

The Literary Structure of the Plagues Narrative

Plague	Exodus source	Forewarning	Time indication of warning	Instruction formula	Agent
First					
1. Blood	7:14-24	yes	"in the morning"	"Station yourself"	Aaron
2. Frogs	7:25-8:11	yes	none	"Go to Pharaoh"	Aaron
3. Lice	8:12-15	none	none	none	Aaron
Second series					
4. Insects	8:16-28	yes	"in the morning"	"Station yourself"	God
5. Pestilence	9:1-7	yes	none	"Go to Pharaoh"	God
6. Boils	9:8-12	none	none	none	Moses
Third series					
7. Hail	9:13-35	yes	"in the morning"	"Station yourself"	Moses
8. Locusts	10:1-20	yes	none	"Go to Pharaoh"	Moses
9. Darkness	10:21-23	none	none	none	Moses
Climax					
10. Death of Egyptian firstborn	11:4-7 12:29-30	yes	none	none	God

The most compelling criticism, however, is another: the grouping of material into triads occurs elsewhere in Matthew, as does the 3 x 3 pattern,¹⁷² and the use of triads for structuring narrative material is well attested in old Jewish texts: it does not specifically characterize the miracle tradition of Exodus.¹⁷³ In fact, in this particular we merely have to do with a common way of organizing oral traditions, one which appears in literature from all over the world. The tale of Goldilocks and the three bears, for instance, is, just like the SM, a series of triads within triads. So my conclusion, although accompanied now by a little less conviction, remains that Bacon was probably wrong about Matthew 8-9: I here doubt the presence of a Moses typology.

THE MISSIONARY DISCOURSE (MATTHEW 10)

Jesus, according to 9:35-38, the preface to the missionary discourse, had mercy on the Jewish crowds, for they were "as sheep without a shepherd" (*hōsei probata me echonta poimēna*). The phrase in quotation marks was, according to the theory of Markan priority, borrowed from Mark 6:34; but ultimately its source was the Tanak:

¹⁷²See my article, "The Structure of the Sermon on the Mount," *JBL* 106 (1987):423-45; also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:58-72.

¹⁷³See Allison, "Structure." Note also the apparent 3 + 3 + 1 pattern in Genesis 1:1-2:3 (P):

Day	Created thing	Association	"And God said"	"Let there be"
1	light	heaven	v. 3	v. 3
2	firmament to separate waters, dry land	water and sky	v. 6	v. 6
3	vegetation	land	vv. 9,11	vv. 9,11
4	lights in sky	heaven	v. 14	v. 14
5	creatures of sea and air	water and sky	v. 20	v. 20
6	animals that live on land and human beings	land	vv. 24,26	vv. 24,26

7 God rests

Cf. S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (3rd ed.; London: Methuen, 1904), 2; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, Part I* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978), 17; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1987), 6-7.

Num. 27:15-17: Moses said, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord may not be as sheep which have no shepherd" (LXX: *hōsei probata hois ouk esti poimēn*).

1 Kings 22:17: the prophet Micaiah proclaimed: "I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd (LXX: *hōs poimnion ho ouk esti poimēn*); and the Lord said: "These have no master; let each return to his home in peace."

2 Chron. 18:16: this is a doublet of 1 Kings 22:17; at the relevant point the LXX reads: *hōs probata hois ouk estin poimēn*.

Judith 11:19: Judith to Holofernes: "Then I will lead you through the middle of Judea, till you come to Jerusalem; and I will set your throne in the midst of it; and you will lead them like sheep that have no shepherd (*hōs probata hois ouk estin poimōn*), and not a dog will so much as open its mouth to growl at you."

Our question is this: did Matthew intend "as sheep without a shepherd" to allude to one or more of these texts, or did the evangelist instead adopt a conventional expression which had come to possess a life of its own?

There are perhaps reasons to discern in the phrase a connection with Num. 27:17 in particular. Not only does this last supply the closest verbal parallel, but in both the Gospel and the Pentateuch the shepherd of Israel¹⁷⁴ appoints a successor or successors—Joshua in one case, the twelve in the other. Hence one might maintain that just as Moses gives "authority" (MT: *hōd*) to Joshua, "a man in whom is the Spirit" (Num. 27:18), so that Joshua will further Moses' ministry, similarly Jesus gives his *exousia* to the twelve, through whom the Spirit will speak (10:20), so that they will continue his work. Supportive of such a comparison are, first, that elsewhere in the First Gospel the twelve may be typologically related to Joshua (see pp. 262-66) and, secondly, that Matthew acquired "as sheep without a shepherd" from Mark 6:34, which verse belongs to a story that many have found

¹⁷⁴For Jesus as shepherd see Matt. 2:6; 25:32; 26:31. Moses, despite all his achievements, was always remembered as a shepherd: Exod. 3:1; Num. 27:12-23; Ps. 77:20; Philo, *Mos.* 1:60-66; Josephus, *Ant.* 2:263-64; LAB 19:3, 9; *Mek.* on Exod. 14:31; *Est. Rab.* 7:13; etc.; additional references in Bloch, "Moise," 138-39. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1:23; Jerome, *Life of Malchus* 5 (where Malchus, a shepherd in the desert, likens himself to Moses). For the possibility that Heb. 13:20 ("God... led up from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep") is an allusion to Isa. 63:11 (where God "raises up from the earth the shepherd of the sheep") and so makes Christ as shepherd surpass Moses see B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1892), 448.

reminiscent of Exodus 16, where Moses promises the manna (cf. pp. 238-42). So a case can be made.

But how strong is that case? Matt. 9:35-38 reminds one as much of 1 Kings 22:17 as Num. 27:17; for in 1 Kings 22 "as sheep which have no shepherd" serves to characterize the condition of Israel and implicate the reign of Ahab. Matters are similar in Matthew, where the Pharisees allege: "By the prince of demons he casts out demons" (9:34). Jesus' words are a "charge against the leaders of the Jews, that being shepherds they acted the part of wolves. For so far from amending the multitude, they even marred their progress" (Chrysostom, *Hom. on Mt.* 32:4).

Another reason for hesitating to detect in Matt. 9:35 an allusion to Num. 27:17 and Moses is this: the several other occurrences of "as sheep without a shepherd" do not seem to hark back to Num. 27:17. That is, 1 Kings 22:17; 2 Chron. 18:16; and Judith 11:19 do not allude to Num. 27:17. Neither do the related expressions in Isa. 13:14; Ezek. 34:5-6; Zech. 10:2; 13:7; Josephus, *Ant.* 8:404; and 2 Bar. 77:13. Consequently it cannot be shown from other texts that "as sheep without a shepherd" carried specifically Mosaic connotations.

There is a second way to link Matthew's missionary discourse with Moses. In the Pentateuch the lawgiver is associated with a group known as the phylarchs (MT: *nešp'im*; LXX: *archontes [tes synagōgēs]*),¹⁷⁵ which group was chosen to help in the first census. According to Num. 1:1-16:

The Lord spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they had come out of the land of Egypt, saying, "Take a census of all the congregation of the people of Israel, by families, by fathers' houses, according to the number of names, every male, head by head; from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel who are able to go forth to war, you and Aaron shall number them, company by company. And there shall be with you a man from each tribe, each man being the head of the house of his fathers. And these are the names of them men who shall attend you. From Reuben, Elizur the son of Shedeur; from Simeon,

¹⁷⁵See esp. W. Horbury, "The Twelve and the Phylarchs," *NTS* 32 (1986):503-27. For what follows I am much indebted to this article. References to the princes include Exod. 16:22; 22:27; 34:31; 35:27; Lev. 4:22-26; Num. 7:1-88; 10:4, 14-28; 17:16-28; 21:18; 27:2; 31:13; 32:2; 34:16-29; 36:1; Josh. 9:15-21; 14:1; 21:1; 22:9-34; 1 Kings 8:1; Ezek. 45:8; Alexander Polyhistor, in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9:30. Josephus, *Ant.* 3:219-22, seems to presuppose a tradition according to which the phylarchs came together "two by two"—which of course reminds one of Mark 6:7: "And he [Jesus] called to him the twelve and began to send them out two by two."

Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai... These were the ones chosen from the congregation, the leaders of their ancestral tribes, the heads of the clans of Israel.

Although I have elided all but two of them, twelve men (LXX Num. 7:2: *dōdeka archontes*) are here named, one for each tribe. The circumstance is reminiscent of Matt. 19:28, where the twelve apostles represent the twelve tribes of Israel. Further, the list of names in Num. 1:5-16 (introduced with *kai tauta ta onomata*) is the closest formal parallel to Matt. 10:1-4 of which I am aware (and Matthew's text opens with *ta onomata estin tauta*).

That Matthew wanted Jesus' selection of the twelve apostles to recall Moses' appointment of the twelve phylarchs is a possibility not to be blithely dismissed. Certainly some have thought the two groups related.¹⁷⁶ Bengel, in his commentary on Matt. 19:28, remarked that twelve was the number of the princes; and long before Bengel, Origen, when explicating Exod. 18:21-22, where Moses is told to appoint princes (cf. Num. 1:16), cited Matt. 19:28 (*Hom. on Exod. 11:6*). One may also in this connection quote Thomas Hobbes, who offered the following as one illustration of Jesus' fulfillment of Deut. 18:18: "For as Moses chose twelve Princes of the tribes, to govern under him; so did our Saviour choose twelve Apostles, who shall sit on twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel."¹⁷⁷

Beyond the testimony of past readers, one may observe (i) that if the twelve distributed the multiplied loaves to the five thousand and four thousand (Matt. 14:19; 15:37), Exodus 12 indicates that the phylarchs communicated to Moses the facts about the gathering of manna and (ii) that if Matt. 19:28 records the appointment of the twelve to be eschatological governors, the phylarchs were sometimes thought of as a ruling "body taking precedence immediately after high priest and monarch, and before the *gerousia*."¹⁷⁸ I do not, however, believe it is useful to travel any further over the evidence; for the theme of governing is peripheral to Matthew 10, the phylarchs were not missionaries, and the titles of the apostles and princes were different. Even more importantly, Horbury has demonstrated that, before Matthew's time, the glorification of the high priest and sanhedrin fostered a tendency, apparent in Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, and the *Pseudo-*

¹⁷⁶Cf. Gfrörer, *Heils*, 369-74; also Schoeps, *Theologie*, 95-96.

¹⁷⁷*Leviathan* 41; quoted by Horbury, "Phylarchs," 504.

¹⁷⁸Horbury, *ibid.*, 521.

Jonathan Targum, to underplay the importance and authority of the phylarchs. When to this it is added that there were, besides the phylarchs, other well-known Jewish bodies whose number was twelve,¹⁷⁹ one cannot confidently claim that Origen and Bengel and Hobbes are a good guide to Matthew 10.¹⁸⁰

A third means of connecting Matthew 10 with Moses comes from R. E. Morosco.¹⁸¹ In his opinion, Matt. 9:35-11:1 is structured according to a Hebrew Bible *Gattung*, that of the commissioning story. In particular, it resembles Exod. 3:1-4:17, the calling of Moses. The typical commissioning narrative is supposed to exhibit these elements: introduction, confrontation, commissioning, objection, reassurance, conclusion; and, according to Morosco, Matt. 9:35-11:1 may be analyzed accordingly:

9:35-38—introduction

10:1-4—confrontation

10:5-23—commissioning

10:24-42—reassurance

11:1—conclusion

I introduce this thesis only to dismiss it: it is invalidated by a lack of evidence. There is, as Morosco himself acknowledged, no objection in Matthew 10. Additionally, the verbal and thematic parallels between Matthew 10 and Exodus 3-4—including *idou*, *ophis*, and the mention of leprosy—are imperfect and slight, signifying nothing.

