I. The Exodus in the New Testament

The escape of a number of Hebrew Slaves from Egypt, probably at some date in the early thirteenth century BC, was not an event which appeared to have far-reaching repercussions at the time, despite the loss of the Egyptian chariots which had been pursuing them. Nor would many secular historians of today or any other day be likely to record it as one of the most important happenings in the history of the world. But when history and religion are seen to be closely related, when men believe that there is a God who orders and disposes the affairs of the human race according to His own good pleasure, the Exodus stands out as the most significant of His mighty acts until His own entry into the world in the Person of Jesus Christ.

In the Old Testament the Exodus has pride of place even over the Creation. ‘This may be explained by the fact that the belief in God the Creator is as much a matter of philosophy of life as of the personal religious relation with God, for the latter is in Israel wholly dominated by the message of salvation by God in history (the Exodus). Israel’s God is a God of salvation, a Saviour.’\(^1\) This is the great moment at which Yahweh is revealed as who He truly is. ‘Israelite tradition is unanimous in affirming that Yahweh is the God of Israel, that he is only truly Yahweh from the time when that religious community called Israel was constituted, that is, since the Exodus from Egypt (Hos. 12:10).\(^2\) It is through this mighty deed of salvation that Israel came to know Him in His essential nature.\(^3\) It was of course upon this event that the nation depended for her very existence. ‘Israel’s life story did not really begin with the time of Abraham or even the Creation, although the Old Testament in its present form starts there. Rather, Israel’s history had its true beginning in a crucial historical experience that made her a self-conscious historical community—an event so decisive that earlier happenings and subsequent experiences were seen in its light.’\(^4\)

In the earlier part of the Old Testament there are three outstanding moments to which the later writers look back. They are the call of Abraham, the Exodus and the reign of David.\(^5\) To Abraham there was made the promise of numerous descendants and a land for them to live in as their own.\(^6\) That promise was not fulfilled in his lifetime.\(^7\) The Exodus was the event which constituted the descendants of Abraham a nation and the purpose of the Exodus was to bring the people eventually to the promised land of Canaan.\(^8\) But the mere crossing of the Jordan

\(^1\) Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, pp. 184f
\(^3\) G. A. F. Knight goes further when he says, ‘Before that mighty event, then, naturally Israel did not really *know* his God.... The Exodus event was thus *the* great creative act of God, for it was that moment when God revealed his inner essence as that of compassion and saving power and purpose’ (*A Christian Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 45f.).
\(^6\) Gn. 15: 5, 18, *etc*.
\(^7\) Cf. Hebr. 11:13.
\(^8\) Ex. 3:7f., *etc*. 
into Canaan did not accomplish the purposes of God, for the land had to be conquered. It was not until the time of David that it could truly be said that Israel was given security from all her surrounding enemies. Moreover they had to find a place in which Yahweh their God would choose to make His name dwell, and therefore the capture of Jerusalem by David was in a sense the climax to which the whole Exodus-event was leading. ‘Now at last Yahweh had accomplished that for which He had redeemed Israel out of Egypt four centuries earlier, and brought them into the Promised Land. There had not failed one word of all His good promise.’

Moses, then, was the essential link between Abraham and David. The Exodus gave substance to the hopes of Abraham and it provided a nation and a land over which David could rule. This was ‘the decisive event in Israel’s history’. While the recent spate of Old Testament theologies has been emphasizing this, the historians of Israel have been at pains to point out that the Exodus must have been a real historical event. As John Bright points out: ‘Of the exodus itself we have no extra-Biblical evidence. But the Bible’s own witness is itself so impressive as to leave little doubt that some such remarkable deliverance took place.... A belief so ancient and so entrenched will admit of no explanation save that Israel actually escaped from Egypt to the accompaniment of events so stupendous that they were impressed for ever on her memory.’

Associated with the Exodus was the giving of the Law and the ordering of the cultus. Hebrew worship and Hebrew morality were traced back to their beginnings just after that great event of deliverance which constituted a nation needing instruction and regulation. ‘The Decalogue starts with proclaiming God as the Redeeming God: “I am the Lord, thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.” Thus the whole of Israelite ethics is regarded from the point of view of the revelation of redemption (cf. Lv. 19.34, 36f.; 18.3; 20.24ff.; 26.13, 45; further the whole of the introduction to the book of Deuteronomy; and the words of the man who offers his first-fruits in the temple, Dt. 26.5ff.).’ Many have examined the spiritual significance of the Law and the cultus with great profit, but that lies outside the scope of our present study.

Our concern is with the actions of God and the response of men as displayed in a particular period of history from just before the departure of the Israelites from Egypt until just after their entry into Canaan. And leaving aside the actual teaching given by God to the people, we can still see in the events a revelation of the character of God. For this period shows God not

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9 Dt. 12:10.
10 Dt. 12:11.
11 2 Sa. 5:6ff.
12 A. G. Hebert, The Throne of David, p. 42.
14 History of Israel, pp. 111f. ). But about the exact nature of the event and what portion of the Hebrew nation was involved, there is some uncertainty among scholars. (See e.g. Bright, op. cit., pp. 120ff., H. H. Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua, pp. 4ff.)
15 Vriezen, op. cit., p. 270.
16 Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, Redemption and Revelation, pp. 88f. ‘...the revelation consists in a redemption, not the redemption in a revelation—which is what the ascription of a whole and complete legislation to Sinai is apt wrongly to suggest. The God of Sinai was known by His redemption of Israel from Egypt—that fact counted for more than any particular “words”, few or many, which may have been linked with it.’
in abstraction but in relationship with His own people of Israel.\textsuperscript{17} This is something which, as Alexander Maclaren remarked in a slightly different context, ‘is no cold theism, but vivid religion’.\textsuperscript{18} It is not therefore surprising to see that an act of such profound politico-religious significance should not only be the ground of the nation’s existence but also, as it was remembered from generation to generation, the mainstay of its survival.\textsuperscript{19}

First and most strikingly the Exodus was remembered through the Festival of the Passover. While scholars may debate the exact origin of this feast, there is little doubt about the meaning that it has had for Israel since the time of the Exodus. ‘And when your children say to you, “What do you mean by this service?” you shall say, “It is the sacrifice of the LORD’S passover, for he passed over the houses of the people of Israel in Egypt, when he slew the Egyptians but spared our houses”’ (Ex. 12:26f.; \textit{cf} also Dt. 16:1ff., \textit{etc.}). The Feast of the Passover and that of Unleavened Bread which was closely associated with it, and the ceremony of the redemption of the firstborn, would

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of course recall not simply the passing over of the houses of the Israelites but also the whole complex of events which went to make up the Exodus.\textsuperscript{20} To each generation of Israelites the drama had to be repeated. ‘At the Passover feast, the departure from Egypt was enacted through the ritual, so clearly that it may be said that at least once a year the Exodus ceased to be a fact of the past and became a living reality.’\textsuperscript{21}

Other evidence of the liturgical remembrance of the saving acts of God is found in certain credal portions which have survived. The most notable one is probably Deuteronomy 26:5-9: ‘A wandering Aramean was my father; and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; and there he became a nation, great, mighty, and populous. And the Egyptians treated us harshly, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. Then we cried to the LORD the God of our fathers, and the LORD heard our voice, and saw our affliction, our toil and our oppression; and the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with great terror, with signs and wonders; and he brought us into this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey.’ The emphasis is on the deliverance from Egypt and the gift of the promised land. Something similar is found in Deuteronomy 6:20-24. In the covenant ceremony which Joshua conducted at Shechem, there is again a passage which seems to be of the same type but it begins its recital of the acts of God with Abraham.\textsuperscript{22}

There is also fairly frequent reference to the Exodus in the Psalter. Apart from isolated allusions, we find most of the material in ten psalms. Psalm 66 celebrates God’s deliverance of His people starting with the Exodus. Psalm 77 is a personal psalm in which the writer is led from personal trouble to the greatness of the Redeemer God. Psalm 78 is a recital of the Exodus event with lessons drawn from it. To these last two psalms in particular we owe the emphasis on Israel as a flock led by God. Psalm 80 is a plea for God to act again as He has acted before and Israel is described as a vine as well as a flock. Psalm 81 calls for the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Cf.} G. E. Wright, \textit{The Faith of Israel} in \textit{The Interpreter’s Bible} Vol. I, pp. 38f.
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Book of Psalms}, Vol. III, pp. 383f.
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Cf.} Vriezen, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 217f.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ex. 13: 11ff.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Jacob, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 191.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Jos. 24:2-13. For further treatment of this subject see G. E. Wright, \textit{God Who Acts}, pp. 70ff.; Jacob, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 28f.
\end{itemize}
obedience of the people to the God who had delivered them. Psalms 105 and 106 go together—the emphasis in the former being on the greatness of Yahweh and in the latter on the rebelliousness of the people. Psalm 114 is a celebration in vivid poetic language of God’s victory at the Exodus. Psalms 135 and 136 are psalms of praise to Yahweh in which His work of creation is associated with His work of redemption. As G. von Rad says, ‘Some of the psalms make it perfectly clear that, originally, this span of time (i.e. the period from the patriarchs to the entry into the promised land), and this alone, was regarded as the time of the saving history proper.’ If the Psalmists wish to sing of God as Redeemer, they naturally take the Exodus as their theme.

