformed into an admonishment concerning the Parousia. For Luke, Parousia is not just another moment in history. It is the climax of God's salvific activity. It is the time of the final judgment and salvation (cf. Luke 17:22–37; 21:25–28). A special exhortation is needed to show the importance of the event. The expectation of Parousia requires a Passover-like vigilance. Just as the Israelites were on constant alert, waiting obediently for God's rescue, likewise the believers need to be on constant alert, waiting faithfully for the Parousia. However, unlike the first exodus generation who "girded their loins" for one night only, Luke shows that the believers should "gird their loins" for an indefinite period. The primary concern for Luke is the right attitude and not the time of the Parousia.

5.1.2 Thematic Correspondence to Exodus in Luke 12:35–40

Support for the presence of Passover allusions does not come from verse 35 alone. It also arises from the numerous motifs that are related closely to the Passover/exodus theme within and around our passage.

5.1.2.1 The Watchfulness Motif

The watchfulness motif abounds in our passage: four out of six verses talk about the need to be in constantly vigilant (Luke 12:35, 36, 39, and 40). This motif is common in both Jewish and Christian circles. Even the night-watch imagery is rather common. It stems from the idea of soldiers or watchers, watching from a city tower for possible night attack or danger, since the city is more vulnerable at night (e.g. Neh 4:22; 1 Mac 12:27; Jud 7:5; Josephus' *Ant*. 19:253; *J.W.* 4:209, 645; 5.510–511). The night watch is mentioned a number of times in the Psalms (Pss 63:6; 119:148; 90:4; 127:1; 130:6), describing either God as the watcher of his people or David as waking in the watches of the night. Unlike the Psalms, in the Lukan text, it is Jesus who exhorts his followers to stay vigilant, to wait for the final salvation. This pattern of exhortation is rather similar to the Passover night vigil (e.g. Exod 12:42), as it concerns a wait for the sudden coming of God's salvation. In Exodus, the Israelites are instructed to stay vigilant, waiting for God's sudden liberation at night. In Luke, the believers are called to stay watchful, constantly waiting for the Parousia. They will not know the exact time of the Parousia. If our reconstruction is correct, then the watching motif in Luke derives not from observing the daily life. Rather, it derives from the Jewish religious repertoire, in particular, the Passover night vigil.

5.1.2.2 The Thief Motif (12:39)

One of the main issues in Luke 12:35–40 is the inclusion and function of the thief imagery (Luke 12:39). The inclusion seems to interrupt the flow of the discourse. Without it, the whole passage will be just as intelligible, if not more so.

In general, scholars agree that the primary point of this illustration is to invoke readiness for Parousia, as stated clearly in verse 40.[20] Some see that a one-to-one correspondence is possible, where the master of the household represents the disciples, and the thief, Jesus.[21] Others are more cautious about the correspondence, stating that the parable does not require such a relationship. They argue that the most important part is the matter expressed by the parable.[22] However, one cannot escape from the apparent parallel. The depiction of the Parousia as a coming thief is part of the repertoire of the early church (1 Thess 5:2, 4; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 16:15). It is difficult not to compare the coming thief with the coming Jesus, even if this is not the main emphasis of the story.

C. Fletcher-Louis, however, has pushed further the function of the thief motif, arguing for a possible exodus background to this imagery.[23] His basic argument is that the thief motif is a development of the plundering motif found in the exodus. This motif is first found in two Exodus texts (Exod 3:22 and 12:36).

> [E]ach woman shall ask her neighbor and any woman living in the neighbor's house for jewelry of silver and of gold, and clothing, and you shall put them on your sons and on your daughters; and so you shall plunder the Egyptians (καὶ σκυλεύσετε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους).
>
> (Exod 3:22)

> … and the LORD had given the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And so they plundered the Egyptians (καὶ ἐσκύλευσαν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους).
>
> (Exod 12:36)

The plundering of Egypt during the Passover rescue is also recorded in some Early Jewish texts (Ezek. Trag. 162-166; Philo, *Mos.* 1.140-142; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.314; cf. Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 13.129–140). All of these retell, with some variations, the plundering of the Egyptians.

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[20] Some manuscripts add in verse 39 ἐγρηγόρησεν [ἂν] καὶ οὐκ (א[1.2] A B K L N P Q W Γ Δ Θ Ψ). This addition pushes further the watchfulness motif as the term γηγορέω ("to be alert") is already used in 12:37. Perhaps it is an attempt to harmonise with Matthew 24:43 (Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.989).
[21] Carroll, *Luke*, 274; Stein, *Luke*, 359; more implicit, Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 463.
[22] Green, *Luke*, 498; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 463.
[23] Fletcher-Louis, "Gospel Thief Saying."

According to Fletcher-Louis, the most common interpretation of the plundering motif is the execution of divine justice, yet some texts somehow change the emphasis. Josephus and the Mekhilta note that the Egyptians are the ones who give to the Israelites willingly (*Ant*. 2.314; Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 13:129-140). There is no trace of the plundering motif. Fletcher-Louis suggests that it is due to the embarrassment caused by such a motif.[24] Plundering can easily be associated with the act of stealing or robbery. It seems inappropriate to tie this immoral behaviour to Israel, let alone to God. He then suggests that this problem is recorded in the Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer.

> The Holy One, blessed be He, said: If I bring forth the Israelites by night, they will say, He has done His deeds like a thief. Therefore, behold, I will bring them forth when the sun is in his zenith at midday.
>
> (PRE 48)[25]

In PRE 48, there is a polemic regarding the time of God's rescue during the exodus. A night rescue would liken God to a thief, which is an embarrassing image. Although PRE itself is a late text (8th–9th century CE),[26] Fletcher-Louis argues that a similar tradition lies behind PRE 48 and the thief motif in the NT. According to him, the polemic shows that the saying about God as a thief can be found among the Jews in the 1st–2nd century CE.[27] For Fletcher-Louis, this is the reason the thief imagery is used in Luke 12:35–40. In evaluation, Fletcher-Louis' proposal is probable but rather weak – especially with PRE 48 as the only clear evidence. Furthermore, in Luke the household is not being burgled. If we can find another passage that also highlights the plundering motif, it might strengthen the link between the thief imagery and the Passover reference in Luke 12:39. In fact, we do find one passage that depicts the plundering motif: Luke 11:22.

In this passage, Jesus is debating with some who question his acts of exorcism (Luke 12:14–20). In verse 20, Jesus states that if he casts out demons "by the finger of

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[24] Ibid., 57.
[25] Translation from Gerald Friedlander, *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer: (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great) According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1916), 386.
[26] Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 329; for a more recent discussion on the issue of dating, see Dagmar Börner-Klein, *Pirke de-Rabbi Elieser: nach der Edition Venedig 1544 unter Berücksichtigung der Edition Warschau 1852*, SJ 26 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), xxix–xlviii.
[27] Fletcher-Louis, "Gospel Thief Saying," 57–58.

God" (ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ), then the kingdom of God has come to them. The phrase is used to confirm that God is the source of his power to cast out demons. It recalls an incident in Exodus when Egyptian magicians, after seeing the power behind Moses' mighty act, acknowledge that, "this is the finger of God" (δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστιν τοῦτο, Exod 8:19 [LXX 8:15]).[28]

> Afterwards, Jesus gives another illustration,
>
> > When a strong man, fully armed, guards his castle, his property is safe. But when one stronger than he attacks him and overpowers him, he takes away his armour in which he trusted and divides his plunder (τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν).
> >
> > (Luke 11:21-22)

Scholars generally assume that the most plausible pretexts for Luke 11:21–22 are Isaiah 49:24–25 and/or 53:12.[29] But what if the Lukan text also evokes the plundering motif from Exodus? In Luke, the household is attacked, and the master's possessions are plundered. In Exodus, the Egyptians are attacked by God through the plagues and their possessions are plundered by the Israelites. In Luke, the strong man represents the Devil. In Exodus, the "strong man" is Pharaoh and "all the gods of the Egyptians/πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων" (cf. Exod 12:12).[30]

To reiterate my previous point, it is possible that Luke's choice of imagery or illustration does not stem solely from common knowledge or the observation of daily

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[28] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.922; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.639; Green, *Luke*, 457; Pieter W. van der Horst, "'The Finger of God.' Miscellaneous Notes on Luke 11:20," in *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical*, NovTSup 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 91; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 418. Elsewhere the phrase appears in Exod 31:18 and Deut 9:10. Among the three, Deut 9:10 is syntactically closest to the Lukan text. Hence some argue in favour of Deut 9:10 as the Lukan pretext (e.g. Robert W. Wall, "'The Finger of God'. Deuteronomy 9.10 and Luke 11.20," *NTS* 33, no. 1 [1987]: 144–50). Others see a double reference that incorporates both Exod 8:19 and Deut 9:10 (e.g. Edward J. Woods, *The "Finger of God" and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup 205 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 87–98). In my opinion, even though the Lukan text is syntactically closer to Deut 9:10, it is thematically closer to Exod 8:19. Hence, the combination of a similar phrase and theme favours Exod 8:19 as the pretext.

[29] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 477; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.923; Woods, *The "Finger of God,"* 181; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.122; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 419.

[30] The association of Pharaoh to the Devil can be found in Revelation 12. By taking the exodus as the background for Revelation 12, the depiction of the dragon/devil evokes the depiction of Pharaoh. Just as the dragon tries to destroy the woman, likewise Pharaoh, the archetype antagonist, tries to destroy Israel (Jan Dochhorn, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie: der eschatologische Teufelsfall in Apc Joh 12 und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis der Johannesoffenbarung*, WUNT 268 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 91, 327–28; for the exodus context of Rev 12:16, see Jan Dochhorn, "Und die Erde tat ihren Mund auf : Ein Exodusmotiv in Apc 12,16," *ZNW* 88, no. 1-2 [1997]: 140–42).

life. It might be that the images of thief-at-night, plundering, and night watch are also derived from the Jewish religious repertoire: in this case, the Passover story.

5.1.3 Parousia via Passion?

So far, the focus of our investigation has been on the relationship between the Passover and the Parousia. The coming of the Son of Man is clearly at the heart of Jesus' teaching in Luke 12:35–40. Nevertheless, it does not mean that there is no link between this passage and the passion narrative. As shown from the pericope of the Last Supper, Luke ties the three themes of Passover-passion-Parousia together (Luke 22:16). The task now is to see whether Luke also inserts prefiguration to the passion in his Parousia discourse here. For Luke's readers, the death-resurrection-ascension of Jesus has already taken place. However, in the narrated world of the Gospel of Luke, it is still in the future for the disciples. It is possible that some of the themes in Luke 12:35–40 also prefigure the passion narrative.

a. *The Role Reversal*. In his illustration, the Lukan Jesus notes that, for the servants who are constantly watching, the master will gird his loins and serve them (Luke 12:37). This motif of role reversal is also found in Jesus' discourse during the Eucharist,

> "For who is greater, the one who is at the table or the one who serves? Is it not the one at the table? But I am among you as one who serves."
> (Luke 22:27).

   One should admit that while the imagery is very similar, the context seems to be different. In Luke 22, Jesus teaches his disciples on the attitude of servanthood, setting himself as an example. In Luke 12, the faithfulness of the servants triggers the master's act of service to them. Nevertheless, the role reversal where Jesus is portrayed as the master-who-serves occurs only in these two passages (implicitly in Luke 12:37 and explicitly in Luke 22:27).

b. *The Exhortation to Vigilance*. While the command to be watchful is primarily in anticipation of the Parousia, it is also applied to the time of the passion. This secondary anticipation is hinted in Luke 12:41. After Jesus gives the exhortation

(12:40), Peter then asks whether Jesus tells the parable for the disciples or everyone (κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας). Scholars argue on the identity of the two groups, since the text only differentiates between "us" and "everyone".[31] Whatever the exact identity of the two groups might be, it is clear that in the narrative "us" must include Peter and the disciples.

Scholars also tend to see Peter's question as a mere literary device to clarify to whom Jesus is addressing his parables. As Marshall points out, "it is difficult to see what motivated Peter's question, and it looks more like a saying created in the light of the following parable."[32] Though Peter's motivation cannot be ascertained, it is possible that Jesus' exhortation applies to Peter and the disciples especially, as they are to face oppositions later in the narrative, when Jesus is caught (Luke 22:39–62). Jesus has warned them that they too need to be prepared. Later, Jesus will warn Peter again during the Passover (Luke 22:31–34), and again at the Mount of Olives (22:46). Despite this, they fail to be vigilant, in this case, to get up and pray. The result is dispersion and denial (22:54–62). What Jesus has done, being vigilant through prayers, the disciples have failed to do. Only later, in Acts, do we find that what the disciples have failed to do, the early church will correct (Acts 12:5, 12). Luke's depiction of Peter's question about readiness (Luke 12:41), coupled with his failure (Luke 22:39–62), serves as a reminder for believers to make every effort to be faithful by keeping a constant vigil.

5.1.4 Conclusion

I have shown that Luke 12:35a ("let your loins be girded") is a textual allusion to Exodus 12:11, a passage which depicts the Israelites eating the Passover with girded loins, being ready to leave at any time. The statement in verse 35 encompasses the two illustrations of the watchful servant (vv. 36–38) and the watchful house owner (v. 39).

[31] Some differentiate between disciples/ministers and the crowd/laity (Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.989; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.236–37; Green, *Luke*, 503), others between elite disciples and the disciples at large (Bock, *Luke*, 2.1177). Still others differentiate between those who do God's will and those who do not, following vv. 47-48 (Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 463; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 463; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.702).
[32] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 540; cf. Nolland, *Luke*, 2.702; Green, *Luke*, 503.

Verse 35 also form an *inclusio* with verse 40, where Jesus exhorts his readers to be prepared for the coming Son of Man. The link between verse 35, where the Passover is alluded to, and verse 40 shows that Luke compares the Parousia to the Passover-night rescue. Possible additional Exodus themes (the motifs of watchfulness and the thief/plundering) also support this link. Through these Passover allusions, Luke urges the believers to "gird their loins," to have the Passover-like vigilance as they wait for the Parousia.

5.2 Passover and the (Wrong) Expectation of the Parousia: Luke 17:20–37

We have examined the first Parousia discourse (Luke 12:35–40). Now I will proceed to the second Parousia discourse that might contain allusions to the Passover, namely, Luke 17:20–37.

5.2.1 The Exchange with the Pharisees (Luke 17:20–21)

I shall begin with Jesus' discussion with the Pharisees (vv. 20–21).[33] This passage might indicate how Luke deals with the view that the eschatological salvation will take place on Passover. The passage begins with the Pharisees asking when the kingdom of God is coming (πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεου). Up to this point, Luke has been describing the Pharisees as being hostile toward Jesus.[34] Thus, it is likely that the question in this passage also bears a similar tone.[35] Answering their question, Jesus says,

> οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε ἢ· ἐκεῖ, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν.

[33] Scholars differ in viewing whether or not vv. 20–21 should be included in vv. 22–37. The majority who opt for the inclusion argue that vv. 20–21 are very similar to vv. 22–23. In both cases, Jesus deals with the topic regarding the outward sign of the coming of the kingdom of God (vv. 20–21) or the son of man (vv. 22–23). In response, Jesus rejects those pursuits and gives alternative answers (Carroll, *Response*, 73; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.851; Green, *Luke*, 627–28; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.513; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 575). Others, who opt for exclusion, argue that there are differences in terms of the audience, the expected answers, and the answering techniques (see for example Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Luc*, 459; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1158–59). In my opinion, Luke clearly links the two passages through a similar topic (i.e. the wrong expectation) and similar literary pattern. Luke rarely employs this literary strategy. Thus, in every case the two passages should be read together (that is, to inform each other, though not necessarily to supplant each other).

[34] See Luke 5:21, 30; 6:2. Jesus also depicts the Pharisees negatively (Luke 11:39–44).

[35] Johnson, *Luke*, 263, 266.

> The kingdom of God is not coming with things that can be observed (lit: with observations); nor will they say, 'Look, here it is!' or 'There it is!' For, in fact, the kingdom of God is among you.
>
> (Luke 17:20b–21)

Jesus answers with two negative statements (it cannot be observed, and it cannot be located) and a positive one (it is in their midst). Jesus' response assumes that the Pharisees are operating from the position to which he objects. They seem to believe that they can actually predict the coming of God's kingdom through "observation" (παρατήρησις). Scholars generally interpret παρατήρησις in this passage as referring to a close observation or analysis of supernatural or astrological signs.[36] However, a minority of scholars, such as August Strobel, believes that the observation is tied particularly to the eschatological Passover rescue.[37] Here I will argue in favour of the latter position: the notion of an eschatological Passover rescue is indeed standing behind the Pharisees' belief regarding the signs of the coming kingdom. I will begin with the noun παρατήρησις.

The noun παρατήρησις is a *hapax legomenon*, which only occurs here in the NT, though Luke uses the verb παρατηρέω several times (Luke 6:7; 14:1; 20:20; Acts 9:24). Luke uses the verb to render how the Pharisees watch the activity of Jesus closely. In each verse, the purpose of their observation is to find an opening to accuse Jesus of breaking the law or uttering false teaching.[38] A similar idea is found in Acts, when the Jews seek to ambush Paul. In short, Luke always employs the verb in a negative way.

The word παρατήρησις is found in Josephus' *Antiquities* 8.96, 10:72, and in *Jewish War* 1:570. In *Antiquities* 10:72, παρατήρησις appears in the context of Josiah's Passover, though it is not directly related to the observation of Passover. The noun also turns up in the Epistle to Diognetus 4:5,[39] referring to the calculation of specific months

[36] Green, *Luke*, 629.
[37] Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung."
[38] Perhaps the choice of word also hints at an irony. Jesus rebuked the Pharisees subtly not to do a close observation, something that they had actually done to Jesus (cf. Johnson, *Luke*, 263).
[39] "And as for the way they watch the stars and the moon so as to observe months and days (τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνη τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι), and to make distinctions between the changing seasons ordained by God, making some into feasts and others into times of mourning according to their own inclinations, who would regard this as an example of godliness and not much more of a lack of understanding?" (Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 701).

and days, and the reckoning of the moon and the stars in relation to religious observation. For the author of Diognetus, such rituals should be reproved. Perhaps he is taking a cue from Paul, who also reproves such activity (Gal 4:10). In fact, in the text of Galatians, Paul uses the verb παρατηρέω.[40]

The noun is also employed in the translation of the Greek OT by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. They use it in Exodus 12:42 to replace the LXX word προφυλακή, which is attested two times in this verse.[41] Both Aquila and Symmachus replace the two προφυλακή in Exod 12:42 with παρατήρησις. Theodotion follows the LXX for the first part and combines παρατήρησις with φυλακή for the second part.[42] This has led Strobel to argue that the observation in Luke 17:20b–21 refers specifically to the Passover watch. In other words, it stems from the belief that the Messiah will come during the Passover.[43]

Scholars generally have two major objections against Strobel's argument. First, the understanding of final salvation during the Passover seems to be a late development.[44] This is especially true since Strobel tries to support his position by referring to some rabbinic works such as Mishnah Pesachim (early 3rd century CE),[45] Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael (late 3rd century),[46] Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (4th-8th century),[47] and Exodus Rabbah (10th century).[48] Second, the context of Luke 17:20–21 seems to demand a general observation of signs not necessarily related to the time of Passover.

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[40] "You are observing special days, and months, and seasons, and years/ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς."
[41] The Hebrew word here is שמרים ("watchs/vigils"), assuming that the text behind the MT is the *Vorlage*.
[42] Fridericus Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt* (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875), 102; Wevers, *Exodus*, 178.
[43] Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung," 172–3; August Strobel, "A. Merx über Lc 17:20f," *ZNW* 51, no. 1-2 (1960): 133; August Strobel, "Zu Lk 17:20f," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 7, no. 1 (1963): 111–13.
[44] "The primary –and decisive– objection to Strobel's hypothesis is his reliance upon late texts to establish the existence of a firm popular expectation linked to Passover prior to Luke."(Carroll, *Response*, 78; cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1160; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.852; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.515).
[45] Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 109.
[46] Ibid., 255.
[47] Paul Flesher, "The Targumim," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 1: The Literary and Archaeological Sources*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 49.
[48] Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 309. Strobel's usage is mainly found in "Die Passa-Erwartung," 165–66.

