

The contours of Pauline theology.
Chapter 14. Review of exodus and paschal theology.

section five

appendix

Chapter fourteen. **Review of exodus and paschal theology.**

The New Exodus in the Gospels.

Study of the New Exodus has generally been limited to viewing the NT from the perspective of the Egyptian exodus. The scarcity of research into the New Exodus promised by the prophets covers the whole New Testament.

Balentine studied the New Exodus presence in the gospels as far back as 1961.¹ Bowman identified the New Exodus theme in the Gospel of Mark. He recognised that the Rabbinic writings had equated the Davidic prince with the Servant figure of Isaiah and saw it as the basis for the amalgamation of Ps. 2:7 and Isa. 42:1 in Mk. 1:11.² Despite this, rather than exploring the significance of the New Exodus as predicted by the prophets, Bowman interacted almost exclusively with the type of the Exodus from Egypt. He built his argument around the fact there was a Midrash on Song of Solomon 2:10ff in *Midrash Ex Rabba* which spoke of the New Exodus of the Messiah which will be like the first.³ Bowman recognised the influence of Isaiah on the mind of Jesus and of Pharisaism in forming their missionary zeal and concluded that it would, in the light of Isaiah's expectation, be: "strange if Jesus Himself did not envisage the kingdom of God embracing all mankind."⁴ But Bowman's exegesis, limited to the Egyptian Exodus, is so strained that he has to put the giving of the law before the Exodus in order to keep any semblance of a parallel.⁵

Piper saw a wider influence of the theme: "Exodus did not only provide the ideas by which the Primitive Church interpreted its own existence, fate and destination, but also helped to shape the Gospel Story."⁶ Piper saw how both Jeremiah and Isaiah had used the Exodus to interpret their own situation. He demonstrated the deep impression the Exodus had left on the understanding and worship of the Jews. Piper suggested that the reason why Paul began his sermon in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia⁷ was that he saw it as the first instance in which the coming of Christ announced itself. Piper demonstrated the extent of the New Exodus theme throughout the NT and saw it to have come from Jesus himself.⁸ While Piper's article was an extensive survey of the New Exodus theme in the NT, there is no suggestion that he has seen the creativity of the early church in linking the New Exodus promises of the eighth century prophets, with all of their theological motifs, to the Mosaic exodus. By missing this he, like others, failed to explore the full significance of the theme.

Klijn⁹ argued that the Gospels were built around the type of the Exodus. He noted that a prominent part of all the Gospels is the passion narrative¹⁰ and

1 Balentine, *Concept, passim* and "Jesus"

2 Bowman, *Mark*, 106-8.

3 op cit 116 cf 100.

4 op cit 172.

5 op cit 199-200.

6 Piper, "Unchanging" 16.

7 see Acts 13:14ff and especially vss16-23

8 op cit 19.

9 Klijn, "Origins" 1-17.

10 op cit 5.

saw a structural correspondence there between the Gospels and Exodus.¹¹ Klijn argued: “The authoritative sayings of Jesus that are interspersed through the narratives of his saving acts are then clearly to be identified as the new covenant equivalents of the directives of Moses to Israel in Exodus and elsewhere in the Pentateuch. He concluded: ...the New Testament gospels and the Book of Exodus are to be viewed as a single genre.”¹² Klijn further noted how Luke set Jesus’ career in an Exodus setting from the very beginning of his gospel, citing Lk. 1:68 and 2:38 as evidence.¹³ While Klijn identified the Isaianic Servant as a theme, he did not appreciate the major contribution of the prophet to the New Exodus and so, like many others, restricted his understanding largely to the Egyptian Exodus.

Daube¹⁴ saw that there was a widespread New Exodus pattern that he detected by making comparisons between sections of the gospels and established *Haggadah*. He demonstrate that much of the gospel material was based on the Passover eve liturgy provided by contemporary Jewish patterns of celebration, but failed to appreciate the scale of this influence on the NT writers.