When we turn to the prophets we find that in their writings likewise the Exodus has a dominant role. If the ‘Former Prophets’—the historians—use it as the starting-point of their era and a constant basis for moral and religious exhortation, so do the ‘Latter Prophets’ from the beginning. ’Amos, Micah, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah all take the deliverance from Egypt as the point where God acted in history to make Israel his people, and as the event which laid upon them obligations of loyalty and obedience which could not be neglected or ignored without disaster. Appeal is made not only to the actions of God but also to the faithfulness of their forefathers in the wilderness. The teaching is mainly a drawing out of moral lessons and the application of them to the prophets’ own time. ‘It is manifest that the thought of God as saving did not rest at the point where it began in the Exodus. There he saved Israel from her bondage and from the lash of the taskmaster. But in the prophetic teaching he was seeking to save her from herself.’ But there is also a process of ‘spiritualization’ beginning, as in Hosea’s references to ‘Egypt’ in 7:16; 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:5, 11. This is developed further in the idea of the second ‘Exodus’ in Jeremiah 16:14f.; 23:7f. The process has its full flower in the prophecies connected with the Exile, to be found in Ezekiel and Isaiah 40-55. In Ezekiel 20 the repetition of the wilderness experience is seen to be a divine judgment on Israel who has rebelled against Yahweh. In Isaiah 40-55 the emphasis is on salvation. As God had led His people from Egypt through the desert by the hand of His servant Moses, so now He would lead them again through the desert.

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through a new Servant, ‘an eschatological and Messianic figure’. The God who performs this is the Redeemer, ‘an hu’ - I am he’, the God of the Exodus.

This then is the faith of Israel, of prophet and historian, of priest and psalmist. They believe that Yahweh is their God for He has acted to redeem them, and He is still the same God today. As G. A. F. Knight puts it: ‘Moses’ faith is in a different category from that of all those who came after him. All who came after him could build upon him, upon the interpretation of God’s mighty acts which Moses had now made once and for all (cf. Ps. 78.2-8; 105.5; 106.7-8). As one of the great eighth-century prophets himself declares, it was Moses who interpreted the whole “crisis” from Egypt even to Gilgal, that is, right until the moment of entry into the Promised Land (Micah 6.4-5). And on that faith of Moses they do build and build impressively. From the covenant of Sinai they look forward to a new covenant. ‘Behold, the days are coming, says the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though I was their husband, says the LORD...’ (Je. 31:31ff.). God must act again in a greater way, but in a way consistent with His actions at the Exodus. And that is why it can be said that ‘The events of the Exodus, the wilderness wandering and the conquest are as important for the New Testament as for the Old.’

II. The Exodus in the New Testament Writings

The Old Testament can only leave men expectant, it cannot make them satisfied. This is as true when we think of its Exodus theology as when we consider any other branch of its religion. The Old Testament predicts a pattern, the New Testament proclaims a fulfilment. It will be our task first to examine the New Testament documents to see in what way they give us Exodus material and then to see in what sense New Testament theology can be said to be ‘Exodus Theology’.

First a word should be said about typological exegesis. This is generally recognized by scholars today as a legitimate method, whereas allegorical interpretation is in some disfavour in most quarters. Typology requires a real correspondence between the actions of God in redemption and judgment on different occasions, while allegorizing means finding some purely artificial link between one thing and another and in so doing missing the real meaning of the thing allegorized. The beginnings of typology are found in the Old Testament (see above pp. 5ff.) but it could only come to maturity after God had acted again in Christ. It is sometimes called ‘homology’ for it is based not on a superficial resemblance but on a sameness of divine action within the framework of revelation. And true Christian typology has always been based on the Exodus event in particular as a foreshadowing of the redemptive

33 Jacob, op. cit., p. 339. Cf. Foulkes, op. cit., p. 22. For a fuller treatment see B. W. Anderson, Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah, in B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, Israel’s Prophetic Heritage, pp. 177-195. This work was not available in this country when the lecture was delivered.
34 Cf. also a great Exodus passage in Is. 63:7ff.
36 Cf. Marsh, op. cit., pp. 64f.
37 Wright, God Who Acts, p. 63.
40 See e.g. Hebert, The Authority of the Old Testament, pp. 218ff.
work of Christ, and by the Exodus we mean the whole event in all its aspects from the beginning of the book of Exodus until the conquest of Canaan under Joshua.

It is therefore with typology that we are chiefly concerned in this study, but we wish also to observe as far as possible the allusions to, and comparisons and contrasts with, the Exodus event which intentionally or otherwise occur in the New Testament documents.

(a) The Synoptic Gospels

‘In the Synoptic Gospels typology is rare.’41 ‘The typology of the Exodus was fundamental for the Evangelists....’42 Here perhaps lies one of the main jousting-grounds of New Testament scholarship today. Dr. John Marsh reminds us that ‘one of the chief tasks of NT theology

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is to remain constantly alert to the OT “overtones” of the NT text, to consider how much positive meaning is indicated by each OT allusion, and to what extent the OT reference must be understood as pointing to something that transcends it’.43 When it comes to dealing with the Gospels in particular it is clear that some have better hearing than others! We have before us the Person, life and work of One who claimed that the Old Testament pointed to Him.44 There was clearly a divine pattern about His mission, yet it is surely unwise to see in every conceivable parallel to the Old Testament a special fulfilment of a type. Every crossing of the Sea of Galilee can hardly be a repetition of the Exodus even if Christ can command wind and wave. And even definite allusions to the Old Testament may not be ‘homologies’ in the technical sense, but merely illustrations.45 We shall seek in our enquiry for those places where it seems that our Lord or the evangelists intended some theological reference to the Exodus, or where the Exodus has clearly, even if unconsciously in the particular case, moulded their thought-forms. A certain subjectivity of judgment is almost inevitable.

The birth of John the Baptist was celebrated by his father Zechariah in the words of the Benedictus,46 which has many overtones from the Exodus. God has visited and redeemed His people, He has saved them from their enemies, He has shown mercy and remembered His covenant.47

Our Lord Himself is given at His birth, for a theological reason, the name of Jesus, the Greek form of the Hebrew Joshua, ‘for he will save his people from their sins’.48 When He is brought to be presented in the Temple, Simeon’s assertion that his eyes had seen God’s salvation49 recalls the ‘Second Exodus’ passage of Isaiah 52, as does the evangelist’s

44 Lk. 24: 44.
45 Cf. Hebert, The Authority of the Old Testament, p. 233, for the distinction between the way in which Moses and Jonah point to Christ.
46 Lk. 1:67ff.
48 Mt. 1: 21.
49 Lk. 2:30, cf. Is. 52:10.
reference to those ‘who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem’. There are clear parallels between the attempts of Pharaoh and Herod to kill the Hebrew children and the picture of Jesus as a second Moses is strengthened when the specific attempt on His life is compared with the specific attempt on Moses’ life. But

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Christ is shown not only as a second Moses but also as the New Israel, the true first-born Son of God who is called out of Egypt.