5.2.1.1 Sign and Passover-Night Rescue in Early Jewish Texts

For the first objection, it can be shown that the expectation of salvation during the Passover is recorded in some early Jewish writings. Furthermore, some texts even depict the appearance of supernatural signs during the Passover. Our primary witness for this phenomenon is Josephus. Josephus records a number of portents that supposedly happen around the time of the last Passover celebrated in Jerusalem before its fall (*J.W.* 6:290-299).[49] When the people are coming for the Passover feast, a bright light shines around the altar and the temple at midnight (*J.W.* 6.290). Afterwards, a cow that is brought in to the temple for sacrifice gives birth to a lamb (*J.W.* 6.292). Around the same time, the eastern gate of the inner court, which is massive and made of brass, opens up by itself (*J.W.* 6.293). Finally, "not many days after the festival" (μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις), there are chariots and armed battalions seen in the sky (*J.W.* 6.296–299). Although the last portent actually happens a month after the Passover, through his wording Josephus associates it with the Passover.

Josephus notes that the uneducated people regard the portents as good signs. It is not difficult to see why the people interpret those signs favourably. They take place during the Passover, a time when the people commemorate the great salvation of the past and hope for a similar grand salvation of the future. The Roman oppression only reinforces this expectation further. Thus, for the people, signs during the Passover can only have one meaning: God's salvation is near. However, Josephus writes that their interpretation is incorrect. Only the scribes and the educated ones understand that they are actually bad omens, for they signal the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6:291; cf. 6:295).

A second possible witness is the tradition behind Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* 7.19, where Lactantius, an early fourth-century Christian author, writes about the Parousia and the final judgment that follows. Lactantius first expounds that Jesus' return will take place at midnight.

[49] See also the discussion in Section 2.8.

> This is the night that we shall celebrate watching for the advent of our king and God. It has a double meaning: on that night he regained life after his passion, and on that night he will regain his kingship of the earth…[50]
>
> (Div. Inst. 7.19.3)

The night that Lactantius refers to is the time of Jesus' resurrection (i.e. the Christian πάσχα). He says that Jesus will regain his kingship on the same night. It is unclear where Lactantius gets this idea from.[51] However, the passage of the two nights ("on that night he regained life…and on that night he will regain his kingship) looks fairly similar to the two-nights motif found in Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael,

> *A Night of Watching unto the Lord*, etc. In that night were they redeemed and in that night will they be redeemed in the future–these are the words of R. Joshua, as it is said: 'This same night is a night of watching unto the Lord.'"
>
> (Mek. R. Ish. *Pisha* 14)[52]

In this passage, the Mekhilta comments on the night of vigil in Exodus 12:42. Here, the two nights clearly refer to the Passover night. Whereas, in Lactantius, the focus of the night motif is on Jesus, in Mekhilta it is on God's redemption. In the Mekhilta, there seems to be a polemic on whether or not the future salvation will take place on the night of Passover. The rabbis show different positions on this matter, with some affirming the role of Passover and others refuting it. Taking the cue from Exodus 12:42a ("That was for the LORD a night of vigil") Rabbi Joshua believes that, just as the Israelites are redeemed from Egypt on the night of Passover, the future redemption will take place on the same night. This position is immediately refuted by Rabbi Eliezer. Based on a different proof text (Psalm 81:4–5), he argues that Israel will be redeemed in the month of Tishri.[53] Nevertheless, the passage above shows that some Jewish circles linked the future redemption with the time of the Passover. A similar tradition is also found in some Jewish texts that depict the same two-nights redemption motif, based on Exodus

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[50] Translation taken from Anthony Bowen and Peter Garnsey, *Lactantius: Divine Institutes*, TTH 40 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003).

[51] S. Freund thinks that Lactantius' claim might be related to the belief of the so called Quartodeciman Christians who celebrate the Christian Passover (i.e. Easter) on the 14th Nisan, following the Jewish time reckoning Stefan Freund, *Laktanz. Divinae institutiones. Buch 7: De vita beata: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, TK 31 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 494.

[52] Translation from Lauterbach, *Mekhilta*, 1.115–16.

[53] Ibid., 1.116.

12:42 (e.g. Tg. Neof. I Exod 12:42; Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 12:42; cf. Exod. Rab. 18:12). In fact, as has been pointed out in Chapter 2, the concept of the eschatological Passover-night rescue might have been present in the writing of LAB.[54]

After depicting the future night of salvation, Lactantius describes the sign that precedes the Parousia:

> Before he descends he will give the following sign. A sword will suddenly fall from the sky, so that the just may know that the leader of the holy army is about to descend, and he will come with angels accompanying him to the centre of the earth, and in front of him will go an inextinguishable flame, and the virtue of the angels will put into the hand of the just all that host which besieged their mountain, and the host will be killed from the third hour till evening, and blood will flow in torrents. When all his forces have been destroyed, only the impious one will escape, and he will be the destroyer of his own virtue.
>
> (*Div. Inst.* 7.19.4b–5)

For Lactantius, the sign of Parousia is manifested through a sword that falls from heaven on a coming Easter night. This is followed by the portrayal of Jesus, accompanied by the "holy army" from heaven, who will bring punishment to the ungodly. In Lactantius' apocalyptic thought, the exodus framework seems to play a major role. At the start of his apocalyptic discourse, he likens the end time to the time of the exodus. Just as God saved his people and destroyed Egypt with many calamities, likewise God will save his people and show many signs and portents at the end time (*Div. Inst.* 7.15.1–6).

The pairing of the final judgment and the sword from heaven is also found in a number of other texts. The image of a sword falling from the heaven is found in the Sybilline Oracle 3.672-73, and it is very likely that Lactantius uses this oracle as the source of his imagery.[55] Another similar text is a Christian work: Revelation 19:13–16. The depictions in Revelation and Lactantius are very similar. In Revelation 19:11, John sees the vision of someone coming from heaven, riding on a white horse. He is accompanied by "the armies of heaven" (19:14), and a sword is coming out of his mouth (19:15). He will strike down the nations, and he will rule over them (19:15). What is

[54] See Section 2.7.
[55] Freund, *Laktanz*, 495.

more, he is called, "King of kings, and Lord of lords" (19:16). There are a number of similarities to the text of Lactantius. Both have references to the sword and the descending army. Both depict Jesus, the great king coming down to destroy his enemies.[56] What is missing is the temporal reference. Revelation does not state when the Parousia will take place. Furthermore, in Revelation, the sword does not function as a divine sign.

A third text, which is far more significant for our study, is a Jewish text, Wisdom 18:16,

> For while gentle silence enveloped all things, and night in its swift course was now half gone, your all-powerful word leaped from heaven, from the royal throne, into the midst of the land that was doomed, a stern warrior carrying the sharp sword of your authentic command, and stood and filled all things with death, and touched heaven while standing on the earth.
>
> (Wis 18:14-16)

Though this text has fewer thematic similarities to that of Lactantius, it is important because it is actually a reference to the Passover night, not to the final judgment in the future. In Wisdom, God's agent, "the all-powerful word" (ὁ παντοδύναμος λόγος) carries the task of killing the firstborn of the Egyptians. Moreover, he is depicted as carrying a sword to perform the judgment. This text, or the tradition similar to Wisdom, might explain how Lactantius or his source constructs the eschatological Passover rescue with the sign of the descending sword.

It seems that a divine sign involving a sword and army is rather popular among the Jewish writings. It is worth going back to Josephus again, since he also mentions the sign of the sword. In fact, Josephus makes this remark just prior to his discussion regarding portents during the Passover:

> Thus it was that the wretched people were deluded at that time by charlatans and pretended messengers of the deity; while they neither heeded nor believed in the manifest portents that foretold the coming desolation, but, as if thunderstruck and bereft of eyes and mind, disregarded the plain warnings of God. So it was when a star, resembling a sword, stood over the city (τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαίᾳ παραπλήσιον), and a comet which continued for a year.

[56] E.g. David A. Thomas, *Revelation 19 in Historical and Mythological Context*, StBL 118 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 141, 155.

(*J.W.* 6.288–289)

In this passage, the star that is shaped like a sword is the first of many portents that point to the desolation of the Temple.[57] Although Josephus does not specify the timing of the sign, judging from its placement prior to the portents during the Passover, he might intend to associate it with the festival. The last portent, related to the Passover, is the appearance of the troops of an army on a cloud (*J.W.* 6.296–299).

As an early fourth-century Christian text, *Divine Institutes* is rather late to support my argument regarding the eschatological Passover rescue in the first-century Jewish context.[58] However, while Lactantius' account regarding the coming of Jesus with the sign of sword and an army is close to that in Revelation 19:13–16, the association of the Parousia with signs during Passover seems to point toward different sources,[59] perhaps sources that share the same tradition with Wisdom 18:14–16 and Josephus' account in *J.W.* 6.288–299. Could the passages from Wisdom and Josephus show that the eschatological interpretation of the Passover festival, coupled with the

[57] Freund also acknowledges the parallel with the image of the heavenly sword between Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.19.4b–5 and Josephus, *J.W.* 6.288 (Freund, *Laktanz*, 495).

[58] Some have argued that one of the main sources for his apocalyptic passage (*Div. Inst.* 7.15–19) is the *Oracle of Hystaspes*. The main proponent of this position is David Flusser. He proposes that the *Oracle of Hystaspes* is a first-century Jewish apocalyptic text (David Flusser, "Hystaspes and John of Patmos," in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988], 390–453; cf. Cana Werman, "A Messiah in Heaven? A Re-Evaluation of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Traditions," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 281–2). If Flusser is correct, we have another possible Jewish reference to an eschatological Passover. He believes that the depiction of the sword-sign during the Passover night is derived from the *Oracle of Hystaspes* (David Flusser, "The Deatch of the Wicked King," in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period. Volume 1: Qumran and Apocalypticism*, trans. Azzan Yadin [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 166). Judging by Lactantius' tendency to use pagan sources to support his Christian view (Bowen and Garnsey, *Lactantius*, 16), it is possible that his two-nights motif is also derived or developed from the Oracle of Hystaspes or another early Jewish tradition.
In evaluation, it is rather difficult to pinpoint exactly which parts are from Lactantius and which are originally from Hystaspes. It is true that there are a number of explicit quotations from Hystaspes. Even so, these are few (7.15.19; 7.18.2). The majority of the passages are written from the viewpoint of Lactantius. Flusser believes that the overall apocalyptic outlook of *Divine Institutes* 7.15–19 is taken from the *Oracle of Hystaspes*. For him, the many similarities with the book of Revelation show that *Hystaspes* is one of the sources for Revelation. Nevertheless, if one takes *Hystaspes* out of the equation, it is likely that Lactantius actually uses Revelation and/or The Sibylline Oracles as his primary sources (see Jan Dochhorn, "Laktanz und die Apokalypse: Eine Untersuchung zu Inst. 7.15-26," in *Ancient Christian Interpretations of "Violent Texts" in the Apocalypse*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, Tobias Nicklas, and Andreas Merkt, SUNT 92 [Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011], 133–61; cf. Freund, *Laktanz*, 495).

[59] Cf. Dochhorn, "Laktanz und die Apokalypse," 156–57.

presence of supernatural signs (in this case, heavenly sword and army), might already be present during the Second temple period? In all likelihood, this view is plausible.

5.2.1.2 Parousia and Jesus' Travel to Jerusalem

For the second objection (i.e. that Luke 17:20–21 depicts a general observation of sign, not related exclusively to the Passover), I will show that Luke makes a strong link between the question of the Pharisees and Jesus' journey to Jerusalem when the Passover is at hand. At this point, it is worth looking at the overall Passover marker in Luke. The combination of the sacred place (Jerusalem) and the sacred time (Passover) seems to trigger a high expectation of the coming kingdom during Passover.

a. Moses and Elijah speak to Jesus about his ἔξοδος, to be accomplished in Jerusalem (Luke 9:30–31)
b. The Pharisees ask when the Kingdom of God would come (Luke 17:20–21)
c. The Disciples ask where the Parousia would take place (Luke 17:37)
d. The crowd assume that the Kingdom of God will arrive soon since Jesus is near Jerusalem (Luke 19:11)
e. Jesus enters Jerusalem in a royal manner (Luke 19:29–40)
f. Jesus celebrates Passover with his disciples (Luke 22:7–20)

The first four Passover/exodus markers above (a–d) are unique to Luke. Even in the passage about Jesus' Passover celebration (f), Luke is the only Gospel that depicts Jesus' Passover discourse (22:15–16) prior to the Institution narrative. In all the markers above, Luke mentions either one or both of the temporal/spatial markers. In (a), Jesus is to accomplish his exodus in Jerusalem. The exodus reference opens the possibility of there being a Passover time marker. In (d), only Jerusalem is mentioned. In itself, the text is unclear on whether a Passover time marker is also assumed. Likewise, when Jesus enters Jerusalem, no clear temporal marker is present, but, as we have seen in Chapter 3, his royal entry is closely related to his Passover meal with his disciples.[60] Finally, in (f) Jesus celebrates the Passover with his disciples in Jerusalem. It is during this Passover setting that he ritualises the meaning of his death to his disciples.[61]

[60] See Section 3.5.4.
[61] See Section 3.6.

I have shown that, in the Lukan narrative, the expectation of the kingdom is not only tied to the *where* of Jesus' journey (i.e. Jerusalem) but also to the *when* of the journey (i.e. the Passover). It is possible therefore to see this framework behind (b) and (c). In (b), the Pharisees ask about the *when* of the kingdom. In (c) the disciples ask about the *where* of the future salvation and judgment. On the one hand, Luke ties the death of Jesus closely to the concept of a Passover rescue that takes place in Jerusalem. On the other hand, he tries to correct the misconception of the nature of his mission and the arrival of the kingdom. The focus is not on any celestial sign; rather, it is on the person of Jesus. Likewise, the place of the salvation might not be as some have assumed. It is not tied to a certain place, but to the person of Jesus. The restoration will not come immediately as some have estimated. The time of the final restoration is unknown. The focus is to be on faithfulness to Jesus, and it is this faith that the Pharisees lack.

Since the Pharisees are generally portrayed as opposing Jesus (e.g. Luke 5:21, 30; 6:2, 7; 7:30; 11:39–44; 12:1; 15:2; 16:14), it is likely that the question is raised from their doubt about him. The exchange might indicate that they have their own answer and are testing Jesus. Jesus, however, does not answer the question directly. Rather, he notes the wrong ways of recognizing the coming kingdom – the ways presumably held by the Pharisees.

The basic problem with the Pharisees is their disbelief in Jesus. Their demand for a 'sign during Passover' is rejected by Jesus. The kingdom has already been made present through him. There will be no outward signs. The only sign they will receive is Jesus himself, especially in his death and resurrection (Luke 11:29). The sign is Christocentric. The Kingdom of God is also experienced only through Jesus. The parable about Lazarus and the rich man is appropriate here.

> He said, 'No, father Abraham; but if someone goes to them from the dead, they will repent.' He said to him, 'If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead.'"
>
> (Luk 16:30–31)

What Jesus tries to say, in short, is that if someone does not believe, neither miracle nor divine sign will be able to change their heart. It is faith that the Pharisees need, not a supernatural or celestial sign. Their lack of faith is contrasted with another story, just prior to their exchange with Jesus. In Luke 17:11–19, another story unique to Luke, ten lepers encounter Jesus when he is on his journey to Jerusalem. Their plea for healing is granted immediately by Jesus. However, only one returns and thanks him, a Samaritan (17:15–16). Jesus then says to that person to get up and go, for his faith has made him well (17:19). What the Samaritan has (i.e. faith), the Pharisees fail to have.

In conclusion, Jesus' exchange with the Pharisees indicates two suppositions: (1) Luke might have the notion of an eschatological Passover-night rescue, with or without a sign, as the context for the exchange between the Pharisees and Jesus; (2) there seems to be a polemic regarding the primacy of calculating the time of the future redemption, an idea that Jesus refutes. For Luke the timing is not the ultimate matter. Rather, the ultimate matter is the attitude – and to this subject we will now proceed.

5.2.2 The coming Son of Man (Luke 17:22–37)

We now come to the second part of the passage. Whereas in the first section, the exchange is between Jesus and the Pharisees, here the discourse is between Jesus and the disciples.

> [22]Then he said to the disciples, "The days are coming when you will long to see one of the days of the Son of Man, and you will not see it (ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε). [23]They will say to you, 'Look there!' or 'Look here!' Do not go, do not set off in pursuit. [24]For as the lightning flashes and lights up the sky from one side to the other, so will the Son of Man be in his day.
>
> (Luke 17:22–24)

After his exchange with the Pharisees, Jesus now turns his attention to his disciples. The similarity between the pattern in this passage and 17:20-21 cannot be doubted. Though the audience, the topic and the answer are different, they are set to mirror each other.

	Luke 17:20–21	**Luke 17:22–24**
Audience	The Pharisees	The disciples
Topic	The coming kingdom of God	the day of the Son of Man
Pattern	they will (not) say "Look here…there!" (ἰδοὺ ὧδε ἢ· ἐκεῖ)	they will say "Look there…here!" (ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ, ἢ· ἰδοὺ ὧδε)
Negative answer	not with observation	do not go, do not pursuit
Positive answer	it is in your midst	He will come like lightning

The similarity and the way Jesus answers show that the disciples have a comparable misunderstanding regarding the respective subject matter. Jesus predicts that they will have a longing to see "one of the days of the Son of Man," but that they will fail to see it.

When the NT writers speak of the day of the Parousia, it is generally depicted as taking place on a single day. There will only be one final decisive day.[62] Luke is the only NT writer that juxtaposes the singular day of the Parousia (Luke 17:24, 30, 31) the plural "days of the Son of Man" (Luke 17:22, 26), and the nocturnal "on that night" (Luke 17:34). This has led to many discussions on what Luke actually means by the various constructions.[63] I will first discuss the plural construction.

Regarding the plural construction, the context clearly equates the plural "days of the Son of Man" with the days of Noah and the days of Lot.

> [26]Just as it was in the days of Noah, so too it will be in the days of the Son of Man. [27]They were eating and drinking, and marrying and being given in marriage, until the day Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed all of them. [28]Likewise, just as it was in the days of Lot: they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, planting and building, [29]but on the day that Lot left Sodom, it rained fire and sulfur from heaven and destroyed all of them [30]– it will be like that on the day that the Son of Man is revealed.
>
> (Luke 17:26-30)

Both in the days of Noah and in the days of Lot, people go about their usual activities until the single day of judgment. In light of these parallels, we are required to take "days of the Son of Man" in the same vein. In the days of the Son of Man, nothing special will

[62] E.g. Matt 24:36, 42; Mark 13:32; John 6:39, 40, 44, 54; 1 Cor 5:5; Eph 4:30; Phil 1:6; 1 Thess 5:2; 2 Tim 1:18; 4:8; Heb 10:25; 1 Pet 2:12; 2 Pet 3:7, 10, 12; Rev 16:14.

[63] See the helpful discussion in T J. Lang, "'You Will Desire to See and You Will Not See [it]': Reading Luke 17.22 as Antanaclasis," *JSNT* 33, no. 3 (2011): 284–287.

happen. People will go about doing their daily business until the day, the singular "day of the Son of Man," when Jesus will suddenly return, and judgment will be executed.

If this is correct, then there is only one more issue to be dealt with. Why would the disciples yearn for one of these days, if there was nothing significant about them?[64] T. J. Lang has proposed that the phrase ἐπιθυμήσετε ... ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε is a case of *antanaclasis*, wordplay between two similar words or terms, but with different meanings.[65] The problem with the disciples is not that they will not see "one of the days of the Son of Man," rather, they have misunderstood the future. Their misunderstanding and incomprehension are common in Luke. Take, for example, a similar theme in Luke 19:11. The crowd, and presumably the disciples, believe that the kingdom of God will come in its fullness very soon. It will come when Jesus enters Jerusalem. The timing (near Passover) and the kingly manner of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, riding a donkey, followed by the shout taken from the royal Psalm, only heightens the expectation (Luke 19:29–38).

