The Obedient Son:
Deuteronomy and Christology in the Gospel of Matthew

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Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
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Abstract

This study argues that sonship and obedience are prominent and related themes in the Gospel of Matthew, and the Evangelist’s christological articulation of obedient sonship is drawn from the calling of Israel to be Yahweh’s obedient son in Deuteronomy. Thus, it is argued that a consideration of Israel’s scriptural traditions is necessary to understand most fully Matthew’s teaching of the sonship of Jesus.

Chapter 1 explores Matthew’s use of the OT and, building on the work of Richard Hays, outlines a method for identifying subtle intertextual allusions, and suggests a composition criticism approach to Matthew that focuses on the gospel as a literary and redactional whole.

Chapter 2 seeks to establish the historical plausibility for the claim that Matthew was heavily indebted to Deuteronomy by tracing the circulation and use of Deuteronomy in general in ancient Jewish and Christian literature. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a foundation for the claim that Deuteronomy would likely have been an important text for Matthew.

Chapter 3 then focuses on Deuteronomy, tracing the covenantal context for the themes of sonship and obedience. It is argued that the sonship of Israel is a key motif in Deuteronomy, and this sonship was predicated on obedience. Key texts include Deut 1; 8; 14; 21; 32, and the themes of love, election, and inheritance are also considered.

Chapter 4 traces the influence of Deuteronomy under the specific rubric of obedient sonship through ancient Jewish and Christian literature, including texts which Matthew may have known. Here it is argued that obedient sonship, in association with Deuteronomic themes, is prominent in a wide range of texts.

Chapters 5–7 focus specifically on Matthew. It is argued in chapter 5 that the Temptation Narrative (Matt 4.1–11), the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5–7), and the accusation that Jesus was a glutton and a drunkard (Matt 11.16–19) all demonstrate rather strong resonances with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic call to obedient sonship. Chapter 6 proposes two significant possibilities: that the baptism of Jesus (Matt 3.13–17) and the Transfiguration (Matt 17.1–21) may also be influenced by the Deuteronomic perspective on sonship. Finally, chapter 7 suggests three additional clusters of texts that may also indicate Deuteronomy’s filial influence on Matthew: Matt 1.20; 12.46–50; 21.28–22.14.

Chapter 8 offers a conclusion and synthesis, arguing that chapters 1–4 provide the foundation for the claims in chapters 5–7. It is concluded that the Deuteronomic teaching of obedient sonship was quite pervasive in the ancient world, and there is an historically plausible case to be made that Matthew was influenced by this tradition. However, it is also argued that Matthew has appropriated the Deuteronomic concept of obedient sonship in unique ways, applying it messianically to the person of Jesus as the New Israel, and consequently also to the disciples of Jesus, who are able to be a part of God’s family through Jesus, the preeminently obedient son.
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................... xi
Abbreviations .................................................................................................................... xii

Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1

Chapter One: Methodology and Approach ................................................................. 6

1.1 Matthew and the OT ................................................................................................. 6
   1.1.1 Explicit OT Citations ....................................................................................... 11
   1.1.2 Implicit OT Citations ...................................................................................... 12
   1.1.3 OT Allusions .................................................................................................... 13
   1.1.4 Richard Hays on Echoes ................................................................................ 15
   1.1.5 Developments of Hays’s Criteria .................................................................. 19
      1.1.5.1 General NT Literature ........................................................................... 19
      1.1.5.2 Synoptic Gospels .................................................................................... 20

1.2 Approach .................................................................................................................. 25
   1.2.1 On Citations and Allusions ........................................................................... 25
   1.2.2 Applying Hays’s Method to Matthew .............................................................. 26
   1.2.3 Literary and Theological Relationships ......................................................... 27
   1.2.4 Deuteronomy as an “Iceberg” ...................................................................... 29
   1.2.5 Applying Hays’s Criteria .............................................................................. 30
   1.2.6 Attention to Contexts ................................................................................... 31
   1.2.7 Christological Focus ..................................................................................... 34
   1.2.8 On Subjectivity ............................................................................................ 34