For St. Mark the gospel begins with the ministry of John the Baptist. The quotation of Isaiah 40:3 in Mark 1:3 (‘the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight’) may be a pointer to the idea of the new Exodus, especially if that from Malachi 3:1 associated with it in Mark 1:2 (‘Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way;’) depends on Exodus 23:20 (‘Behold, I send an angel before you, to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place which I have prepared.’). There are certainly Exodus associations in the baptism of Jesus by John. ‘The baptism of John was a sacramental representation of the historical Exodus of Israel and, at the same time, an introduction to the New Exodus of salvation.’ How fitting then that the New Israel should be baptized ‘to fulfill all righteousness’. After the baptism Matthew and Mark record that our Lord ‘came up’ out of the water. It is unwise to press the use of a common descriptive word into a theological nuance, but it is possibly significant that the word ἀναβαίνειν renders Heb. ‘ala’ in LXX, is used both of the Exodus (e.g. Ex. 13:18) and of the entry into the promised land (e.g. Dt. 1:21).

After the baptism come the temptations. There can be little doubt that the forty days in the wilderness are a miniature of the forty years which Israel spent in the wilderness, as in a sense was Moses’ forty days in the mount. The temptations put to Christ are basically those to which Israel had yielded. Where they had been dissatisfied with Yahweh’s provision of manna, He is tempted to turn stones into bread. Where they put God to the test at Massah demanding proof

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51 Ex. 1:16; Mt. 2:16.
52 Ex. 2:15; 4:19.
53 D. Daube suggests that the story of Jacob and Laban provides background material and so supports this image (The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 189ff.).
56 Sahlin, op. cit., p.89.
57 Mt. 3:15. Cf. Marsh, Fulness, p. 84. ‘The “righteousness” is ... the consistency and certainty of purpose which characterizes the God who once called and constituted his people in an Exodus, and will ... call and constitute them again in a new Exodus, wrought in his Son.’
58 Cf. also Daube, ‘It is, for example, conceivable that among the reasons why the Baptist chose to baptize in the Jordan was that he saw in the “coming up” a new entry into the Promised Land’ (op. cit., p. 112).
59 It may again be possible to see Exodus associations in the words ‘led up’ (Mt. 4:1, cf. ἀνέβην in Ex. 33:12, 15, etc.) or ‘led’ (Lk. 4:1, cf. ἀγέτην in the Exodus passage Is. 63:11), but it would be precarious to base too much upon this.
60 Ex. 24:18.
61 Nu. 11:1ff.
62 Mt. 4:3; Lk. 4:3.
of His presence and power,\textsuperscript{63} He is tempted to jump from the Temple pinnacle to force God to honour His promises.\textsuperscript{64} Where they forgot the Lord who had brought them out of Egypt and substituted a molten calf for Him,\textsuperscript{65} He is tempted to fall down and worship Satan.\textsuperscript{66} Christ is shown to meet the temptations not arbitrarily but deliberately from Moses’ summary in Deuteronomy of the history of Israel in the wilderness.\textsuperscript{67} ‘If Jesus really was the true representative of God’s people, he too must be shown to have had his wilderness journey and endured the test which proved his person, only without sin.’\textsuperscript{68}

Mark and Matthew both record that our Lord did not begin His public ministry at this point, but only after He heard of the arrest of John.\textsuperscript{69} If there was a theological reason for this it is possible that it should be explained not only by the succession of Elisha to Elijah,\textsuperscript{70} but also by that of Joshua to Moses.\textsuperscript{71} John is of course represented in the Synoptics as a second Elijah,\textsuperscript{72} but in a sense Jesus Himself is Elijah.\textsuperscript{73} Elijah, according to a rabbinic view, is the prophet like Moses promised in Deuteronomy 18:15.\textsuperscript{74} Our Lord is able to fulfil the types of Moses and Elijah at once without any inconsistency. It may be therefore that He is also able to play the parts of Joshua and of Elisha and that in some sense John acts not only as Elijah but also as Moses, of whom Elijah was the first antitype. The Old Testament background is too rich to make a simple equation of our Lord with one figure, and the special place of John as the last of the line of prophets of the Old Covenant could mean that he too had at least a dual role. In any event John baptizes the New Israel as Moses had the Old.\textsuperscript{75} ‘Just as Moses led the children of Israel to the borders of the Promised Land, but could not himself enter, so John led his followers up to the verge of the new order initiated by Jesus, but could not himself enter.’\textsuperscript{76} It may well be then that our Lord enters His ministry as a second Joshua to conquer the people of Palestine, but in this case they are not the heathen but God’s own faithless nation. ‘Step by step He recapitulated in His own person the history of Israel.

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Herein lies the significance of His baptism in Jordan ... [and] the forty days of preparation.... Then followed the active ministry, the purely “natural” assault (as we may call it) upon the forces which stood between the chosen of God and His inheritance.’\textsuperscript{77} By any reckoning it is a significant moment, for, as He said, ‘The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand;
repent and believe in the gospel.'

Entry into the Kingdom with Him is now a real possibility.

The evangelists show us that no sooner had Jesus begun His ministry than He started to perform miracles. For the Synoptists as well as for John it appears that miracles were in a sense ‘signs’ of the power of God at work and seals upon the authority of the divine message. The Beelzebul controversy suggests strongly that there is a link between the miracles of our Lord and those performed by Moses before the Exodus. Jesus says ‘if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you’. The phrase ‘the finger of God’ is found in Exodus 8:19.

In the first Gospel we then come to the Sermon on the Mount. Whatever may have been the exact method of compilation of this material, there is little doubt that Matthew sets it out as he does in order to emphasize the role of Jesus as the second Moses. ‘You have heard that it was said to the men of old ... But I say to you....’ It is not our task here to compare this teaching with that of the Pentateuch, but simply to note the ‘Moses typology’ present in the whole scene.

‘Jesus nowhere speaks of the disciples whom He is gathering as the nucleus for a new Israel. But His actions speak more clearly than any words.’ And moreover ‘the number “twelve” in His choice of the inner circle is deliberate’. This is an attempt to go back to the time of the twelve tribes and we may think in particular to the time of the Exodus. The sending out of the Seventy recorded in Luke 10:1ff. seems also to be based on an ‘Exodus’ theme, for Moses gathered seventy of the elders of Israel and Yahweh put upon them some of the spirit which was upon Moses. The disciples are also called the ‘little flock’ and the imagery of God leading His people like a flock through the wilderness after the Exodus is one which is prominent in the Psalms.

But if the disciples are a ‘little flock’, the people as a whole are ‘like sheep without a shepherd’. Because Moses had seen Israel in such a plight, an army without a general, Joshua had been appointed to share his authority. Here then is a clear Exodus allusion in the

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78 Mk. 1:15; cf. Mt. 4:17.
79 Mt. 11:12f.; Lk. 16:16.
80 Mk. 1:21ff. and parallels.
82 Mt. 12:22ff.; Lk. 11:14ff.
83 ἐγγέλλεως, Lk. 11:20.
84 See Tasker, *op. cit.*, p. 28. There may also be significance in the reference to the ‘strong man’ which is perhaps drawn from Is. 49:24 in a context of the New Exodus. For the ‘spoiling’ cf. also Ex. 15:9.
85 Mt. 5: 21f., 27f., 31f., 33f., 38f., 43f.
86 R. Newton Flew, *Jesus and His Church*, p. 50.
87 Flew, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
88 Cf. Mt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30.
90 Lk. 12:32.
91 See e.g. Pss. 77:20; 78:52; 80:1. It may be too that there is some analogy between the repeated call to follow Christ and the example of Caleb who ‘wholly followed the Lord’ (Dt. 1:36, *etc.*; cf. Mk. 1:17f., *etc.*).
92 Mk. 6: 34; cf. Mt. 9:36.
93 Nu. 27:17; cf. also 1 Ki. 22:17.
context of a miracle which is seen in the Fourth Gospel to be parallel to the feeding of Israel on the manna. There are a number of features about the story—the emphasis on their being men, the companies of fifty and a hundred, and the need to compel them to go away—which support John’s contention that as it was Passover time (when the Messiah was expected to appear) Jesus perceived ‘that they were about to come and take him by force to make him king’. It may not only have been our Lord and the evangelists who saw the Exodus associations.