Sahlin commented: “The typological parallel between the historical Exodus and the Messianic deliverance, which was thus anticipated by Early Judaism, is also fundamental for the New Testament, and to a far greater extent than we generally realize.”¹⁵

Davies also identified the Exodus as a key to understanding the Jewish scriptures, he said: “To understand the Hebrew canon, then, well-defined, extra-ordinary, historical memories - of the exodus, Sinai and the exile - have to be recognised as formative.”¹⁶

Mànek¹⁷ produced a study of the New Exodus as found in Luke and claimed that the departure of Jesus from Jerusalem was like the departure of the Jews from Egypt, both bringing judgment on those who did not believe. He argued that the 40 days that Jesus spent with the disciples after his resurrection were parallel to the 40 years spent in the wilderness by the Jews before entering into their inheritance. However, because Mànek identified Moses as the type of Jesus, he totally missed the Davidic emphasis at the beginning of the gospel and consequently failed to see that Luke expanded the exodus typology to include the Babylonian Exodus with its Davidic leader.

While Marshall did not see the New Exodus link, his study on the title ‘Son of God’¹⁸ showed that in its primitive form it was a functional description and related to Jesus’ role as the Messiah. In establishing this he showed that the Davidic prince was latent in the title (and without Marshall realising it), with all of the promises that the prince’s ministry would bring in the eschatological age as a result of the New Exodus.

Garrett¹⁹ said that the Luke viewed the resurrection and ascension of Jesus

11 op cit 6

12 op cit 7.

13 op cit 11.

14 Daube, “Structures” 174-87.

15 Sahlin, “Exodus” 82, see also Castle *Exodus passim*. Sahlin is commended by Murray “Review art” 286-288, but he does not adopt his methodology into his systematics.

16 Davies, “Canon” 30.

17 Mànek, “Luke” 8ff.

18 Marshall, “Reconsideration” 326ff.

19 Garrett, “Bondage”, 670.

and the subsequent fall of Satan-which together constitute the antitype to the exodus from Egypt-have in turn become a new typological model for divine intervention in human history. Garrett recognises the influence of Isaiah on Luke.

Nixon²⁰ produced a short study on the theme of the Exodus in the NT demonstrating the presence of Exodus themes throughout, but without suggesting that he appreciated the significance of the motif as a major key for interpreting the NT. Smith²¹ saw the influence of the Egyptian Exodus on the Gospel of John, but failed to see how the eighth century prophetic predictions had been merged into the original type. Marsh²² noted the importance of the Exodus for interpreting the Jesus event but like so many others did not appreciate the synthesis of the two Exoduses and so was dominated by the Egyptian model. McCasland²³ noted how the signs and wonders of the Gospels were based on the signs and wonders performed in the Exodus from Egypt. Beasley-Murray²⁴ acknowledged the expectation of a New Exodus but shows no appreciation of the prophets predictions for understanding the NT. Murray²⁵ noted the power of the original Exodus in shaping Zechariah's prophecy in Lk 1:27. Baily²⁶ focused on the song of Mary and its relation to New Exodus expectations. Goppelt,²⁷ in a work that was a study of typology, gave an extensive note on the influence of the New Exodus motif. Dennison²⁸ gave an excellent brief summary of the influence of the exodus on both OT and NT thinking.

In recent years the theme of the New Exodus as seen from the perspective of Isaiah has been more clearly identified as having a major influence on NT thinking. Watts's²⁹ work on the presence of the Isaianic New Exodus theme in Mark shows that the introduction of the Gospel was programmatic for the understanding of the Gospel as a whole. Watts's contribution was to appreciate that Bowman had not given attention to the contribution of Isaiah and the prophetic expectation of a New Exodus. Watts's own failure was not to pay sufficient attention to the Paschal theme itself, so missing the cultic interplay between the two Exoduses that the NT writers make. This led him to consider that Isa. 53 was behind Mk. 10:45. (We shall seek to demonstrate that there is much more compelling evidence to support the argument that its key is in fact Paschal). Strauss³⁰ has more recently demonstrated the importance of the Davidic figure for Luke-Acts and has noticed that his

²⁰ Nixon, *Exodus Iff.*

²¹ Smith, "Typology" 329.