What conclusion, in retrospect, may be reached about Moses in Matt. 9:35-11:1? That the missionary discourse was consciously modelled upon Exod. 3-4 is a proposition to be rejected. That Jesus' appointment of the twelve should recall Moses' appointment of the twelve phylarchs is not so dubious, but it too fails to persuade: proof is lacking. Lastly, that the editor used the traditional phrase, "as sheep without a shepherd," to stir memories of Moses, is a tantalizing possibility that does not arouse incredulity; but, again, the evidence does not abound. In sum, therefore, the presence of a Moses typology in Matthew 10 is not forcibly felt, and it may not be there at all.

¹⁷⁹Genesis 49—the twelve patriarchs; Num. 13:2-3—the twelve spies (although Philo, *Mos.* 1:221, identified these as princes); *IQS* viii:1—the council of the community; *IQM* ii.1-3—twelve priests and twelve levites (cf. *11QT* Temple 57:11-13); *4QOrdinances* ii.4; iii.4—a court of twelve; *4QPisa*—twelve chief priests; Josephus, *Bell.* 2:292—the twelve leading men of Caesarea. Discussion in J. M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976):59-78.

¹⁸⁰Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* 3:2, associates the twelve disciples not with the phylarchs but with another group, the twelve spies.

¹⁸¹"Matthew's Formation of a Commissioning Type-Scene," *JBL* 103 (1984):539-56.

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING (11:25-30)

At that time Jesus declared, "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will. All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows that Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him. Come to me, all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

P. Levertoff, when reviewing these famous lines, was reminded of the lawgiver: "What is said of Moses (Dt 34.10-12) is true in a much higher degree of Him [the Son of God]."¹⁸² A. E. J. Rawlinson was similarly put in mind of Moses: the "fundamental idea" of Matt. 11:27-30 is "the idea of 'knowing and being known' in relation to God," and of this the best illustration is the lawgiver: "the greatness of Moses as a prophet is explained by the consideration that he was one 'whom the Lord knew face to face' [Deut. 34:10]."¹⁸³ A connection between Deut. 34:10 and Matt. 11:27 was also suggested by Dabek,¹⁸⁴ and more recently Martin Hengel expressed himself this way:

The statement at the end of the Torah (Deut. 34.10): "And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, none like him for all the signs and wonders which the Lord sent him to do" is corrected by Jesus in terms of John the Baptist in Luke 16.16 and in terms of himself in Matt. 11.27 = Luke 10.22.¹⁸⁵

Compare the words of P. Pokorny: "In terms of content it [Matt. 11:27 par.] is a reinterpretation of the saying about the unsurpassingly close relationship between Moses and God attested in Deut. 34.10."¹⁸⁶

In my estimation Levertoff and the others just cited have correctly, if dimly, or at least without elaboration, perceived a crucial connection: Matt. 11:25-30 was indeed, as has been intermittently hinted, composed with Moses in mind.¹⁸⁷ But much more needs to be said.

¹⁸²P. Levertoff, "Matthew," in C. Gore, H. C. Goudge, and Al Guillaume, ed., *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (London: Macmillan, 1928), 156.

¹⁸³*The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., Ltd., 1926), 263.

¹⁸⁴"Moses und Elias," 177.

¹⁸⁵*The Son of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 68-69.

¹⁸⁶*The Genesis of Christology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), 55, n. 138.

¹⁸⁷In the following pages I develop suggestions first made in "Two Notes on a Key Text: Matthew 11:25-30," *JTS* 39 (1988):472-80; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2:271-97.

Matt. 11:25-30 is, in all its parts, a christological monument beneath which are buried three famous and crucial texts about Moses. I refer to:

Exod. 33:11-23: Thus the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. When Moses turned again into the camp, his servant Joshua the son of Nun, a young man, did not depart from the tent. Moses said to the Lord, "See, thou sayest to me, 'Bring up this people;' but thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, 'I know you by name, and you have also found favor in my sight.' Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found favor in thy sight, show me now thy ways, that I may know thee and find favor in thy sight. Consider too that this nation is thy people." And he said, "My presence will go with you, and I will give you rest." And he said to him, "If thy presence will not go with me, do not carry us up from here. For how shall it be known that I have found favor in thy sight, I and thy people? Is it not in thy going with us, so that we are distinct, I and thy people, from all other people that are upon the face of the earth?" And the Lord said to Moses, "This very thing that you have spoke I will do; for you have found favor in my sight, and I know you by name." Moses said, "I pray thee, show me thy glory." And he said, "I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you my name 'The Lord;' and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." "But," he said, "you cannot see my face; for man shall not see me and live." And the Lord said, "Behold, there is a place by me where you shall stand upon the rock; and while my glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by; then I will take away my hand, and you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen."¹⁸⁸

Num. 12:1-8: Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman; and they said, "Has the Lord indeed spoken only through Moses? Has he not spoken through us also?" And the Lord heard it. Now the man Moses was very meek, more than all men that were on the face of the earth. And suddenly the Lord said to Moses and to Aaron and Miriam, "Come out, you three, to the tent of meeting." And the three of them came out. And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tent, and called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forward. And he said, "Hear my words: If there is a prophet among you, I the Lord make myself known to him in a vision, I speak with him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with all my house. With him I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in dark speech; and he beholds the form of the Lord.

¹⁸⁸This texts shares several elements with the prayer of David in 2 Samuel 7, and a literary connection one way or the other is apparent; cf. Aurelius, *Fürbitter Israels*, 109-11. But I cannot see that 2 Samuel 7 is to be brought into our discussion here.

Deut. 34:9-12: And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him; so the people of Israel obeyed him, and did as the Lord had commanded Moses. And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, none like him for all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, and for all the mighty power and all the great and terrible deeds which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.

These three scriptures are thematically related,¹⁸⁹ for each concerns the reciprocal knowledge between Moses and God.¹⁹⁰ They are in addition verbally linked.¹⁹¹ It is thus only natural that Exod. 33:11-23; Num. 12:1-8; and Deut. 34:9-12, which together fostered much speculation regarding the delicate issue of how anyone could see God, were often associated and considered in the light of one another. Let me illustrate:

Ecclus. 45:3-5: God "gave him [Moses] commands for the people, and showed him part of his glory [cf. Exod. 33:18-23]. He sanctified him through faithfulness and meekness [cf. Num. 12:3]; he chose him out of all mankind. He made him hear his voice, and led him into the thick darkness, and gave him the commandments face to face [cf. Deut. 34:10], the law of life and knowledge, to teach Jacob the covenant and Israel his judgments."

Philo, *Leg. all.* 3:100-103: "The mind of which I speak is Moses who says, 'Manifest Thyself to me, let me see Thee that I may know Thee [Exod. 33:13]; for I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee Who art God, for the reflections in created things are dissolved, but those in the Uncreate will continue abiding and sure and eternal.' This is why God hath expressly called Moses and why He spake to Him... Moses has God for his Instructor... but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told 'If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision' and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is 'faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches'" (Num. 12:6-8).

Philo, *Quis rerum* 262: "What of Moses? Is he not everywhere celebrated as a prophet? For it says, 'if a prophet of the Lord arise among you, I will be known to him in vision, but to Moses in actual appearance and not through riddles' (Num. 12:6, 8); and again, 'there no more rose up a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face'" (Deut. 34:10).

¹⁸⁹Deut. 34:9-12 was probably composed with Exodus 33 in mind.

¹⁹⁰Cf. the paraphrase in Philo, *Poster C.* 13: *tou horan kai pros autou horasthai.*

¹⁹¹"Face to face:" Exod. 33:11; Deut. 34:9-12 (cf. Num. 12:8: "mouth to mouth"); "know:" Exod. 33:12-13; Num. 12:6; "prophet:" Num. 12:6; Deut. 34:10.

Ps.-Clem. Hom. 17:18: "It is written in the law, that God, being angry, said to Aaron and Miriam, 'If a prophet arise from amongst you, I shall make myself known to him through visions and dreams, but not so as to my servant Moses; because I shall speak to him in an outward appearance, and through dreams [cf. Num. 12:6, 7], just as one will speak to his own friend' [cf. Exod. 33:11]. You see how the statements of wrath are made through visions and dreams, but the statements to a friend are made face to face [cf. Exod. 33:11; Deut. 34:10], in outward appearance, and not through riddles and visions and dreams, as to any enemy" (cf. Num. 12:6-8).

Sipre Num. § 103: "[Clearly, and not in dark speech, and he beholds] the form [of the Lord]' (Num. 12:8): This refers to a vision of the Lord's speech. But perhaps it refers to his seeing the vision of the [actual] Presence of God? Scripture states, 'He said, "You shall not be able to see my face, for no man can see me and live"' (Exod. 33:20)... '...and he beholds the form of the Lord': This refers to the view of the back [of the Lord]. You maintain that 'form' refers to the back. But perhaps it is [not to the back at all] but to the very face of God? Scripture states, 'And I shall remove my hand and you may see my back' (Exod. 33:23). This refers, then, to the view of the back. 'You shall not be able to see my face' (Exod. 33:20) refers to the view of the front."

Sipre Deut. § 357: "'Whom the Lord knew face to face' (Deut. 34:10). Why is this stated? Because it is said, 'He said, "Show me your glory"' (Exod. 33:18).

Chrysostom, *Hom. on Matt.* 78:4: "But the lips of Moses, because he was exceedingly gentle and meek ('for Moses,' it is said, 'was a meek man above all the men which were upon the face of the earth' [Num. 12:8]), He [God] so accepted and loved, as to say, 'Face to face, mouth to mouth, did He speak, as a man speaketh unto his friend'" (Exod. 33:11).

There is also, in addition to these and similar passages,¹⁹² the evidence from Paul, to be considered below. Moreover, according to LXX Num. 12:8, Moses "saw [*eiden*] the glory [*doxa*] of the Lord." But in the Hebrew Moses "sees [*yabbat*] the form [*t'emunat*] of the Lord." The substitution of "glory" for "form" and the use of an aorist (adverting to some past occasion) mean that the LXX translator construed the verse in Numbers as a reference to Moses' vision of God's glory as told in Exodus 33-34.¹⁹³ The same interpretation was made by the author of the *Pseudo-Jonathan Targum* on Num. 12:8, which mentions "the back of the Shekinah," an unmistakable allusion to Exodus 33. I further note that the LXX ties Num. 12:6-8 not only to

¹⁹²Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 14; *Adv. Marc.* 4:23; *Memor Marqah* 5:3; and (for a much later example) Moses Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed* 2:45.

¹⁹³Cf. D'Angelo, *Hebrews*, 7.

Exodus 33 but also to the end of Deuteronomy. LXX Deut. 34:5 renders the MT's *'ebed YHWH* not with *ho pais tou theou*, as one might have expected, but with *oiketēs Kyriou*, which depends upon Num. 12:7: "my servant in all my house."

Returning to Matt. 11:25-30, careful investigation reveals that it gives to Jesus several attributes that Jewish tradition, on the basis of Exodus 33-34; Numbers 12; and Deuteronomy 34, had already bestowed upon Moses. Verse 27 ("All has been handed to me by my Father; and no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son") is a claim to exclusive and reciprocal divine knowledge—which is also what Exodus 33 and 34 claim for Moses when read (as they so often were) in the light of Numbers 12 and Deuteronomy 34: God knew Moses, Moses prayed that he might know God, whereupon God dramatically revealed himself in a unique and unprecedented fashion, so that reciprocal knowledge—"face to face"—was obtained.¹⁹⁴ That the parallel between Matt. 11:25-30 and Exodus should not be reckoned undesigned but rather a key for interpretation follows from several facts which now fall to be considered.

(1) In Matt. 11:25-30 the declaration of reciprocal knowledge is made in a prayer, while in Exod. 33:12-13 it is in a prayer that Moses confesses God's knowledge of him and then asks to know God.