1.3 Limitations and Focus ............................................................................................ 35
   1.3.1 Scope .............................................................................................................. 35
   1.3.2 Matthew’s “Bible” ......................................................................................... 35
   1.3.3 Synoptic Relationships ................................................................................. 38
Chapter Two: The Circulation and Use of Deuteronomy in Ancient Judaism and Christianity

2.1 Text of Deuteronomy

2.1.1 Greek Deuteronomy

2.1.2 Qumran Biblical Manuscripts

2.1.3 Miscellaneous Manuscripts

2.1.4 Summary of Circulation

2.2 Use of Deuteronomy: Jewish Literature

2.2.1 Qumran Sectarian Scrolls

2.2.1.1 Temple Scroll

2.2.1.2 Damascus Document

2.2.1.3 Community Rule

2.2.1.4 Additional Texts

2.2.1.5 Summary: Qumran

2.2.2 OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

2.2.2.1 Tobit

2.2.2.2 Sirach

2.2.2.3 Baruch

2.2.2.4 2 Maccabees

2.2.2.5 Testament of Moses

2.2.2.6 Jubilees

2.2.2.7 2 Baruch

2.2.2.8 Miscellaneous Texts

2.2.2.9 Summary: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

2.2.3 Synagogue
## 2.2.4 Philo ......................................................................................... 77
## 2.2.5 Josephus .................................................................................. 78
## 2.2.6 Pseudo-Philo .......................................................................... 80
## 2.2.7 Summary: Jewish Literature .................................................... 81
### 2.3 Use of Deuteronomy: Christian Literature ........................................ 81
#### 2.3.1 New Testament ........................................................................ 81
##### 2.3.1.1 Pauline Epistles ................................................................. 81
##### 2.3.1.2 Synoptic Gospels and Acts .............................................. 87
##### 2.3.1.4 Hebrews ......................................................................... 90
##### 2.3.1.5 Gospel of John and Revelation ....................................... 91
##### 2.3.1.5 NT Summary .................................................................... 92
#### 2.3.2 Apostolic Fathers ................................................................. 93
### 2.4 Summary and Conclusions ............................................................. 95

## Chapter Three: Sonship and Obedience in Deuteronomy ......................... 96
#### 3.1 The Importance of Deuteronomy .................................................... 96
##### 3.1.1 Deuteronomy and Covenant .................................................. 98
##### 3.1.2 Covenant and Filial Obedience .............................................. 104
##### 3.1.3 Approach to Deuteronomy ..................................................... 106
#### 3.2 Exegesis ...................................................................................... 107
##### 3.2.1 Deut 1 ................................................................................... 108
##### 3.2.2 Deut 8 ................................................................................... 111
##### 3.2.3 Deut 14 ............................................................................... 115
##### 3.2.4 Deut 32 ............................................................................... 116
###### 3.2.4.1 Verses 4–6 ....................................................................... 117
###### 3.2.4.2 Verses 15–20 ................................................................... 119
###### 3.2.4.3 Verse 43 .......................................................................... 121
###### 3.2.4.4 Sonship and Obedience in Deut 32 .................................. 122
3.2.5 Deut 21 ........................................................................................................ 123
3.3 Filial Themes.................................................................................................... 125
  3.3.1 Election ...................................................................................................... 125
  3.3.2 Love .......................................................................................................... 126
  3.3.3 Inheritance .............................................................................................. 127
3.4 Summary and Conclusions .......................................................................... 128

Chapter Four: Sonship and Obedience in Ancient Jewish and Christian
Literature ........................................................................................................... 131