For the people, Israel will have her liberty there and then, and her enemies will be defeated at once (cf. Luke 1:68-75). The expectation in the Psalms of Solomon 17:21-26 serves as a useful comparison:

> Look, Lord, and raise up for them their king,
> a son of David, to rule over your servant Israel
> in the time that you know, O God,
> Undergird him with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers,
> to purge Jerusalem from the Gentiles
> who trample her down to destruction;
> In wisdom and in righteousness
> to drive out the sinners from the inheritance;
> to smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter's jar;
> to demolish all their resources with an iron rod;
> to destroy the lawbreaking Gentiles with the word of his mouth;
> to scatter the Gentiles from his presence at his threat;
> to condemn sinners by their own consiences.

[64] This is one of the reasons some scholars reject a correlation between the days of the Son of Man and the days of Noah and Lot. Steven Bridge, for example, questions, "why would the disciples long to see the period just prior to Jesus' return, especially when this period is characterized by sinful oblivion?" (Steven L. Bridge, *"Where the Eagles Are Gathered": The Deliverance of the Elect in Lukan Eschatology*, JSNTSup 240 [London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003], 34).
[65] Lang, "You Will Desire," 283.

He will gather a holy people
whom he will lead in righteousness;
and he will judge the tribes of the people
who have been made holy by the Lord his God.

(Ps. Sol. 17:21–26)[66]

Most likely, Psalms of Solomon was composed originally in Hebrew during the last half of the first century BCE.[67] Scholars have proposed that Ps. Sol. 17, in particular, is a response to the siege by Herod the Great around 37 BCE.[68] In this text, God's chosen king will come to Jerusalem, claim it from the Gentiles, cleanse it, and destroy the enemy, that is, the oppressive Gentile rulers. By doing so, God's people will finally be restored and made holy. While there are similarities with Jesus' announcement of the kingdom, there are also some differences. Jesus' version of the kingdom is not triumphalistic in nature, nor is it imminent upon his arrival in Jerusalem. This misunderstanding is what Jesus wishes to correct. Indeed, the kingdom would come, but not in the way that they thought. The timeframe and the nature of the kingdom are different.

We can now reconstruct the meaning of Luke 17:22–24. For the disciples, the plural "days of the Son of Man" refers to the imminent days when Jesus would reign, and Israel would be restored. Hence, they long to taste and experience one of these days. However, their understanding is incorrect. As Green puts it, "they will not see what they are looking for because they are looking for the wrong thing."[69] They misunderstand the eschatological timetable. First, Jesus must undergo suffering and death (Luke 17:25). Then there will be a period characterised by sins and evils, just like the time of Noah and Lot (vv. 26–33). Finally, all of a sudden, Jesus will return, and the day of salvation and judgment will take place. Thus, the disciples are commanded not to trust any claim about the immediate restoration of Israel (v. 23).

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[66] Translation taken from Robert B. Wright, *Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, JCTC 1 (London: T&T Clark, 2007).
[67] Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 6–7, 11.
[68] Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 6; Kenneth Atkinson, "Herod the Great, Sosius, and the Siege of Jerusalem (37 BCE) in Psalm of Solomon 17," *NovT* 38, no. 4 (1996): 313–22; idem, "On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17," *JBL* 118, no. 3 (1999): 435–60; idem, "Toward a Redating of the Psalms of Solomon: Implications for Understanding the *Sitz im Leben* of an Unknown Jewish Sect," *JSP* 17 (1998): 95–112.
[69] Green, *Luke*, 633.

5.2.3 "On That Night": A Passover Allusion?

> λέγω ὑμῖν, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἔσονται δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς, ὁ εἷς παραλημφθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται·
>
> I tell you, on that night there will be two in one bed; one will be taken and the other left.
>
> (Luke 17:34)

The peculiar phrase *ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί* in Luke 17:34 has generated no little discussion. Proponents of it being an allusion to Passover argue that the phrase indicates the idea of the final redemption on the Passover night, something that is quite well known in early Jewish literature. However many have opposed such a reading. For one, many of the proofs (rabbinic and targumic literature) are said to be very late. They cannot warrant that a similar tradition is at work in the Lukan passage.[70] Second, it is possible to understand the passage without any need of intertextual allusion. Since Luke is depicting those who sleep, it requires a nocturnal time setting. It is also seen as a common aspect of Lukan style to use paired examples (male-female, night-day).[71] Even so, it still fails to explain why Luke wants to depict a nocturnal judgment. There are a number of arguments in favour of there being an allusion to Passover in this passage.

First, the phrase is peculiar to Luke. The parallel passage in Matthew depicts two men working in a field, followed by two women grinding meal (Matt 24:40–41). In each case, one will be taken and the other left behind. Whether one assumes Luke is depending directly on Matthew or using Q, the conclusion is still the same. Luke somehow opts to change the daytime working depiction into nocturnal rest.[72]

Second, the phrase might recall the Passover-night rescue.[73] The phrase *ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί*, in its various orders, is found several times in the LXX (Gen 19:33; Exod 12:8,

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[70] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1172.

[71] Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 667–68; Johnson, *Luke*, 265; Nolland, *Luke*, 2.862; Bridge, *Where the Eagles Are Gathered*, 49; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 584.

[72] In Matthew and Mark, the phrase *ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί* is used during the Passion week where Jesus predicts either the scattering of his disciples or the denial of Peter when he would be caught (Matt 26:31, 34; Mark 14:30). In Luke, the phrase is also used to depict the swift judgment to the rich fool (this very night, Luke 12:20). In Acts, Luke employs the phrase in the rescue narrative of Paul (Acts 27:23). This is very significant for my thesis, since I will show later that the rescue narrative of Paul in Acts 27 also alludes to the rescue theme of Passover.

[73] Ernst, *Lukas*, 491; J. Duncan M. Derrett, "'On That Night': Luke 17:34," *EvQ* 68 (1996): 38; cf. Lang, "You Will Desire," 297.

12; Ruth 3:2; Judith 11:3, 5; 13:14). Only Ruth 3:2 has the same word order (ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί), whereas others have τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. The usage in the Passover narrative is particularly important. The phrase is used twice to emphasise the very night when God, on the one hand, saved the Israelites and, on the other hand, placed judgment upon the Egyptians.

> And they shall eat the meat this night (τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ), roasted in fire, and they shall eat unleavened bread with bitter herbs. (Exod 12:8 NETS)

> And I will pass through in the land, Egypt, on this night (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ), and I will strike down every firstborn in the land, Egypt, from human being to animal, and on all the gods of the Egyptians I will execute vengeance. I am the Lord. (Exod 12:12 NETS)

The night rescue is also highlighted in some early Jewish texts.

> That night (ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ) was made known beforehand to our ancestors, so that they might rejoice in sure knowledge of the oaths in which they trusted. The deliverance of the righteous and the destruction of their enemies were expected by your people. For by the same means by which you punished our enemies you called us to yourself and glorified us.
>
> (Wis 18:6–8)

> Wait, you hours of the day, and do not wish to hurry, in order that we may declare what our mind can bring forward, for night will be upon us. It will be like the night when God killed the firstborn of the Egyptians on account of his own firstborn. And then I will cease my hymn, for the time is readied for his just judgments. For I will sing a hymn to him in the renewal of creation. And the people will remember his saving power, and this will be a testimony for it…
>
> (LAB 32:16–17)

In Wisdom, the Passover-night rescue is simply called, "that night" (ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ). The writer assumes that his readers can identify without any trouble which night he is referring to. In Wisdom, "that night" has been foretold to the forefathers of the Israelites. On "that night" the Israelites have expected God to deliver them and to destroy their enemies. Through God's liberation on "that night", God calls the Israelites to be his own and glorifies them. In LAB 32, Deborah sings the song of victory after the Israelites have defeated their enemies. She calls on the day not to end too soon, so she can still express her praise and joy. However, she does not liken the night to something bad, which would stop her praise. Rather, the night reminds her of the Passover-night rescue. She does not stop recalling the glorious past but continues with a song "in the

renewal of creation," possibly referring to a future restoration (LAB 32:16–17). In this passage, Deborah ties the present salvation to the foundational past salvation (the Passover-night rescue) and the final restoration.

Third, the interplay between day and night in Luke (on that day/ *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, v. 31; on that night/ *ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί*, v. 34) is also found in the Passover rescue narrative (Exodus 12–13). Consider the following list:

For I will pass through the land of Egypt *<u>that night</u>*…(12:12)	בלילה הזה	*ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ*
<u>This day</u> shall be a day of remembrance for you. (v. 14)	היום הזה	*ἡ ἡμέρα ... αὕτη*
For *<u>on this very day</u>* I brought your companies out of the land of Egypt: you shall observe *<u>this day</u>*… (v. 17)	בעצם היום הזה היום הזה	*ἐν ... τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ* *τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην*
…*<u>on that very day</u>*,[74] all the companies of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt (v. 41)	בעצם היום הזה	*νυκτὸς* (v. 42 – at night)
That was for the LORD *<u>a night of vigil</u>*,[75] to bring them out of the land of Egypt.	ליל שמרים הוא	-
<u>That same night</u> is a vigil to be kept for the LORD by all the Israelites throughout their generations (v. 42)	הוא הלילה הזה	*ἐκείνη ἡ νὺξ αὕτη*
<u>That very day</u> the LORD brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt …(v. 51)	בעצם היום הזה	*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*
Remember *<u>this day</u>* on which you came out of Egypt…(13:3)	היום הזה	*τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην*
<u>Today</u>, in the month of Abib, you are going out. (v. 4)	היום	*σήμερον*

If the Passover rescue is really in Luke's mind, then his interplay between the day and the night (of rescue) derives from the same interchange found in Exodus 12–13.

What then is the reason for the Passover reverberations in Luke 17:22–37? Why is Luke referring to the Passover-night rescue yet, at the same time, refuting any effort to place the Parousia in the timeframe of the Passover-night rescue? It is most likely that

[74] The LXX, for some reason, drops the temporal reference in verse 41. The translator replaces it with the temporal reference from verse 42. See Section 2.1.1.

[75] Throughout the Hebrew OT, the term שמרים can only be found here. The reason for, and meaning of, the plural form is somewhat puzzling. William Propp thinks that it indicates a double meaning: to guard as well as to perform the obligation [Propp, *Exodus*, 416]. It is also possible to take the שמרים as plural of abstraction, emphasizing the concrete manifestation of activities (GKC 4§136g–i). The LXX, on the other hand, simply translates it into the singular *προφυλακή*.

Luke is making an effort to invest the Parousia with the theme of the Passover rescue, but without predicting the timeframe. For Luke, the coming of the Son of Man is similar to the Passover night. It will be a sudden and swift rescue and judgment. It cannot be predicted; therefore, there is no time to relax. The disciples and the readers are to stay faithful until the end amidst hardship and tribulation (Luke 17:33; cf. 17:19). This is how the believers should prepare themselves, to be constantly on guard (cf. Luke 12:35–40). In the comparison between the Parousia to the Passover-night rescue, the followers of Christ are exhorted to be on constant alert, just like the Israelites during the Passover night.

5.2.4 Passover, Parousia, and Passion

As in Luke 12:35–40, Luke 17:20–37 also touches upon the passion of Jesus, though more explicitly. Reference to the passion is first made in verse 25 in the form of a prediction of the passion:

> But first he must endure much suffering and be rejected by this generation.
> (Luke 17:25)

The passage above comes after the Lukan Jesus states that when he returns for the second coming, it will be clearly revealed just as "the lightning flashes and lights up the sky from one side to the other" (Luke 17:24). However, before the Parousia, there is a necessary step to be taken. Thus, first, it is necessary for Jesus to suffer (δεῖ αὐτὸν...παθεῖν) and die. There will be no Parousia without passion.

The presence of a prediction of the passion within a discourse on the Parousia is found only in this Lukan text.[76] Although the insertion seems to be peculiar to this text, the link between passion and Parousia in this passage is very similar to another prediction in Luke 9:22:

[76] Bridge, *Where the Eagles Are Gathered*, 38. Lang, however, goes further in arguing that Luke 22:22-37 is not a Parousia discourse; rather, it is an exhortation in light of the coming passion of Jesus (Lang, "You Will Desire," 283, 290–99; idem, "'Where the Body Is, There Also the Eagles Will Be Gathered': Luke 17:37 and the Arrest of Jesus," *BibInt* 21, no. 3 [2013]: 327–35). It is not likely that Luke 22:22–37 denotes the passion exclusively, without any references to the Parousia. As will be shown later, Luke is able to juxtapose the passion with the Parousia (cf. Luke 9:21–27), taking the two events as a continuous phenomenon.

Luke 9:22 δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου <u>πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι</u> ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων...	Luke 17:25 πρῶτον δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν <u>πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι</u> ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.
The Son of Man must undergo great suffering, and be rejected by the elders…	But first he must endure much suffering and be rejected by this generation.

In fact, the outline and theme of Luke 9:21–27 is very similar to those in Luke 17:20–37.

	Luke 9:21–27	**Luke 17:20–37**
Passion prediction	9:22	17:25
Those who save their lives…, those who lose their lives…	9:24	17:33
The coming Son of Man	9:26	17:22, 24, 30
The kingdom of God	9:27	17:20–21

It is worth noting the similar timetable for the Parousia. Each discourse begins with a prediction of the passion, followed by a certain period of testing, and ends with the coming of the Son of man. The only difference is that, in Luke 17:20–37, the Lukan Jesus might also be alluding to the Passover-night rescue.

The second possible prefiguration of the passion is found in Luke 17:37. In this passage, the disciples inquire about the location of the coming Parousia, and Jesus answers in a puzzling way:

> Then they asked him, "Where, Lord?" He said to them, "Where the *body* is, there the *eagles* will gather." (ὅπου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοὶ ἐπισυναχθήσονται)[77]
>
> (Luke 17:37)

The disciples' question ("where/ ὅπου") harks back to that raised by the Pharisees earlier ("when/πότε"). Since Jesus has already stated that one cannot calculate the time of the Parousia, it seems that the disciples resort to another strategy. They try to ask about the

[77] Most modern translation has "corpse" and "vultures" in place of the more literal "body" and "eagles" (e.g. NRSV, ESV, NIV; contra RSV, KJV). The Greek word for "corpse" is πτῶμα (cf. the parallel text in Matt 24:28) and "vulture" is γύψ (Lev 11:14; Deut 14:13; Job 5:7; 15:23; 28:7; 39:27). Gail O'Day observes that the change from eagles to vultures is based on modern observations of bird behaviour, which is not necessarily followed by ancient writers (Gail O'Day, "'There the? Will Gather Together' (Luke 17:37): Bird-Watching as an Exegetical Activity," in *Literary Encounters with the Reign of God*, ed. Sharon H. Ringe and H. C. Paul Kim [London: T&T Clark, 2004], 290–96).

location where the redemption will take place. In both passages, Jesus refuses to provide a straightforward answer.

In the case of Luke 17:37, interpreters generally see the maxim to mean that the coming day of the Son of Man will be obvious enough for all to see.[78] Just as birds of prey will spot a carcass when it is there, the believers will surely notice the Parousia when it happens. However, there might be more to this maxim than just denoting the obviousness of an event.

As mentioned above, the only type of sign that Jesus would give is Christocentric (Luke 17:20–21). He himself will be the sign of God's salvific acts. Jesus' answer in Luke 17:37 should probably be read in this Christological sense. It might not be hard for the readers to relate "the body" (τὸ σῶμα) to Jesus' death. Luke uses the word several times in relation to Jesus' death. During the Last Supper, Jesus says to his disciples, "this is my body" (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα μου, Luke 22:19). After Jesus' death, Joseph of Arimathea asks the permission of Pilate to take the body of Jesus (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Luke 23:52) in order to give it a proper burial. Later, some women find out where his body (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ) is laid (Luke 23:55). When they return two days later, they cannot find the body (τὸ σῶμα, Luke 24:3), a story which will be reiterated by the two disciples on their way to Emmaus (Luke 24:23).[79] Hence, the juxtaposition of "the (dead) body" in the maxim of Luke 17:37 and the notion of salvation behind it is likely to evoke the image of the passion. If this is true, then the reference to the body of Jesus in this passage pulls together the Parousia and the passion, regardless of what "eagles" might actually symbolise.[80]

In fact, it is possible to take this passage as pulling together Parousia, passion, and the Passover rescue. Steven Bridge argues that the eagles might symbolise the deliverance of the elect. He finds such a notion in Exodus 19:

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[78] E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1168, 1173; Green, *Luke*, 636; Bovon, *Luke*, 2.525.

[79] Numerous NT passages also use *σῶμα* to describe Jesus' body in relation to his passion (e.g. Rom 7:4; 1 Cor 10:16; 2 Cor 4:10; Heb 10:10; 1 Pet 2:24).

[80] Some argue that the eagles refer to the believers. For a discussion on the varying views, see Bridge, *Where the Eagles Are Gathered*, 1–21; Lang proposes that the eagles symbolise the hostile capturing force (Lang, "Where the Body Is," 320–40).

> Then Moses went up to God; the LORD called to him from the mountain, saying, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob, and tell the Israelites: You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself (καὶ ἀνέλαβον ὑμᾶς ὡσεὶ ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀετῶν καὶ προσηγαγόμην ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἐμαυτόν).
>
> (Exod 19:3-4)

Here YHWH recounts how he saved his people from the Egyptians, specifically likening the deliverance to YHWH carrying his people on the wings of the eagles and bringing them to himself.[81] If Bridge is correct, then Luke has transferred the exodus language to the Parousia. Whereas in the exodus God gathered his people to himself, in Luke, the believers are gathered to Jesus.

5.2.5 Conclusion

As Jesus is near to Jerusalem just before the time of Passover, Luke notes that the expectation of an eschatological restoration heightens among the people. In Luke 17:20 there is a possibility that the Pharisees have the eschatological Passover rescue in the background, as indicated by their demand for a sign from Jesus to verify the coming kingdom (Luke 17:20). Jesus refutes this request as misleading and unimportant. Jesus himself will be the subtle sign. Through Jesus, the kingdom has already taken shape in their midst.

Luke also depicts the issue of a misunderstanding in Jesus' Parousia discourse to his disciples (17:22–37). The Lukan Jesus refutes the assumption that the restoration would immediately come once he had arrived in Jerusalem (cf. Luke 19:11). The Lukan Jesus teaches the disciples a different timetable for the Parousia. After his suffering and death, there will be a certain period of distress. Only afterwards will the Parousia take place, swiftly and suddenly. The Lukan Jesus likens the Parousia to the Passover rescue, excluding any temporal references. Like the Israelites in the time of exodus, the believers must also be in constant readiness, that is, they must be faithful until the end.

[81] Bridge, *Where the Eagles Are Gathered*, 81–82.

Finally, the Parousia is also strongly linked to the passion, creating a three-fold juxtaposition between Passover, Parousia, and passion (Luke 17:25, 37).

5.3 Conclusion: From Passover to Parousia

Does the Passover have anything to do with the Parousia? The Parousia discourses in Luke 12:35–40 and 17:20–37 seem to affirm the association. In fact, the question is not whether the Passover has anything to do with the Parousia. Rather, it concerns which elements of Passover are necessary and which are secondary.

I have shown that the Passover-night rescue is alluded to in these passages. Luke situates both of them within the travel narrative, where Jesus is advancing closer to Jerusalem near the time of Passover. The narrative placements heighten the expectation of an eschatological Passover rescue. Luke has invested the Parousia with a Passover-like quality. It is likened to the Passover-night rescue (Luke 12:35; 17:34). In this light, the believers must be in constant readiness, just like the Israelites of old, anticipating the coming salvation and judgment (12:36–40). The constant readiness is to be understood in terms of faithfulness until the end (17:26). However, it is also clear that Luke refuses to tie the time of Parousia to the Passover-night rescue together. The time of Parousia is unknown, and it must stay hidden (12:40; 17:24). When the time comes, the believers will definitely know it (17:37). They are discouraged from focusing on any outward signs of Parousia, thereby busying themselves with the time of the second coming. Rather, they are to emulate the vigilance of Passover, regardless of the timing of the Parousia. The only necessary sign is Jesus and his passion. As Michael Wolter aptly concludes, the Lukan eschatology is,

> … being determined essentially by quality; and only secondarily by time. To exist 'eschatologically' in this sense means that Christians always have to conduct their lives as if the Son of man is behind the door. From this follows: in terms of time, eschatology has been swallowed up by ethics; i.e. by the quest for the proper conduct in life.[82]

[82] Wolter, "Eschatology," 106.