(2) Both Matt. 11:25-30 and Exod. 33:12-13 introduce a promise of rest. Indeed, the end of Exod. 33:14 ("And he said, 'My presence will go with you, and I will give you rest'" [LXX: *kai katapausō hymas*]) supplies the closest LXX parallel to the final clause of Matt. 11:28: "Come to me, all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (*kagō anapausō hymas*).¹⁹⁵

(3) Moses was Judaism's great exemplar in meekness, and this role of his was not forgotten by Christians. For the evidence I refer the

¹⁹⁴According to Exodus, God revealed only his back, so while Moses' petition was answered, it was not answered as anticipated. Hence some interpreters have urged that God really denied Moses what he sought; so Philo, *Poster. C.* 13; *Spec. leg.* 1:42-43; *Fug.* 164-65; *Mut. nom.* 7-10; cf. John 1:18. But Ps. 103:7 declares that God showed his ways (cf. Exod. 33:13) to Moses, and that is the dominant interpretation in the history of exegesis; cf. Exod. 34:5-9; Heb. 11:27; Gregory of Nyssa, *Vit. Mos.* 2:19-20; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Hist. Rel.* 2:13.

¹⁹⁵It is perhaps significant that, according to Exod. 5:4-5, Moses pleaded with Pharaoh to let the Israelites "rest from their burdens" (MT: *wāhšibatēm 'ōlam missibōhām*; LXX: *katapausomen autous apo ton ergon*); and more than once Deuteronomy records Moses promising Israel that, upon possessing the land, she will have rest and abatement from troubles: 3:20; 12:9-10; 25:19 (cf. Josh. 1:13, 15).

reader to pp. 180-81. The classic proof text was Num. 12:3, which was sometimes associated with the vision in Exodus 33-34: "Now the man Moses very meek, more than all men that were on the face of the earth" (see above). The joining of meekness with the intimate knowledge of God which we find in Matt. 11:25-30 was therefore prepared for by, and would have been recognized as characteristic of, the traditions about Moses (cf. Eccles. 45:3-5; Chrysostom, *Hom. on Matt.* 78:4).

(4) The words of 11:27, "nor does anyone know the Father," should probably be related to Exod. 33:20 and the tradition there encapsulated: God said to Moses: "No man shall see me and live." Tertullian at least drew the connection: "With regard to the Father, the very gospel... will testify that He was never visible, according to the word of Christ: 'No one knoweth the Father, save the Son.' For even in the Old Testament He had declared, 'No man shall see me and live'" (*Adv. Marc.* 2:27; cf. *Adv. Prax.* 24). On Tertullian's reading Matt. 11:27 stands very near John 1:18: "No one has seen God at anytime. God the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known." The meaning of this last has been expressed by Raymond Brown as follows:

Naturally it is the failure of Moses to have seen God that the author wishes to contrast with the intimate contact between Son and Father. In Exod xxxiii 18 Moses asks to see God's glory, but the Lord says, "You cannot see my face and live".... Against this OT background that not even the greatest representatives of Israel have seen God, John holds up the example of the only Son who has not only seen the Father but is ever at His side.¹⁹⁶

This interpretation of John 1:18, which is confirmed by the express contrast with Moses in John 1:17, parallels precisely Tertullian's interpretation of Matt. 11:27. For this coincidence is no good explanation. I strongly suspect that John 1:17-18 was in fact composed under the influence of the tradition behind Matt. 11:25-27(30) par. If so, the express mention of Moses in John 1:17-18 is strong support for my Mosaic interpretation of Matt. 11:25-30.

(5) In 11:27 Jesus avows: "All has been handed over to me by my Father." This unexplained utterance is, in its Matthean context, not about power but revelation: Jesus has been given—when? where? how?—the whole revelation of God, that is, eschatological revelation: his gnosis is full.¹⁹⁷ This is yet one more trait that should be considered

¹⁹⁶John 1:36.

¹⁹⁷See A. M. Hunter, "Crux Criticorum—Matt. 11.25-30," *NTS* 8 (1962):436.

Mosaic, this because the Moses of haggadah, for reasons readily understood, came to enjoy what the Moses of history surely never knew, namely, near omniscience. The wedding to Sinai of Torah—all Torah, both oral and written—entailed the unsurpassed learning of its human channel. What could not have been known by the man who, among other things, wrote a book which was understood to recount the creation of the world, prophesy messianic events,¹⁹⁸ and describe much in between, including the author's own death? Already the *Exagogue* of Ezekiel has Moses recount this: "I beheld the entire circled earth, both beneath the earth and above the heaven; and a host of stars fell at my feet, and I numbered them all;" and the text goes on to announce that Moses saw all "things present, past, and future." Most startling here is the assertion, to my knowledge unparalleled, that Moses numbered stars. In Jewish tradition it was precisely this that human beings, with their comparatively feeble mental powers, cannot do; see Gen. 15:5; 22:17; Deut. 1:10; Ps. 147:4; Isa. 40:26; *1 En.* 93:14; *LAB* 21:2 *b. Sanh.* 39a; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2:32. The rule is: only God can count stars. But in Ezekiel's *Exagogue* Moses is the exception.

In representing Moses as a repository of encyclopedic learning, the *Exagogue* does not stand alone: many are the texts which proclaim the lawgiver's far-reaching, supernatural knowledge. Consider the following catena of quotations from various times and places:

Jub. 1:4: "And the Lord revealed to him what (was) in the beginning and what will occur (in the future), the account of the division of all of the days of the Covenant and the testimony" (cf. 1:26).

Ep. Aristaeas 139: "Our lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things..."

LAB 19:10: "And he [God] showed him [Moses] the place from which the clouds draw up water to water the whole earth, and the place from which the river takes its water, and the land of Egypt, and the place in the firmament from which only the holy land drinks. And he showed him the place from which the manna rained upon the people, even unto the paths of paradise. And he showed him the measurements of the sanctuary and the number of sacrifices and the signs by which they are to interpret the heavens."

LAB 19:14-16: after God showed Moses how much "time has passed and how much remains," Moses "was filled with understanding."

2 Bar. 59:4-11: "He [God] showed him [Moses] many warnings together with the ways of the Law and the end of time... and then further, also

¹⁹⁸Moses was considered a prophet and his book prophetic; see p. 61, n. 135.

the likeness of Zion with its measurements which was to be made after the likeness of the present sanctuary. But he also showed him, at that time, the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the raindrops, the suppression of wrath, the abundance of long-suffering, the truth of judgment, the root of wisdom, the richness of understanding, the fountain of knowledge, the height of the air, the greatness of Paradise, the end of the periods, the beginning of the day of judgment, the number of offerings, the worlds which have not yet come, the mouth of hell, the standing place of vengeance, the place of faith, the region of hope, the picture of the coming punishment, the multitude of the angels which cannot be counted, the powers of the flame, the splendor of lightnings, the voice of the thunders, the orders of the archangels, the treasures of the light, the changes of the times, and the inquiries into the Law."

Sipre Deut § 357: "He [God] showed him [Moses] all the world from the day it was created until the day when the dead will come to life."

b. Meg. 19b: "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed Moses the minutiae of the Torah, the minutiae of the scribes, and the innovations which would be introduced by the scribes."

Memar Marqah 5:1: "His [Moses'] span includes the knowledge of the beginning and its goes on to the day of vengeance."

I shall at this point cease quoting, although not for lack of material. Let me just add three observations: (i) Moses' proverbial knowledge and wisdom were the presupposition for the use of his name in the magical papyri and on amulets (see n. 162); (ii) the tradition that the great Greek thinkers were not autodidacts but borrowed heavily, if without acknowledgement, from "the all-wise Moses" (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2:10.83), is well-attested, as is the idea that Moses was a top-notch scientist and first-rate inventor; Artapanus went so far as to contend that Moses invented philosophy;¹⁹⁹ (iii) Moses' near omniscience was occasionally connected specifically with one of the three key texts beneath Matt. 11:25-30, namely, Num. 12:1-8. *Sipre* offers as its first interpretation of 12:8 (Moses is "faithful in all my house") this: "All that is above and all that is below have I revealed to him [Moses], all that is in the sea and all that is in the dry land." The same understanding of Num. 12:8 appears in *Midr. Ps.* 24:5:

Another comment on "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof": R. Azariah, R. Nehemiah and R. Berechiah told the parable of a king who

¹⁹⁹See Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9:27.4; cf. Eupolemus, in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1:23.153 and Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9:26.1; Aristobolus, in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13:13.3-8; Philo, *Sacr.* 8-10; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1:1-5; Justin, *1 Apol.* 44, 46, 59; Theophilus, *ad Autol.* 39; Eusebius, *H.E.* 6:13.7.

had two stewards, one in charge of the house and the other in charge of the fields. The one in charge of the house [cf. Num. 12:8] knew all that happened in the house and all that happened in the fields. . . . Even so, Moses, who had gone up to heaven, knew the upper as well as the nether worlds.

In view of the considerable foregoing evidence, I submit that when Matt. 11:27a affirms that Jesus received "all (revelation)" from the Father, it is maintaining for him what much Jewish tradition maintained for Moses. In other words, 11:27a bestows upon Jesus yet one more Mosaic characteristic.

(6) In ll:29 Jesus invites his hearers to take up *ton zygon mou*, "my yoke." In Matthew's day "yoke" was a metaphor for obedience, subordination, and servitude; and we find such expressions as "yoke of wisdom" (Ecclus. 6:30; 51:26), "yoke of the Messiah" (*Ps. Sol.* 7:9; 17:30), and "yoke of the kingdom" (3 *En.* 35:6). But, to judge from the literary remains, "yoke" was associated above all with the Torah, as in Jer. 5:5; Acts 15:10; Gal. 5:1; and 2 *Bar.* 41:3 (cf. 2 *En.* 48:9). Rabbinic literature also attests to this: "yoke of the Torah" (*'ôl tôrâ*) and "yoke of the commandments" (*'ôl miswôt*) are frequent.²⁰⁰ One understands why J. C. Fenton found in Matt. 11:29a "the idea of Jesus as the second Moses, the teacher of the new law."²⁰¹ The disciple of Jesus is encouraged to take up not the yoke of the Torah given through Moses but rather, as of first importance, the yoke of the Son of God.

(7) The order of the two major clauses in Matt. 11:27 has always been thought a bit peculiar: only the Father knows the Son, only the Son knows the Father. Our natural tendency—shared by certain Christian scribes, as the ms. tradition attests—is to put the subject of God's unknowability first: it is the greater mystery. But in Exod. 33:12-13 the statement of God's knowledge of Moses prefaces Moses' request to know God: "Thou hast said, 'I know you [Moses] by name'" introduces "Show me thy ways, that I may know thee." This supplies a sensible cause for Matthew's unexpected order. The clause about knowledge of the Son comes before that about knowledge of the Father because the Gospel text replicates the order of Exod. 33:12-13, where God's knowledge of Moses is indicated before Moses makes his request for knowledge of God.²⁰²

(8) Paul wrote in I Cor. 13:12: "For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall understand fully

even as I have been fully understood." This differs from Matt. 11:27 in that (a) eschatology is no longer realized (full understanding belongs to the future) and (b) knowledge is no longer exclusive (all the elect will someday understand). Nonetheless, Matt. 11:27 and I Cor. 13:12 are conceptually very close, which matters so much because the latter contains an allusion to Moses.²⁰³ Paul introduced his remarks about knowing and being known with a contrast between seeing in a mirror dimly and seeing face to face. In doing so he was, as is generally recognized, drawing upon Num. 12:8, where God speaks "mouth to mouth"²⁰⁴ to Moses, not in dark speech (*wêlô' bêhîdôt*; LXX: *ou di ainigmatôn*)²⁰⁵ but rather, according to the unpointed Hebrew, *mr'h*. This last is usually read as *mar'eh*, as in BDB, s.v. This is the vocalization behind the RSV: "clearly." Similarly, the NEB has "openly." There are, however, several rabbinic passages which take *mr'h* to mean *mar'â*, "mirror" (SB 3:452-54). This explains I Cor. 13:12: the passage presupposes the exegetical tradition according to which Num. 12:8 means that God spoke to Moses "(as) in a mirror." Thus *di esoptrou en enigmati* is the antithesis of *bêmar' a wêlô' bêhîdôt*: Paul borrowed the phrase about Moses and simply removed the negation. This seems to imply admittedly that the special, direct mode of communication which Moses alone once had should be understood as a pointer to the knowledge Christians will receive only at the end, and one may doubt that Paul could really have thought that Moses, notwithstanding his undeniable greatness, enjoyed a revelatory experience Christians can only anticipate. Perhaps the proper conclusion is that the scriptural allusions do not amount to strict interpretation but are rather free, *ad hoc* adaptations of certain key phrases. But however one resolves that issue, the crucial fact for our purposes is established: when ruminating upon the subject of knowing God and being known by him, Paul turned his thoughts to the lawgiver.