Whatever may be the exact nature of the transfiguration experience, there can be no doubt at all that the evangelists thought it to be pregnant with Exodus symbolism. Moses went up into the mountain with three companions; So does Jesus. Moses’ face shone with the glory of God; the garments and face of Jesus became dazzling with celestial brightness. Moses and Elijah appear and the voice from the cloud which says ‘This is my beloved Son; listen to him’ is surely echoing the words of Deuteronomy 18:15, ‘The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren—him you shall heed’. But most interesting of all is St. Luke’s remark that they were discussing His ἐξοδός. For the instructed Christian reader of the Gospel that could mean nothing less than the repetition of God’s mighty acts of redemption in His death and resurrection at Jerusalem.

From the mount our Lord descends, as did Moses, to find confusion on the plain. ‘O faithless generation’, He says, ‘how long am I to be with you? How long am I to bear with you?’ The inclusion in Matthew and Luke of the word ‘perverse’ (διεστραμμένη) shows that the evangelists at least saw a parallel between the generation of our Lord’s day and the generation of the first Exodus. That generation came under judgment for its faithlessness and was not permitted to enter the promised land. This generation wanted sign, they were adulterous and sinful, they were like sulky children; they were bound to reject the Son of man; they would be condemned in the judgment; blood would be required at their hand; this generation would not pass until what was predicted in judgment was fulfilled. It seems then that the ‘generation’ had in itself an eschatological significance comparable to
that of the generation of the first Exodus. In it was to be worked out the judgment on the Jewish race. The parable of the Wicked Husbandmen\(^{113}\) shows us clearly that the vineyard of Israel, given to the people at the Exodus,\(^ {114}\) is to be taken away from the present tenants, who are to be killed, and given to others. It is difficult to interpret this, as it stands, in any other way than as a reference to the Jewish War of AD 66-70 and the handing over of the ‘inheritance’ to those who are fellow-heirs with Christ, the ‘Heir’ of the New Israel.

There is then to be a new conquest of Canaan. Its cities will be destroyed in a day of judgment.\(^ {115}\) The disciples will not be able to go through all the towns of Israel before the Son of man comes.\(^ {116}\) Jerusalem itself will be taken and burnt.\(^ {117}\) Its inhabitants will suffer the punish-

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ment of Babylon\(^ {118}\) because they did not recognize the time of God’s saving visitation.\(^ {119}\) The casting out (ἐκβάλλειν) from the Temple of the traders\(^ {120}\) who are Israelites\(^ {121}\) shows that the wheel has turned full circle from the time when Yahweh cast out the nations before His people.\(^ {122}\) The Gentiles would now possess the kingdom and the Jews be excluded.\(^ {123}\) This strain of teaching is summed up in the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 (and parallels) where the horrors of the Jewish War are shown to be a preview of the final judgment of the world.\(^ {124}\) The eagles of Rome would pounce like vultures on the rotting corpse of Judaism\(^ {125}\) but in the end God would gather together His outcasts from the uttermost part of heaven.\(^ {126}\) The Exodus allusions seem to be particularly prominent in the independent Lucan version.\(^ {127}\) If some of the details are fortuitous or inevitable, at least the main drift of this theme is clear.

Against this background of the unbelief of the people of Israel which would lead to the reversal of the Exodus,\(^ {128}\) our Lord sets His face to go to Jerusalem, because the time of His ‘assumption’ (ἀνάληψις) is near.\(^ {129}\) C. F. Evans is of the opinion that this word may echo the title of the work The Assumption of Moses and that Luke 9:51 - 18:14 is arranged in a

\(^{113}\) Mk. 12:1ff. and parallels.

\(^{114}\) Is. 5:1ff.; Ps. 80:8ff.

\(^{115}\) Mt 10:15; 11:20ff.; Lk. 10:12ff; cf. Dt. 9:1ff.

\(^{116}\) Mt. 10:23. We may be right in supposing that the Son of man did come in judgment through Titus in AD 70.

\(^{117}\) Cf. references to Cyrus in Is. 44:28; 45:1ff.

\(^{118}\) Mt. 22:7; cf. Jos. 6:24, etc.


\(^{120}\) Cf. Ex. 3:16; 4:31; 13:19.

\(^{121}\) Cf. Ps. 78:55; 80:8.

\(^{122}\) Lk. 13:28ff., ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τόπον. Cf. Mt. 8:1ff.

\(^{123}\) Cf. also Hooke, on the judgment theme in the final discourse: ‘Moses had become identified with the sin of Israel, “the Lord was wroth with me for your sakes” (Dt. 3:26), and had to die, sharing their judgment; but Joshua (Jesus, cf. Heb. 4:8) led the new Israel through the symbolic waters of Jordan and on to the triumphant possession of the promised inheritance’ (op. cit., p. 150).


\(^{125}\) Mk. 13:27; Mt. 24:31; cf. Dt. 30:4.

\(^{126}\) Days of vengeance’ Lk. 21:22; cf. Dt. 32:35; ‘led captive among all nations’ Lk. 21:24; cf. Dt. 28:63ff.; ‘trodden down by the Gentiles’ Lk. 21:24; cf. Is. 63:18; ‘redemption’ Lk. 21:28. For a suggestion that the woes of Mt. 23 are based on Dt. 32, see P. P. Levertoff, St. Matthew, p. 71.

\(^{127}\) And of the attempt of the disciples to quench the spirit (Lk. 9:49; cf. Nu. 11:28).

\(^{128}\) Lk. 9:51.
way that is very similar to Deuteronomy.\textsuperscript{130} Within this section comes an important saying of our Lord: ‘I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how I am constrained until it is accomplished!’\textsuperscript{131} There is a similar saying in Mark: ‘Are you able to drink the cup that I drink, or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?’\textsuperscript{132} The baptism being accomplished was surely not just the fulfilment at the cross of His baptism by John. As Marsh says: ‘It is difficult not to think that Jesus meant here to indicate that the whole of Israel’s

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history, from her baptism in the Red Sea to his own forthcoming death, was in his mind.’\textsuperscript{133}

One of the objects of Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem was to celebrate the great Exodus festival of the Passover.\textsuperscript{134} Whether the Last Supper of the Synoptic Gospels was in fact the Jewish Passover or not,\textsuperscript{135} there can be no doubt of the strong Paschal associations which were intended by our Lord and the evangelists.\textsuperscript{136} The crucial point is the meaning of the words ‘my blood of the covenant’ (τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης, Mk. 14:24). At least it can be said that they echo Moses’ words in Exodus 24:8 where Yahweh seals His covenant with the people whom He has just brought out of Egypt. The nature of the meal also suggests strongly that the blood of the original Passover lambs is in mind, ‘Their blood had a redemptive effect, and made God’s covenant with Abraham operative.... In the same way will the people of God of the last days be redeemed by the merits of the Passover blood. Jesus therefore describes His death as this eschatological Passover sacrifice. His vicarious (ὑπὲρ) death brings the final deliverance into operation.’\textsuperscript{137}

St. Matthew is often thought to be the evangelist who stresses the Exodus typology most with the infancy narratives, the Sermon on the Mount and the five blocks of teaching.\textsuperscript{138} But it is also true that Luke ‘retains the Exodus formulation of the pattern of the ministry’\textsuperscript{139} and that Mark ‘brings the story of the Exodus to provide categories of interpretation to the life and death of Christ.’\textsuperscript{140} Alan Richardson sums up the situation fairly when he says: ‘The fact is that the whole Gospel tradition ... is cast into a Pentateuchal shape, because the Exodus-deliverance of Israel from Egypt was the only pattern of redemption which the NT writers knew.’\textsuperscript{141}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} Lk. 12:50.
\item \textsuperscript{132} Mk. 10:38.
\item \textsuperscript{133} Fulness, p. 89. Cf. Richardson, I.T.N.T., p. 180.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Mk. 14:1ff. and parallels.
\item \textsuperscript{135} See e.g. T. Preiss, Life in Christ, pp. 81ff., J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 1ff.
\item \textsuperscript{136} ‘It seems to me imperative to maintain with the Synoptists that the whole assembly of significant images spells the passage of Passover into eucharist. Without Passover here the pattern is broken’ (Hooke, op. cit., p. 20).
\item \textsuperscript{137} Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 146ff. Cf. also in Lk. 12:35, ‘loins girded’, as in Ex. 12:11. On the death of Jesus cf. also Hooke: ‘When the moment of Israel’s redemption had arrived, before the final act itself took place, there was “thick darkness” over all the land of Egypt, the place, symbolically, where the Lord was crucified’ (op. cit., p. 206).
\item \textsuperscript{138} See e.g. H. Sahlin, op. cit., p. 82. But for a theory of three blocks of teaching corresponding to three blocks of the Pentateuch, see Hooke, op. cit., pp. 142ff.
\item \textsuperscript{140} Marsh, Peake, p. 762. See also Ulrich W. Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness, published since this lecture was delivered.
\item \textsuperscript{141} I.T.N.T., p. 167.
\end{itemize}
St. John’s Gospel has always been a happy hunting-ground for those who are interested in typology. The evangelist has clearly invited his reader to see deeper meanings and allusions, often from the Old Testament, which lie below the surface. The careful selection and arrangement of signs betoken a deeply theological understanding of the ministry of Christ. Yet for all this there are relatively few definite references to the Exodus in this Gospel.\(^\text{142}\)

