

DANY CHRISTOPHER

The Appropriation of Passover in Luke-Acts

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Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This monograph is a revision of my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Theology and Religion, Durham University, in May 2016. This study began under the guidance of Prof. Lutz Doering, who helped to shape my research and to open my mind to the world of the Second Temple and Early Rabbinic literature. I am indebted to Prof. Doering for accepting and training me. After Prof. Doering had moved to the University of Münster, Dr Jan Doehorn stepped in and guided my research into completion. I am grateful for his care, patience, sharp eyes, and encyclopedic knowledge of everything biblical and para-biblical, saving me from numerous unnecessary errors. I will never forget how he kept on challenging me to write better, pointing out sections that are (in his own word), ‘boring’.

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Singapore Bible College has been influential in the formative years of my theological study. Two former teachers in particular have shaped the way I approach New Testament studies: Dr Henry Baldwin taught a course on Luke-Acts, and it stimulated my love for Lukan study ever since; Dr (now Prof.) Timothy Wiarda exemplified the art of studying and interpreting the New Testament.

I thank God for my parents, Revd Hardi Farianto and Deborah Shem. Their exemplary faith and ministry have truly influenced my life as a follower of Christ. My sister, Ana Christiany, and my brother-in-law Revd Tan Andry Setyawan, have been a source of joy for my wife and me whenever we have time to chat via Skype. My thanks are also due to my other brother-in-law, Felix Suganda. My children, Joshua Putra and Anita Putri, never cease to interrupt my studies, believing (correctly) that there is more to life than academic books, a chair, a study desk, and a laptop.

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Soli Deo Gloria

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List of Abbreviations

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

<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBPR</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research</i>
JCTC	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KJV	King James Version
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LCL	LOEB Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LOS	London Oriental Series
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
L&S	Letter & Spirit
LXX	The Septuagint
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland, 28th edn
NAC	New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTL	New Testament Library
NTR	New Testament Readings
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OTL	Old Testament Library

OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
PBTM	Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhA	Studies in Philo of Alexandria
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and K. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Joseph Fabry. Translated by John T. Willis, et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
TGST	Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
THOTC	Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary
TK	Texte und Kommentare
TLNT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . C. Spicq. Translated and edited by J. D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Situating the Research

This study is an attempt to understand how Luke¹ appropriates Passover, the Jewish festival that commemorates the exodus² from Egypt. The monograph will seek to accomplish three tasks: (1) to show the presence of allusions to Passover in Luke-Acts; (2) to detect which Passover elements and symbols are employed by Luke; and (3) to figure out the significance of the Passover within the Lukan narrative and theology.

Aside from an unpublished dissertation on Passover in the Gospel of Luke, to date, there has not been a single monograph about the appropriation of Passover in Luke-Acts. What we have are mainly shorter studies focusing on one particular Passover-related passage, often in isolation from other similar passages (see Section 1.2). The reason for the lacuna is rather puzzling, since, within the scholarly world, there is a growing interest in the study of the Passover. For instance, we can find works that investigate the Passover in relation to its early development and symbolism³ or its relation to Christian rituals such as the Eucharist⁴ and Easter.⁵ We can also note the interest in

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

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

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

⁴ E.g. Brant Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 374–443; Joel Marcus, "Passover and Last Supper Revisited," *NTS* 59, no. 3 (2013): 303–24; Scot McKnight, *Jesus and His Death: Historiography, the Historical Jesus, and Atonement Theory* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005), 264–73; Barry D. Smith, *Jesus' Last Pass-*

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

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

over Meal (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993); Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1966), 15–88; cf. Deborah B. Carmichael, “David Daube on the Eucharist and the Passover Seder,” *JSNT* 42 (1991): 45–67; Robin Routledge, “Passover and Last Supper,” *TynBul* 53 (2002): 203–21.

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

⁶ Betsy Halpern-Amaru, “The Festivals of Pesah and Massot in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, eds. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 309–22.

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

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

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

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

¹¹ E.g. Segal, *Hebrew Passover*, 34–35; Füglistner, *Heilsbedeutung*, 17–19; Bokser, *Origins*, 25–26; Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194–98; Colautti, *Passover*, 174–83; Leonhard, *Jewish Pesach*, 33.

Second, scholars seem to perceive the Passover theme in John as much more developed than in the other Gospels and, thus, see it as more worthy of thorough investigation. As indicated above, in recent years, many have found the Gospel of John a rich ground for studying the Passover.¹² At times, scholars try to amplify the significance of the Passover in John at the expense of the Synoptic Gospels. Christine Schlund, for instance, concludes that the theme of Passover in the Synoptic Gospels is hardly as developed as that in John. In fact, she argues that the role of Passover in the Synoptics is superficial.¹³ For Schlund, these Gospels attach the Passover to frame the setting of Jesus' last meal; the meal itself does not have any Passover symbolism.¹⁴ Such a comparative approach, unfortunately, has rendered the Passover theme in Luke insignificant.