(9) In John 15:14-15 (which just might reflect knowledge of Matt. 11:28 par.) there is this: "You are my friends if you do what I command you. No longer do I call you servants, for the servant does not know what his master is doing; but I have called you friends, for all that I have heard from my Father I have made know to you." The margin of

²⁰³Cf. Bede, *Commentary on I John*, on 3:2.

²⁰⁴Paul changed "mouth to mouth" to "face to face" (cf. Exod. 33:11; Num. 14:14; Deut. 5:4; 34:10; Ecclus. 45:5; *Barn.* 15:1; *Memar Marqah* 5:3; etc.) because his subject was sight, not speech, and because Jewish tradition had long associated Num. 12:8 (which has "mouth to mouth") with Exod. 33:11 and Deut. 34:10 (which have "face to face").

²⁰⁵BDB, s.v., defines *hîdâ* as "riddle, enigmatic, perplexing saying or question."

²⁰⁰Cf. *m. 'Abot* 3:5; *m. Ber.* 2:2; additional texts in SB I:608-10.

²⁰¹J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963), 187; cf. Davies, *Paul*, 150.

²⁰²Cf. also John 10:15: "As the Father knows me and I know the Father."

Nestle-Aland cites for comparison Exod. 33:11: "Thus the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks with his friend." Raymond Brown also, in his commentary on John 15:15, refers to Exod. 33:11: "In the OT the supreme revelation of Yahweh to Moses on Sinai was as intimate as a man speaking to his *philos* (Exod. 33:11)."²⁰⁶ What the verse in John and that in Exodus share is the link between friendship and personal revelation. This does not entail, I concede, that John 15:15 depends upon Exod. 33:11. It does, however, at least raise again the good possibility that when early Christians reflected upon Jesus as revealer they sometimes thought about Moses and what is said of him in Exodus 33 and 34. Consequently John 15:15 offers itself as additional warrant for discerning a link between Exodus 33 and Matthew's *Jubelruf*.²⁰⁷

(10) In 11:29b Matthew's Jesus declares: "And learn of me because I am meek and lowly in heart." Attention has already been called to the Mosaic background of meekness. Here notice needs to be directed to "learn of me."²⁰⁸

In Judaism one "learned" Torah.²⁰⁹ In the First Gospel one "learns" of and from Jesus—with the implication that Jesus is or takes the place of Torah—an idea certainly found elsewhere in early Christianity, including Paul,²¹⁰ John,²¹¹ and Hermes (*Sim.* 8:3.2: the law is the Son of God). One takes up the yoke of Jesus and one studies him. Thus he is "all that God has made known of his nature, character, and purpose, and of what he would have man be and do."²¹²

Earlier I indicated that Jesus' words are eschatological Torah. But there is in Matthew no departmentalization of word and deed, no disjunction of person and speech. The two rather form an inseparable unity: Jesus embodies his utterance.²¹³ He therefore is, as Lactantius put it, a "law alive" (*Div. inst.* 4:17; cf. already Justin, *Dial.* 11: the eternal law is Christ).

²⁰⁶John 2:683.

²⁰⁷For Moses as God's friend see *Jub.* 21:15, 20; Philo, *Ebr.* 94; *Mos.* 1:156-57; *Somm.* 1:193-94, 231-32; etc.; *LAB* 24:3; 25:3, 5; 32:8; 33:4; Origen, *De prin.* 3:2.5; *Sib. Orac.* 2:245. "Friend of God" was also often used of Abraham (so already 2 Chron. 20:7).

²⁰⁸The Greek, *mathēte ap' emou*, could be translated either "learn of me" or "learn from me." But in the present instance both amount to the same thing.

²⁰⁹Cf. Ps. 118:71, 73; *LAB* 11:2; Josephus, *Ant.* 16:43; *m. Aboi* 2:8, 14; *b. Ketub.* 50a; etc.

²¹⁰Davies, *Paul*, 147-76.

²¹¹See C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), 82-86; Glasson, *Moses*, 45-64, 86-94.

²¹²Moore, *Judaism* 1:263, defining "Torah."

²¹³For this aspect of Matthew see W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., "Reflections on the Sermon on the Mount," *SJT* 44 (1991): 283-310.

The same thought lies latent in 11:19: "Yet Wisdom is justified from her deeds."²¹⁴ It is generally agreed that "deeds" is here redactional (Luke 7:35 has "all her children"), and further that "her deeds" forms an *inclusio* with the *ta erga tou Christou* (= "the deeds of Christ") of 11:2. If so, we are left with the equation, "the deeds of Christ" = "the deeds of Wisdom," which equation implies another: "Christ" = "Wisdom." Whether that equation was already implicit in Q, as some have thought, or whether, as seems more likely to me, Matthew himself first planted the idea in the synoptic tradition, the point for us is that, in Judaism, Wisdom and Torah were intimately joined, indeed "fundamentally interchangeable."²¹⁵ The evidence has been set out often enough, and I need not review it again here. Suffice it to refer to *Ecclus.* 24:23-24; *Wisd.* 6:18; *Bar.* 3:28-4:4; and 4 *Macc.* 1:16-17 (cf. also *Deut.* 4:6). These representative passages demonstrate that the identification of Wisdom with Torah was a first-century commonplace. What follows? Because Wisdom and Torah were one, Matthew's equation of Jesus with Wisdom²¹⁶ bolsters my argument that the evangelist also identified Jesus with Torah.

Now what does all this have to do with Moses? Under Persian influence, the Graeco-Roman world was quite familiar with the idea of the king as a living law:²¹⁷

Now laws are of two kinds, the animate [*empsychos*] law, which is the king, and the inanimate, the written law (Pseudo-Archytas of Tarentum, in Stobaeus 4:1.132).

The king is animate law [*nomos empsychos*], or is a legal ruler. So for this reason he is most just and most lawful (Diotogenes in Stobaeus 4:7.61).

In general the good king must be sinless and perfect in word and deed; since he must be what the ancients call animate law, creating a law-abiding spirit and unanimity; and thrusting out lawlessness and strife (Musonius, in Stobaeus 4:7.67).²¹⁸

²¹⁴In addition to what follows see Jack M. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1970).

²¹⁵Hengel, *Son of God*, 50.

²¹⁶Some have also found the equation in 23:37-39; see Suggs, *Wisdom*, 70-71; but for another opinion see Marshall D. Johnson, "Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology," *CBQ* 36 (1974):44-64.

²¹⁷See E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," in *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. I, ed. A. H. Harman (New Haven: Yale, 1928), 55-102; also Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, 2:453-557.

²¹⁸Cf. Aristotle, *Polit.* 1284A; Ps.-Aristotle, *Ep. ad Alexander*; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8:1.22; Philolaus in Stobaeus 4:7.62; Plutarch, *Mor.* 780C; idem, *Artaxerxes* 23:3.

Moreover, Hellenistic Jews, persuaded that Moses was a king who lived his own words (cf. p. 303), and stimulated by the use of "Moses" as a designation for the Pentateuch,²¹⁹ made Moses the living Torah: "Moses and the law were more or less identified and the concept and the name were *de facto* frequently inter-changeable."²²⁰ As Philo wrote: Moses was "the reasonable and living impersonation of law" (*nomos empsychos*; Mos. 1:162; cf. 2:3-5; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1:29). But, as we have seen, that is precisely what Matthew's Jesus is—the "living impersonation of law." Once more, therefore, Matt. 11:25-30 leads us back to the first lawgiver.

(11) W. D. Davies, in private correspondence, has wondered whether *hoi kopiōntes kai pephortismenoi*, "who labor and are heavy laden" (11:28), might not be exodus language. Pharaoh put slave masters over the Israelites. He ruthlessly forced them into hard labor. And, to recall Exod. 1:11-14, he made their lives bitter with hard labor in brick and mortar and with all kinds of work in the fields (cf. 2:11). Did not the Hebrews labor, and were they not heavy laden until Moses delivered them? One could urge that the Jesus of Matt. 11:25-30 promises to do what Moses did, namely, deliver his people from their burdens and labors. The problem with this proposal, however, is that neither *phortizō* nor *kopiaō* appears in LXX Exodus 1-2, nor have I found them or *zygon* elsewhere used of the slavery in Egypt. So it would probably not be wise to endorse Davies' suggestion. On the other hand, I have, for what it is worth, discovered that at least one other reader seems to have associated the language of Matt. 11:28 with Israel's plight in Egypt. In "A Soliloquy of One of the Spies left in the Wilderness," Gerard Manley Hopkins—a man who lived in the Bible—wrote this:

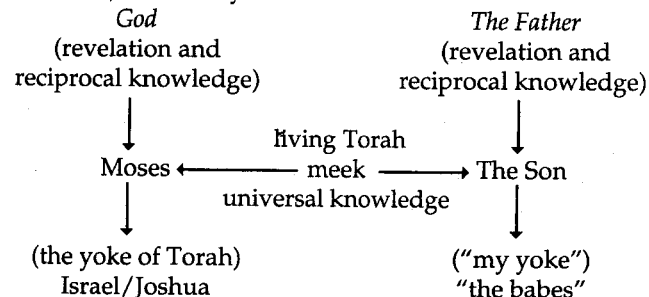
Give us the tale of bricks as heretofore;
To plash with cool feet the clay juicy soil.
Who tread the grapes are splay'd with stripes of gore,
And they who crush the oil
Are splatter'd. We desire the yoke we bore,
The easy burden of yore.

²¹⁹Luke 16:29; 24:27; Acts. 15:21; 26:22; 2 Cor. 3:15; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 5:1; Origen, *Comm.* on Matt. 12:43. Cf. the expression, "the Torah [or: law] of Moses:" 1 Kings 2:3; 2 Chron. 23:18; Neh. 8:1; Dan. 9:11; Eccles. 24:22; Tob 7:10; Bar. 2:2; 2 Macc. 7:30; 1QS v.8; CD xv.2,12; Luke 2:22; John 7:23; Heb. 10:28; b. *Šabb.* 89a; etc.

²²⁰Georgi, *Opponents*, 135. I would add that, for Matthew, Moses must have been living prophecy.