6 PASSOVER AND THE RESCUE NARRATIVES OF PETER AND PAUL

In a way, the Passover allusions in Acts differ from those in the Gospel of Luke. So far, this study has concentrated on the person of Jesus: the story of his birth/infancy, his passion, and his Parousia. As we move to Acts, the focus shifts to the two main characters of the book: Peter and Paul. It will be shown that in Acts, the Passover plays a major role in the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12) and the sea rescue of Paul (Acts 27). Just as in his Passover-related stories of Jesus, Luke extends a similar soteriological significance to the Passover allusions in these rescue narratives, constructing his theology of salvation through the pairing of the Passover and the passion.

A good number of scholars have noted the presence of allusions to the Passover/exodus in Acts 12.[1] However, their significance has yet to be examined in full. As for Acts 27, there have been far fewer proponents advocating for the presence of the Passover in the passage, let alone arguing for its significance.[2] This is understandable, since allusions to Passover in the sea rescue of Paul are not as clear as in the prison rescue of Peter in Acts 12.

Before examining each passage in detail, it is worth looking at the parallels between Peter and Paul in relation to Jesus.

6.1 The Parallel Lives of Jesus, Peter, and Paul

Within Acts, Peter and Paul play a major part in the narrative development, as well as in the theological presentation, of the book. Peter is active in the earlier part of Acts (Chapters 1–12), whereas Paul is most prominent in the later part (Chapters 13–28).

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[1] Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff,"; Walter Radl, "Befreiung aus dem Gefängnis: Die Darstellung eines biblischen Grundthemas in Apg 12," *BZ* 27 (1983): 81–96; Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1.363; David Parry, "Release of the Captives: Reflections on Acts 12," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, JSNTSup 116 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 161; Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage"; O. Wesley Allen Jr, *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of Retribution in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 158 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 98–107; Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, "The Re-Enactment of the History of Israel: Exodus Traditions in the Bezan Text of Acts," in *Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future*, ed. Robert Pope (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003), 89–93; Pervo, *Acts*; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.425–526.

[2] One major proponent is Pervo, *Acts*, 663.

Though the two characters rarely encounter each other in Acts, with the exception of Paul's first meeting with the apostles (Acts 10:26–27) and during the council at Jerusalem (Acts 15), Luke depicts many parallels between Peter and Paul.[3] What is more, Luke shows many parallels between Peter/Paul and Jesus, the main character in the Lukan Gospel. In many ways, Luke shows the life of Peter and Paul as being in accord with the life of Jesus. As scholars have noted, through the parallels, Luke is able to communicate their legitimacy as successors of Jesus and leaders of the church, as well as the continuity between their ministries and Jesus' ministry.[4] Just as Jesus heals miraculously (Luke 13:10–17; without directly meeting a person 7:1–9), so do Peter (Acts 3:1–10; without directly touching a person 5:15; 9:32–35) and Paul (without direct touch in Acts 18:11–12; Acts 28:8–9). Just as Jesus resurrects (Luke 7:11–17; 8:49–56), Peter and Paul also call somebody back into life. Peter revives Tabitha (Acts 9:36–43), while Paul brings Eutychus back to life (Acts 20:7–12). All three proclaim salvation both to Jews and to Gentiles (Luke 24:44–48; Acts 2, 3:11–4:4; 10; 13:16–52; 17:16–33; 28:23–31). All three are rejected by their own people and persecuted (Luke 4:16–30; 22–23; Acts 5:17–21, 33, 40; 12:1–11; 13:45, 50; 14:19; 21:27–36; 22:22; 23:12–15; 24:1–9).

One of the many parallels employed is the Petrine and Pauline version of the passion of Jesus. Many consider Acts 12 to be the Petrine version of the passion and

[3] See e.g. Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; Trompf, *Historical Reccurence*, 116–78; O'Toole, "Parallels"; Praeder, "Jesus-Paul"; Moessner, "'The Christ Must Suffer'"; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Epworth Commentary (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996), xiv–xv; Green, "Acts 20.28"; Clark, *Parallel Lives*; Keener, *Acts*, 1.555–62; Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2.366 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 72–157. As indicated by the scholarly writings above, the parallelism extends beyond Jesus and Peter/Paul. Parallels can also be found between Stephen and Jesus, or even between Phillip and other characters.

[4] There are many variations to this argument. Some think that the goal is to ease the tension between Peter and Paul: they are compatible, amidst all their differences. Others argue that it is to legitimise the leadership and ministry of Paul as, at least, on par to that of Peter and the other apostles. Still others see the two as having equal authority with different ministry callings: Peter represents the ministry to the Jews, while Paul represents the ministry to the gentiles. See the helpful discussion in Praeder, "Jesus-Paul," 23–29; cf. Moessner, "'The Christ Must Suffer,'" 221–227; Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 35–53; Arie W. Zwiep, *Christ, the Spirit and the Community of God: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*, WUNT 2.293 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 166–70.

resurrection of Jesus.[5] As for Paul, the most likely candidate for his version of passion-resurrection is Acts 21–28,[6] with Acts 27 (the shipwreck episode) as Paul's closest parallel to Jesus' death.[7]

Since Peter and Paul are the two main characters in Acts, it is no wonder that some see it as a two-part book, with Peter dominating the first part (Acts 1–12) and Paul the second part (Acts 13–28).[8] This division was reckoned as early as the 6th century, in Arator's *De actibus apostolorum*.[9] While the division may not be accepted by all, and while it is not the only possible way of outlining Acts, it is still justifiable if we base the division on the two main characters. We can substantiate this division by the similarity between the beginnings and the endings of the two sections.

At the beginning of Peter's saga, Peter and the apostles receive the promised Holy Spirit, before witnessing to the people (Acts 2). As for the beginning of Paul's chronicle, he and Barnabas are commissioned by the Spirit before embarking on their missionary journey, predominantly to the gentiles (Acts 13). This, in turn, recalls the story of Jesus, to whom the Holy Spirit descended at his baptism (3:21–22). Later, Luke notes that Jesus begins his ministry after being led by the Spirit (Luke 4:14–15; cf. 4:1).

Luke constructs the ending sections of Peter and Paul's respective narratives along similar lines to the passion-resurrection of Jesus (Luke 22–24). Thus, one can see Acts 12 as the climax of Peter's story in Acts. It is true that he will appear again in Acts 15, but no longer as the main protagonist. Likewise, Acts 27–28 is the climax of Paul's

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[5] E.g. Robert W. Wall, "Successors to 'the Twelve' according to Acts 12:1-17," *CBQ* 53, no. 4 (1991): 634–42; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 218; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1866; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.427–29.

[6] e.g. Michael D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), 61; James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, Christianity in the Making (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 957; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.250.

[7] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 74; Keener, *Acts*, 1.561.

[8] F. F. Bruce, *Peter, Stephen, James and John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 23–24; Pervo, *Acts*, 21.

[9] Richard J. Schrader, ed., *Arator's On the Acts of the Apostles (De Actibus Apostolorum)*, CRS 6 (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1987), 8. Pervo argues that such division is "arguably more reflective of Acts' internal parallelisms" (Pervo, *Acts*, 21; cf. Richard Belward Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Exposition*, 4th ed. [London: Methuen, 1909], lxi–lxv; Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Reading the New Testament [New York: Crossroad, 1997], 93–94).

story in Acts, as the main protagonist.[10] These parallel versions of 'passion narrative' indicate the likelihood that the Passover theme found in the passion of Jesus will also be found in the 'passions' of Peter and of Paul. In fact, this is exactly what I will argue. I will show that, in the narrative endings of Peter and Paul, Luke appropriates the pairing of Passover-passion to tell the foundational story of God's salvation. With this parallel in mind, we will begin the analysis of Acts 12.

6.2 The Rescue Narrative of Peter (Acts 12)

Scholars assess the possibility of Passover allusions in Acts 12 differently. A number of scholars argue for the presence of the allusions.[11] Others do not mention or discuss them.[12] Perhaps they just overlook the issue or see it as unimportant to the interpretation of the passage as a whole.[13] Still others, while acknowledging the possible Passover allusion in Acts 12, regard it as secondary. In their eyes, what is primary is the parallel between Peter and Jesus, especially the parallel to the passion-resurrection of Jesus (Luke 22–24).[14] Witherington represents scholars in this position when he proposes that, "Luke does not on the whole play up the Passover associations of these events, and one should probably look to the more proximate analogies with the story of Jesus."[15]

Our understanding of the function of Acts 12 will affect the argument for the presence and significance of the Passover. If Acts 12 is indeed the version of the passion for Peter, and serves as the climax of Peter's section, then it is better to examine it in light of the passion story of Jesus in Luke.

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[10] Similar to Peter, Paul also appears in the first part of Acts (1–12) where Peter is the main character. In this section, Paul, who is still called Saul, is not yet the main protagonist (Acts 7:58–8:1; 9:1–30; 11:30; 12:25).

[11] See footnote 1 of this chapter.

[12] E.g. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998); Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2 vols., HThKNT 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1980).

[13] E.g. Conzelmann, who states that there is "no thoroughgoing Passover symbolism here," (*Acts of the Apostles*, 93).

[14] E.g. C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–1998), 1.578; Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 425.

[15] Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 381–82.

6.2.1 Peter's Rescue and the Passion of Jesus

Acts 12 begins with a new, yet familiar, character: King Herod. The "Herod" mentioned in this passage is Herod Agrippa.[16] This is the first time Luke introduces him. Luke notes that this Herod seeks to persecute the church (Acts 12:1). One of his evil deeds is the execution of James, who is one of the twelve (Acts 12:2). As this pleases the Jews, he proceeds to arrest Peter, intending to execute him later (Acts 12:3–4).

Although Herod Agrippa first appears in Acts 12, the name "Herod" should be familiar to the Lukan reader by now. The decision to use "Herod" instead of "Agrippa" is the first indication of Luke's intention to parallel Peter's life to the life of Jesus. In the early church, the name Herod has become synonymous with an evil king who opposes Jesus and the believers. At least this is the case with Luke.[17] In the beginning of his Gospel, Luke mentions Herod the Great (Luke 1:5).[18] Later, when John the Baptist begins his ministry, another Herod (the Tetrarch)[19] is introduced (Luke 3:1). This is the Herod who imprisons John (Luke 3:19–20) and beheads him (Luke 9:9; cf. Matt 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–29). Finally, the same Herod is involved in the trial of Jesus and contributes to Jesus' suffering and death. Luke notes that Herod and his soldiers "treated him with contempt and mocked him" (Luke 23:11).

Though Herod's role in the passion of Jesus seems to be mediocre, covering only six verses (Luke 23:7–12), Luke highlights his importance in Acts 4. There, Luke depicts the prayer of the disciples after the Jewish religious leaders have threatened them. They quote Psalm 2:1–2, which describes a gathering of kings, rulers, and peoples who are against God's messiah. They believe that the Psalm finds its fulfilment in the

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[16] E.g. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1.573; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 383–384; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.429–430.

[17] John B. Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany: Prison-Escape in Acts of the Apostles*, BZNW 131 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 209–210; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1868–1869; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 382; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 381. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Polycarp is arrested and killed by a certain Herod (*Mart. Pol.* 21:1; cf. 6:2; 8:2). This is another indication of how the name Herod is synonymous with an opposing ruler for the early church.

[18] Luke does not record the evil intention of Herod the Great. However, Matthew mentions that this Herod seeks to kill the baby Jesus, since the baby is regarded as a contender for the Jewish kingship. When he fails to eliminate Jesus, he kills all the infant boys in Bethlehem (Matt 2:3, 13, 16).

[19] I.e. Herod Antipas (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 17:188).

time of Jesus. Furthermore, Herod is identified as one of those who oppose and oppress Jesus.

> "…it is you who said by the Holy Spirit through our ancestor David, your servant: 'Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth took their stand, and the rulers have gathered together against the Lord and against his Messiah.' For in this city, in fact, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, gathered together against your holy servant Jesus, whom you anointed…"
>
> (Acts 4:25–27)

Herod's name is mentioned first in the lists, followed by and alongside that of Pilate. It is clear that Herod is not a minor character in the passion story. Rather, he primarily stands for "the kings" of Psalm 2:2, who oppose Jesus. His evil deed equates to that of Pilate and the peoples.[20]

As the reader comes to Acts 12, Luke has set the perception and role of Herod as the antagonist king. In many ways, the deeds of Herod Agrippa in Acts 12 parallel the Herod of the Lukan Gospel. Just as Herod the Tetrarch murders John the Baptist, Herod Agrippa executes James (Acts 12:2). Just as Herod the Tetrarch is involved in the death of Jesus, Herod Agrippa seeks to put Peter to death. As the death of James pleases the Jews, Herod Agrippa intends to please them further by capturing Peter. The coupling of Herod Agrippa and the Jews as the opposition of the followers of Jesus recalls the similar opposition by Herod the Tetrarch, Pilate and the Jews against Jesus (Luke 22–23). To bring the two passages closer together, Luke inserts information about the timing of the arrest.

> After he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter also. (This was during the festival of Unleavened Bread/ ἦσαν δὲ [αἱ] ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων.) When he had seized him, he put him in prison and handed him over to four squads of soldiers to guard him, intending to bring him out to the people after the Passover (βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ).
>
> (Acts 12:3–4)

[20] Susan Garrett links the function of Herod in Peter's story to Satan in Jesus' story ("Exodus from Bondage," 675–76). This implies that Luke would downplay the use of the name Herod as representing an evil king who opposes the church. However, it is not impossible for the Herod of Acts 12 to have more than one role or function. On the one hand, the decision to use the name Herod inevitably recalls previous Herods. On the other hand, it is possible that Herod has the same function as Satan depicted in the Gospel of Luke. At least, the role overlaps.

Herod arrests Peter during the festival of the Unleavened Bread/Passover and intends to execute him afterwards. In Luke-Acts, the pairing of the Unleavened Bread and the Passover only appears here and in the passion story (Luke 22:1, 7).[21] As mentioned in Chapter 3, the plan to kill Jesus takes place around the time of Passover (Luke 22:1). Later on, Jesus is arrested on the Mount of Olives after the Passover meal (Luke 22:54). In short, the similar timing of the arrests of Jesus and Peter establishes the parallel between the Lukan passion narrative and Acts 12.[22] Even if we take "after the Passover" as after the seven-day festival of Unleavened Bread,[23] it still does not weaken the relationship between Peter's death threat and the Passover time marker. As noted by Beverly Gaventa, "mere chronology is not the point."[24]

Another detail that highlights the Peter-Jesus parallel is found in verse 5. Luke notes that, while Peter is imprisoned, "the church prayed fervently to God for him." In the passion story, it is Jesus who prays to God before his arrest (Luke 22:39–46, 47–48, 54). There, Jesus exemplifies the vigil by his prayer. Contrastingly, the disciples, Peter included, fail to be vigilant and pray. Instead, they fall asleep due to their grief (Luke 22:45). When we read Acts 12, it is the church who exemplifies the vigil in their prayer. Peter, in contrast, is sleeping (Acts 12:6).

If we liken Acts 12:1–5 to the beginning of Jesus' passion, then we can read Acts 12:6–11 as the parallel of Jesus' death and resurrection. The combination of Peter's sleeping and arising helps to build this.[25] Luke notes that Peter is sleeping in the prison (ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος...). In the NT, the word κοιμάομαι (to sleep) is commonly used as

[21] As in Luke 22:1, the pairing of the Passover and the festival of Unleavened Bread in Acts 12:3–4 possibly indicates a more popular usage of those terms, rather than a strict one. See the excursus in Chapter 3.

[22] E.g. Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage," 672; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2.103 fn. 16; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 93; Wall, "Successors," 635; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 211; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1.577; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.431; Pervo, *Acts*, 308; Keener, *Acts*, 1879.

[23] E.g. Frederick F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 234 n. 8.

[24] Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *Acts*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 183.

[25] Garrett adds that the prison setting also strengthens the parallel. She argues that imprisonment is often associated with darkness. It can also symbolise sickness, death, and existence in Hades. She quotes Wisdom (16:13b–14; 17:14–21; 18:4) and the Hodayoth (*1QH* 3.17–18) as examples. In short, Garrett believes that the prison setting "evokes thoughts of the bonds of Satan and death," ("Exodus from Bondage," 671). However, upon a closer look, the quotes from Wisdom and the Hodayoth depict the fate of the wicked in Hades. In the case of Wisdom, it is the punishment of the Egyptians, not the Israelites. Such a bleak rendition might not be suitable in Peter's case.

a euphemism for death (Matt 27:52; John 11:11–13; Acts 7:60; 13:36; 1 Cor 7:39; 11:30; 15:6, 18, 20, 51; 1 Thess 4:13–15; 2 Pet 3:4).[26] When the angel of the Lord comes to rescue, he wakes Peter up (Acts 12:7, ἤγειρεν αὐτον; literally: he raised him up), instructing him to rise quickly (ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει). Elsewhere, Luke uses both ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι to denote the resurrection of Jesus (Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:5, 7, 34, 46; Acts 2:24, 32; 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30; 13:34; 37).

Moving to the house of Mary (Acts 12:12–17), the exchange between Peter, Rhoda, and the gathering believers implies that the post resurrection narrative is in the background.[27] In this passage, Rhoda, the maidservant, is the first person to witness Peter's rescue. In the Gospel, the female disciples are the first witnesses of Jesus' resurrection. When Rhoda informs the believers joyously, they refuse to believe – until they see Peter with their own eyes. Similarly, when the female disciples tell the other disciples joyously, they too refuse to believe – until they see Jesus with their own eyes. While the believers in Acts 12 at first think that it is not Peter but his angel, the first disciples in Luke 24 think that they are seeing not Jesus but a ghost. After the meeting, Peter departs from them, mirroring Jesus who departs from his disciples (Luke 24:31, 51).

All the points mentioned above show that the rescue story of Peter is deeply embedded in the passion and resurrection story of Jesus. In fact, the narrative development in Acts 12:3–17 resembles the progress from the beginning of Jesus' passion, death-resurrection, until the post-resurrection encounter with his disciples (Luke 22–24). It is safe to conclude that Luke deliberately portrays Acts 12:3–17 in the light of the passion-resurrection of Jesus.

In spite of this, Luke also pens down a number of details that cannot be explained as parallels to Jesus. This is especially true when Luke depicts the manner of Peter's rescue from the prison. Descriptions such as the presence of the angel,[28] his

[26] See also ibid., 672; Parry, "Release of the Captives," 160. Another equivalent term, καθεύδω can also be employed similarly (Matt 9:24; Mar 5:39; Luke 8:52; Eph 5:14).
[27] Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage," 673–674; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.429, 436–37.
[28] Some argue that the presence of the angel is parallel to the post-resurrection story where two men, presumably angels, appear to the women explaining the resurrection of Jesus in Luke 24:2–7 (e.g.

many instructions, and the miraculous way of the rescue seem to be foreign to the passion-resurrection story. If the goal is only to match Peter's rescue to Jesus' resurrection, there is no need for many of the details in Acts 12:6–11. Thus, there should be another reason why Luke highlights those details. Most likely, Luke tries to re-enact the exodus liberation in the rescue story of Peter.

6.2.2 Peter's Rescue and the Re-enactment of the Exodus

The rescue of Peter begins to take shape when an angel of the Lord suddenly appears in the prison (Acts 12:7). Some have pointed out that an angel is also present in the exodus story, quoting passages such as Exodus 3:2[29] and Number 20:16.[30] This claim might be true, though it is not strong. There is no record of an angel rescuing the Israelites during Passover night. However, when the Israelites are travelling toward the Red Sea, the angel of God (ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ) is said to escort and protect them from the pursuit of the Egyptians (Exod 14:19). Hence, in the broader context of the exodus rescue, the angel is indeed present and has an important role. In terms of escorting to safety, the angel in Exodus 14 and Acts 12 plays a similar role.