²² Marsh, "Christ" 57.

²³ McCasland, "Signs". So also Richardson, *Introduction* 97-8.. For further information on the New Exodus motif see Fishbane "Motif" 721, Mänek, "Luke" 8ff, Cannon, *The Use* 12. Cullmann *Salvation passim*. For the use of the New Exodus theme in Qumran see Fischer, "Fulfilment" 182. Drane, "Typology" 205 says that: "One of the most significant elements in the OT is the pattern of progression from promise to fulfilment, a pattern of correspondence which is continued over into the NT." The contribution of the Exodus as the greatest model of Yahweh's saving works is endorsed by Hughes, "Salvation-History" 79ff

²⁴ Beasley-Murray, "Kingdom" 28.

²⁵ Murray, *Covenant* 25 also see *Pattern* 4-5.

²⁶ Baily, "Vision" 27-41.

²⁷ Goppelt, *Typos* 38 note 99.

²⁸ Dennison, "Exodus" 6-32. Merrill, "Pilgrimage" 261-272 did the same thing for the OT usage of the motif.

²⁹ Watts, *Influence* 113ff. Watts has also written an excellent article on the New Exodus in the Bible, see "Exodus" in NDBT. pp 478-487..

³⁰ Strauss, *Davidic* 341.

ministry is concerned with the fulfilment of the New Exodus promises. Neither scholar has appreciated the significance of the Passover and because of this they have failed to explore a wealth of theological thought that would have brought rich reward. Swartley³¹ sees the Sinai tradition to have influenced the introduction to the synoptic Gospels while he says that the pilgrimage section has influenced the journey narratives and the Zion tradition (i.e. the prophets) has influenced the passion narratives. This last tradition focuses on the Son of David cleansing and providing a temple for the nations to worship in. Swartley³² has noted the Exodus motif's influence on the earlier part of the synoptics but says that the eucharist focused not on the Passover but on the Messianic banquet of Isa. 25:6. Longman and Reid³³ have produced a study on the theme of God as the divine warrior. It shows clearly that this theme is a key feature of Isaiah's New Exodus motif and that it is found throughout the NT. This theme has been studied in greater depth by Yoo³⁴ who concentrates his study in Matthew paying special attention to the exorcism of the Gadarene in Mtt. 8:28-34. Neuffeld³⁵ studied the theme with special reference to the armoury imagery in the letter to the Ephesians.

New Exodus in the epistles and Revelation.

The study of the New Exodus in the epistles is not as advanced as that done in the Gospels. However, observations have been made on the presence of the New Exodus without appreciating the significance of the texts for establishing a hermeneutic model.

Davies says that Paul: "obviously regards the great deliverance at the Exodus and its companions as the prototype of the mighty acts of God in Christ", and cites 1 Cor. 5:6-8; 10:1ff; 15:20 and 2 Cor. 3:1-17 as evidence.³⁶ Kirby³⁷ identified the contribution of Isaiah to the New Exodus when examining the OT basis of the use of the theme of light in Ephesians, and argued that the Corinthians must at least have been aware of the details of the Passover otherwise Paul could not have made 'throw away' statements about various Passover details.³⁸ However, he missed the opportunity of developing this theme because he thought that the dominant festival in NT Jewish thinking was that of Pentecost. He concluded this because of the importance of the festival in the book of Jubilees and the Dead Sea Scrolls.³⁹ To claim such an exclusive concentration on Pentecost in Jubilees is strange since Jubilees interprets history from a Paschal perspective. Indeed, Kirby explicitly states that believers are not on a pilgrimage,⁴⁰ thus cutting himself off from the theme of the New Exodus pilgrim community.