(12) The verb used for the transmission of revelation from the Father to the Son in 11:27 is *paradidōmi*—"all has been handed over (*paredothē*) to me by my Father." This verb and the related simplex, *didōmi*, along with the Hebrew, *māsar*, were, in certain contexts, technical terms for the transmission of Torah; and they were used both for the handing over of the law to Moses and for Moses' bequeathment of that law to others. As *m.* Abot 1:1 puts it: *Mōšeh qibbel tōrâ missinai ûmsārâ lihōšû* ("Moses received the Torah from Sinai and handed it on to Joshua. Compare LXX Deut. 10:4 (*kai edōken autas* [commandments] Kyrios to me [Moses]"); Eccles. 45:5 ("God gave [*edōken*] him [Moses] commandments before his face"); Justus of Tiberias in Eusebius, *Chronicon apud* Georgius Syncellus, *Chron.* 2, preface (Moses "handed down [*paradedōkota*] oracles and utterances in sacred scripture"); also LAB 11:2; *Apost. Const.* 8:12.25; *Apoc. Paul* 8; and PGM 12:92-94. In early Christian art the transmission of the law to Moses was, presumably in imitation of Jewish models, regularly depicted by a hand, with scroll, extending itself from heaven.²²¹

It is crucial to observe that Jesus, according to Matt. 11:27, not only received revelation directly from God: he also passed on revelation. So what we have in the Gospels is precisely what we have in Judaism, namely, a chain of tradition through which the divine revelation is canalized through human intermediaries. If Moses received the law and handed it on to Joshua, Jesus likewise received revelation and in turn made it known to others (cf. "and to whomever the Son wishes to reveal²²² him"). Pictorially:



²²¹See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 9:112. Cf. *Deut. Rab.* 11:10.

²²²For "reveal" (*apokalypō*) with Moses as subject see LAE title; b. *Menah.* 29b; *Deut. Rab.* 11:10; etc.

As this illustrates, both Moses and Jesus were thought of as being, on the human level, the prime movers in a chain of transmitted revelation.²²³

Before leaving 11:25-30, two cautionary words are in order. First, it would be wrong, in view of 5:17-20, to make the quick induction that one should take up the yoke of Jesus *instead of* the yoke of Torah, or that one should learn from Jesus *instead of* from Moses. As the living, eschatological Torah, Jesus embraces the first Torah: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets" (see pp. 182-90). The new incorporates the old. There is no antithesis. One must also beware of reading into 11:25-30 polemic against Moses, and of finding unwarranted contrasts between the two lawgivers. This is not to say that the superiority of Jesus here has no place. Matthew makes it plain that Jesus Christ is the one Son of the Father²²⁴ and so the chief mediator, which entails that Moses can no longer be the supreme *arbiter* (*T. Mos.* 1:14; cf. 3:12). In addition, one might observe that whereas Jewish tradition sometimes made Moses receive the Torah from angels,²²⁵ Jesus received his revelation directly. Still, I detect no attack upon Moses or his Torah in 11:25-30. Jesus does not avow that Moses had no reciprocal knowledge of God, that he was not meek, or that he did not embody Torah; and it is nowhere implied that to take up the yoke of Jesus requires laying down the yoke of Moses. There is, to be sure, an inevitable diminution of Moses in Matt. 11:25-30, for the Son has become the focus of revelation, moving aside what was for Judaism its inadjustable center; but that is not at all the same thing as polemic. In

²²³It is wholly appropriate that both Moses and Jesus were known as "the lawgiver;" for Moses see Aristobulus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8:10.3, 9; Nicolas of Damascus *apud* Josephus, *Ant.* 1:95; Cleodemus Malchus *apud* Josephus, *Ant.* 1:240 (cf. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9:20.3); *Ep. Arist.* 131, 139, 148, 153; Philo, *Mos.* 1:1; 2:2-3, 8; etc.; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2:145; Nicarchus *apud.* a Byzantine lexicon (see *Anecdota Graeca* 1 [1814], 1:381); Ptolemy Chennos *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 190; Aristides, *Apol.* 14; *Apoc. Paul* 48; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2:15; Origen, *De prin.* 4:1.1; *Pseudo-Clem. Hom.* 2:16; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* 3:2; Julian, *C. Gal.* 238C; for Jesus see Justin, *Dial.* 12:2; 14:3; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1:26; 2:5; *Apost. Const.* 3:9.4; 6:22.5; etc.

²²⁴Occasionally in the literature Moses is designated God's "son," but so rarely that it would be unwise to make anything of it for the interpretation of Matt. 11:25-30. Moses is addressed as *ho pais* in Ezekiel's *Exagogue* and, according to Philo, *Q.E.* 2:29, Moses came near to God *kata suggestionē tina oikeiotēta*, "in a kind of family relation." "My son Moses" appears in the *Midrash of Moses' Death* (in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* 1:121) and "son of the house of God" in *Memar Marqah* 4:1. Note also that *T. Levi* 17.2 (he 'shall speak to God as a father') may refer to Moses.

²²⁵Cf. Acts 7:38, 53; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2; Josephus, *Ant.* 15:136; ARN B 2.

11:25-30, as throughout Matthew, Moses is not Jesus' rival or adversary but his prophetic forerunner and typological predecessor.²²⁶

My second cautionary word is this: while the tradition-history of Matt. 11:25-30 is perhaps impossible to untangle, so that opinions differ considerably, one inference, for which I have elsewhere marshalled the evidence, commands assent: "learn from me, for I am meek and lowly of heart" (v. 29b) is redactional.²²⁷ The point is vital, for 11:29a extends the Moses typology present elsewhere in the passage. It follows that, because he added to them, our evangelist must have recognized, and wanted his readers to recognize, the allusions to Moses.

THE SERVANT OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH

Matt. 12:15-21 contains this:

Jesus... withdrew from there. And many followed him, and he healed them all, and ordered them not to make him known. This was to fulfil what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah [in 42:1-4]: "Behold, my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved with whom my soul is well pleased. I will put my Spirit upon him, and he shall proclaim justice to the Gentiles. He will not wrangle or cry aloud, nor will any one hear his voice in the streets; he will not break a bruised reed or quench a smoldering wick, till he brings justice to victory; and in his name will the Gentiles hope."

According to this, the longest citation of Scripture in Matthew, Jesus is *ho pais mou*, "my servant." The title is comprehensive: Jesus' lifework fulfills the prophecies made by Deutero-Isaiah concerning the mysterious, humble, suffering servant.

Because there are additional places in the First Gospel where Jesus' identity as Isaiah's servant is manifest or implied, that identity cannot be pushed to the periphery of Matthew's Christology.²²⁸ The redactional

²²⁶We must keep clearly in mind that Matthew could have polemicized against a certain interpretation of Moses without thinking he was criticizing Moses himself. For instance, to criticize the Pharisees' Moses was not necessarily to criticize Moses himself. —A typical example of the sort of claim I am opposing appears in Goldberg, *Jews and Christians*, 156: "all analogies between Jesus and Moses are radically undermined" because Jesus, not Moses is Emmanuel—to which one must respond: if such were the view of the evangelist, why did he (as Goldberg fully recognizes) draw so many analogies in the first place? Did he set out to deconstruct his own work?

²²⁷See Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2:237-38, 290.

²²⁸See further David Hill, "Son and Servant: An Essay on Matthean Christology," *JSNT* 6 (1980):2-16.

8:17 cites MT Isa. 53:4: "He took our infirmities and bore our diseases." This, in straightforward fashion, identifies Jesus' ministry with the ministry of the servant. More cryptically, at both the baptism and the transfiguration a heavenly voice conflates words from Ps. 2:7 and Isa. 42:1, the latter a text about the servant (3:17; 17:3).²²⁹ Then there is 20:28, in which Jesus declares himself willing to give his life as "a ransom for many." The phrase in quotation marks probably, despite the doubts of some, depends upon Isaiah 53.²³⁰ Finally, there are the solemn words of the last supper concerning "the blood of the covenant which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (26:28): these have often been thought to draw upon, among other sources, Isa. 53:12.²³¹

There are perhaps reasons to associate Jesus' status as servant with the new Moses theme. Moses bore the title, *'ebed/pais*. That title was of course also borne by others, especially kings and prophets; but, in Jewish sources, "servant" is more closely connected with the lawgiver than any other individual. The MT itself (mostly in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic history) labels Moses *'ebed* forty times; and in Exod. 14:31 (the people "believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses") and Num. 12:7-8 (see p. 219) the appellation is specially emphasized. Matters are much the same outside of Scripture: "servant" is most characteristic of the lawgiver—so much so that assembly of all the data would nearly be an interminable task.²³²

Given the facts just adduced, one wonders not that the title "servant" was employed in the construction of several Moses typologies. Thus Joshua, Jeremiah, the suffering servant, Anthony, and Constantine were all Mosaic, and all were, in that connection, called "servant."²³³ Should this be a clue to interpreting Matthew?

The question perhaps yields more force from the circumstance that the Isaianic servant, identified by Matthew with Jesus, is in certain respects Mosaic (pp. 68-71). Did our evangelist know this, and so understand that by being the servant Jesus was being Mosaic? Intriguingly enough, Matt. 26:28 mixes allusions to Exod. 24:8 and Isa. 53:12. Here exodus and servant themes meet.

²²⁹See Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 1:336-41.

²³⁰W. J. Moulder, "The Old Testament Background and the Interpretation of Mark x. 45," *NTS* 24 (1977), 120-27.

²³¹Rudolf Pesch, *Das Abendmahl und Jesu Todesverständnis* (QD 80; Freiburg: Herder, 1978), 93-101.

²³²See further p. 56, n. 121.

²³³E.g. Josh. 24:29 (cf. Judg. 2:8); Jer. 1:4; 6:24; Isa. 42:1; Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 85; Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 1:6.

The issue can be approached from still another angle. As the servant, Jesus gives his life as a ransom for many and pours out his blood (20:28; 26:28). In other words, he makes atonement with his life. The possible background for this idea of self-sacrificial atonement has been diligently sought, to no universally agreed upon conclusion. A few, however, have looked to the Moses traditions.²³⁴ According to Exod. 32:32, Moses prayed: "But now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." As early as the *Mekilta* Moses is thought to have offered himself as an atoning redeemer: Exod. 32:32 is cited as proof that "the patriarchs and the prophets offered themselves on behalf of Israel" (*nātēnū napšām 'al Yiśrā'el*).²³⁵ Did Matthew already know such an interpretation? Unfortunately it does not sufficiently appear from the extant evidence when Jews began to interpret Exod. 32:32 as does the *Mekilta*.

The foregoing considerations suffice to provoke reflection; and that Matthew associated the servant motif with his Moses typology is an appealing inference. But that inference is spoiled by a paucity of evidence and a double difficulty: in the allusions to and quotations of servant passages I detect no redactional activity conforming Jesus to Moses; and had Matthew wished to cast a Mosaic shadow over the servant, how could he have resisted citing, in 12:21, the MT for Isa. 42:4: "and the coastlands wait for his law?"²³⁶ In conclusion, then, there are conflicting indicators, and we are left only with a possibility, not a probability: Matthew's servant Christology is certainly congruent with his Moses typology, but any claim for more than that would be unfounded.

THE DEMAND FOR A SIGN (12:38; 16:1)

In Matt. 12:38 "some scribes of the Pharisees" challenge Jesus to make a supernatural display: "Teacher, we wish to see a sign (*semeion*) from you." Similarly, in 16:1 the Pharisees and Sadducees make a "test," asking Jesus "to show them a sign (*semeion*) from heaven." In both instances Jesus has, on previous occasions, performed stupendous signs and wonders, and he will do so again. But all his marvelous

²³⁴So e.g. Schoeps, *Theologie*, 94-95.

²³⁵Cf. *Sipre Deut.* § 355; *b. Ber.* 32a; *b. Sota* 14a; discussion in Bloch, "Moïse," 129.

²³⁶The question assumes that Matthew knew the Hebrew we know; but the LXX could witness to a lost Hebrew text form; see R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 115-16.

works have availed and will avail not, for the unbelief of his opponents cannot be undone: and in the end judgement will fall upon them (cf. 12:41-42, 45, etc.).