The presence of the angel alone might not support the existence of the Passover/ exodus theme in this passage. In Acts, angels also appear in other rescue stories (Acts 5:19; cf. 27:23). However, a stronger case for the Passover allusion in this passage is found in what the angel does and says.[31] First, the angel strikes Peter's side (πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου) in order to wake him up.[32] After waking Peter up, the angel

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Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.429). The argument is rather weak. The angel has a different function in each story. In Acts 12, he is in charge of the rescue, while in Luke 24, the two angels only announce the resurrection without any further action.

[29] Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 100.

[30] Read-Heimerdinger, "Re-Enactment," 90.

[31] Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff," 213; Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 100–101; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.426; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1879.

[32] The term πατάσσω is often used to describe how God strikes the Egyptians, including their firstborn (Exod 3:20; 12:12, 23, 27, 29; Num 3:13; 8:17; Ps 104:36; 134:8; 135:10). As πατάσσω is mainly used to describe a fatal blow, it is rather unusual for Luke to apply the term to describe how the angel tries to awaken Peter. Elsewhere in his writings, Luke always employs the term to denote a violent blow. In the passion story, Luke deploys πατάσσω to depict one of the disciples striking the slave of the high priest (Luke 22:50). In the speech of Stephen, πατάσσω is used to depict God's striking of the Egyptians (Acts 7:24). The violent sense of the term has caused some manuscripts to choose the milder νύξας (from νύσσω,

instructs him to rise quickly (ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει). While the wording differs, the motif of hurriedness is also found in the Jewish Passover narrative ("and you shall eat it in haste/καὶ ἔδεσθε αὐτὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς, Exod 12:11). In Exodus 12, God commands the Israelites to eat the Passover in a hurried manner since they will depart from Egypt very soon, on that very night (cf. Exod 12:29-32, 39). Back to Acts 12, the angel orders Peter to gird himself and put on his sandals (ζῶσαι καὶ ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλιά σου, Acts 12:8). This order is also similar to that in Exodus 12:11, where the Israelites must eat the Passover with their loins girded and with sandals on their feet (αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν).

The Passover/exodus theme is strengthened further by what Peter says. When he finally comprehends the rescue, Peter says that the Lord has sent his angel and "rescued me from the hands of Herod and from all that the Jewish people were expecting (ὁ κύριος ... ἐξείλατο με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρῴδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Acts 12:11)." In Exodus 18:4, Moses uses a similar expression (ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραω) to depict how God has rescued him from the hand of Pharaoh.[33] Further down (Exod 18:9), Jethro is said to praise the Lord and acknowledge how the Lord has rescued the people from the hand of Pharaoh and the Egyptians (κύριος ... ἐξείλατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραω).[34]

Later, Peter reiterates the exodus language when he explains to the believers that the Lord has brought him out of the prison (ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς – Acts 12:17). The term "to bring out" (ἐξάγω) is often used in the LXX, especially in the Pentateuch (excluding Genesis) to describe how God brings the Israelites out of Egypt.[35]

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here: "to nudge") to render the episode of the rescue of Peter (D gig; Lcf.; cf. 3 Mac 5:14, "the person … approached the king and nudged him"/ἔνυξεν προσελθὼν τὸν βασιλέα).
It is clear that the rendering in Acts 12:7 cannot mean a violent strike, since the goal is to wake Peter up. Perhaps Luke employs πατάσσω to describe an act that is forceful enough to awaken Peter at once (cf. BDAG, "πατάσσω," 786). Does Luke also use the term to tease his reader by evoking the Passover/exodus?

[33] Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 426; Radl, "Befreiung," 89; Wall, "Successors," 637.

[34] Cf. Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 101; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1892.

[35] E.g. Exod 3:8, 10–12; 6:6–7;12:17, 42, 51; 13:3, 9; 32:1, 7, 11, 12, 32; Lev 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; Num 15:41; 21:5; 23:22; Deut 4:20, 37; 5:6, 15; 6:12, 21, 23; 9:26, 29; 13:10. See also Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 102; Radl, "Befreiung," 89–90; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 426, 438; Keener, *Acts*, 1879.

It seems to be the technical term used to depict the exodus liberation from Egypt.[36] In fact, Luke uses ἐξάγω in this sense in Acts 7:36, 40, and 13:17.

The dense Passover/exodus language in the rescue of Peter should cause us to pause. They are not random words or phrases picked up by Luke just to tell of Peter's miraculous release. Most likely, Luke deliberately chooses words and phrases that are specific enough to recall the Passover/exodus liberation story. In light of this finding, we should rethink the function of the Passover time marker at the beginning of the rescue story. It is true that the time marker recalls the passion of Jesus. Similar to Jesus, Peter is arrested during the Passover festival and is to be executed afterwards (Acts 12:3–4).[37] Nevertheless, apart from the parallel to Jesus, the temporal reference should also point to the Passover/exodus theme. In this way, this temporal marker has the same function as the one in the Passion story. Both refer back to the Passover story in Exodus 12. In Acts 12, Luke goes further by showing that the rescue takes place at night (τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ – Acts 12:6). For Herod, it is the night before he will execute Peter. For Peter, it is a night of bondage in a heavily guarded prison, but, for God, it is the time of his nocturnal rescue. By introducing the motif of the nocturnal rescue, Luke is able to recall the Passover-night liberation (Exod 12:12, 41–42; Deut 16:1; Jub. 49:2; Wis 18:6; LAB 32:16).[38] The Passover time marker in Acts 12 should cause a certain expectation of the outcome of the story. It should be a story of salvation – indeed Acts 12 is a story of salvation, as expected.

The double references to Jesus and the exodus also affect the interpretation of the mentions of Herod and the Jews. The presence of Herod should recall Pharaoh, the prototypical evil king who opposes the people of God. Luke uses κακόω (mistreat) in Acts 12:1 to describe Herod's persecution of the church. In the LXX this word is also used to describe the persecution of the Israelites by Pharaoh and the Egyptians (cf. Gen 15:13; Exod 1:11; 5:22; Num 20:15; Deut 26:6). In fact, Luke himself employs the verb

[36] Radl, "Befreiung," 89, 91.
[37] Cf. Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff," 212–213; Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 99; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1879.
[38] See e.g. Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff," 212–213; Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 100; Read-Heimerdinger, "Re-Enactment," 89; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.426.

twice in this sense in the narrative of Stephen (Acts 7:6, 19).[39] When the people of Tyre and Sidon designate Herod as a divine being, the angel strikes Herod down (ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου). The term πατάσσω (to strike, smite) is also used to describe how God strikes Pharaoh and the Egyptians (e.g. Exod 3:20; 7:25, 27; 9:15; 12:12, 23, 27, 29).[40] If Herod is portrayed as Pharaoh, then the Jews who oppose the church ironically take the role of the Egyptians.

6.2.3 Objection to the Exodus Typology in Acts 12

Despite the numerous Passover and exodus allusions, some scholars argue that Acts 12 is closer to other pre-texts. One of the most common parallels proposed is Euripides' *Bacchae*, a Greek tragedy concerning Dionysus and his cult.[41] In a section of the tragedy, the servants of King Pentheus give a report about some women who have been arrested by the king due to their devotion to Bacchus/Dionysus.

> As for the bacchant women you have restrained, arresting and chaining them up in the public prison, they are gone: free of their bonds they skipped off toward the mountain glades, calling on the god Bromios. The chains were loosed from their feet of their own accord, and keys opened doors with no mortal hand to turn them. Full marvels has this arrived in Thebes. But what follows must be your concern.
>
> (*Bacchae* 443–450)[42]

There are a number of parallels between Acts 12 and the passage in Bacchae. In both cases, followers of the new cult are imprisoned by the opposing king. Through divine intervention, they escape the prison, their chains fall off, and the prison door opens by itself. John Weaver argues that prison-escape passages in Acts, including Acts 12, are comparable to the Dionysian "resistance myth".[43] According to him, stories under this category have similar basic plots: the oppression against the new cult by an evil king,

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[39] Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 426.
[40] Cf. Allen, *The Death of Herod*, 104–105; Pervo, *Acts*, 302–303.
[41] Alfons Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2 vols., ÖTK (Würzburg: Gütersloh, 1981), 284–285; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 488; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 383; Frederick F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*, 3rd. rev. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 245; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1.580; Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 150–151.
[42] Translation taken from David Kovacs, *Euripides IV: Bacchae, Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).
[43] Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 195.

followed by divine intervention and the advancement of the new cult.[44] Weaver notes that this resistance myth can also be found in Hellenistic Jewish writings such as 3 Maccabees and Artapanus,[45] with the latter bearing close resemblances to Acts 12.

The third fragment of Artapanus tells the story of Moses, mainly how he releases Israelites from the evil Pharaoh. In one part of the story, Moses returns to Egypt to lead the people out. When Pharaoh learns about his return, he captures Moses and imprisons him, but Moses miraculously escapes.

> When the night came, all the doors of the prison opened of their own accord, and some of the guards died while others were overcome with sleep; also, their weapons broke into pieces. Moses left the prison and went to the palace. Finding the doors open, he entered the palace and aroused the king while the guards were sleeping on duty. Startled at what happened, the king ordered Moses to declare the name of the god who had sent him. He did this scoffingly. Moses bent over and spoke into the king's ear, but when the king heard it, he fell over speechless. But Moses picked him up and he came back to life again.[46]
>
> (Artapanus, Frag. 3:23–25)

The context of this Artapanus passage is similar to that of Acts 12: both depict an exodus-related story. Like Peter, Moses is also imprisoned by the evil king. Even so, Moses miraculously escapes. The doors open by themselves, the guards are either deeply asleep or they die, the weapons are broken, and the king experiences death, albeit momentarily. Judging from all these similarities, Weaver believes that Acts 12 is "a participant in a repertoire of traditional tales relating the advancement of a group through miraculous reversal and defeat of an opposing king," and resistance toward the repressing king is "symbolized by the miraculous escape from prison."[47]

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[44] Ibid., 32–58, 194.

[45] Some have raised doubts regarding the Jewish identity of Artapanus. For one, the name "Artapanus" seems to be of Persian origin. The main issue however, is the seemingly syncretistic nature of the writings. Moses is said to be the founder of animal worship in Egypt. Thus Jacobson, for example, concludes that Artapanus is a pagan who writes about Jewish history (Howard Jacobson, "Artapanus Judaeus," *JJS* LVII, no. 2 [2006]: 210–21). However, scholars in general still think that Artapanus is of Jewish origin.

[46] Translation taken from Holladay, *Fragments*, 1.219. The fragment is mainly attested in Eusebius. Holladay also notes another record of this passage by Clement. The text by Clement reads: "At night when the prison was opened by the will of God, Moses departed, came to the palace, stood over the king who was sleeping, and aroused him…" (ibid.). In Clement's version, details of the miraculous escape are stripped off. It simply says that it is due to the will of God.

[47] Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 195–196.

Overall, I concur with Weaver's opinion that Acts 12 can be placed within the similar prison escape stories within the broader Hellenistic Jewish and Pagan Greek texts.[48] It does not mean, however, that the exodus typology is non-existent or only has a minor role in the overall structure and significance of Acts 12.[49] While a number of details in Acts 12 can be found in both *Bacchae* 443-450 and Artapanus fragment 3 (miraculous prison escape with chains and/or a door opening by itself), other details have no clear parallel in the latter two texts. In Acts 12, the time of the rescue (nocturnal rescue around Passover) is important to our understanding of the rescue. Furthermore, the Lukan Peter interprets the rescue using the language of the exodus liberation (Acts 12:11, 17). Based on all the Passover allusions above, it is hard to deny the presence of a Passover/exodus theme in this text.

The importance of these two themes in Acts 12 can be shown by comparing the passage here and another prison escape, in Acts 5.

> Then the high priest took action; he and all who were with him (that is, the sect of the Sadducees), being filled with jealousy, arrested the apostles and put them in the public prison. But during the night an angel of the Lord opened the prison doors, brought them out (Ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου διὰ νυκτὸς ανοίξας τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς ἐξαγαγών), and said, "Go, stand in the temple and tell the people the whole message about this life." When they heard this, they entered the temple at daybreak and went on with their teaching.
>
> (Acts 5:17–21)

[48] Less convincing is the attempt by D. MacDonald to show a parallel between Acts 12 and Iliad 24 (Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003], 123–145). In Iliad 24, Priam seeks to break into the ship of Achilles in order to take back the body of Hector, his son. In his rescue mission, Priam is assisted by the god Hermes. The main difficulty with this parallel is that *Iliad* 24 is not a story of prison escape, nor is it a story of liberation from a wicked king. It is a story of Priam trying to get into, rather than escaping from, a certain place (See the critique by Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 151–155).

[49] On the other hand, O. W. Allen, Jr. pushes to parallel too far by stating that Acts 12 follows the basic structure of Exodus 3–18. In addition to the Passover and exodus allusions being proposed above, Allen also finds many other allusions that parallel every section of Acts 12. For example, Herod's killing of James by the sword (Acts 12:1–2) is likened to the accusation of the Israelites that Moses has put a sword in the hand of Pharaoh (Exod 5:21). Commenting on Peter's explanation to the believers (Acts 12:12–17), Allen states that Moses also explains how God has saved the Israelites (Exod 18:8). Later, Allen interprets Herod's execution of the prison guards as the hardening of his heart, refusing to recognise divine power. This is similar to Pharaoh's refusal to admit the divine power behind Moses and the plagues (*The Death of Herod*, 98–105). Since Acts 12 is not a new narrative rendering of the exodus story, it does not have to follow the exodus story in every turn. The Passover/exodus is only one of the major themes shaping Acts 12. The other is the passion-resurrection of Jesus. Furthermore, Luke might also shape it in response to a Greek prison escape story, such as the Dionysus cult story (Keener, *Acts*, 2.1212).

In Acts 5, the religious leaders arrest the apostles to stop their influence and the growth of the new cult. In general, the prison escape is similar to that in Acts 12. The rescue takes place at night, and it is assisted by an angel of the Lord who opens the prison door. Luke also uses the term ἐξάγω to describe their escape (cf. Acts 12:17). In this passage, there is no reference to Passover or passion, only to exodus in general, coupled with a story of rescue. Similar to Acts 12, the miraculous prison escape in Acts 5 can well be compared to the miraculous prison escape found in Greek literature such as Euripides' *Bacchae*.[50] If Luke wants to correspond his prison escape story to that of the Greek, Acts 5 would be sufficient. This makes the peculiarity of Acts 12 more prominent. There is more to it than just a parallel to the Greek prison escape story.

6.2.4 Acts 12 and the Christological Passover-Night Rescue

I have shown that Acts 12 is invested with allusions from both the Passover–exodus and the passion–resurrection, but, in addition, the twofold allusions are not randomly scattered through Acts 12; instead, they are carefully placed. Luke structures the Passover-exodus theme within the passion-resurrection framework.[51]

Marguerat has argued that the double typologies to exodus and Jesus in Acts 12 mean that through Jesus, the God of the exodus becomes the God of the church.[52] Nevertheless, I want to push the argument further by proposing that the one who executes the exodus-rescue in Acts 12 is none other than the Lord Jesus himself. The key to this interpretation is the use of the word κύριος in verses 11 and 17.

> Then Peter came to himself and said, "Now I am sure that the Lord has sent his angel and rescued me (ἐξαπέστειλεν [ὁ] κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με) from the hands of Herod and from all that the Jewish people were expecting."[53]
>
> (Acts 27:11)

[50] Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 194–201; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.423; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1209–1212, 1886.
[51] Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.443.
[52] Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 1.443–444.
[53] With some variants in verse 11: κυριος (א A D E L) ο θεος (323. 453. 945. 1739.) κυριος ο θεος (1241); text: B Ψ 614.

> He motioned to them with his hand to be silent, and described for them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison (ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἶπέν τε).
>
> (Acts 27:17)

At first, it might not be clear to whom ὁ κύριος refers.[54] The term also appears twice in the phrase ἄγγελος κυρίου ("angel of the Lord," vv. 7 and 23). The angel of the Lord is a technical term with the genitive κυρίου referring to the God of Israel (see for example, Luke 1:11; 2:9; Acts 5:19). There is no clear reference to Jesus' angel. Within the dense Passover/exodus allusions, the mention of ὁ κύριος who saves or leads out might recall the God of Israel who saves the people during the exodus.[55] Nevertheless, a closer look to the use of κύριος in the passages before and after Acts 12 shows a strong christological identification. I will begin with the story of the church in Antioch (Acts 11:19–30).

In the story that depicts the growth of the church in Antioch, the word κύριος appears in five places.

v. 20: Lord Jesus (τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν)
v. 21: The hand of the Lord (χεὶρ κυρίου)
v. 21: A great number … turned to the Lord (ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον)
v. 23: He exhorted them all to remain faithful to the Lord (προσμένειν τῷ κυρίῳ)
v. 24: And a great many were brought to the Lord (καὶ προσετέθη ... τῷ κυρίῳ)

In this passage, the subject matter is the proclamation of the Lord Jesus (11:20). As a result, and due to "the hand of the Lord," many believe in the Lord (21, 24). Moreover, the believers are exhorted to be faithful to the Lord. The use of κύριος in depicting new

[54] In his monograph, Kavin Rowe has shown that in Luke-Acts, the ambiguity of the term κύριος is due to its dual reference: it denotes both God and Jesus (C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*, Paperback [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009], 199–202). The ambiguity intensifies in Acts as Jesus is now exalted to heaven, being at the right hand of God. According to Rowe, from the believers' point of view, on earth, the work of God and Jesus as ὁ κύριος "appears…to be undifferentiated" (Rowe, *Narrative Christology*, 201). However, Rowe also notes that, in the Lukan Gospel, there is a shift of focus from the Lord God to Christ the Lord (*Narrative Christology*, 200). Luke's goal is to show that the God of Israel is present through, and embodied in, Jesus. As will be shown in this section, the shift of focus does not happen in the Lukan Gospel only, nor does it stop there. The shift also takes place in Acts 12. Numerous κύριος-related phrases, which in the LXX clearly point to the God of Israel, have now become unclear. Now the title seems to point to Jesus. In other words, Jesus appears to be at the forefront. He is the κύριος acting on behalf of Israel's God.

[55] For Dunn, the four appearances are ambiguous, with no precise identification to YHWH or Jesus (James D. G. Dunn, "ΚΥΡΙΟΣ in Acts," in *The Christ and the Spirit, Vol. 1: Christology* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 241–53). For O'Neill, they are closer to YHWH, though he too does not seem to be certain. (J. C. O'Neill, "The Use of KYRIOS in the Book of Acts," *SJT* 8, no. 02 [1955]: 159, 166, 171).

believers turning to the Lord, being faithful to the Lord, and being brought to the Lord, all indicate a christological reading of the term. Even though "the hand of the Lord" is a phrase from the Old Testament, it can still be read in a christological manner, due to the surrounding context. Luke heightens the christological focus of the passage by stating that it is the first time the disciples are called "Christian" (Acts 11:26). It is better, therefore, to take κύριος in this passage christologically. In other words, it mainly refers to Jesus.

Moving to the passage after Acts 12, we have the commissioning story of Paul and Barnabas that inaugurates their gentile mission (Acts 13:1–12). There are four references to κύριος in this passage.

v. 2: While they were worshipping the Lord…
(Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ)
v. 10: The straight paths of the Lord (τὰς ὁδοὺς [τοῦ] κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας)
v. 11: The hand of the Lord (χεὶρ κυρίου)
v. 12: The teaching about the Lord (τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου)

The term κύριος first appears in verse 2, where Luke reports that the believers are worshipping (or: ministering to) the Lord (λειτουργούντων...τῷ κυρίῳ). In the OT, the term λειτουργέω is employed to render cultic worship of YHWH. This is the first time that λειτουργέω is used to render Christian worship.[56] It is possible that, within the setting of the Christian worship, the one being venerated is Jesus the κύριος. The movement toward a more christological use of the word κύριος seems to be in play here. A similar movement can be seen with another term used for worship, προσκυνέω. In Luke 4:8, προσκυνέω clearly refers to the God of Israel. There, Jesus counters the temptation of the Devil by stating that one should only worship the Lord God (κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις). However, in Luke 24:52, it is Jesus whom the disciples worship (καὶ αὐτοὶ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν).