While some have noted the presence of Exodus material in the epistles, until recently, there have been only a few who have appreciated the significance of the eighth century prophetic expectation as a vitally important determinative

31 Swartley, *Scriptures* 105.
32 Swartley, *Scriptures* 309.
33 Longman and Reid, *Warrior* 1ff.
34 Yoo, *War*.
35 Neuffeld, *Armour*.
36 Davies, *Rabbinic* 105.
37 Kirby, *Ephesians* 72.
38 op cit 77.
39 op cit 66ff.
40 op cit 74.

theme for interpreting the epistles.⁴¹ Goldsworthy,⁴² for example, sees the prophetic New Exodus promises influencing the theology of the NT without appreciating the extent of the themes that develop from the motif. Carrington⁴³ says that Paul used an Exodus Midrash in composing 1 and 2 Corinthians. Webb⁴⁴ has also made a substantial study of the New Exodus theme in 1 Cor. 6:14-7.1. To establish the claim that the passage contains New Covenant material from the prophets, he analysed the preceding passage from chapter 2:14 and demonstrated that there is a New Exodus motif based on the prophetic expectation guiding the argument being developed by Paul. Webb linked the Egyptian and Babylonian Exoduses together as he interacted with the prophetic material and suggested that there might be New Exodus material in Eph. 2:17 and in Col.1:20. In spite of this he does not seem to appreciate the importance of the theme for other parts of the New Testament. This omission obscured the significance of circumcision for the celebration of the Passover and caused Webb to miss the theme of spiritual circumcision. This would have been a useful insight alongside his interaction with the New Covenant material. Keesmaat,⁴⁵ a doctoral student of N. T. Wright, after surveying the OT and Qumran material notes the extensive influence of the Exodus theme in these literary sources and equates this influence to Rom. 8:14-30. She does not however suggest that firstborn in 8:28 has a *go'el* background. She has also examined Gal. 3-6⁴⁶ and shown it to be based on the New Exodus theme. Wilder studies the role of the Spirit in New Exodus expectation.⁴⁷ Longenecker also pointed to the importance of the New Exodus promises as a perspective for understanding the NT.⁴⁸

Such evidence is rather limited and may be part of the reason why Sanders concludes: "The Exodus typology does not seem to have determined Paul's thinking."⁴⁹

Casey produced an extensive study of the presence of the Exodus theme in Revelation and summarised the conclusions saying: "For John the Exodus is the event which orders and gives shape to his hope. To understand the meaning of redemption, the consequences of oppressing God's people, and the context of Christian inheritance, John turns to the intentions and activity of God first revealed in the Exodus. These, he says, are, 'what must soon take place' (Rev. 22:6)".⁵⁰ Casey also noted a limited presence of the theme in other parts of the NT. Other scholars have studied the use of the Exodus theme Revelation.⁵¹

All of the aforementioned scholars failed to demonstrate the extensive

⁴¹ Wright, "Romans", "Exodus" and *Colossians* has made extensive use of the Exodus theme to interpret Paul. He has been followed by his doctoral student Keesmaat who has concentrated on parts of Romans and Galatians. Webb uses the theme to interpret 2 Cor 4-6 in his *Coming* as does Beal, "Background".

⁴² Goldsworthy, *According* 247 sees the New Exodus in the NT but only to a limited extent. Marshall, "Concept" 161 noted the influence of Isa 43:20 on Acts 20:28 and 1 Peter 2:9. However, because he had accepted Deissmann's argument of sacral manumission (p158), he did not develop the imagery of the New Exodus and the eschatological marriage.

⁴³ Carrington, *Primitive* 66

⁴⁴ Webb, *Home* 1ff cf also Scott "Use" 84.

⁴⁵ Keesmaat, "Exodus" 40.