There is a like sequence in the traditions about Moses. According to Exod. 7:8, God told Moses and Aaron: "When Pharaoh says to you, 'Prove yourselves by working a miracle' (LXX: *sēmeion ē teras*²³⁷), then you shall...". So Pharaoh confronted Moses and requested a miracle. As the story goes, of course, Moses worked wonders aplenty, but Pharaoh's heart was hardened: he disbelieved his own eyes and indeed opposed Moses to the bitter end, to the extinction of his own army at the Red Sea.

One could, if so inclined, press the parallelism between Matthew's two pericopae and Exodus 7 a bit further. A few verses before Matt. 12:38, 12:27 records that Jesus challenged the Pharisees by referring to the exorcisms of others: "And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?" This might remind one of Exodus, where several of Moses' miracles are imitated by Pharaoh's magicians: not everything the lawgiver did was matchless. The parallel is all the more interesting because the ten plagues were interpreted as attacks upon the gods (cf. *Jub.* 47:5), and gods were often equated with demons; hence Moses was remembered as having battled demons. In the plague narrative of *Jubilees* we find this:

And Prince Mastema stood up before you and desired to make you fall into the hand of Pharaoh. And he aided the magicians of the Egyptians, and they stood up and acted before you. Thus we let them do evil, but we did not empower them with healing so that it might be done by their hands. And the Lord smote them with evil wounds and they were unable to stand because we destroyed (their ability) to do any single sign. And despite all the signs and wonders, Prince Mastema was not shamed until he had become strong and called to the Egyptians so that they might pursue after you... (48:9-12).

That such an interpretation was well known is suggested by *CD* v.17-19: "For in ancient times Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the Prince of Lights and Satan in his cunning raised up Jannes and his brother [see p. 109, n. 40] when Israel was first delivered."²³⁸ Like Jesus, Moses was remembered as a miracle-worker who fought the devil.²³⁹

²³⁷Cf. Artapanus in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9:27: "the king then told Moses to perform some sign (*sēmeion*) for him."

²³⁸Cf. *T. Jos.* 20:2: "the Lord will be with you [the sons of Israel] in the light, while Beliar will be with the Egyptians in the dark."

²³⁹*Jub.* 48:15 goes on to relate that Mastema was "bound" (cf. Matt. 12:29) at the Red Sea.

Also perhaps suggestive is a clause that appears in both 12:39 and 16:4: *genea ponēra kai moichalis sēmeion epizētai*: an evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign. The *dōr hammidbār*, the generation of Moses (which was often associated with the wicked generation of the flood) drew to itself the adjectives "evil" (*hārâ/ponēra*—Num. 32:13; Deut. 1:35) and "faithless" (cf. Deut. 32:20: *ouk estin pistis en autois*—this is the sense of "adulterous" in the synoptics). Some authorities even affirmed that "the generation of the wilderness will have no share in the world to come" (*m. Sanh.* 10:3). Did Matthew then think that the contemporaries of Jesus, in their stubborn refusal to believe, were akin to the generation of Moses? There can be no doubt that at least the formulation in Matt. 17:17 (*genea apistos kai diestrammenē*) depends upon Deut. 32:5 (*genea... diestrammenē*; cf. Phil. 2:15).

Do we have indication enough that Matthew was thinking of Moses and his circumstances when he wrote 12:38 and 16:1? Had we only Matthew to hand, I might imagine that we do. But we instead have to hand also Mark and Luke; and Luke 11:20, the parallel to Matt. 12:28, has Jesus respond to the Pharisees' criticism with this: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you." This last is, as Eusebius understood (*Dem. ev.* 3:2), a transparent back-reference to Exod. 8:18-19: "The magicians tried to produce gnats by their secret arts, but they could not. There were gnats on both humans and animals. And the magicians said to Pharaoh, 'This is the finger of God.'" The implication is that Jesus and Moses both did what demons cannot do (cf. *Exod. Rab.* 10:7); that is, they accomplished what only God can accomplish.²⁴⁰ The point is critical. For I am persuaded, along with others who have examined the issue, that Luke's allusive "finger of God" probably stood in Q,²⁴¹ and would our evangelist, had he been constructing a Moses typology, have dropped a phrase so suggestive of a parallel between the first redeemer and the last? It has been urged that a dislike for anthropomorphisms here overrode Matthew's wish to make Jesus like Moses. The evangelist, however, did not shrink from writing of "the right hand of the Power" (26:62). More likely is it that he omitted "finger" because it had magical connotations.²⁴² But if that considera-

²⁴⁰Cf. Manson, *Teaching*, 82-83. "Finger of God" also appears in Exod. 31:18 and Deut. 9:10 (cf. Ps. 8:30); but in these places the context offers no real point of contact with the synoptic subject matter.

²⁴¹See Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2:340-41.

²⁴²See John Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (SBT 28; London: SCM, 1974), 129. (The substitution of *pneuma* nicely links 12:18, 28, and 31-32.)

tion sufficed to override the retention of a good parallel with Moses, we must doubt how concerned our author was to establish in chapter 12 the likeness of Jesus to Moses.

THE MULTIPLICATION MIRACLES (14:13-21;
15:29-39)

Eusebius, contending that Deut. 18:15-18 prophesied Jesus, linked the gospel feeding miracles with the story of the manna:

Moses again fed the people in the wilderness: for Scripture says: Behold, I give you bread from heaven. And after a little: "It came to pass as the dew ceased round about the camp, and behold on the face of the wilderness a small thing, like white coriander seed, as frost upon the ground." And our Lord and Savior likewise says to his disciples: "O ye of little faith, why reason among yourselves, because you have brought no bread? Do you not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets you took up? Neither the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many baskets you took up?" (*Dem. ev. 3:2*, quoting Exod. 16:4, 14; and Matt. 16:8; cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. on Lk. 48*).

Do these words reflect a faithful appreciation of Matthew's intention?²⁴³ The Fourth Gospel, drawn up very near Matthew's time, encourages investigation of the issue, for in it the feeding of the five thousand belongs to a chapter full of Mosaic motifs. Further, John records that the crowd, when it learned what had happened, took Jesus to be the prophet like Moses (see p. 82). But is John a good guide to Matthew?

The First Evangelist almost certainly understood the twin gift miracles of chapters 14 and 15 to anticipate the eucharist (cf. 26:20-29) and to foreshadow the messianic banquet,²⁴⁴ and surely he was not oblivious of the striking similarities with 2 Kings 4:42-44, where Elisha feeds one hundred men with two barley loaves, and some is left over. Can we then suppose that he additionally understood 14:13ff. and 15:32ff. to suggest a parallel with Moses? In my view that is not impossible. Matthew's narrative, just like John's, is, in general, sufficiently dense to bear a multiplicity of meanings, so that the existence of one allusion need not exclude another; and I note that at least most of the commentaries on John 6 find in the feeding of the five thousand references to the exodus, to the eucharist, and to eschatology.

²⁴³Gfrörer, *Heils*, 364-65, thought so.

²⁴⁴Davies and Allison, *Matthew 2:480-82*.

Let us begin, then, with Mark, Matthew's source for 14:13ff. and 15:29ff. There does seem to be a relation between the two Markan feedings (6:34-44; 8:1-10) and the Moses traditions.²⁴⁵ Apart from the words shared with Exodus, perhaps not all of them random trifles,²⁴⁶ these observations may be registered:

(i) manna was identified as a sort of "bread" (Deut. 8:3; Neh. 9:15; John 6:31-34; etc.); and what Jesus multiplied was bread;

(ii) according to 6:40, the people sat in groups of hundreds and fifties (6:40), which arrangement is reminiscent of Exod. 18:21 and of the camps of the Qumran sectaries, who sought to reproduce the organization of Israel's wilderness period (see *IQS 2:21-22; CD 13:1-2*);

(iii) if Jesus multiplied loaves *and fishes*, *Sipre Num.* § 95 records that the Israelites ate fish in their desert wanderings (cf. *Wisd. 19:12*);

(iv) "Jesus and the disciples cross the sea to the wilderness place, and then the hungry are fed; in Exodus the Israelites cross the sea, wander in the wilderness, become hungry, and are fed with manna,"²⁴⁷

(v) Mark 6:34 remarks that the Jewish crowds were like sheep without a shepherd, and this, in its present context, could make Jesus Mosaic (cf. *Num. 27:17* and see pp. 213-15);

(vi) if the manna fell in the evening (*Num. 11:9*), Jesus fed the crowd when the hour grew late (*Mark 6:35*);

(vii) whereas Mark has two similar feeding stories, the Pentateuch contains, in two separate books, two different accounts of the miracle of the manna, accounts which would not have been recognized by our spiritual forebears as doublets (see Exodus 16; Numbers 11).

²⁴⁵This is widely acknowledged, although its importance variously assessed; in addition to the commentaries see William Richard Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity* (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1989), 53-81.

²⁴⁶*anapausis / anapausō*: Exod. 16:23; Mark 6:31; *artos*: Exod. 16:3, 4, 8, 12, 15, 29, 32; Mark 6:37, 38, 41, 44; *ginōskō*: Exod. 16:6, 12; Mark 6:33, 38; *didomi*: Exod. 16:8, 15, 29; Mark 6:37, 41; *erēmos*: Exod. 16:1, 3, 10, 14, 32; Mark 6:35; *kyklō*: Exod. 16:13; Mark 6:36; *ouranos*: Exod. 16:4; Mark 6:41; *synagō*: Exod. 16:5, 16; Mark 6:30; *syn / epitassō*: Exod. 16:16, 24, 32, 34; Mark 6:39; *topos*: Exod. 16:29; Mark 6:31, 32, 35; discussion in Stegner, *ibid.*, 61-72.

²⁴⁷Stegner, *ibid.*, 58.

One understands why Cranfield, in his commentary on Mark 6:34-44, cited *Eccles. Rab.* 1:28: "As the former redeemer caused manna to descend, as it is stated, Behold, I will cause to rain bread from heaven for you (Exod. 16:4), so will the latter redeemer cause manna to descend..."²⁴⁸

When we turn to Matthew, however, one possible reminder of Moses—"they were like sheep without a shepherd"—has been uprooted and moved elsewhere (see p. 213). Furthermore, Davies, in his exploration of the issue under review, failed to detect any redactional activity fortifying the presence of the new Moses theme in Matt. 14:13-21.²⁴⁹ He concluded his misgivings with this: while there may be "undertones of the New Exodus motif," Matthew "reveals no accentuation of any such motif;" indeed, "by omitting Mark vi.34 at this point... it might be argued that Matthew has rejected an element which might be taken to point to a New Moses..."

Should this be the last word? The first sign that maybe it should not be appears from 14:21 and 15:38: "And those eating were about five/four thousand men, besides women and children" (*chōris gunaikōn kai paidion*). The words in parenthesis—passed over quickly by the commentators—are editorial and underline the crowd's vastness. But is that their only service? According to Exod. 12:37, the number of souls in the wilderness was "six hundred thousand men on foot, *lēbad mittāp*." While the LXX translates the last two words with *plōn tēs aposkeuēs*, the meaning of the Hebrew is "besides women and children" (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1:147; Josephus, *Ant.* 2:317). Further, Num. 11:21 informs us that an exasperated Moses, when wondering how to feed the multitude that had exited Egypt, observed that "the people among whom I am number six hundred thousand (men) on foot...". As in Matthew, and as in Exod. 12:37, only the number of men, not the number of individuals to be fed, is given. Should we then entertain the notion that the concluding words of Matthew's pericope were designed to allude to the way the people in the wilderness were numbered?

Another question perhaps worth raising concerns the possible allusion to LXX Ps. 107:4-9 in Matt. 15:29-39.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Mark* (rev. ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1977), 222.

²⁴⁹Setting, 48-49. He did not, however, investigate the parallel in 15:29-39.