The second reference to κύριος is found in verse 10. On one occasion during Paul's ministry in Cyprus, he rebukes Elymas, the magician, for opposing the Gospel. Paul questions him, "will you not stop making crooked the straight paths of the Lord?"

[56] Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.23.

(Acts 13:10). This is certainly an allusion to the widely used Isaiah 40:3. In the Gospel, Luke alludes to, and/or cites it, three times (1:17, 76; 3:4). This phrase also goes through a christological change. By the time we read Luke 3:4, it is clear that κύριος refers to Jesus.[57]

In Acts 13:11, Paul continues his rebuke, stating that the hand of the Lord is against Elymas. As mentioned above, the similar phrase in Acts 11:21 might also refer to Jesus, though admittedly it is not that clear.

The last reference is found in Acts 13:12. Luke notes that the proconsul believes in the Gospel, being astonished at the teaching about the Lord (ἐκπλησσόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου). In the Gospel, the people are astonished at the teaching of Jesus (καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, Luke 4:32). Acts 13:32 depicts the continuation of Gospel teaching, first as the teaching of Jesus, and later as the teaching regarding Jesus.[58] The christological emphasis in this passage is indicated by the fact that when Paul and Barnabas arrive at Salamis in Cyprus, they proclaim God's word in the Jewish synagogues. It is safe to say that the emphasis of their proclamation is to point the diaspora Jews and proselytes to Jesus. Hence, when the proconsul is astonished by "the teaching about the Lord" (τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ κυρίου), it should refer to Jesus.

The strong christological reading of κύριος in Acts 11 and 13 should inform our interpretation of the word in Acts 12:11, 17. Acts 12 is not merely a re-enactment of the exodus rescue. It is a re-enactment with a christological twist. When the Lukan Peter states that ὁ κύριος has rescued him (ὁ κυρίος...ἐξείλατό με) and brought him out of the prison (ὁ κυρίος αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς), he seems to claim that the mastermind behind the liberation is none other than Jesus the Lord. Not only that the God of the exodus rescue has become the God of the church; the Jesus of the church has become for them the God of the exodus rescue. Luke makes this interpretation possible by linking the Passover-exodus theme and the passion-resurrection.

[57] Rowe, *Narrative* Christology, 56–77.
[58] Keener, *Acts*, 2.2026.

The Christological interpretation of the exodus liberation is also found in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, a second century apocryphon.[59]

Ethiopic:	Coptic:
And you therefore celebrate the remembrance of my death, which is the Passover; then will one of you, who stands beside me be, thrown into prison for my name's sake, and he will be very grieved and sorrowful, for while you celebrate the passover he who is in custody did not celebrate it with you. And I will send my power in the form of (my) angel, and the door of the prison will open, and he will come out and come to you to watch with you and to rest…	And you remember my death. If now the passover takes place, then will one of you be thrown into prison for my name's sake, and he will be in sorrow and care that you celebrate the passover while he is in prison and far from you; for he will sorrow that he does not celebrate the passover with you. I will send my power in the form of the angel Gabriel, and the doors of the prison will be opened. He will go out and come to you; he will spend a night of the watch with you and stay with you until the cock crows…

(*Ep. Ap.* 15)[60]

Epistula Apostolorum 15 depicts Jesus' message to his apostles regarding the Passover of the Lord (i.e. the Eucharist). In this passage, the post-resurrected Jesus predicts that one of the apostles will be taken into prison during the Passover. In all likelihood, this is a reference to the capture of Peter in Acts 12. There are a number of matching parallels: the Passover timing, the imprisonment, the presence of the angel, the opening of the prison door, and Peter's re-gathering with the church.[61] Worth noting here is Jesus' promise that he will rescue Peter through his angel. The Lord's angel in Acts 12 is now interpreted as Jesus' angel. Above all, Jesus is the one who saves Peter, thus, equating Jesus to the κύριος of Acts 12.

To sum up, Luke uses the Passover time marker as the first signal of the re-enactment of both the Passover rescue and the passion-resurrection. Further allusions to

[59] The provenance of *Epistula Apostolorum* is disputed heavily. While scholars have generally opted for Alexandria, some have now proposed an Asian provenance. For further discussion, see for instance, Charles E. Hill, "The Epistula Apostolorum: An Asian Tract from the Time of Polycarp," *JECS* 7, no. 1 (1999): 1–53; Alistair Stewart-Sykes, "The Asian Context of the New Prophecy and of Epistula Apostolorum," *VC* 51 (1997): 416–38.

[60] Translation taken from J K. Elliott, "The Epistle of the Apostles (Epistula Apostolorum)," in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 565.

[61] Instead of sleeping, Peter is said to be very sorrowful since he will not be able to celebrate the Passover with the other disciples. It is possible that Peter's sorrow is read in light of the passion story. When Jesus is praying at the Mount of Olives, Peter and the other disciples fall asleep "because of grief" (Luke 22:45).

these double themes confirm that this is his intention. Ultimately, the presence of the Passover-passion indicates a focus on the theme of salvation. In Acts 12, Luke not only shows that the God of Israel is seen as the God of the church but also, above all, that the one who performs the exodus-like rescue of Peter is none other than the Lord Jesus himself.

I have shown the presence and significance of the Passover theme in the rescue narrative of Peter, the main character in the first part of Acts. One would suspect that a similar Passover theme could be detected in Peter's counterpart, Paul. This brings us to the rescue narrative of Paul in Acts 27.

6.3 The Rescue Narrative of Paul (Acts 27)

The focus of my analysis here is the rescue narrative during the shipwreck, in Acts 27:13–44. In this passage, Luke reports that Paul is on the way to Rome as a prisoner. When they sail past Crete, they are caught in a sea storm. At one point, all the passengers lose hope. However, Paul then assures them that all of them will be saved, as God has promised him. Finally, they land safely in Malta, with only the ship being ruined.

An initial observation of the shipwreck story exposes one big issue: there seems to be no trace of a Passover allusion. In fact, the only major commentary discussing possible allusions to Passover in this passage is that by Richard Pervo.[62] Even the parallel between Paul and Jesus in this passage is much debated, when compared to the virtually universal acceptance of the parallel between Peter and Jesus in Acts 12. Hence, I will begin with a discussion regarding the parallel between Paul and Jesus.

6.3.1 The Parallel between Paul and Jesus

The narrative placement of Acts 27 is the first indication of the parallel between Paul and Jesus. The position of the rescue narrative within the larger story of Acts is essential to our understanding of its function. Though the details differ, the overall movement and

[62] Pervo, *Acts*, 663.

theme of Acts 27 is similar to the story of Jesus in Luke 22–24 and, to a lesser extent, Peter in Acts 12.

First, all characters are under arrest and experience a death threat, yet God vindicates them in the end. Paul's arrest, court hearing, and journey to Rome begin in Acts 21. When he is in the temple, some Jews are provoked to kill Paul (Acts 21:27–31), causing the Romans soldiers to intervene and carry him away. However, the people keep on following him and cry out, "Away with him/αἶρε αὐτόν" (Acts 21:36). After Paul tries to explain himself, the situation gets worse. The people once again shout, "Away with such a fellow/αἶρε ... τὸν τοιοῦτον" (Acts 22:22). Luke records a similar response directed toward Jesus when the religious leaders and the people scream, "Away with this (man)/αἶρε τοῦτον" (Luke 23:18). As in the passion of Jesus, both the Jews and, later, the religious leaders, accuse Paul and demand that he be killed (Acts 22:22; 24:1–6). Like Jesus, Paul is also taken into the Roman court and given a hearing (Acts 24–26). Finally, just as God vindicates Jesus through the resurrection, he also vindicates Paul by rescuing him from numerous death threats and taking him safely to Rome (Acts 27–28).

Second, the death threat takes place almost at the end of each respective story; hence, it is part of the climax of each story.[63] It is true that there are two death threats in Acts 27–28: the sea storm (Acts 27:13–44) and the snakebite in Malta (Acts 28:1–6). The snakebite episode seems to be concerned with Paul's special standing in spite of his status as a prisoner. The local people first suppose that Paul is a murderer, and the snakebite serves as a divine justice (Acts 28:4). However, when Paul survives the attack without any harm, the people change their minds (Acts 28:5–6). Through this episode, Luke depicts Paul not only as a person protected by divine power,[64] but also as God's emissary, representing a divine visitation to the gentiles in Malta.[65] The shipwreck

[63] For incorporating Acts 27 as part of the end of Acts, see Loveday Alexander, "Reading Luke-Acts from Back to Front," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 424; cf. Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the "Acts of the Apostles,"* SNTSMS 121 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 216.
[64] Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 465.
[65] Joshua W. Jipp, *Divine Visitations and Hospitality to Strangers in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:1-10*, NovTSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 262.

episode, on the other hand, seems to have a greater impact. Both Paul and the rest of the passengers are in life-threatening danger. Moreover, as will be shown later, the episode is filled with the language of salvation and there is a possible reference to the Eucharist meal.

Third, at the end, each narrative produces a desirable result: the further accomplishment of God's mission and salvation. If it is agreed that Paul's rescue story is likened to Jesus' story of death and resurrection (Luke 22–24), and that Paul's story is parallel to Peter's, in Acts 12, then it is more likely that the suspected allusions to Passover and parallels with Jesus' in Acts 27 are true.

The analysis above shows that, by its narrative placement, Acts 27, together with Acts 28, can be seen as Paul's parallel to Jesus' passion, as Keener notes in his commentary:

> Although Paul certainly does not die and rise at the end of Acts, its conclusion is "comic" (in the sense of an upturn, as opposed to tragic); Paul's being sent on to Rome is the best "passion" narrative Luke can offer while reporting a happy ending without fabricating Paul's (historically untrue and implausible) resurrection.[66]

The second indication of the parallel between Paul and Jesus is found in the motif of divine necessity. Luke notes that Paul's journey to Rome is part of divine necessity. God has commanded Paul to witness in Rome. Thus, he must survive the storm and arrive safely there. As reported in Acts, the angel encourages Paul and says to him, "You must stand before Caesar/Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστῆναι (Acts 27:24)". As noted before, Luke is fond of employing δεῖ to denote divine necessity. In particular, Luke uses δεῖ to portray the necessity for Jesus to suffer and die.[67] That Rome is the climax of Paul's mission, at least in the narrative of Acts, is clear from the multiple references to this notion. Already in Acts 19:21 Paul says that he must see, that is, go to Rome (δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν). In Acts 23:11, God says that, "For just as you have testified for me in Jerusalem,

[66] Keener, *Acts*, 1.561.
[67] See Section 3.3.1.

so you must bear witness also in Rome/ὡς γὰρ διεμαρτύρω τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, οὕτω σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι".[68]

All things considered, the narrative placement of Acts 27 and the motif of divine necessity, where Paul *must* go to Rome, provide the first suggestions that the shipwreck rescue of Paul should be understood in light of the passion and resurrection of Jesus. The next sections will examine further the Passover theme and its pairing with this 'passion'.

6.3.2 Passover and the Number Fourteen

One possible Passover allusion in the shipwreck episode is the curious reference to the ordinal number "fourteenth".[69] To begin with, throughout the NT, the ordinal τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος only appears twice in Acts 27.[70]

> Acts 27:27: When the fourteenth night had come
> Ὡς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη νὺξ ἐγένετο
>
> Acts 27:33: Today is the fourteenth day
> τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν

In the story, because of the heavy storm, the people on board lose their hope of being saved (Acts 27:20). What they do not know is that, on the previous night, an angel of God has reassured Paul that God will grant safety to all the passengers. Afterwards, Paul makes the promise of salvation known to all of them (vv. 21–25). Paul then says that what they need to do now is to land the ship (v. 26). Afterwards, Luke notes that the promise begins to take shape on the fourteenth night. On that particular night, they are finally close to the land (vv. 27–28).

Later, before the dawn, Paul urges his companions to nourish themselves with food. He tells them, "Today is the fourteenth day that you have been in suspense and

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[68] Commenting on Paul's speech, Pervo writes that it "is framed by δεῖ, the meanings of which are conventional here, but no use of "must" in Luke and Acts should be casually dismissed, especially because of the "divine necessity" invoked in v. 24" (*Acts*, 661).

[69] Some commentators do not discuss the significance of the number, see Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 778–79; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 454–55; David G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 690, 692; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.358.

[70] The cardinal "fourteen" (δεκατέσσαρες) appears in three NT texts: Matt 1:17; 2 Cor 12:2; Gal 2:1.

remaining without food, having eaten nothing" (v. 33). Paul reiterates the divine promise that none of them will perish (v. 34). On that day, Paul shares a Eucharist-like meal with all of them (vv. 35–36; see the next section). Finally, on that day, all of them reach the land safely (v. 44). The turning point that takes place on the fourteenth night/day suggests that that particular time marker has a symbolic significance for the rescue story.

One way to interpret this reference is that Luke simply gives a realistic chronology of the sea voyage. Fourteen days are needed for the ship to travel to Malta under bad weather.[71] Nevertheless, the question remains: why is the emphasis on the number fourteen? It is possible that Luke highlights the number to recall the Passover. As stated by Pervo,

> The temporal marker (v. 27) is the "fourteenth night" without an indication of the reference. Fourteen is logical a time frame as any, and not improbable, but the fourteenth was also the night of the Passover (Exod 12:6). This can be taken as an exodus symbol. On the next day they will be on dry land.[72]

Since this is not a majority view, more elaboration is needed. In itself, fourteen does not automatically recall the Passover. Nevertheless, when it is set within a context of death threat and rescue, one cannot dismiss the connection easily. It is true that the exact time of Passover is on the fourteenth of Nisan. The text in Acts lacks any mention of the month. Furthermore, it does not take place on the fourteenth of Nisan. The reference to "the Fast" (i.e. the Day of Atonement) in Acts 27:9 determines that the journey happens around the month of Tishri (September-October).[73] However, this does not rule out the possibility that Passover is evoked.

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[71] Most scholars in this position follow the classic study by James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1886), 123–126; cf. I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 411; Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*, 462; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 2.1202; Bock, *Acts*, 739; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 771; see also Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 705 n. 2.

[72] Pervo, *Acts*, 663.

[7373] The Day of Atonement takes place on the 10th of Tishri. Cf. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 684; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 762; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 447; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary*, 406.

In the LXX, the reference to the fourteenth day is always related to divine rescue. The majority of the references associate the fourteenth day to the Passover.[74] The second "fourteenth day" reference is found in Esther. It records the rescue of the Israelites from the genocide planned by Haman. The Israelites celebrate the victory on the fourteenth of Adar (Est 9:15, 17, 19). This is then commemorated in the festival of Purim (9:21-22). Another example can be found in 3 Maccabees. In this text, a pagan (Roman) king by the name of Ptolemy Philopator edicts a decree to annihilate the Jews in Egypt (3 Mac 3:25–29), a motif similar to the one found in Esther. When the time has finally come for the destruction, God intervenes miraculously and rescues his people (3 Mac 6:16–29). Later, through the provision of the king, the Jews celebrate their salvation. Though it begins as a seven-day festival, it lasts until the fourteenth day (εὐωχοῦντο...μέχρι τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης, 3 Mac 6:40). Thus, the phrase "fourteenth day/night" is richly invested with the concept of divine rescue.

Philo goes further by explaining why the Passover sacrifice has to be performed on the fourteenth day. He explains that the number fourteen is derived from two periods of seven. In this way, whatever is honourable will not be separated from the sacred number seven. The number becomes the beginning of everything that confers prestige and dignity (*Spec*. 2:149). Thus, for Philo, the number fourteen is special in itself because of its relation to the number seven. In summary, it is possible for the number fourteen to attract special attention due to its significance in the Jewish history of salvation and its religious symbolism.

At least one early church father has read the shipwreck rescue of Paul in light of the Passover. Arator, a 6th century Christian writer, interprets our passage as follows:

> But before they should overcome the rabid raging of the sea, Paul cried out, "Break your fast, you weary men, and now taste bread on the fourteenth day," he said, "just as I am eating."
>
> Let us examine by what formula the memorable mysteries of the godly figure have significance: the multitude was ordered to be fed from the flesh of a lamb at that time when the lights of the first month shone forth, on the day proceeding from this number [fourteen]; when the protection of this [flesh] had been tasted,

[74] Exod 12:6, 18; Lev 23:5; Num 9:3, 5; 28:16; Josh 5:10; 2 Chr 35:1 [1 Esd 1:1]; Ezra 6:19 [1 Esd 7:10].

> the free [multitude] deserved to avoid the darkness of the Nile; hence Paul at a like interval persuades those whom he wishes to take out of the sea of the world to feast with him and to taste sacred food, following the esteemed footsteps of Moses; to those looking intently at their [Moses' and Paul's] act, these two things are different in their locations but alike in their causes, and the repeated deliverance is raised out of one font: in it Christ is the Lamb, [and] Christ too is considered the Bread from heaven, which He Himself also teaches; he who will have consumed Jesus in his body is free from the Enemy, nor do Pharaoh and Egypt now keep their powers; immediately all the weapons of the demon are sunk in these waters, from which he who had been a captive is reborn as a child….[75]

Arator's interpretation might go beyond what is permitted according to modern standards. Nevertheless, it is helpful. Two details seem to trigger Arator's exodus-typology reading. Arator begins with a comment on Exodus 12, where the people consume the Passover lamb on the day following the fourteenth. By doing so, they are protected from "the darkness of the Nile". He then compares it with Paul, who "at a like interval" (i.e. fourteenth) consumes the "sacred food" and, hence, is saved from the sea. Above all, Arator ties both stories to an ultimate christological understanding: the participation in consuming the body of Jesus, that is, the Eucharist.

Arator is able to link Paul's rescue to the exodus through the number fourteen, the meal, and the comparison between the river Nile and the sea. In other words, the rescue at the sea is likened to the exodus rescue.[76]

If my reading of the number fourteen is correct, then it gives further support to my argument that the meal scene in Acts 27:33–36 is stylised to match the Eucharist: just as Jesus institutes the Eucharist at the time of Passover (Luke 22:7, 14), Paul officiates a 'eucharistic' meal with the pagans. For the latter, the eucharistic symbolism seems to denote the universal scope of God's salvation and mission.[77]

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[75] Schrader, *De Actibus*, 91. For more information about the life of Arator, see, for example, Roger P. H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 251–259.

[76] cf. Richard Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: A Baptismal Commentary*, OECS (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 39.

[77] Susan Marie Praeder, "Acts 27:1-28:16: Sea Voyages in Ancient Literature and the Theology of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 46, no. 4 (1984): 698; Pervo, *Acts*, 664.

6.3.3 The Breaking of Bread: Paul's Eucharistic Meal?

The centre of the issue is the debate regarding possible Eucharist symbolism in Acts 27:35–36. Many scholars deny any parallel between Paul's meal scene and Jesus' Eucharist. One of the most common objections is that the meal scene in Acts 27:33–36 actually depicts a common practice among devout Jews, a thanksgiving meal or, at most, a Christian version of it.[78] In addition, scholars point out that (1) there is no mention of wine, a necessary element in the Eucharist; (2) the pagans remain pagans, nothing in the text indicates their conversion; (3) Paul does not distribute the meal as Jesus does during the Last Supper; (4) the focus here is on Paul's heroic action rather than on the church or the people of God.[79]

I will argue that, though the meal in Acts 27:33–36 is not a Eucharist, the symbolism is eucharistic.[80] Those who participate in the meal, albeit indirectly, are able to receive the benefit bestowed to the community of believers. God's protection and salvation to the believers is now extended to the pagans, even though the 'salvation' is limited to saving their earthly lives. Since the shared meal functions as an allusion to the Eucharist, it does not need to be an exact parallel. It only needs enough references to evoke the Eucharist.

The cumulative arguments so far lean toward a eucharistic reading of the meal. First, I have argued that the story of Paul's rescue in Acts 27 is part of his 'passion' narrative, comparable to that of Jesus. Second, the reference to the fourteenth recalls the Passover. The only meal that takes place in the passion story during the Passover festival is Jesus' Passover meal, followed by the Last Supper where Luke specifically mentions the bread (Luke 22:19).