⁴⁶ Keesmaat, *Use passim*.

⁴⁷ Wilder, *Freed*.

⁴⁸ Longenecker, *Christology* 39-41

⁴⁹ Sanders, *Palestinian* 513.

⁵⁰ Casey, "Exodus" 42.

⁵¹ So Casey, *Typology*, Koi, *Symbol*, White, *Motif*, Juster, *Key*.

presence of the New Exodus theme in Jewish literature contemporary with or preceding the NT. Those who made some attempt tended to deal with secondary sources that did not themselves adequately demonstrate the existence of New Exodus material. The only exceptions to this failure are Wright who has demonstrated the extensive presence of this material within Judaism⁵² along with his doctoral student Keesmaat.⁵³ Indeed the presence of this theme in the intertestamental literature has been challenged⁵⁴ but Evans responded⁵⁵ in favour of Wright providing sources that go beyond those that Wright had provided. For most NT scholars the extent of this expectation is no longer an issue. What is still being debated is its significance. Outside of the NT itself, Stanton⁵⁶ has pointed out that Justyn in Dialogue 105 where he debates with a Jew, used the 'sin exile return' theme. Daube has done a study of the Exodus pattern in the OT.⁵⁷

Paschal studies in NT theology.

Jeremias⁵⁸ judged that the Passover theme was extensively appreciated by the early church and was the reason why statements such as in 1 Cor 5:7-8 could be made to Gentile congregations without fear of the point being missed. However, Jeremias did not explore the *prototokos* title in the light of the Passover.

Preiss is emphatic concerning Paschal influence when he says: "The totality of the events of the Exodus centring on the Passover together with its associated ideas occupied a dominant position in Christian soteriological thought in the New Testament period, especially as Jesus Himself had instituted the eucharist in a distinctively Paschal setting."⁵⁹

Stott also acknowledges the importance of the Passover, even though it does not shape his theology beyond what is normal, when he says that the NT: "clearly identifies the death of Jesus as the fulfillment of the Passover and the emergence of his new and redeemed community as the new exodus."⁶⁰ Colautti had done a study of the Passover in the works of Josephus and includes a section in which he surveys Passover material in the NT.⁶¹

Daly also sees the importance of the Passover as a source of early Christian thinking. He says: "Thus, growing out of a religious atmosphere in which all the important events of the past were considered to be Paschal events, and in which participation in the Paschal rite assured the individual and the nation of receiving the Salvific effects of the Pasach, and in which the eschatological end event was looked forward to as a Paschal event, it is not surprising that the New Exodus Christology is so thoroughly Paschal."⁶² And again Daly says: The Jewish Passover, as it was understood at the time of Christ, provided not merely the background but the very foundation of Christian

⁵² See Wright, *Testament* 268-273, and *Jesus* xviii, 126f, 203f. 209, 224, 234.

⁵³ Keesmaat, *Use passim*.

⁵⁴ Johnson "Historiographical" 221.

⁵⁵ Evans, "Continuing" pp77-100.

⁵⁶ Stanton, "Polemic", 385-6.

⁵⁷ Daube, *Exodus*, passim.

⁵⁸ Jeremias, *TWNT* 5: 896-904, so also Hays, "Imagination", 412.

⁵⁹ Preiss, *Life* 90

⁶⁰ Stott, *Cross* 139.

⁶¹ Colautti, *Passover*, 174-184.