²⁵⁰Cf. J. Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2 vols. (HTKNT; Freiburg: Herder, 1986, 1989), 2:37.

They wandered in the waterless wilderness (LXX: *en tē erēmō*—cf. Matt. 15:33). They found no way to an inhabited city. Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them. Then they cried to the Lord in their affliction, and he delivered them from their distress. And he led them by a straight way (LXX: *eis odon*—cf. Matt. 15:32), that they might reach an inhabited city. Let them thank the Lord for his mercies, and his wonders to the sons of men. For he satisfies (*echortase*—cf. Matt. 15:37) the empty soul, and the hungry he fills with good things.

These lines can and have been given an historical sense, so that they refer not to just any band of desert pilgrims but to the wilderness wanderings of the exodus period in particular.²⁵¹ Did Matthew perhaps lend such a sense to Ps. 107:4-9, and did he have it in mind when composing 15:29-39?

That question probably cannot be answered. There is, however, another point to be made, this one indubitable: the prologue to Matthew's second feeding was designed to recall the setting of the sermon on the mount.²⁵² After the introductory *para tēn thalassan tēs Galilaias*, which exactly repeats 4:18, these parallels present themselves:

4:23ff.	15:29ff.
<i>anebē eis to oros</i> , 5:1	<i>anabas eis to oros</i> , 29
<i>kathisantos autou</i> , 5:1	<i>ekathēto ekei</i> , 29
<i>ochloi polloi</i> , 4:25, gathered for the following episode	<i>ochloi polloi</i> , 30, gathered for the following episode
<i>kai etherapeusen autous</i> , 4:24	<i>kai etherapeusen autous</i> , 30
the distinction between the disciples (<i>mathētai autou</i>) and the crowd, 5:1	the distinction between the disciples (<i>mathētas autou</i>) and the crowd, 32

Especially and irresistibly reminiscent of the SM is the notice that Jesus sat on the mountain, and to this there is no Markan parallel; so we must

²⁵¹See N. H. Snaith, *Five Psalms* (1; 27; 51; 107; 134) (London: Epworth, 1938), 17-21. Cf. Dahood, *Psalms*, 3:80-83.

²⁵²Cf. Donaldson, *Mountain*, 131. He even speaks of 15:29-31 and 4:23-5:1 as forming "the opening and closing brackets of an inclusion."

all the more inquire into Matthew's intention. Why the correlations between 4:23ff. and 15:29ff.?

We have previously learned that the lawgiver, according to Jewish sources, sat on Sinai, and also that Matt. 5:1-2, where Jesus sits on a second mount of lawgiving, plays a key rôle in a developed Moses typology. It follows that Matthew designed the introduction to his second multiplication story to recall a scene with strong Mosaic associations. The reason? My guess is that the evangelist did indeed interpret Jesus' bread miracle as did John and Eusebius, namely, as analogous to the manna episode. Certainly those who rightly understand 5:1-2 will have their perception of 15:29ff. colored accordingly.

At this juncture an earlier remark invites reconsideration. I stated, on p. 238, that Matthew's text is often polysemous and that 14:13ff. and 15:29ff. could accordingly send vectors in several directions at once. I do not now wish to retract that statement, but here it may be a tad misleading. In Matthew's Jewish-Christian world the exodus from Egypt, the last supper, and the messianic banquet were not three isolated events. An intricacy of association rather obtained among them. The exodus had been typologically recapitulated at the last supper (pp. 256-61) and would again be typologically recapitulated at the consummation, which would see the return of the heavenly manna. Matthew therefore did not envisage the exodus, the eucharist, and the messianic banquet as three discreet events on the world's time line; instead they were for him superimposed images, and all three reproduced a fundamental pattern of Jewish religious experience, one involving redemption, bread, and covenant. Perhaps the difficult line in the *Pater Noster*, *ton arton hēmōn ton epiouision dōs hēmin sēmeron* (6:11), is indicative of this, for interpreters have often construed it as an intersection of allusions—to Exod. 16:4 (the daily gathering of the manna), to the eucharist (*didōmi + artos* is common to 6:11 and 26:26; this is the dominant patristic interpretation), and to the eschatological manna (cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* 6:11, citing the *Gospel of the Hebrews*).²⁵³ Thus if Matt. 14:13ff. and 15:29ff., which anticipate the Lord's supper and the messianic banquet, also exhibit points of contact with the manna episode, that is nothing but expected. How indeed could it be otherwise? The exodus, the eucharist, and the end were, through an induction of association, inseparably linked in the chains of memory. So anything prospective of the eucharist and the eschatological feast was, by an inner logic, additionally retrospective of the exodus.

²⁵³See Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2:607-10.

THE TRANSFIGURATION (MATT. 17:1-8)

In *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, A. M. Ramsey wrote that whereas Moses' glory on Sinai was reflected, Christ's glory was unborrowed.²⁵⁴ This setting of Tabor's light beside that of Sinai is a commonplace in the Christian tradition. Ephrem the Syrian, anticipating Ramsey, declared that "the brightness which Moses put on was wrapped on him from without," and in that differed from the light of Christ, which shone from within in the womb, at the baptism, and "on the mountain top."²⁵⁵ Earlier than Ephrem, Eusebius drew a parallel between Moses on Sinai and Jesus transfigured:

When Moses descended from the mountain, his face was seen to be full of glory; for it is written: "And Moses descending from the mountain did not know that the appearance of the skin of his face was glorified while he spoke to him. And Aaron and all the elders of Israel saw Moses, and the appearance of the skin of his face was glorified" (Exod. 34:29). In the same way, only more grandly, our savior led his disciples "to a very high mountain, and he was transfigured before them, and his face shone as the sun, and his garments were white like the light" (*Dem. ev.* 3:2, quoting Matt. 17:2).

Although their emphasis upon a contrast between Jesus and Moses may be excessive, the words of Ramsey, Ephrem, and Eusebius plainly unfold what is already implicit in Mark's account of the transfiguration. Whatever the history beneath Mark 9:2-10, the tradition aimed to remind readers of what took place at a much earlier time, when Moses descended Sinai with the law. This follows from the parallels with Exodus 24 and 34:²⁵⁶ both Mark and the Torah refer to (i) a high mountain (Exod. 24:12, 15-18; 34:3; Mark 9:2);²⁵⁷ (ii) a cloud that descends and overshadows that mountain (Exod. 24:15-18; 34:5; Mark 9:7); (iii) a voice from the cloud (Exod. 24:16; Mark 9:7); (iv) the radiance of the central figure (Exod. 34:29-30, 35; Mark 9:2-3);²⁵⁸ (v) the

²⁵⁴Philadelphia: Westminster, 1946, 120.

²⁵⁵*Hymns on the Church* 36:5-6; see S. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World of St. Ephrem* (Rome: C.I.L.S. Rome, 1985), 71.

²⁵⁶See David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 540-46; cf. Donaldson, *Mountain*, 142-43. Contrast Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 260.

²⁵⁷Sinai is a low mountain in some Jewish texts, but these seem to be uniformly late; see Ginzberg, *Legends* 6:31, n. 183, to the text on 3:83. Note esp. Philo, *Mos.* 2:70: Sinai is "the highest in the region."

²⁵⁸The issue of the original meaning of the story in Exodus is irrelevant for the interpretation of the synoptics; for even if one contends that *qāran* means "becomes horned" or "disfigured," the LXX, the Peshitta, the targumim, and Pseudo-Philo all attest that Exodus was most commonly understood to say that Moses was glorified or became radiant.

fear of those who saw the radiance (Exod. 34:29-30; Mark 9:6; cf. *l En.* 89:34); (vi) the presence of a special group of three (Exod. 24:1; Mark 9:2); and (vi) occurrence after six days (Exod. 24:16; Mark 9:2). In addition to all this, Moses and Elijah, who both converse with the transfigured Jesus, are the only figures in the Jewish Bible of whom it is related that they spoke with God on Mount Sinai: so their presence together makes us think of that mountain.

It beggars belief to entertain coincidence for all these parallels. It also beggars belief to suppose that the scripturally learned Matthew missed them.²⁵⁹ In fact, everything argues that he added to their number.²⁶⁰ Among the Matthean manipulations of Mark's text are the following: Moses has been given the honor of being named before Elijah; "and his face shone like the sun" has been added; the cloud has been made "bright" (*phōteinē*); "in whom I am well pleased" has been inserted; and the order of *akouete autou* has been reversed. Various suggestions for these alterations can and have been made; but simplicity recommends one proposition to account for them all: Matthew rescripted Mark in order to push thoughts towards Moses. Thus the lawgiver now comes first, and no priority of significance is given to Elijah. "Face" and "sun" recall the extra-biblical tradition that Moses' face (cf. Exod. 34:29) shone like the sun (Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2:70; 2 Cor. 3:7-18; *LAB* 12:1; *Sipre Num.* § 140; *b. B. Bat.* 75a; *Deut. Rab.* II (207c); this is to be related to the idea that Moses on Sinai went to the place of the sun—*LAB* 12; cf. 2 *Bar.* 59:11). *Phōteinē* alludes to the Shekinah, which accompanied Israel and Moses in the wilderness—and tradition associated Moses' radiance with the glory of the Shekinah.²⁶¹ The citation of Isa. 42:1 ("in whom I am well pleased") makes Jesus the *'ebed YHWH*, a figure with Mosaic associations (see pp. 68-71, 233-35). Finally, the change to *autou akouete*²⁶² strengthens the allusion to LXX Deut. 18:15 (*autou akousesthe*), which speaks of a prophet like Moses (cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4:22).

It might be objected to all this that Matthew, had he been desirous of recollecting Moses, would have mentioned Jesus' "skin," for according to Exod. 34:29, "the skin of his face shone." But to insist upon

²⁵⁹Certainly Luke did not; see Bruce Chilton, "The Transfiguration: Dominical Assurance and Apostolic Vision," *NTS* 27 (1980):121-22.

²⁶⁰Cf. Davies, *Setting*, 50-56; also O. Lamar Cope, *Matthew: A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom of Heaven* (CBQMS 5; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1976), 99-102.

²⁶¹*Sipre Num.* § 1; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* on Exod. 34:29-30.

²⁶²So HG, against NA²⁶; the mss. are divided.

this would be pedantic. The skin of Moses often goes unmentioned in retellings of or allusions to Exodus 34 (cf. 2 Cor. 3:7-18; *LAB* 12:1); and the targumim—Ps-Jonathan, Onkelos, Fragment, and Neofiti—have nothing corresponding to the MT's *'ôr*.²⁶³ Likewise unpersuasive is the counter that the chief background for Matt. 17:2-8 is to be found in eschatological expectation.²⁶⁴ It is true that, according to Jewish expectation, the righteous will, in the end, undergo a transformation and become glorious and luminous, while their garments will glisten.²⁶⁵ Nothing, however, moves us to set the Mosaic and eschatological interpretations against one another.²⁶⁶ Matthew might readily have imagined that the radiance, exhibited by Moses and Jesus, was an anticipation of eschatological glory.²⁶⁷ Compare the thought in *Tanna de Be Eliyyahu*:

To him who gives thanks for his afflictions and rejoices over them, God grants life in this world and in the world to come eternal life; "for a lamp are the commandments and the Torah is light" (Prov. 6:23). Why then did Moses merit that his countenance should shine, even in this world, with a light destined for the righteous in the next world...? Because he was always striving, yearning, and watching to make peace between Israel and the Father in heaven (Friedmann, p. 17).