In the prologue Jesus is shown to be superior to Moses in the salvation that He brings and in His direct vision of God.\(^\text{143}\) In the first chapter, also, John the Baptist refers to Jesus as ‘the Lamb of God’.\(^\text{144}\) If there is some doubt whether the saying refers to the Passover,\(^\text{145}\) it is probable that at least part of the allusion is to that. And it is hard to agree that there is no reference to the Passover in 19:36 ‘Not a bone of him shall be broken’.\(^\text{146}\) The readers of the Gospel must surely have received the impression that Christ was killed as the true Passover victim.\(^\text{147}\) The uplifted serpent in the wilderness is clearly stated to be a picture of Christ crucified for the salvation of mankind.\(^\text{148}\) There are two titles of Christ which are taken from Old Testament references to the Exodus. He is the Bridegroom as Yahweh was of Israel in the wilderness\(^\text{149}\) and the true Vine, just as Israel was the vine brought out of Egypt.\(^\text{150}\) He is also the Shepherd of the New Israel, as was Yahweh of the Old.\(^\text{151}\) Even the ‘I AMs’\(^\text{152}\) may be derived from the Passover Haggadah and therefore have Exodus significance, indicating that God Himself has intervened in His own Person to redeem His people.\(^\text{153}\)

The most striking passage of Exodus typology in the Gospel is to be found in chapter 6. Reference has already been made (see p. 16) to the feeding of the five thousand. In John we find more explicitly ideas ‘linking the Passover, the manna of the Exodus, and the manna of the end of the age, to be brought by the second Saviour (goël akharon), the death of the Son of Man and the bread of the Last Supper’.\(^\text{154}\) Professor Guilding has suggested\(^\text{155}\) that many of the emphases are drawn out from the lectionary readings behind the chapter—

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\(^\text{142}\) S. H. Hooke notes that Deuteronomy is an interpretation of the deepest meaning of the saving events of the Exodus. ‘In a profounder way the Fourth Gospel does for the first three Gospels what Deuteronomy does for the rest of the Pentateuch’ (op. cit., pp. 136f.).

\(^\text{143}\) 1:17f. Cf. Ex. 33:20. See also T. F. Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, published since this lecture was delivered.

\(^\text{144}\) 1:29, 36.


\(^\text{146}\) Cf. also C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 98f.; Lindars, op. cit., pp. 95ff.

\(^\text{147}\) Cf. Tasker, op. cit., p. 57.


\(^\text{150}\) 15:1ff. Cf. Ps. 80:8.

\(^\text{151}\) 10:1ff., etc. Cf. Ps. 80:1ff., etc.

\(^\text{152}\) 4:25f.; 18:6, etc.

\(^\text{153}\) See Daube, op. cit., pp. 325ff., Stauffer, Jesus and His Story, p. 192, n. 98.

\(^\text{154}\) Preiss, op. cit., p. 89. Cf. also B. Gartner, John and the Jewish Passover, pp. 8f. ‘Mark wishes to represent Jesus as the shepherd, the Messiah, while John builds the section around those theological questions which were precipitated at the time of the Passover, questions which had particularly to do with the Exodus account of Israel’s departure from Egypt and subsequent wanderings in the desert.’

\(^\text{155}\) The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship, pp. 58ff.
Exodus 15 and 16 and Numbers 11. This fills out the details of the comparison of Christ with Moses and the manna, and the unbelieving reaction of the people. (It is rather harder to see the walking on the water as a repetition of the crossing of the Red Sea.\(^{156}\)) She also draws attention to the lectionary readings behind chapter 4\(^{157}\) and chapter 5.\(^{158}\) There may also be in chapter 14 the thought of Jesus being the new Joshua, entering the promised land at His ascension.\(^{159}\)

Miss Guilding’s researches have opened up many new vistas in the study of the Fourth Gospel and her emphasis on the importance of the feasts is especially relevant to our subject. For as G. E. Wright says, ‘The controversies with the Jews which John records are largely concerned with the question as to whether Jesus does not reveal the true significance of the festivals which celebrate the Israelite deliverance and wandering in the wilderness.’\(^{160}\)

(c) The Acts of the Apostles

There seems to be a theological reason behind the times at which the great acts of God in Christ occurred. It was no accident that the crucifixion took place at Passover, nor that the Spirit was given on the day of Pentecost. It is tempting therefore to suppose that the forty days between the resurrection and the ascension contain some sort of symbolism. In the Old Testament ‘forty years’ or ‘forty days’ often suggests a time lapse between a significant act of God in redemption or judgment and the full experience of the results of it.\(^{161}\) The figure

\[\text{[p.22]}\]

may not be precise in all cases but it does seem to indicate a particular understanding of the importance of the period. Here it may then be that our Lord, having completed His Exodus at Calvary and in the resurrection,\(^{162}\) spends forty days preparing His disciples before His own entry into His inheritance in heaven.\(^{163}\)

The promise of the baptism with the Spirit\(^{164}\) would seem to refer more naturally to Pentecost than to Christian baptism generally, which was after all ‘with water’.\(^{165}\) Pentecost could then be seen as the Church’s Exodus\(^{166}\) achieved through her Lord’s Exodus before at Calvary. There is a probable allusion to the Exodus period in 2:40 where the people are described as a

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\(^{156}\) But see Gärtner, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 17ff.

\(^{157}\) They include Ex. 2 and 3, Dt. 27, Jos. 24 and Ho. 2. See Guilding, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 206ff.

\(^{158}\) They include Dt. 1 and 2 and 31 and 32. See Guilding, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 82ff. This may mean that the thirty-eight years of the cripple’s illness is to be taken as corresponding to the thirty-eight years of wandering in Dt. 2:14.

\(^{159}\) Guilding, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 86ff.


\(^{161}\) The Flood was for forty days (Gn. 7:4, 12, 17); the wandering in the wilderness was forty years (Ex. 16:35, \textit{etc.}); Moses was forty days in the mount (Ex. 24:18); there were periods of forty years rest under the Judges (Jdg. 3:11; 5:31; 8:28) and forty years of captivity (Jdg. 13:1); Eli judged Israel for forty years (1 Sa. 4:18); David and Solomon reigned for forty years (1 Ki. 2:11; 11:42); Elijah journeyed forty days to Horeb (1 Ki. 19:8).

\(^{162}\) Lk. 9:31.

\(^{163}\) \textit{Cf.} Guilding on Jn. 14, p. 21 above, and Lk. 24:26; Heb. 9:24, \textit{etc.} See also J. Mánek, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 18ff.

\(^{164}\) 1:5; \textit{Cf.} Mt. 3: 11f. and parallels; Jn. 1:33.

\(^{165}\) The ‘Gentile Pentecost’ (10:44ff.) also seems to have been understood to be distinct from the Christian sacrament (11:16).