Third, even when scholars do study the Passover in Luke, their focus is almost exclusively limited to the pericope of the Last Supper (Luke 22:1–20). Again, this is understandable. In general, the first Lukan passage that comes to mind when Passover is mentioned is the Last Supper. Within that passage alone, the term *πάσχα* appears six times (vv. 1, 7, 8, 11, 13, and 15).¹⁵ What is more, Luke sets the institution of the Lord's Supper within the Passover ritual meal (Luke 22:14–20). For some, the depiction of the Passover meal in Luke is useful for a historical reconstruction of Jesus' last meal, often in comparison with the Jewish Passover meal.¹⁶ Others are interested in the source and redaction of the Passover-related passage in Luke 22.¹⁷ Still others find the Passover important for understanding the Lukan passion narrative.¹⁸

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

¹³ Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194; cf. the similar assessment by H. Patsch, “*πάσχα*,” *EDNT* 3.50.

¹⁴ Schlund, *Kein Knochen*, 194.

¹⁵ Luke has more references to *πάσχα* in comparison to the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark. The term appears four times in Matthew (26:2, 17, 18, and 19) and five in Mark (14:1, 12 (twice), 14, and 16).

¹⁶ See footnote 2 above. Some propose that Luke's depiction is close to the order of the Jewish Passover meal in the first-century Palestine (e.g. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols., AB 28–28A (New York: Doubleday, 1981–1985), 2.1390; John Nolland, *Luke*, 3 vols., WBC 35A–C (Dallas: Word, 1989–1993), 3.1047–48; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, 2 vols., BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996), 2.1718, 1722–23; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 757–58). Others, however, question such a comparison (e.g. Günter Stemberger, “Pesachhaggada und Abendmahlsberichte des Neuen Testaments,” *Kairos* 29 (1987): 147–58; Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 699).

¹⁷ Heinz Schürmann, *Eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes, Lk 22, 7–38. Bd.1 Der Paschamahlsbericht, Lk 22, (7–14) 15–18.*, 2nd edn, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 19.5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1968); Joel B. Green, “Preparation for Passover (Luke 22:7–13): A Question of Redactional Technique,”

If there is an undesirable effect of the focus on Luke 22, it will be the neglect of the possible significance of Passover in other parts of Luke-Acts. Aside from Luke 22, the word *πάσχα* also occurs in the story of the Passover visit of the boy Jesus (Luke 2:41) and the prison rescue of Peter (Acts 12:4). Even when scholars are aware of these Passover references, they tend to brush it aside as irrelevant. In the Passover visit of the boy Jesus (Luke 2:41–51), some argue that the Passover time marker is there only for the sake of the setting. For them, Jesus needs to be in Jerusalem, and the Passover makes a good reason for it. Beyond that, the Passover reference does not indicate any “paschal significance” in the passage.¹⁹ Others, while discussing the background of the Passover feast, do not discuss its function and significance within the passage.²⁰

As for the rescue of Peter in Acts 12, scholars suggest that the timeframe of Passover recalls the passion and resurrection story of Jesus.²¹ However, this also causes some to judge the role of the Passover in the passage as inferior to the passion-resurrection. In short, its function is no more than to evoke the passion.²² Conzelmann, for instance, concludes that there is “no thoroughgoing Passover symbolism” in Acts 12.²³

One of the main reasons for these views on the presence and function of Passover in Luke-Acts, excluding Luke 22, is the tendency to analyse one Passover-related passage in isolation from the others. However, if we inter-

NovT 29 (1987): 305–19; cf. Marion L. Soards, *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*, JSNTSup 14 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 23–58; Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation*, SNTSMS 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 44–50.

¹⁸ Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1989), 162; cf. Green, *Luke*, 751.

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

²⁰ E.g. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 126–27; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.439–40; Luke T. Johnson, *Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 58; Green, *Luke*, 154–55; François Bovon, *Luke*, 3 vols., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002–2013), 1.110–11; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 147.

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

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

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

link all the Passover-related passages and analyse them together, a different picture might show up. Turning back to the story of the Passover visit of the boy Jesus, we might notice that when Jesus is left behind in Jerusalem, he is found “after three days” (Luke 2:46).²⁴ The phrase seems to allude to the passion-resurrection of Jesus. It is true that in Luke, the technical phrase for Jesus’ resurrection is “on the third day” (Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 46; Acts 10:40). However, the pairing of the reference to Passover and the phrase “after three days” might be more than a mere coincidence.²⁵ A similar case can be made for the rescue story of Peter in Acts 12. Luke notes that Peter is rescued around the time of Passover. The only other person who experiences suffering during the Passover but is ultimately vindicated is none other than Jesus himself (Luke 22–24). As noted above, it is likely that the rescue story evokes the passion and resurrection of Jesus.²⁶ Now we have two narratives that seem to recall the passion-resurrection of Jesus: the Passover visit of the boy Jesus and the prison rescue of Peter. Could there be a pattern that runs through these stories, using Passover as the time marker? Furthermore, could the timeframe of Passover indicate more than just evoking the passion and resurrection? It seems to be a case worth investigating.