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[78] E.g. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 220; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 707; Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 517; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 413–14; Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2.292; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 2.1210; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 773.

[79] Cf. Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 772–73. Some scholars, while doubting the eucharistic sense of the meal, are open to the possible salvific prefiguration or sacredness of the meal Gaventa, *Acts*, 355; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.359–60; Bock, *Acts*, 740.

[80] Pervo, *Acts*, 664; Praeder, "Acts 27," 699; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 455; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2.397.

Although Luke quite often mentions the bread in different meal settings (e.g. Luke 9:16; 14:1, 15; 24:30; Acts 2:42, 46; 20:2, 7), the particular sequence and wording of Paul's meal during the storm suggests strong allusions to the Last Supper narrative:[81]

	Acts 27:35	**Luke 22:19**
taking of bread	καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον	καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον
thanksgiving	εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων	εὐχαριστήσας
breaking of bread	καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν	ἔκλασεν
distributing the bread	-	καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς

Regarding the sequence, in both episodes, the main character takes the bread, gives thanks, and breaks the bread. Although Acts 27 lacks the distributing element, this might not pose a serious problem. Even Paul's rehearsal of Jesus' eucharistic words only contains the first three elements, omitting the distribution part (1 Cor 11:23–24). In addition, some manuscripts have added, ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν ("giving also to us") into Acts 27:35.[82] The scribes seem to add the element of distribution to fit the text into the Last Supper sequence in Luke. Thus, they understand Acts 27:35 as being eucharistic. Susan Praeder is correct in stating that,

> Luke-Acts lack references to blessings or thanksgivings at ordinary meals. Taking bread, blessing or thanksgiving, breaking bread, and distributing bread are reported only at the extraordinary meals of the feeding of the five thousand, the last supper, and the evening meal at Emmaus…All three meals are supposed to be seen in relation to Christian Eucharistic meals.[83]

While Praeder acknowledges that the sequence is also found in the feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9:16) and the evening meal on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:30), the phrasing is slightly different. In those two narratives, Jesus is said to bless the bread/meal. In both cases, Luke employs the word εὐλογέω ("to bless"). It is only in the Last Supper and Paul's meal during the storm that Luke uses the expression εὐχαριστέω ("to give thanks") in relation to the bread.[84] Thus, it is hard not to assume that, by using

[81] Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 2.1208; Praeder, "Acts 27," 699; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 455.
[82] 614 1409 $syr^{h\ with\ *}$ cop^{sa}
[83] Praeder, "Acts 27," 699.
[84] Cf. Barrett, who states that, "As far as language goes, [Acts 27:35] is more 'eucharistic' than any other passage in Acts. Here only does the verb εὐχαριστεῖν occur, and here only is the leading figure said to take (λαμβάνειν) the loaf before breaking it" (*Acts of the Apostles*, 2.1208–209).

similar sequencing and phrasing, Luke intends to portray Paul's meal in light of the Eucharist.[85]

It is true that the participants of the meal are non-believing pagans, and they seem to remain as pagans. Even so, this does not rule out the possibility of eucharistic symbolism in the meal. It is not a Eucharist per se, but it definitely evokes the Eucharist.[86] The meal symbolises the inclusion of the pagans and the gentiles in an experience of God's salvation; and it is to this theme we will now turn.

6.3.4 Paul and the Story of God's Salvation

In writing the sea rescue of Paul, Luke uses two strategies to emphasise its soteriological importance. First, he employs numerous soteriological terms in Acts 27. The verb σώζω ("to save") appears in 27:20 and 31. The noun σωτηρία ("salvation" or "survival") appears in verse 34. Another related term, διασώζω ("to save through") appears in verses 43 and 44 and 28: 1, 4. In fact, Luke frames the rescue story with these soteriological terms.

v. 20 When neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest raged, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned (λοιπὸν περιῃρεῖτο ἐλπὶς πᾶσα τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς).

v. 31 Unless these men stay in the ship, you cannot be saved (ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι οὐ δύνασθε).

v. 34 Therefore I urge you to take some food, for it will help you survive; for none of you will lose a hair from your heads (τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει, οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θρὶξ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολεῖται).

v. 43 …but the centurion, wishing to save Paul (ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης βουλόμενος διασῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον), kept them from carrying the plan.

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[85] Those who argue that Paul's thanksgiving for the meal is a mere depiction of the thanksgiving in a common Jewish meal have to answer the question: why would Luke record a common Jewish thanksgiving meal in such a detailed manner? What is the purpose of such a depiction? To depict a common Jewish meal in this passage seems to make little sense in building up the narrative and theology of Acts 27. Here, Luke is not presenting Paul as a devout Jew, rather as the emissary of Christ.

[86] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity*, 2.335; Heil, *Meal Scenes*, 293–305; Pervo, *Acts*, 664; Keener, *Acts*, 4.3642–3643; Jipp, *Divine Visitations*, 35, 256.

v. 44 And so it was that all were brought safely to land (καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν).

The first salvation language, found in verse 20, sums up the disheartened condition of the people on the ship. After being battered for many days, with no sun or stars to guide them, they have no more hope of being saved. The final verse (v. 44) overturns their perception. By the end of the story, everyone is saved. The salvation theme clearly frames the rescue story.

It is possible to read the soteriological terms in this passage in a non-theological way. In verse 34, σωτηρία can simply mean "survival", and διασώζω means "to get to safety (on land)", a common term used in a sea voyage.[87] Even the verb σώζω might indicate the retaining of life. However, it is more likely that this word group also conveys a theological theme, namely, salvation by God. It becomes for Luke an illustration of God's salvation to the gentiles. It portrays the gospel that Paul is proclaiming, even during his journey to Rome. Humanly speaking, Paul is a prisoner, but, in God's eyes, he is an ambassador of the good news. The effect of Paul's mission even reverberates to the situation on the doomed ship.

Luke's second strategy for emphasising his soteriological point is by placing the language of salvation and story alongside the salvific symbolism of Passover and passion. By taking 'salvation' as the key motif, it is possible to divide Acts 27:13–44 into the following outline:[88]

A The storm wrecks the ship – no hope to be saved (vv. 13–20)
  B Without food – Paul assures the travellers of salvation (vv. 21–26)
    C The fourteenth night – approaching the land (verses 27–32)
  B′ Food being taken – Paul reassures the travellers of their safety (vv. 33–38)
A′ The ship breaks apart – yet all are safe on the land (vv. 39–44)

If the chiastic structure above is correct, then Sections A and A′ function as an *inclusio*. What begins as a lost hope of salvation ends with the actualisation of salvation. Section C serves as the central point of the story. As shown later, the realisation of salvation begins in this section, and it happens, as emphasised by Luke, on the fourteenth night.

[87] E.g. Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 772.
[88] Cf. the paragraph division in NA[28], NRSV, Gaventa, *Acts*, 350. Other commentators combine vv. 27–32 and 33–38 into one unit (Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.347; Keener, *Acts*, 1.581).

After the description of hopelessness in verse 20, Section B begins with a depiction of the people refusing to take in some food (v. 21). However, Paul reveals to them that an angel of God has visited and assured him of the safety of them all. An angel, a symbol of divine intervention, spoke to Paul the day before. Paul makes sure to convey that the angel is the messenger of *the* God to whom he belongs and whom he worships (οὗ εἰμι [ἐγὼ] ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω, v. 23). Paul says that God has granted him the lives of all the people on the ship (καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισταί σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλέοντας μετὰ σοῦ, v. 24). This implies that he has prayed earnestly, not only for his own but also for everyone's safety, and God has granted his request. In the midst of the pagans who worship a multitude of gods and goddesses, Paul's speech carries a theological claim. His God will be the one who saves them. Thorugh his speech, Paul assures them of their safety. Thus, although Luke does not use the term σώζω or σωτηρία in this section, the theme of salvation is unmistakeably present.

Section C begins with the temporal marker, "on the fourteenth night". On that specific night, the promise of salvation starts to take shape: they are now getting closer to the land. Luke's narrative outline demands that this hope of safety is not a coincidence. Rather, it is directly related to God's promise of salvation in the previous section. As mentioned above, the Passover night symbolises the beginning of God's salvific acts. Here, the link between God's salvation and the fourteenth night is also telling. If my reading is correct, the reference to the fourteenth night should convey the idea of the coming salvation of God. A Passover-like night rescue is taking place. Hence, from the fourteenth night to the fourteenth day – from the beginning of hope to the realisation of it, all takes place on the fourteenth. Although Luke does not use the exact time of Passover (14th of Nisan), he can still use a number that symbolises the Passover rescue.

Later in this section, Paul warns the centurion not to let the sailors escape using the lifeboat, as then they could not be saved (ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι οὐ δύνασθε, v. 31). This is very logical. Without the sailors, who control and navigate the ship, they would definitely perish in the storm. However, if we take the term here as having a double

meaning, an additional picture might be seen. In order for them to be saved, all of them must remain on the ship. Since all of them remain on the ship, all of them participate in the meal (vv. 35–38). Consequently, all of them are saved (v. 44). If the time marker symbolises the Passover-night rescue, the necessity of 'staying inside' might have a further function. Perhaps it recalls the necessity for the Israelites to stay inside their houses to consume the Passover meal, in order to be saved.[89] One must admit, however, that this particular parallel is rather weak.

In Section B′, the interplay between Passover and passion reaches its culmination. Not only does the meal evoke the Eucharist, it is also related to the Passover and the theme of salvation. The participation in the meal contributes to the survival/salvation of the travellers. While in Section B they are in need of food, here they are satisfied through the meal. Whereas previously Paul needs to assure them of their rescue, here Paul re-assures them again of their safety. The reassurance takes place in the context of the Passover-like timing (fourteenth day) and the Eucharist-like meal.[90]

In the final section (A′), the once hopeless people are now safe on land. Just as God had promised to Paul, not a single person has perished, although the ship has. From the beginning to the end, the story of Paul's rescue is, in fact, a story of God's salvation to all through the ministry of Paul.

To conclude, through the Passover-like temporal marker, and the Eucharist-like meal, Luke is able to illustrate the power of God and his salvation even for the pagan gentiles. The shipwreck rescue is a portrayal of the universal scope of the Christian salvation. To be clear, the pagan travellers are not Christians, nor do they partake in the Eucharist. Nevertheless, the story functions as a mirror, an illustration through which

[89] The necessity of staying together to be saved is also argued by Craig McMahan ("Meals as Type-Scenes in the Gospel of Luke" [Ph.D dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1987], 257–258). However McMahan relates it to the function of the shared-meal to form a community. In the latter passage, Luke speaks of God's protection of his people in the eschaton as they bear witness to their faith (Luke 21:12–19).

[90] In this section, Paul also assures them that not even a hair from their heads will perish (οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θρὶξ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολεῖται, v. 34). While there are a number of passages with related expressions (1 Sam 14:45; 2 Sam 14:11; 1 Kgs 1:52; Matt 10:30; Luke 12:7), it is closest to Luke 21:18 (καὶ θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται). In the latter passage, Luke speaks of God's protection of his people in the eschaton as they bear witness to their faith (Luke 21:12–19).

Luke conveys the message of salvation. Salvation is through the one whom Paul believes, namely, Jesus, and salvation is for all, not limited to the Jews. The universal scope of salvation is symbolised by the intercession of Paul. In this passage, Luke shows that salvation for all is still rooted in the Jewish story of salvation, albeit christologically interpreted.

Excursus: The Festival of Unleavened Bread in Acts 20:6

Besides the two Passover-related passages discussed above, Luke also mentions the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the report about Paul's journey from Philippi to Troas, in which Luke notes that the voyage takes place "after the days of Unleavened Bread" (μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων, Acts 20:6). One might wonder whether the phrase plays an important role within its narrative context, akin to the role of the Passover in the two rescue stories we have investigated. At first, the answer seems to be clear. Luke only uses the phrase for chronological purposes. Acts 20:1–6 is a summary of Paul's journey from Macedonia back to Jerusalem. Paul has planned to sail to Syria from Greece. However, when he hears about the evil plot devised by the Jews, Paul chooses to go through Macedonia (v. 3). Thus, Paul and his companion set sail from Philippi after the Festival of Unleavened Bread. They arrive at Troas five days later (v. 6). The mention of the festival helps to give a sense of the general timing.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the passage that follows (Acts 20:7–12) depicts a resurrection miracle, framed by mentions of bread breaking, the Lukan term for the Eucharist. The story begins "on the first day of the week" when Paul and other believers gather together to break bread (v. 7). In the meeting, Paul has a very long discussion with the believers since he plans to leave on the next day. Due to the length of his talk, Eutychus, who falls asleep while sitting in the window on the third floor, falls down to the ground and dies (v. 9). Paul, however, brings the young man back to life and continues his talk after he has broken the bread and eaten (vv. 10–11). The combination of Unleavened Bread (the Passover theme), Eucharist (the passion theme),

and a miracle of being saved from death looks similar to the combination found in the sea rescue of Paul.

In evaluation, unlike the story of Paul's sea rescue in Acts 27, the association between Passover and passion in the resurrection of Eutychus is weak. First, this Eucharist takes place almost two weeks after the end of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (after five days of travelling and seven days of residing, Acts 20:6, 7). Furthermore, in respect to the narrative, the reference to the Unleavened Bread occurs in a different section from the revivification passage. The reference to the festival is part of Luke's summary of Paul's journey (Acts 20:1–6) and not part of the revivification episode (Acts 20:7–12). It appears that Luke does not intend to relate the Unleavened Bread to the bread breaking and the resurrection miracle. It is more likely that Luke mentions it in order to date events in his story.[91] Later, Luke notes that Paul wishes to arrive at Jerusalem just in time for the day of Pentecost (Acts 20:16). Thus, the reference to the time of Unleavened Bread shows how long Paul has before arriving at Jerusalem.[92]

Second, the reference to the Unleavened Bread without mentioning the Passover is not common for Luke. He usually pairs the two. It seems that the reference to Passover is used whenever Luke intends to convey the significance of the Passover theme (Luke 2:41; 22:1, 7; Acts 12:3–4). Even when he does not use the term 'Passover', as in Acts 27, where the reference to the 'fourteenth' is sufficient to recall the Passover, it is the Passover that is evoked, and not the festival of Unleavened Bread.

6.4 Conclusion

Refusing to limit the Passover allusions to Jesus and the Gospel, Luke extends the allusions into his account of the life of the early church, represented by the two main characters in Acts, Peter and Paul. Specifically, Luke appropriates the Passover in the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12) and the sea rescue of Paul (Acts 27). Luke also deploys

[91] Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 2.949.
[92] Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 604; Bock, *Acts*, 619.

Passover allusions alongside the theme of the passion to construct his theology of salvation. Both the Passover and the passion are inscribed in the rescue of Peter and of Paul.[93] As noted by Pervo, the paschal allusions in Acts 27 "establish a connection with the much denser paschal symbolism of chap. 12, which is the "Petrine partner," as it were, to chap. 27."[94] For Luke, the pairing of Passover-passion communicates, above all, the story of God's salvation for all through Jesus, and this salvation story can be traced back to the story of exodus.

In the rescue of Peter (Acts 12), the major function of the Passover allusions is to transform the identity of the one who performs the liberation. While in the exodus liberation, the one who saves is YHWH, in the time of the church, it is Jesus the Lord. It is true that the God of Israel cannot be separated from the Lord Jesus. However, the emphasis on Jesus indicates the development and transformation of the foundational salvation story. Without the Passover-passion allusions, the significance of Peter's rescue would be weakened.

The salvation through Jesus also helps to bridge the development of the story in Acts, especially in relation to the inclusion of the gentiles. This narrative is then picked up in the story of Paul and his sea rescue (Acts 27). Through the Passover-like timing and the Eucharist-like meal, Luke highlights the soteriological message of the shipwreck rescue. God's salvation in Jesus is extended to include the gentiles. What is more, Luke somehow refuses to cut off the link between the Gentile mission and the foundational story of Israel. For him, the gentile mission is the continuation of salvation history, which is rooted in the exodus liberation.

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[93] The distinct nature of the parallel between the versions of the 'passion' of Peter in Acts 12 and Paul in Acts 27 becomes clearer when we compare them with another 'passion' story in Acts: the story of Stephen in Acts 7. Scholars have likened the trial and persecution of Stephen to that of Jesus (e.g. Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 264–67; Keener, *Acts*, 2.1294–95; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 253; Pervo, *Acts*, 168; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 221). The Passover-passion allusions in Acts 12 and Acts 27 separate Peter and Paul from other parallels found in Acts. It is true that the story of Stephen is invested with parallels to Jesus' own suffering and passion. However, unlike the rescue of Peter and Paul, Stephen's life is not spared. It is, therefore, worth noting that in the 'passion' of Peter and Paul, which end with rescue, the pairing of Passover-passion is present. On the contrary, in the 'passion' of Stephen, which ends with martyrdom, the pairing is absent. This shows that Luke uses the Passover-passion pairing to present the soteriological story in respect to the foundational salvation story (exodus and Jesus' event).

[94] Pervo, *Acts*, 663.

7 CONCLUDING SYNTHESIS

The examinations of Passover-related passages in previous chapters have placed us on better ground to understand how Luke appropriates the Passover theme. The goal of this final chapter is to interweave all the exegetical findings from these passages in Luke-Acts. The following synthesis will accomplish the three tasks outlined at the beginning of this study.

7.1 The Presence of the Passover Theme

In agreement with various scholars, this study has shown that the Passover theme significantly permeates the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). The temporal setting, the story line, and the ritual meal, all evoke the story and significance of the Passover (Chapter 3).

However, the Passover is not, for Luke, a one-off phenomenon, where it only impacts one particular passage, in this case, the Last Supper, and then dies off, having no significance whatsoever through the rest of his writings. Thus, contrary to many scholars, this work has revealed that Luke also alludes to Passover in three other sets of passages: the infancy narrative (Luke 2), the Parousia discourses (Luke 12 and 17), and the rescue stories of Peter (Acts 12) and Paul (Acts 27). In the infancy narrative (Chapter 4), Luke alludes to the Passover in the birth of Jesus (through the depiction of the shepherds), the presentation of the baby Jesus, and the first Passover journey of Jesus. Next, allusions are made to the Passover in two Parousia discourses (Chapter 5). In Luke 12, Luke alludes to Exodus 12:11, using the idea of a person being ready by girding his loins. This is used to teach on the Passover–like vigil of those waiting for the Parousia. Likewise, in Luke 17, Luke alludes to the Passover-night rescue to stress the need to be watchful. The association between Passover and the Parousia is also found in Luke 22:16, where Jesus mentions the Passover feast at the Parousia. Moving to the book of Acts (Chapter 6), Passover serves as the temporal marker for the imprisonment

and miraculous rescue of Peter (Acts 12). The manner of Peter's escape is also likened to the hurried manner of the Passover-night rescue. When it comes to Acts 27, Luke notes that Paul's sea rescue happens on the fourteenth night/day, possibly recalling the time of Passover, which takes place on the fourteenth of Nisan.

Further observation has resulted in two more findings. First, in every Passover-related passage, Luke associates the Passover with the passion of Jesus. This relationship is the clearest in the passion narrative, where Luke frames Jesus' death with the time of Passover and its meal. In the birth narrative, the reference to κατάλυμα and the baby Jesus being wrapped in cloths (Luke 2:7) may anticipate the κατάλυμα where Jesus has the Passover meal (Luke 22: 12), as well as the burial of Jesus (Luke 23:53). At the end of the infancy narrative, there is a reference to Jesus being missing in Jerusalem for three days after the Passover festival (Luke 2:41–46). As I have shown, this is a strong indication of a passion-resurrection prefiguration. In the Parousia discourse, references to the passion narrative are mainly found in Jesus' statement about the necessity of his suffering (Luke 17:25) and his saying about the corpse and the gathering vultures (Luke 17:37). Furthermore, the realisation of the Passover feast at the Parousia depends on the accomplishment of Jesus' passion (Luke 22:15–16). As we move to Acts, the rescue of Peter in Acts 12 is a passion-resurrection story, re-enacted through Peter and the early church. Here, the connection to the passion-resurrection theme is mainly realised through the temporal setting of Passover, the role of Herod, the prayer vigil of the church, and the similar responses of the characters involved. In the latter case, the responses of Rhoda and the believers are similar to those of the women and the disciples in Luke 24. Likewise, the rescue of Paul and all who are with him (Acts 27) are depicted as Paul's version of a passion-resurrection story. Luke constructs the relationship primarily through Paul's Eucharist-like meal with his companions, and the divine necessity for him to go to Rome to accomplish his mission.