\(^{166}\) \textit{Cf.} 1 Cor. 10:1ff.
'crooked (σκολιός) generation'.\textsuperscript{167} The God whom Peter proclaims is 'the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of our fathers'.\textsuperscript{168} In 3:22 and 7:37 there are the only specific quotations of the 'Prophet' passage from Deuteronomy 18:15ff.\textsuperscript{169}

It is evident, from the amount of space which the author gives to it, that he regarded Stephen's speech (chapter 7) as a major theological advance. Before Stephen the disciples were a Jewish sect; after him they soon became a truly catholic Church. Stephen begins with a review of Old Testament history. In this the Exodus receives the major part of his attention. There is a clear parallel between Moses the redeemer rejected by his people who worshipped idols, and Jesus the Redeemer rejected by His people who used the Jewish cultus in an idolatrous way.\textsuperscript{170} It is on the people that the greatest emphasis is laid. It is 'our fathers'\textsuperscript{171} who were involved and he can therefore round on them and say 'As your fathers did, so do you'. He can go on to say that it was 'you who received the law as delivered by angels and did not keep it'.\textsuperscript{172} They are 'stiffnecked'; they are 'uncircumcised'; they resist the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{175} Stephen is issuing a call to come out of Judaism, to regain their mobility, to march onwards to the promised land.

There is another review of the history of Israel in Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch\textsuperscript{176} with some emphasis on the Exodus and on 'our fathers'. But the most striking piece of Exodus typology in the whole book is the way in which the word ἑκκλησία was taken over from the Jewish 'congregation in the wilderness'.\textsuperscript{177} This was the flock which He purchased with His own blood.\textsuperscript{178} They were the redeemed of the Lord, they were Israel.\textsuperscript{179}

\textbf{(d) St. Paul}

There are in the letters of St. Paul three outstanding passages of Exodus typology. I Corinthians 5:7f.: 'Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' Christians are a new Israel redeemed through a new Passover

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{167} Cf. Dt. 32:5.
\bibitem{169} But for allusions see p. 14 above. Cf. also Lindars, op. cit., pp. 207ff., where he suggests that the quotation is specially concerned in the context with the response of the people. There are a number of other possible parallels between the people of the Old and the New Exodus, e.g. with 1:21 cf. Nu. 27:16ff., Dt. 31:2ff., where Moses is no longer able to go in and out and there is need of a successor; with 6:3 (men to help with administration) cf. Dt. 1:13; in 8:23 (‘the gall of bitterness’) Dt. 29:18 is quoted; with 10:44 (the Spirit falling on the Gentiles) cf. Nu. 11:26ff.; with 15:14 (taking out of the Gentiles a people for His name) cf. Dt. 7:6ff.
\bibitem{170} Cf. Guilding, op. cit., pp. 196f.
\bibitem{171} 7:11, 12, 15, 19, 38, 39, 44, 45 bis.
\bibitem{172} 7:53.
\bibitem{173} 7:51. Cf. Ex. 32: 9 and God’s desire to make a new nation.
\bibitem{174} 7:51. Cf. Lv. 26:41 and the context of judgment but possible restoration for those who have broken the covenant.
\bibitem{175} 7: 51. Cf. Is. 63:10 and its Exodus context.
\bibitem{176} 13:16ff.
\bibitem{177} 7:38.
\end{thebibliography}
Lamb and therefore able continually to rejoice in His blessings.\textsuperscript{180} This passage must be linked with his treatment of the Lord’s Supper in I Corinthians 11:23ff., where the words ‘Do this in remembrance of me’ occur, emphasizing strongly the Exodus associations of the Holy Communion.\textsuperscript{181}

The second passage is I Corinthians 10:1ff. There the experiences of Israel redeemed at the Red Sea, sustained but disobedient in the wilderness, are said to be types (ποιμανμον) for \textit{us}. Their baptism corresponded to ours.\textsuperscript{182} They too fed on heavenly food. Christ, figuratively speaking, came with them also out of Egypt and through the desert.\textsuperscript{183} ‘Being a Jew, St. Paul must have felt that in this sense he himself belonged to the Exodus generation. But as a \textit{Christian} he must have had this feeling still more strongly. He knew that he belonged to the new eschatological Exodus under Jesus, the Messiah; and, in his opinion, this new Exodus of Salvation was a complete typological counterpart of the ancient, historical Exodus, only on a larger scale and in a more profound sense.’\textsuperscript{184}

Then in 2 Corinthians 3 there is the comparison between the old and new covenants. The new covenant is superior to the old for it is inward, personally applied by the Spirit and brings justification and life. The thought is most obviously drawn from Jeremiah 31:31ff., but while the Exodus and the blood are not mentioned they could not have been far from his mind.

Some have also seen Exodus significance in the description of baptism in Romans 6:1ff. The Jewish proselyte, through his circumcision and proselyte’s bath, identified himself with the Exodus and the entry into the promised land. Here is the ‘Christian revision of the kerygma of Judaism, in which the death and resurrection of Jesus replace the Exodus from Egypt’.\textsuperscript{185}

There are of course numerous other possible allusions, many of which may be fortuitous.\textsuperscript{186} In the Pastoral Epistles we have the statement that ‘The Lord knows those who are his’,\textsuperscript{187} a

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item\textsuperscript{180} Cf. W. D. Davies, \textit{Paul and Rabbinic Judaism}, pp. 104f.
\item\textsuperscript{181} ‘Unquestionably the primary meaning of ἐξ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν is to be found in the conception of the Eucharist as the Christian passover-feast. The passover of the Jews was above all things a memorial of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt at the exodus: “This day shall be unto you for a memorial (LXX, μνημόνευτικόν) and ye shall keep it a feast (εστίν) to Yahweh; throughout your generations ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever” (Ex. 12: 14).’ Richardson, \textit{I.T.N.T.}, p.370.
\item\textsuperscript{182} Or was it to the Church’s baptism at Pentecost? See p. 22 above.
\item\textsuperscript{183} For Christ as rock \textit{cf.} also Dt. 32:4.
\item\textsuperscript{186} There are frequent references to Dt. 28-32 in Romans; for the ‘groaning’ in the birth pangs of a new age associated with redemption in Rom. 8:22ff., cf. Ex. 2:24; 6:5 (see also A. G. Hebert, \textit{When Israel Came Out of Egypt}, p. 116); the wish for all to prophesy in 1 Cor. 14:5 (cf. Nu. 11:29); the command to be separate in 2 Cor. 6:16ff. (cf. Lv. 26: 11f.); God’s provision in 2 Cor. 8:15, citing Ex. 16:8; the ‘crooked and perverse generation’ in Phil. 2:15, citing Dt. 32:5. In Rom. 1:23 the idolatry of the heathen is like that of Israel after the Exodus (see Ps. 106:20), while in Rom. 9:16f. the Jews have become as Pharaoh and their hearts have been hardened (cf. Ex. 9:16; 4:21, etc.). Davies also suggests there is Exodus significance in 2 Cor. 5:1ff. (‘tabernacle’ of the body) and 1 Cor. 15:20 (‘firstfruits’) (\textit{op. cit.}, pp. 313f., 106).
\item\textsuperscript{187} 2 Tim. 2:19 citing Nu. 16:5.
\end{thebibliography}
reference to Jannes and Jambres opposing Moses \(^{188}\) and the assertion that the Saviour ‘gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds’. \(^{189}\)

It is notable then that St. Paul’s Exodus typology is relatively restricted, and occurs almost entirely in Romans and the Corinthian letters. But Exodus ideas also underlie many of his theological terms such as ‘redemption’ and ‘inheritance’. It would not be unfair to conclude with Davies: ‘We now see what kind of κήρυξ Paul was: he was the κήρυξ not of a new mystery but of a new Exodus and all that that implied.’ \(^{190}\)

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(e) The Epistle to the Hebrews

‘The whole argument of the Epistle rests on the assumption that there is only one religion, that of the New Covenant. The Old Covenant was but a prelude, a foreshadowing of the final revelation through the Son. The Christian Ecclesia alone is the true Israel of God.’ So writes Flew, \(^{191}\) and it is true that in a sense all the references to the Person, the priesthood and the sacrifice of Christ are leading up to this—the better covenant, the better religion, that He brings. It is not our task here to examine the sacrificial basis for this covenant, but to try to see how far the persons and events of the Exodus period are reflected in this Epistle.

I believe that the Epistle comes to life in a new way if it is seen as written to a Jewish Christian group at a time of growing nationalism in the late 60s of the first century AD, when pressure was exerted on them to rally round and cling to the tangible realities of the Jewish system. \(^{192}\) The author, following Stephen’s general approach, \(^{193}\) calls on them to march on to the promised land of spiritual inheritance and not to go back into a material Judaism which is just about to be destroyed. This teaching seems to be paralleled in the Synoptic Gospels. \(^{194}\) The treatment of the Exodus theme given here will depend upon that hypothesis, but even if it is incorrect it is clear that the Exodus has much relevance for the writer.