⁶² Daly, *Sacrifice* 203.

soteriology.”⁶³

A similar view as to the significance of the Passover is held by Moule who says: “To a unique degree, Jesus is seen as the goal, the convergence point, of God’s plan for Israel, his covenant promises....The Passover gathers up into itself a large number of strands of covenant promises: to speak of “its full realisation” is to use the root we are considering in a highly significant way.”⁶⁴

Daube studied the Gospel material comparing it to known haggadah material. His study was limited but his conclusion nevertheless was that: “It can be shown, however, that the Passover eve expositions of the exodus current at the time exercised a decisive influence.....If we can prove certain sketches of the Gospels to be composed in analogy to last supper eve expositions, the likelihood is that the same is the case with some others as to which, owing to the loss of the original, we have no means of proof.”⁶⁵

R. H. Lightfoot⁶⁶ noted the Paschal influence in St John’s gospel. Howard⁶⁷ fully appreciated the significance of the Passover as a major key to John’s thinking, but because he focused on the lamb, and did not explore the possibility that the Son is the firstborn victim, failed to appreciate the theme as fully as the potential offered. However, Howard did recognise the connection between the Day of Atonement and the Passover in Ezek 45, even though he did not develop it. This we shall soon see is a crucial passage in the development of our subject. Howard also produced⁶⁸ a study on the Passover theme in 1 Corinthians in which he examined 5:6ff; 7:22ff; 10:ff and 11:23ff but did not produce any new insights beyond those generally appreciated.

Leaney⁶⁹ and Cross⁷⁰ argued for a clear dependence of 1 Peter on the Exodus narrative. However, Thornton⁷¹ claimed that there is no proof of a Paschal liturgy in the first century. Shephard produced a study of the influence of the paschal theme on the book of Revelation and endorsed its widespread influence.⁷² Wallis has also examined this Paschal theme in the Revelation⁷³ and so has Shephard.⁷⁴

Hockel⁷⁵ produced a historical study on the interpretation of the title “Firstborn of all creation”. He noted that there was many different meanings given to the title in the early church but did not identify the specifically Paschal meaning. He demonstrated that there was an ongoing tendency beyond the apostolic age to interpret the title ontologically, while at the same time there was a tendency to a soteriological meaning that was never put into a specifically Paschal context. Both Moule⁷⁶ and Perrin⁷⁷ expressed the

⁶³ op cit 207.

⁶⁴ Moule, “Fulfilment” 294 & 301. See also Overfield, “Pleroma” 396.

⁶⁵ Daube, “Structures” 174-87. See also Lascelle, *Haggadah. passim*.

⁶⁶ R.H.Lightfoot, *St. John passim*.

⁶⁷ Howard, “Eucharist” 329ff.

⁶⁸ Howard, “Christ” 97ff.

⁶⁹ Leaney, “1 Peter” 238ff.

⁷⁰ Cross, *1 Peter* 1ff.

⁷¹ Thornton, “Paschal” 21. This links with the observations of Casey on the extent of the Exodus motif in Revelation, see note 99.

⁷² Shephard, *Paschal* 1ff.

⁷³ Wallis, *Passover*.

⁷⁴ Shephard, *Paschal*.

⁷⁵ Hockel, *Erstgeborene* 1ff.

⁷⁶ Moule, *Fulfilment* 318.

conviction that the Passover had been an important influence on the Christological development of the early church, but neither went beyond a general statement.

The Passover has been linked with the binding of Isaac and this connection has been extensively written on.⁷⁸

While some of the scholars cited above have seen soteriological significance in the Passover, and a few have suggested Christological links, none has attempted to construct a Paschal Christology/theology.

Protokos in the New Exodus setting.

Because of the position of *Protokos* in Col 1:15 which immediately follows a New Exodus description of salvation (vss 12-14) one would expect that some attention would be given to exploring the possibility of it having a Paschal significance, especially when it is appreciated that the introduction to a work is intended to set the framework in which the main part of the presentation is to be interpreted.⁷⁹ Such an enquiry is wanting in NT studies.⁸⁰ What we do find is that the term is repeatedly related to Wisdom, despite the problems that such an association presents.⁸¹