Tanna de Be Eliyyahu is, to be sure, far too late to establish anything about Matthew's day. But the natural inference made in it is presupposed by certain Amoraic materials²⁶⁸ and appears independently in Ephrem the Syrian, in *Hymns on Paradise* 7:10: "In Moses he (God)

²⁶³The LXX has nothing for *'ôr pēnē Mōšeh* in 34:35, and LXX B Exod. 34:29 has the variant *chrōmatos*; see further William H. Propp, "The Skin of Moses' Face—Transfigured or Disfigured?," *CBQ* 49 (1987):376-77.

²⁶⁴So Schweizer, *Matthew*, 349; Grünka, *Matthäusevangelium* 2:93.

²⁶⁵Cf. Dan. 12:3; *l En.* 38:4; 104:2; 2 *Bar.* 51:1-3, 10, 12; 4 *Ezra* 7:97; additional references in SB 1:752-53; 4/2:941-42.

²⁶⁶Cf. Luz, *Matthäus* 2:509: 17:1-9 is a "polyvalente" Geschichte.

²⁶⁷That Matt. 17:2-8 has more than one layer of meaning is nearly the consensus of the commentaries, which typically inform us that the Son of God's metamorphosis is proleptic of both the resurrection of Jesus and the general resurrection.

²⁶⁸Several texts teach that Moses shone for the same reason that angels do—he fed upon the splendor of the Shekinah. For Moses see *Exod. Rab.* 3:1; 47:5, 7; *Lev. Rab.* 20:10; *Num. Rab.* 2:25; *Pesiq. R. Kah.* 26:9. For the angels see 3 *En.* 22:7, 13; *Num. Rab.* 21:16; *Pesiq. R. Kah.* 6:1. This matters because angelic existence was often held to be prophetic of the saints' heavenly future, and *b. Ber.* 17a expressly says that those who live in the world to come will feed upon the Shekinah; so the idea of feeding upon the Shekinah is common to the Sinai traditions and eschatology. Additional discussion in R. Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism* (SJ II; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 74-87. Chernus rightly infers that the Merkabah mystics, who sometimes claimed that their ecstatic experiences involved feeding upon the Shekinah (*Ma'aseh Merkabah* 3 for example), must have thought of themselves as reliving Sinai and anticipating paradise.

depicted for you a parable: his cheeks, ashen with age, became shining and fair, a symbol of old age that in Eden becomes young." I am satisfied that Jesus' transfiguration moves thoughts both backward and forward in time: it is a replay of Sinai and a foretaste of things to come.²⁶⁹

Seemingly the most cogent objection to the Mosaic interpretation of the transfiguration is this: many stories from antiquity attribute radiance to others besides Moses, so why should the motif be especially associated with him? *b. B. Bat.* 58a and *Gen. Rab.* on 2:4 tell us that Adam, before the fall, emanated light like the sun (cf. *SB* 4/2:887, 940-41). *Sefer ha-Yašar* recounts that the infant Abraham was transfigured. *b. B. Bat.* 75a speaks of Joshua's radiance. *Joseph and Aseneth* 18-20 purports that Aseneth, on her wedding day, was transformed into beautiful light. *LAB* 12:7 relates the fiction that those who were compelled against their wills to worship the golden calf were revealed by their shining faces. *Hist. Rech.* 11-12 says that the Rechabites "dwell in light" and are covered with a covering of glory "similar to that which clothed Adam and Eve before they sinned." *ARN B* 13 records that R. Eliezer once had a visible aura. For the same phenomenon in Christian documents see *Acts* 6:15 (cf. *Add Est.* 15:13-14); *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3; *Mart. of Montanus and Lucius* II; *PG* 65, *Arsenius* 27; *Joseph of Penepheis* 7; *Pambo* 1, 12; *Silvanus* 12; and *Sisoës* 14. Lastly, there are pagan parallels. One example: *Marinus, Proclus* 3 (*Proclus* "appearance was most agreeable, for not only did he possess the beauty of just proportions, but from his soul exuded a certain living light, or miraculous efflorescence, which shone over his whole body, which is quite indescribable"); *ibid.* 23 (when *Proclus* taught "it seemed that his eyes filled with a shining splendor, and all over his face spread rays of divine illumination").

In view of all the evidence, it must be conceded that the motif of radiance was far from being exclusively associated with Moses. But knowledge of this fact does not disturb my contention, for it must also be admitted that, on the other hand, the emission of light *was* sometimes understood to harken back to Moses. The luminosity of Abraham

²⁶⁹Cf. the recent interpretation of Stegner, *Narrative Theology*, 83-103. —For texts which give Sinai eschatological associations or which transfer its imagery to the end see *Isa.* 2:1-4; 4:2-6; *1 En.* 1; 25:3, 5; *Rev.* 4:5; *Liv. Proph. Jer.* 11-19; *b. Ber.* 17a; *Pesiq. R. Kah.* 37a, 144b. The giving of the law at Sinai came more and more to resemble an apocalyptic event; cf. *LAB* 11:3; *4 Ezra* 3:18-19; *b. Zeb.* 116a. It has sometimes been offered that the *parousia* scene in *1 Thess.* 4:15-17 was modelled upon *Exod.* 19:10-18; see *J. Dupont, ZYN XPI CTΩI* (Bruges: Editiones de l'Abbaye de Saint-Andre, 1952), 64-73.

in *Sefer ha Yašar* belongs to an extensive Moses typology (see p. 91, n. 209); and the legend that Joshua shone like the moon was based upon the belief that Moses gave to him some of his glory:²⁷⁰ "And you shall put some of your honor upon him" (*Num.* 17:20), but not all your honor. The elders of that generation said: The countenance of Moses was like that of the sun, the countenance of Joshua like that of the moon" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a). Note also the following, from *PG* 65, *Pambo* 12: "They said of Abba Pambo that he was like Moses, who received the glory of Adam when his face shone. His face shone like lightning and he was like a king sitting on his throne." This associates not only Pambo and Moses but Moses and Adam, an association also attested in *Ephrem, Comm. on Gen.* 2:15: "Just as Israel was unable to look upon the face of Moses, so were the animals unable to look at the radiance of Adam and Eve. When they (the animals) received their names they passed in front of Adam with their eyes cast down." Lastly, a seventeenth century example: however the circumstance be understood, *Sabbatai Sevi* was thought by many who saw him to have a face of fire—and the sources explicitly connect this with Moses. *Baruch of Arezzo* reported: envoys from Poland "saw his face shining with a great light, like the face of our teacher Moses."²⁷¹ *Sabbatai Sevi's* brothers likewise testified: "After being anointed messiah by the patriarchs, his face was exceedingly bright and shining, like the face of Moses after the giving of the law."²⁷² It is my contention that just as *Sabbateans* associated their savior's sun-like face with the lawgiver, so was it with the early believers of Jesus. Although radiance was not, in the environment of ancient Christianity, invariably a Mosaic motif, the confluence of circumstantial details between *Matt.* 17:1-9 par. and *Exodus* 24 and 34 means that the mount of transfiguration was, for the evangelists, including *Matthew*, a second Sinai, where a miracle of old was repeated.

One final point. It is natural to see in *17:1-9* the greater than Moses theme; for, at the last, Moses and *Elijah* disappear, and the reader is left with the command to "hear him," that is, the one Son of God, Jesus. Care must nonetheless be taken not to press this or that detail in an attempt to exalt Jesus over Moses. Jesus' superiority to Moses is only a very minor theme of the transfiguration narrative. Maybe it is worth remarking that there is one particular which could be used, if one were

²⁷⁰Cf. *LXX Num.* 27:20 and the targumim on that verse; also *Sipre Num.* § 140.

²⁷¹*Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi*, 132.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, 142.

so inclined, to exalt Moses over Jesus. Matthew's text says nothing about a veil, and it is plain that Jesus' luminosity was temporary. But the targumim on Deut. 34:7 affirm that Moses did not lose his glory: it stayed with him until death (cf. *Tg. Onk.* and *Tg. Neofiti* on Num. 27:20). Similarly, LAB 19:16 has Moses transfigured on Pisgah as well as Sinai.²⁷³ The Bible itself teaches that Moses' glory did not forsake him:

But whenever Moses had went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out; and when he came out, and told the people of Israel what he was commanded, the people of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone; and Moses would put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him (Exod. 34:34-35).

Thus whereas the visual glory of Jesus was fleeting, that of Moses endured.²⁷⁴ Now I do not at all imply that this fact matters for the interpretation of Matt. 17:1-9. The point is rather that had matters been reversed, so that it was Moses, not Jesus, who lost his radiance, the commentators would have made much of it. There are, however, always differences between a type and its antitype, either of which can be, depending upon predilection, promoted or demoted by inventive interpretation. This fact should warn. The superiority of Jesus to Moses is an assumption of our Gospel more than it is an assertion, and it is not to be discovered in every exegetical nook and cranny.

THE ARRIVAL IN JERUSALEM (21:1-17)

According to Matt. 21:1-17, Jesus entered Jerusalem to public acclaim. To illuminate the event, the evangelist quoted from Zech. 9:9, which contains this: "Behold, your king comes to you." The word "king" signals a major theme of the passage, a theme reinforced by the crowds' chant of "Hosanna to the Son of David" (v. 9, quoting Ps. 118:25; cf. v. 15).

In addition to playing a royal rôle, Jesus is also "the prophet." "And the crowds said, 'This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee'" (v. 11). This confession, redactionally inserted, is neither false nor

²⁷³Cf. *Deut. Rab.* 11:3; *Memar Marqah* 5:4. Additional references in Ginzberg, *Legends* 3:93, 119, 143, 438; 6:37, 204, 50, n. 260, 60, n. 309, 61, n. 311.

²⁷⁴There are, however, also texts according to which Moses' radiance gradually diminished or was given to Joshua; see Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 67, 75.

superficial. Although it does not convey the whole truth (what one title does that?), it is true as far as it goes: Jesus is indeed "the prophet" (cf. p. 313).

Two initial observations raise the possibility of a Mosaic background for Matt. 21:1ff. The first is this: v. 11 uses a definite article. Jesus is not *prophētēs* but *ho prophētēs*, not "a prophet" but "the prophet." This could well advert to the expectation of the prophet like Moses (as in John 6:14).²⁷⁵ Secondly, the prophetic and kingly offices are here present at once, which matters because Wayne Meeks has documented the rich tradition—found in Philonic, rabbinic, and Samaritan sources—that depicts Moses as the prophet-king, and that tradition is of some importance for Johannine Christology. Are matters perhaps similar in the First Gospel?

21:4-5 preserves one of the so-called formula quotations:

This took place to fulfil what was spoken by the prophet, saying, "Tell the daughter of Zion, Behold, your king is coming to you, humble, and mounted on an ass, and on a colt, the foal of an ass" (Zech. 9:9).

Schoeps and Teeple, in their reviews of the new Moses theme in Matthew, both heard in the quotation from Zechariah definite Mosaic echoes. Why? Because rabbinic tradition drew a parallel between Exod. 4:20 ("So Moses took his wife and his sons and set them on an ass, and went back to the land of Egypt; and in his hand Moses took the rod of God") and Zech. 9:9 ("Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, your king come to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on an ass, on a colt the foal of an ass"):

Rabbi Berekiah said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: "As the first redeemer was, so shall the latter Redeemer be. What is stated of the former redeemer? And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass (Exod. 4:20). Similarly will it be with the latter Redeemer, as it is stated, Lowly and riding upon an ass (Zech. 9:9; *Eccles. Rab.* 1:28; cf. *Sam. Rab.* 14:9 (45b); *Pirke R. El.* 31).

One could, then, interpret the fulfillment of Zechariah's oracle as establishing Jesus' status as Mosaic Messiah.

Discordant with this congenial conjecture, however, is the relatively late date of the requisite rabbinic traditions: proof of their early circulation is lacking. In addition, the LXX does not draw any obvious lines of connection between Exod. 4:20 and Zech. 9:9, so most com-

²⁷⁵Cf. Teeple, *Prophet*, 83.