In 2:1ff. the two revelations are contrasted. Jesus is greater than the angels who gave the Law. We face a worse punishment than the Israelites of that day if we rebel. In 3:1ff. Christ is shown to be greater than Moses, and therefore we must hold fast to Him. The comparison of the two generations \(^{195}\) is now made explicit in 3:7 - 4:13. God brought all the people out of Egypt but none (except Joshua and Caleb) into the promised land. They were faithless and they were destroyed. The promised rest still remains for us to enter, as the conquest of Canaan under Joshua could not be said to fulfil it. Let us not fail through disobedience. This theme is brought out through the use of Psalm 95 and great emphasis is given to the ‘forty years’ and the need of action ‘today’. The Qumran community believed that Israel’s history should end

\(^{188}\) 2 Tim. 3:8f., cf. Ex. 7: 11, 22.
\(^{189}\) Tit. 2:14, cf. Ex. 19:5; Dt. 14:2.
\(^{190}\) Davies, op. cit., p. 108.
\(^{193}\) Cf. William Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 25ff.
\(^{194}\) See p. 18 above.
\(^{195}\) See p. 13 above.
as it had begun with a period of forty years. If this type of belief were associated in the Church with our Lord’s teaching about judgment coming upon ‘this generation’, the urgency of the situation would be readily apparent to the readers, assuming the Epistle to be written in the years just before AD 70. They had to choose between being cast off with Judaism or entering into the heritage which was to be given fully to the Church.

In 6:1ff. there is a warning against apostasy. It seems to make more sense if applied to a group than to individuals. It is the ‘land’ which is used to illustrate their position and this type of metaphor is used elsewhere in the Bible of Israel as a whole. If the land produces thorns and thistles, as Hosea had prophesied long ago of the altars of Israel, it would be cursed and burnt. This is ‘near’ (ἐγγέγονα, 6:8). And the theme of the nearness of judgment is also found in 8:13 where the old covenant is becoming obsolete and growing old and is ‘ready to’ (ἐγονήσθη) vanish away. While any New Testament writer could have written these things of the parousia, they have added relevance if God’s judgment is about to fall upon Judaism, so abolishing the old covenant and fully instituting the new.

There is another important judgment passage in 10:25ff., where again it is emphasized that ‘the Day’ is drawing near (ἐγγέγονα, 10:25). Wilful sin will be punished with fire. Punishment will be worse than under Moses’ law, where death was the penalty for reviling the Lord and idolatry. Vengeance is God’s and He will judge His people. Here is a specific quotation from Deuteronomy 32:35f. where the context speaks of judgment on the nation.

Against this terrible prospect of destruction for those who apostatize, there is set the ‘better possession’, ‘the promise’, and, in a little while, their vindication after the wrath is past. They are therefore to come out in faith as had the great ones of Israel (ch. 11). They are to look to Jesus who endured the opposition of sinners. No-one is to ‘fail to obtain the grace of God’ for an individual ‘root of bitterness’ can defile the whole community. Then in 12:18ff. the old and new mounts are contrasted, and the covenant of Zion is shown to be far better than that of Sinai. There will therefore be no escape for the

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197 See p. 17 above.
199 Cf. Mk. 12:1ff.
199 Cf. Is. 5:1f., etc.
200 Ho. 10:8a. Ho. 10:8b. is cited in Lk. 23:30 with reference to the fall of Jerusalem.
201 Cf. Dt. 29:22ff.
202 Cf. Nu. 15:30; Dt. 17:52.
203 Cf. Nu. 16:35; 26:10. In Mt. 22:7 fire is used of the fall of Jerusalem.
204 10:28f.
205 Nu. 15:30.
206 Dt. 17:6.
207 10:34.
209 10:36.
210 10:37ff.
211 Is. 26:20.
212 ἀντιλογία, 12:3. Cf. Meribah as ἀντιλογία in Nu. 20:13, etc.
213 12:15, citing Dt. 29:18 which occurs in a context of idolatry and ‘the sweeping away of moist and dry alike’ (29:19. Cf. Lk. 23:31 re the fall of Jerusalem).
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disobedient. There will be a new shaking of the tangible ‘idols’ of Temple and kingdom and a new entry into the unshakable realities. ‘Our God is a consuming fire’ and those who are about to enter the promised land must not forsake His covenant and worship idols. The promise made to Joshua as he was about to enter Canaan is theirs: ‘I will never fail you nor forsake you.’ They are to remember their leaders. They are to go out of the camp of Judaism and seek a new city as the goal of their Exodus pilgrimage. This will be achieved only through Christ the great Shepherd of the sheep who was brought up out of death as Moses was out of the Red Sea.

If our interpretation is right, the author sees the situation of his readers as being parallel to that of the people of the first Exodus. The cross and resurrection are the second Exodus; the forty years are running out as AD 70 approaches; the people of Israel are to bring upon themselves the curses threatened in an Exodus context in the book of Deuteronomy and they will be dispossessed of their inheritance as the heathen were; the new people of God will then be led by the new Joshua, Jesus, into their true spiritual inheritance. If a material kingdom and a material temple had in a sense been the goal of the first Exodus, these things must now be forsaken despite their obvious pull, and God’s people must step out with new faith. ‘Today’ is the time for advance, not for retreat. But the Epistle still retains its message for each generation in the Church, for the events of the Jewish War simply foreshadow the events of the end. We too must come out of the formalism of our religion and go forth with Christ. ‘The Day’, in a still more terrible sense, is drawing near.

(f) The Epistle of James

The allusion to the faith of Rahab is the only direct reference to any part of the Exodus event.

(g) The First Epistle of Peter

The Exodus typology of 1 Peter is obvious to all whether they believe it to be a paschal liturgy or not. From the beginning we see the

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Church as the true Israel of the second Exodus. Christians are elect, sprinkled with blood and obedient. They have an inheritance, and they are being proved on their way to it. They

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214 Hg. 2:6, 22, with a context of the promise at the Exodus in 2:5.
215 Dt. 4:24.
216 Dt. 4:22f. Cf. also Dt. 9:3 where He goes before as a ‘devouring fire’. The word is καταναλίσκειν in each case.
217 13:5, citing Dt. 31:6, 8; Jos. 1:5.
219 13:13f.
220 Citing Is. 63:11, which has an Exodus context.
221 13:20f.
222 See p. 6 above.
must have their loins girt, and be holy. They are redeemed with the blood of the Lamb. This teaching is set forth systematically in 2:9f., where they are described as a 'chosen race,' a royal priesthood, a holy nation.

The main theme of the Epistle is that of suffering and persecution. They are undergoing a ‘fiery ordeal’. The judgment is beginning at the house of God in their persecutions, but it will come in an even more terrible way on their persecutors. The thought is at least parallel to that of Israel passing through the Red Sea which then drowned the Egyptians. Water is linked with suffering in the Old Testament. Fire and water are linked in Psalm 66:12 and Isaiah 43:2 (both Exodus passages). It may be therefore that the ‘baptism’ which is now saving them includes the baptism of suffering foretold by the figure of the Flood, which so closely resembles the Exodus and their own Christian baptism. Whether this is so or not, they are clearly suffering as the people of the New Exodus.

(h) The Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude

The arising of false prophets among the people (2 Peter 2:1) seems to be a reference back to Deuteronomy 13:1ff., especially in the context of denying the Lord who ‘bought them’. The present false teachers have followed in the footsteps of Balaam and Korah. But most important for our purpose in these Epistles is Jude 5 which reads ‘he (or “God”, or “the Lord”, or if MSS AB are right “Jesus”) who saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those who did not believe’. This is Exodus typology in any event but specially striking if ‘Jesus’ is right, as it can hardly refer to Joshua. Our Lord is in truth the Redeemer of the first Exodus too.

(i) The Epistles of John

There is no readily discernible Exodus typology here.