Despite the absence of a developed Paschal Christology, some statements have been made which certainly point in the direction of our enquiry, but do not appear to have been appreciated for their potential by the authors concerned. Engell, discussing how the firstborn belonged to the Lord, noted how this included the firstborn of humans. He came very close to a Paschal meaning for firstborn, but fails to explore its significance: "Even among the firstborn males, they belonged in principle, the same way to Jehovah. Exodus 13:2; 22:39 etc). This type of sacrifice was resorted to very rarely. Once in a while a king's son was sacrificed such as Manasseh in Judah (2 Kings 21:6). Compare this to king Mera of Moab, 2 Kings 3:27 The ideological association of the king as "firstborn" is at home in this context. Something like this is reflected even in the New Testament in the question about Jesus Christ as *protokos*, ("firstborn")."⁸²

Bowman also came very close to identifying the firstborn with Christ the paschal victim when he wrote: "The death of the firstborn in Mark's Christian Jewish New Haggadah of the Passover achieves the deliverance of the people enslaved to the Law and the Temple, yes and from the Romans too - but the deliverance is not wrought by the death of the firstborn of the Egyptians, not even the death of Pharaoh's firstborn, nor at the price of the foreign oppressor, but by the death of the Saviour Himself."⁸³ Bowman further wrote:

⁷⁷ Perrin, *Pilgrimage* 76.

⁷⁸ See chapter 10.

⁷⁹ Aletti, *Colossians* 7 says that 1:13 announces v15-16c and 16f-17ab prepares for 18a-20. It is not just that the introduction to the hymn interprets the hymn but that the hymn in turn determines the interpretation of the letter, so Aletti p.13. Yet note Schweizer, *Colossians* 56, who says: "One cannot but notice the theological difference between the hymn itself and the commentary which the author of the hymn provides." For further works that deal with the firstborn description see Wymer "Usage" *passim*; Johnson, *Commentary*, *passim*; Korlewitz, "firstborn" *passim* and Meilach, "Son" *passim*.

⁸⁰ F.F.Bruce in private correspondence with the author wrote: "I do not know of any commentator who links the title *protokos* with the paschal event." For examples of such absence see Lerny, *Every*, Korlewitz, *Firstborn* as well as the details supplied in chapters 7-9.

⁸¹ For a full treatment of this, see chapter chapters 11-12. See also my forthcoming commentary on *Romans* and my forthcoming volume of *Contours Paul Law and the Spirit*.

⁸² Engell, "firstfodda" 1:714.

⁸³ Bowman, *Mark* 314

Just as Israel was delivered at the Exodus by the blood of the lamb and the death of Egypt's firstborn, so the Messiah of the new Israel, the beloved Son of God dies as the price of freedom and is delivered by His father whose will He is fulfilling, that he may see His seed. Mark develops not only the thought of the deliverance of the historic Exodus, but of the Covenant with Abraham, the promises to Abraham, and the sacrifice and deliverance of Isaac."⁸⁴

Both Engell and Bowman virtually call Jesus 'God's firstborn' in a Paschal context, but show no sign that they have appreciated that it has significant theological implications. This is similar to Helyer⁸⁵ who while appreciating that there was a New Exodus background to the use of the term in Heb 12:23,⁸⁶ and that the use of the term in Heb 1:6 was closely linked with Col 1:15-20,⁸⁷ nevertheless failed to see the significance of the Passover as the setting to interpret the title.

Levenson came extremely close to identifying the death of the firstborn as a Paschal offering but he didn't quite pass over the boundary of actually acknowledging that the death of the beloved son was actually an atonement for sin and that its specific setting was the Passover. Levenson did however recognise that the beloved son was sacrificed to Yahweh in recognition of His rightful claim on the costliest offering that man could make.⁸⁸

This survey demonstrates the absence of Paschal thinking for the description of Christ being the firstborn of all creation in Christian thinking and how this absence has influenced the models used to interpret Paul.

84 op cit 325.

85 Heyler, "Prototokos" 17.

86 op cit 16.

87 op cit 12.

88 Levenson, *Death passim*.