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

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

²⁵ See Section 4.3.

²⁶ See Section 6.2.

²⁷ Richard I. Pervo, *Acts, Hermeneia* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 663. See Section 6.3.

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

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

1.2 Survey of Previous Studies

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

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

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

²⁸ Elaine M. Prevallet, "Luke 24:26: A Passover Christology" (PhD dissertation, Marquette University, 1967).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, ii.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

³² *Ibid.*, iii.

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

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

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

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

³⁴ Prevallet, “Passover Christology,” 7–9.

dus. Hence, Prevallet wrongly subsumes all the movements from shame to glory under the category of her Passover principle, whereas the other way round is more likely. The Passover principle, if there is one, should be considered as one example of the broader theme of humiliation-glorification.

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

Moving beyond Prevallet's dissertation, we will find that other studies on Passover in Luke and Acts are limited to journal articles, and mostly focusing on one single passage. August Strobel, for example, studies the allusions to Passover in Luke 17:20–37 and Acts 12.³⁵ On Luke 17, he argues that the issue behind the discourse is the expectation found in a Jewish Passover: whether God's salvation will come at the time of Passover.³⁶ Central to his argument is the term παρατήρησις ("observation") in verse 20 and the night reference in verse 34. He states that the term should refer to the Passover night watch (Exod 12:42) since, in later tradition, this is closely tied to the view that the eschatological salvation will take place at the festival of Passover. Strobel also argues that the night reference in verse 34 would strengthen this idea. On Acts 12, he shows that Peter's rescue contains many allusions to the Passover narrative in Exodus 12.³⁷ For Strobel, this indicates that the early church actually believes in the Passover night as the time of God's eschatological salvation.³⁸

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

³⁵ August Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung als urchristliches Problem in Lukas 17:20f," *ZNW* 49, no. 3–4 (1958): 157–96; August Strobel, "In Dieser Nacht (Luk 17, 34): Zu Einer älteren Form Der Erwartung in Luk 17, 20—37," *ZTK* 58, no. 1 (1961): 16–29; August Strobel, "Zu Lk 17:20f," *BZ* 7, no. 1 (1963): 111–13; August Strobel, "Passa-Symbolik und Passa-Wunder in Act 12:3ff," *NTS* 4, no. 3 (1958): 210–15.

³⁶ Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung," 164; Strobel, "Zu Lk 17," 111–13; cf. August Strobel, "A. Merx über Lc 17:20f," *ZNW* 51, no. 1–2 (1960): 133.

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

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 213.

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

ever, seeks to examine the Passover allusions as an integral part of the construction of the Lukan narrative and theology.

Furthermore, to support his argument, Strobel uses many Jewish sources (e.g. Exodus Rabbah, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Mishnah Pesahim and Aquila's OT translation),⁴⁰ which are considered late by the current scholarly consensus.⁴¹ While use of later texts is not wrong methodologically,⁴² there is a risk of anachronism. To avoid this risk and to substantiate findings from late sources, I will primarily consult Jewish writings that are earlier or comparably close to Luke.⁴³

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

To support this view, she turns her attention to Acts 12. Particularly important for her is the role of Herod, who is likened to Pharaoh, thus the indirect relation between Herod in the "passion-resurrection" of Peter and Satan in the "passion-resurrection" of Jesus.⁴⁹ Additionally, the fall of Herod is compared to the portrayal of fallen rulers in Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28–32, and 2 Maccabees 9. This, she points out, parallels the mythic pattern of the fall of

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

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

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

⁴³ I will engage again with Strobel's work in Sections 5.2 and 6.2.

⁴⁴ Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 661–64.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 664–66.

⁴⁷ Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 46–57.

⁴⁸ Garrett, "Exodus from Bondage," 659.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 670–77.

Satan as recounted by Luke. In Luke, Satan seeks to be worshipped (Luke 4:6–7) and yet he falls (Luke 10:18). She concludes that, in this way, Herod represents Satan.⁵⁰ In other words, what is new is her insertion of the role of Satan in the exodus scheme of the Christ event in Luke-Acts.

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

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

1.3 Establishing the Boundary

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

In this study, the main narrative background for the notion of Passover is taken from Exodus 12–13.⁵¹ Exodus 12–13 is used as the starting point, since this is the passage where one finds the foundational story of the Passover. In

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 676–77

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

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