Second, in every Passover-related passage, Luke evokes the Passover alongside the message of God's salvation. In the passion narrative, Luke sets the Passover time marker and meal as the background to interpret Jesus' death and its salvific significance.

In the birth narrative, the shepherds, who symbolise the Passover night watch, hear the good news about Jesus, and they see the saviour with their own eyes. While the passage about the boy Jesus in the temple does not mention God's salvation explicitly, the association is found through the prefiguration of Jesus' death and resurrection. In Luke 12 and 17, the readers are called to emulate the Passover-like vigil to be ready for the Parousia, the final consummation of God's salvation. In Acts 12, Passover is the time marker for the liberation of Peter. Finally, in Acts 27, the Passover allusion appears in the symbolic message of salvation to the gentiles through their rescue from shipwreck.

7.2 The Lukan Usage of the Passover Elements

Luke uses at least five elements to evoke the Passover, usually combining a number of elements in each of the Passover-related passages to demonstrate the presence of the Passover theme.

a. The main Passover element that Luke uses is the time of Passover. Luke uses πάσχα as the time marker in the infancy narrative (Luke 2:41), the passion (Luke 22:1, 7), and the rescue story of Peter (Acts 12:3–4). Two other time markers which Luke uses to indicate Passover are the references to the night and the ordinal 'fourteenth' (τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος). In the Passover-related passages, Luke employs the night reference to evoke the Passover night rescue. This is seen in the birth narrative (Luke 2:8), the Parousia discourse (Luke 17:34) and the rescue of Peter (Acts 12:6). "Night" is mentioned in the birth of Jesus not because it is the natural setting for depicting the shepherds watching their flock, nor is it primarily to contrast the bright light from the angel. Likewise, "night" is mentioned in the Parousia discourse not to complete the doublet of day and night (Luke 17:31, 34). Rather, Luke uses it to evoke the Passover-night rescue, the blueprint for subsequent understandings of the salvation by night. In a similar way, Luke employs the ordinal 'fourteenth' in the rescue of Paul (Acts 27:27, 33) to call to mind the fourteenth of Nisan, the time of the Passover. While, in itself, the term might not allude to the Passover, the soteriological tone of Acts 27 makes it plausible. In fact, Luke combines the

'fourteenth' and 'night' in the passage; hence strengthening the concept of Passover-night rescue.

When Luke uses the Passover as a time marker, it is clear that he is not trying to match the rescue or salvation story to the exact time of the Passover. Rather, the Passover time marker is just that: a marker or sign. It signals for the reader to understand the marked passage as bearing a soteriological significance akin to the exodus liberation. Luke also employs the time marker to evoke the story of salvation in Jesus. This explains why Luke can use the time marker rather loosely. Peter's rescue does not necessarily take place on the eve of Passover. It is also clear that the rescue of Paul does not happen on the fourteenth of Nisan, but merely on the fourteenth day of the sea voyage. However, these Passover time markers are the first sign of the rescue/salvation story. In other words, whenever a Passover time marker is mentioned, a salvation story is meant and expected. The symbolic reference is more important than chronological precision. Luke is not the only writer who aims for a symbolic reference. As shown in Chapter 2, Josephus also employs a similar strategy.

Nevertheless, chronology is still significant. For Luke, the chronology is most important in the passion narrative, which is unique, as it is the fulfilment of the Jewish Passover story (cf. Luke 22:16). Thus, it is important for Luke to frame the passion and the Eucharist as closely as possible to the Passover time marker. However, elsewhere, Luke uses the Passover time marker loosely.

Such loose usage might also help Luke to avoid equating the time of Passover to a future salvation, that is, the Parousia. The tendency to place particular historical events at the time of Passover is evident during the second temple period (e.g. Jubilees, LAB). While the evidence that future salvation was equated to the time of Passover is rather late (Mekhilta, Targum, but see also LAB), the presence of such a notion in the time of Luke is plausible. The time of the Parousia is actually unknown. For Luke, another Passover element is more important in relation to waiting for the Parousia: the Passover–like vigil.

b. The second Passover element that Luke employs is what I call the vigil-related element. It derives from two depictions of the Jewish Passover story. The first is the description of the Israelites eating the Passover in haste (Exod 12:11), preparing to leave as soon as possible. It is quite common for later writings to interpret spiritually the imageries of the girded loins, sandals on the feet, staff in hand, and eating in a hurry (e.g. Philo). Similarly, in Luke, the call to gird the loins is interpreted symbolically, to indicate a state of watchfulness, a vigil in light of the coming salvation. This symbolism is strengthened by a second description found in the Jewish Passover story, the exhortation for the Israelites to observe the Passover festival faithfully (Exod 12:42). Both Exodus 12:11 and 12:42 highlight the watchfulness motif of the Passover. For Luke, the Passover vigil is especially important for his didactic purpose. It teaches which attitude his reader needs to emulate and which to avoid. In the birth narrative, the shepherds are those who symbolise the right attitude. They keep watch by night and, in doing so, receive the divine message about the birth of the saviour. Upon hearing the message, they immediately travel to see Jesus, the promised saviour. The vigil motif is the strongest in the Parousia discourses. In Luke 12:35, Luke alludes to Exodus 12:11 to show the importance of being vigilant. Since the time of the Parousia is unknown, the disciples' proper attitude is to be watchful at all times. Here the motif of the Passover-like vigil is transformed into the theme of a faithful servant who is doing what he ought to do. A similar teaching is also found in Luke 17, where the need to be watchful is also intended. Though the call to be watchful is not explicitly stated, the suddenness and unpredictability of the Parousia means that one has to be watchful all the time.

   Another application of the Passover-like vigil is in prayer. In the passion story, Luke contrasts the attitude of Jesus and the disciples at the time nearing the salvation. After the Passover meal, Jesus goes to the Mount of Olives to pray, a sign of his own vigil. Contrastingly, the disciples who accompany him fail to pray and succumb

to slumber. Jesus prays while the disciples sleep. Jesus stays watchful, but the disciples fail.

According to Luke, the early church re-enacts the vigil of Jesus in Acts 12. When Peter is imprisoned during the time of Passover, the church prays together for his safety (Acts 12:5). What the disciples fail to do, the early church accomplishes. In Acts 27, it is Paul who is praying not only for his own safety but also for the safety of all who are with him on the ship (Acts 27:24).

c. The third Passover element Luke employs is the ritual meal, which he uses to frame the institution of the Eucharist (Luke 22:15–20). The simplest reason for the connection is to show that the Eucharist is the Christian Passover. Both ritual meals have similar functions: a prelude to God's salvation, a memorial for later generations, as well as a reminder of the future hope. Luke moves a step further by depicting a Passover feast at the Parousia. The future Passover feast might be known elsewhere in Luke as the messianic banquet. By identifying the messianic banquet as a Passover feast, Luke is able to emphasise the soteriological significance of the meal, especially in the context of exodus liberation. If anything, the future Passover feast will be closer to the Christian Eucharist (focusing on Jesus and his instituted meal) rather than the Jewish Passover. In a way, the Eucharist has taken over the Jewish Passover as the primary memorial cultic meal. When Luke depicts a Eucharist-like meal in the rescue story of Paul in Acts 27, the focus turns to the symbolic inclusion of the gentiles as part of God's people. While the Eucharist symbolism is important, the Passover background might strengthen the inclusion even more. Paul urges that, in order to be saved, no one should leave the ship (Acts 27:30–32). This may recall the commandment for the Israelites not to leave their houses, in order to be saved. However, the issue of gentile inclusion raises the question of the identity of the true people of God. Luke might have used the role reversal of the Passover story to support his ecclesiology.

d. The role reversal is one of the ways Luke employs the fourth Passover element: the casting of the characters. Most notably, Luke reverses or transforms the many roles

found in the Jewish Passover story. In the passion narrative (Luke 22) and the rescue of Peter (Acts 12), those who inherit the role of the Egyptians are, ironically, the Jews. The Jews and their religious leaders are placed in the same group with the Roman leaders. In fact, in Acts 12, it is clear that Herod is cast as Pharaoh, the primordial evil king who seeks to destroy the people of God. I have also indicated that, in Luke 22, the role of Satan is probably akin to the "destroyer" of the Passover story. If the Jews are the new Egyptians, then the followers of Jesus are the true Israelites, or better, the true people of God. Through this role reversal, Luke is able to justify the identity of the church as the true people of God. Jesus is truly the chosen one since he experiences the exodus. The early Jewish believers, represented by Peter, are the true people of God since they experience the exodus liberation. Furthermore, in the rescue of Peter, it is the Lord Jesus, acting on behalf of the God of Israel, who carries out the exodus-like liberation. Finally, in Acts 27, the gentiles are symbolically incorporated into God's new people through the rescue and the meal.

e. The fifth element, the Passover victim, is limited to the Passion narrative. Luke never explicitly indicates that Jesus is the Passover lamb. It does not mean that the element of sacrifice is absent in Luke. In Luke 22:7, the necessity of killing the Passover victim already hints the meaning of Jesus' death. Jesus' saying in reference to the body broken and the blood shed for the disciples, within the context of a Passover meal, also indicates the element of Passover sacrifice (Luke 22:19–20; cf. Acts 20:28).

7.3 The Significance of the Passover in Luke-Acts

The placement of the Passover allusions throughout Luke-Acts serves as an important clue to explain why Luke appropriates the Passover in his writings. Luke does not just employ the Passover allusion whenever possible. Rather, he only uses it in strategic places. The implication and effect of this placement can be seen in two aspects: the narrative structure and the soteriology of Luke.

7.3.1 Passover and the Narrative Structure of Luke-Acts

Our investigation on the narrative placement of Passover-related passages has unearthed a structural pattern that shed some light to the macro outline of Luke-Acts. Those placements support the division of the Lukan Gospel into chapters 1–2 and 3–24, and the Book of Acts into chapters 1–12 and 13–28.

Section		Closure/Climax	Passover-passion theme
Luke 1–2	(Infancy narrative)	Luke 2:41–52	Luke 2:41–51
Luke 3–24	(Jesus' ministry)	Luke 22–24	Luke 22:1–20
Acts 1–12	(Petrine section)	Acts 12	Acts 12:1–17
Acts 13–28	(Pauline section)	Acts 27–28	Acts 27:21–44

In each section above, the theme of Passover-passion serves as one of the main pointers in the closure or the climax. Luke 2:41–52 functions as the closure and narrative climax of the so-called infancy narrative that runs from Luke 1–2. Luke 22 is the beginning of the passion-resurrection (Luke 22–24), which, in turn, is the climax of the ministry of Jesus that covers Luke 3–24. Acts 12 serves as the closure and climax of the 'Petrine section', which is Acts 1–12. Finally, Acts 27 is part of the closure of the 'Pauline section' that runs from Acts 13–28. It is safe to conclude that the juxtaposition of Passover-passion in the narrative of passion-resurrection functions as the model of Luke's design for the closure of the other sections.[1]

If my interpretation is correct, then it helps to explain the seemingly unnecessary addition of the Passover-passion related stories in Luke 2:41–52, Acts 12, and Acts 27. In one way or another, the presence of these narratives has puzzled a number of scholars. For the infancy narrative, scholars think that Luke 2:39–40 provides a sufficient closure. In that passage, Luke notes that, after the baby Jesus returns to Nazareth, he grows stronger, is filled with wisdom, and God's favour is upon him. This summary would tie nicely to the closure of the stories pertaining to John the Baptist. John, the child, also grows and becomes strong in spirit (Luke 1:80). In light of this, the

[1] In addition, in each section above, Luke gives a similar sense of beginning. He starts with the presence of the Holy Spirit and God's commission. This is clear at the beginning of Jesus' ministry (Luke 3:21–22; 4:1, 14), the beginning of the ministry of the apostles (Acts 2:1–4), and the beginning of Paul's ministry (Acts 13:2–3). While a similar theme is less clear at the beginning of the infancy narrative, it might be represented by the angel's announcement regarding the birth and ministry of John the Baptist, or the announcement regarding Jesus and how the Holy Spirit fills the womb of Mary (Luke 1:35).

presence of Luke 2:41–52 seems to disrupt the narrative structure.[2] On the contrary, this study shows that Luke 2:41–52 is a necessary closure for Luke 1–2. For Luke, this section can only be ended with a mention of the Passover-passion theme, which also incorporates the passion-resurrection movement of Jesus.[3] It has to end with the prefiguration of Jesus' passion and resurrection, which is the realisation of God's salvation. Luke employs the Passover allusion to aid this understanding.[4]

Moving to Acts 12, some scholars also question the function of this passage within the larger narrative of Acts. As Marshall puts it, "at first sight the story is unnecessary to the developing theme of the expansion of the church; had it been omitted, we should not have noticed the loss."[5] Nevertheless, Luke wants his readers to be aware of Acts 12. Among other matters, he wants them to notice the re-enactment of the story of passion-resurrection, which is now reflected in the rescue of Peter. The passion-resurrection has to be present. To indicate this, Luke uses Passover allusions to amplify the soteriological significance of the story.

For Acts 27, the question is not on the importance of the sea rescue, but rather on the relatively lengthy presentation of the sea voyage episode. Some feel that the passage is too long, with unnecessary details.[6] As stated by Pervo, "the keystone to the arch of issues which all interpreters of Acts 27 must pass is its length."[7] However, this study holds that one of Luke's main reasons for making a lengthy presentation is to depict a passion of Paul parallel to that of Peter (Acts 12) and Jesus. For Luke, the story of Paul

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[2] E.g. Fitzmyer, who notes that the passage "has nothing to do" with the infancy narrative and "it is ill-suited to the rest of the two chapters at the beginning of this Gospel," (*Luke*, 1.143).Others think that the disruption indicates a later addition (e.g. Brown, *The Birth*, 455).

[3] Some suggest that Luke wants to depict Jesus on the threshold of adulthood, a common theme found in both Jewish and Greek literature (e.g. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 125; Johnson, *Luke*, 60). Others propose that the passage is an expansion or illustration of the summary of Jesus' childhood (e.g. Green, *Luke*, 153; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 146). While the childhood of John is summarised in one verse (1:80), Jesus' childhood is summarised in a more detailed manner: 2:40 and 2:52 serve as an inclusio, and 41–51 serves as the expansion or illustration. Though these interpretations are possible, they fail to take into account the significance of the allusions to Passover–passion in this passage.

[4] Some see the passage as a prefiguration of the resurrection (e.g. Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple*, 8; Elliott, "Does Luke 2," 88; cf. Johnson, *Luke*, 61–62)., but this is only partially true. It should be seen as a prefiguration of the passion–resurrection.

[5] Marshall, *The Acts of the* Apostles, 206.

[6] See the discussion in Pervo, *Acts*, 644–654; Marguerat, *Les Actes*, 2.350–351.

[7] Pervo, *Acts*, 644.

has to include the re-enactment of the passion-resurrection in its closure. This is why we find allusions to the Passover (fourteenth night/day) and passion (the Eucharist-like meal). Acts 27 is no ordinary rescue story.[8] It symbolises the passion-resurrection, which has a great soteriological effect for the people. In the case of Acts 27, it supports the inclusion of the gentiles in God's salvation.

All three Passover-related passages above (Luke 2:41–52; Acts 12, and 27) are important for Luke's narrative outline. Every main narrative section in Luke-Acts cannot end or find its climax in any other way. All three (the infancy narrative, Peter's narrative, and Paul's narrative) have to include the Passover-passion related stories. All have to mirror the Passover-passion story of Jesus in Luke 22–24. For Luke the Passover-passion story of Jesus serves as the paradigm for his narrative, especially in the climax/closure of his main narrative section.

7.3.2 Passover and the Soteriology of Luke-Acts

Luke does not only place the Passover markers in strategic locations to frame his narrative but it also affects his theological construction. Our investigation has shown that Luke colours the three turning points of Jesus' life with Passover allusions: his birth, passion, and Parousia. The main theological reason for the attachment lies behind what Passover is associated with. As indicated earlier, whenever Passover is present, two other themes are not far behind – the passion of Jesus and the message of salvation. Luke appropriates Passover, first and foremost, to explain the necessity of Jesus' death in inaugurating God's eschatological salvation.

For Luke, the Passover is the most suitable model to explain the necessity of the passion for salvation, since it also has a similar pattern. Not only is death involved in the outworking of the exodus liberation but it is also necessary.

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[8] Contra Marguerat, who argues that the rescue story of Paul here is not a parallel to the passion of Jesus (*Les Actes*, 2.352). He proposes that the context is the broader paradigm of the similar fate of the master and his disciples (Luke 6:40). Thus, the only difference between this passage and other, similar suffering-rescue stories is its intensity; Acts 27 is more intense in its narrative then other similar passages. This study shows that the difference is not of intensity but of quality. Acts 27 is different since it contains the Passover–passion theme. The only parallel found in Acts is the rescue of Peter in Acts 12. They are not mere salvation or rescue stories but paradigm-shifting salvation stories.

To substantiate this notion, Luke extends the idea of a triangular Passover-passion-salvation beyond the Last Supper episode. Thus, it is introduced implicitly as early as the story of Jesus' birth, and more explicitly later, in the story of the Passover visit of the boy Jesus. From the beginning of Jesus' life, Luke then moves to Jesus' second coming. Here too, Luke inserts the theme of Passover-passion in depicting the final salvation. It is worth noting that in some Passover-related passages (the birth narrative, and the Parousia discourses of Luke 12 and 17), there is virtually no reference to the resurrection of Jesus. This also indicates the importance of the passion in Luke's eyes.

In Acts, this pairing of Passover-passion is only found in two passages that we have investigated: Acts 12 and Acts 27. There are other rescue stories involving Peter and Paul in Acts (see Acts 5:17–21; 16:1–40), but Luke only invests these two with the pairing of Passover-passion. If the Passover-passion of Luke 22 serves as the paradigm, the rescue stories of Peter and Paul should also bear a soteriological paradigm shift. The two rescue stories contain the Passover-passion pairing not only for the sake of a neat and repetitive closure. Rather, Luke further employs the concept because of its soteriological function. It is true that, in a way, the rescue stories of Peter and Paul somehow authenticate their ministry and give legitimacy to their position as successors of Jesus. This is accomplished through the parallels between Jesus and Peter/Paul. However, Luke also has another, more soteriological, intention. As shown in Chapter 6, for Acts 12, the pairing of Passover-passion helps to establish the fact that the Lord Jesus is the one who orchestrates the exodus-like liberation of Peter. Jesus now takes the centre stage, acting on behalf of the God of Israel. This movement enables the universal outreach of Christian mission. Moving to Acts 27, the allusions to Passover-passion help to establish the universal scope of the salvation in Jesus. Salvation is not limited to the Jews, but to every race and people. The pairing of Passover-passion is the divine stamp to the claims in Acts 12 and 27.

It suffices to say that every major turn of the salvation story in Luke-Acts is coloured by the Passover and passion in tandem. The passion is there to indicate the fact

that Jesus dies. The Passover is there to explain the necessity of his death for the program of salvation. For Luke, every Passover-related passage prior to the passion narrative points forward to the passion. Every Passover-related passage after the passion story recalls the passion. The continuous recurrences of the pairing throughout Luke-Acts confirm the importance and primacy of Jesus' death in Lukan soteriology. Just as there is no exodus liberation without the Passover, likewise, there is no salvation without the passion.[9]

[9] In the light of our findings, we should reevaluate the place of the passion within the soteriology of Luke. As mentioned in Section 3.8, some argue that the death of Jesus has little or no role in the outworking of the salvation. Others, while trying to reinstate the importance of the passion, bracket out the Passover from the equation. Contrary to those scholars, this study shows that for Luke, Passover is the primary theological lens to make sense of the passion and its crucial place in God's salvation.

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