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226 1:4. Cf. Dt. 4:21, 38, etc.
227 1:7. Cf. Dt. 8:2, 16.
229 1:16. citing Lv. 11:44f.
232 Dt. 10:15.
234 4:12. Cf. Dt. 4:20 for the iron furnace of Egypt, or possibly Dt. 8:15f. and the ‘fiery serpents’.
236 3:21. Cf. Lk. 12:50; Mk. 10:38; Mt. 10:22. There seem to be considerable difficulties in limiting the meaning of the word βάπτισμα here to the Christian sacrament. It does not fit easily into the immediate context of suffering unless it is taken as the central fact by which all the references to suffering must be interpreted.
237 Cf. Ex. 15:16.
239 For a suggested reason see Marsh, Peake, p. 766.
(j) **The Book of the Revelation**

The Apocalypse is full of symbolism and many of its images are derived from the Exodus event. In the opening chapters we find the Church as a kingdom of priests, false teachers as following Balaam, hidden manna and the promise that the conqueror’s name will not be blotted out. But the imagery becomes more specific when the trumpet calls the seer to come up and there is lightning and thunder. In 8:7 - 9:21 the plagues are based on the plagues of Egypt. There are possible allusions to the wilderness wanderings in 8:11 and 12:16. But in 15:2ff. we are given a vision of the sea of glass mingled with fire and we hear the song of Moses the servant of God and the song of the Lamb. The first triumphant Exodus has prefigured the second and we are to look ahead to its fulfilment in God’s victory at the end of time.

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III. **The Exodus in New Testament Theology**

We have seen that most of the New Testament writers draw heavily upon the Exodus period as a source for allusion, conscious or unconscious, and often for more than allusion—for typology. Assuming that there is a basic unity amongst the documents which enables us, despite their different emphases, to talk of a New Testament theology, we must ask in what ways the formulation of this has been affected by the background of the Exodus.

First we can see a definite pattern in the life and ministry of Christ as it is recorded for us in the Gospels. In earliest childhood the divine plan was being worked out and in His maturity He lived under the divine constraint of ‘thus it is written’ and ‘the scriptures must be fulfilled’. We seem to find Him recapitulating the Exodus in His baptism, forty days in the desert and ‘conquest’ of Canaan culminating in His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. It may be that the pattern is then repeated, for His true ‘Exodus’, to which His baptism had pointed, is at Jerusalem. This is preceded by the miraculous signs of the ministry, and followed by forty days before His entry into His triumph in heaven. While it would be a mistake to press the evidence into too tidy a system, there can be no doubt that the supreme act of our redemption in the cross and resurrection can only be understood properly if it is the fulfilment of that earlier deliverance. This is a truth which has been firmly embedded in the worship and teaching of the Church throughout the centuries.

Then there are the titles of Christ. He is the I AM, the Rock, the Shepherd, the Bridegroom, as was the God of the Exodus. He is the fulfilment of the human side also. He is the new Israel.

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244 3:5. Cf. Ex. 32:32.
247 Ex. 7-11.
248 Cf. Ex. 15:23.
249 Cf. Nu. 16:32.
250 Knight finds five ‘moments’ in the life of Israel—the Exodus, Sinai, Exile, Restoration and the raising of Canaan to heavenly stature—corresponding with the birth, ‘marriage’, death, resurrection and exaltation of Christ (op. cit., pp. 213ff.).
and, in a deeper sense than Israel was, the Son of God, and the Vine. He is the second Moses, the Prophet and the Servant. He is the second Joshua, Jesus the Saviour and Conqueror. His titles overlap each other as in His unique Person He fulfils all that had been spoken by Moses, in the law, and by the prophets.

Thirdly there is the work of Christ. The words ‘redemption’, ‘covenant’, ‘Church’, ‘inheritance’ and ‘rest’ are all words deriving their original significance from the Exodus. The first three at least are absolutely basic to New Testament theology. The work of Christ

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is mediated through a *kerygma* based on the Exodus *kerygma* and sacraments similar to the Exodus sacraments.

Lastly, as we have tried to show, there is the response of the people which seems to be very much a repetition of the attitude of their fathers at the first Exodus. On the one hand are those who enter into the redemption wrought for them and on the other those who are disobedient. The faithful become the Church, the new Israel, in their baptism at Pentecost and enter their inheritance fully when the old Israel is cast out and its land conquered forty years later in AD 70.251 ‘This generation’ is considered as a whole and those whom Moses brought out of Egypt are its type. The chosen people have become as Egypt and Canaan which were defeated before their fathers, and as Babylon whose role had been like that of Egypt. Temporal judgment is the sign of coming eternal judgment.

And yet such is the intricacy of the pattern which God has woven in the sacred history that in another sense we may be right in seeing the Church at the moment in the process of her Exodus, her baptism of suffering, or in the midst of her trials in the wilderness, before she enters the full enjoyment of her heavenly inheritance. The individual Christian likewise has his pilgrimage from his baptism, through temptation, to his heavenly rest. And yet again, in another application of the imagery, there is to be a final Exodus, a great act of redemption consummating all that has gone before and bringing liberty even to the creation which lies in bondage.

We should note also that in addition to the other scriptures which C. H. Dodd, in his book *According to the Scriptures*, adduces as basic to New Testament theology, the book of Deuteronomy, which is a theological reflection upon the Exodus event and its consequences, is quoted frequently and could be said to have something of a normative effect. In particular this is true of chapters 28-32, which recall the redemption from Egypt and the way in which Yahweh led His people through the wilderness. They warn of punishment for breaking the covenant, of a reversal of the Exodus in Israel’s own dispossession from the promised land and yet of the hope of restoration where there is repentance. While much of this has relevance for the Exile, it seems also to find a considerable place in the thought of the New Testament

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251 For the importance of the events of AD 70 see S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church*. Without accepting many of his speculative points, we may agree when he says ‘after the Resurrection experiences, the next most crucial event in the life of the Christian Church was the overthrow of the Jewish nation, which was dramatically epitomized in the destruction of its holy city of Jerusalem in AD 70’ (op. cit., p. 255).
writers as they wrestle with the problem of the disinheritance of the Jews in their own day.

But above all we may believe that for the New Testament writers God had acted in history again in a mightier way. He had come in the Person of His Son. And all that had happened to Him had been, despite the wickedness of men, in the divine purpose. The great I AM was in charge. He was still Saviour and Lord. He had visited and redeemed His people after the ancient pattern and He would do so again in the end whatever might be the opposition of Satan or of men. Just as ‘Moses and the people of Israel sang this song to the LORD, saying, “I will sing to the LORD, for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea”’,252 so may we join ‘the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, “Great and wonderful are thy deeds, O Lord God the Almighty! Just and true are thy ways, O King of the ages!”’253

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Prepared for the web in November 2004 by Robert I Bradshaw.

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252 Ex. 15:1f.
253 Rev. 15:3.
Yet the New Testament breathes the same spirituality of ancient Israel, addressing the same topics as does its predecessor – the Hebrew Bible. To see those connections, you must first dig deeper in order to understand the profound messages of Torah as they were first intended to be understood by their original audience. Last chance to join our 2020 Jewish Context and Culture Online program.

What elements of the relationship between God and His people in the Hebrew Bible have fallen out of use in modern Christ-following communities? Where have Western minds distorted the original Israelite thought?

Exodus 34:6-7 And he passed in front of Moses, proclaiming, “The Lord, the Lord, the compassionate and gracious God, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness, maintaining love to thousands, and forgiving wickedness, rebellion and sin. Yet he does not leave the guilty...” (Exodus 34:6–7). Where else is this passage cited in the “First Testament?” Why isn’t Exodus 34:6-7 explicitly referred to in the New Testament, when it is cited so many times throughout the First Testament?

I expect somebody to “shoot from the hip,” and to attack this passage as “cruel treatment of the innocent by a psychopathic God.” That would be a very ignorant... (Exodus 34:6–7). Where else is this passage cited in the “First Testament?” And why should it have been cited in the New Testament? Continue Reading. Recent papers in Exodus in the New Testament. Papers. People. Usually the answer goes something like this: when you believed in Jesus, you died to sin and were raised to new life, like Jesus, and your baptism at church symbolizes that reality. But what if our radical individualism has caused us to miss something massive in these verses? In Missing Lenses, Tom Holland thinks that we approach verses like this with a wrong perspective that quickly leads us astray.