4.1 Sonship and Obedience: OT ....................................................................... 132
  4.1.1 Latter Prophets ........................................................................................ 132
  4.1.2 Hosea ....................................................................................................... 133
    4.1.2.1 Hos 1–2 .............................................................................................. 134
    4.1.2.2 Hos 11 ............................................................................................... 135
  4.1.3 Jeremiah .................................................................................................. 138
    4.1.3.1 Jer 3–4 ............................................................................................... 139
    4.1.3.2 Jer 31 (38 LXX) ................................................................................ 140
  4.1.4 Isaiah ....................................................................................................... 142
    4.1.4.1 Isa 1 ................................................................................................... 142
    4.1.4.2 Isa 30 ................................................................................................ 145
    4.1.4.3 Isa 40–66 ........................................................................................... 146
  4.1.5 Malachi ..................................................................................................... 147

Excursus: Proverbs ......................................................................................... 149
Excursus: Royal Sonship ............................................................................... 150
4.1.6 Preliminary Summary ............................................................................ 151

4.2 Sonship and Obedience: Later Jewish Literature ....................................... 151
  4.2.1 Qumran ................................................................................................... 152
    4.2.1.1 Temple Scroll ................................................................................. 152
4.2.1.2 4QDibHam................................................................. 153
4.2.1.3 Special Use Texts .................................................. 153
4.2.1.4 Damascus Document ............................................. 154
4.2.1.5 Thanksgiving Hymns ............................................ 155
4.2.2 Sonship and Obedience: OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha 156
  4.2.2.1 Wisdom ............................................................ 156
  4.2.2.2 Tobit ............................................................... 157
  4.2.2.3 Jubilees ........................................................... 158
  4.2.2.4 Psalms of Solomon ........................................... 159
  4.2.2.5 Additional Texts ................................................ 159
4.2.3 Philo ................................................................. 160
4.2.4 Josephus ............................................................. 161
4.2.5 Targumic Literature ............................................... 161
4.2.6 Later Jewish Writings ............................................ 164
4.3 Sonship and Obedience: Early Christian Literature ................. 167
  4.3.1 Pauline Epistles .................................................. 167
  4.3.2 Later Christian Literature ..................................... 169
4.4 Summary and Conclusions ........................................... 171

Chapter Five: Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew. Part 1: Strong and Likely Allusions ..................................................... 173
  5.1 Strong Allusion(s): Matt 4.1–11 .................................. 174
    5.1.1 First Temptation ................................................. 176
    5.1.2 Second Temptation .............................................. 177
    5.1.3 Third Temptation ............................................... 180
    5.1.4 Summary and Significance .................................. 180
  5.2 Likely Allusions ..................................................... 181
    5.2.1 Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5–7) ............................ 182
5.2.1.1 Deuteronomic Influence in the SM .................................................... 182
5.2.1.2 Sonship and Obedience in the SM ..................................................... 184
5.2.1.3 Summary ......................................................................................... 192
5.2.2 Matt 11.16–19 .................................................................................... 192
5.3 Summary ............................................................................................... 197

Chapter Six: Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew. Part 2: Significant Possibilities
(Matt 3, 17) .................................................................................................. 199

6.1 Matt 3.15–17 ............................................................................................ 199
  6.1.1 Rationale ............................................................................................ 199
  6.1.2 Unity of Matt 3–4 ............................................................................... 200
  6.1.3 Fulfilling All Righteousness ............................................................... 201
  6.1.4 The Beloved, Obedient Son ............................................................... 204
    6.1.4.1 Jesus as New Israel in His Baptism .............................................. 204
    6.1.4.2 The Heavenly Voice: Overview .................................................. 205
    6.1.4.3 The Heavenly Voice in Matthew: A Brief Forschungsbericht .... 206
    6.1.4.4 The Heavenly Voice: Sonship, Obedience, and Deut 32 ............ 214
    6.1.4.5 The Heavenly Voice: Summary ................................................ 220
  6.1.5 Summary of Matt 3.15–17 ................................................................. 221

6.2 Matt 17.1–21 ............................................................................................ 222
  6.2.1 Relationship to Matt 3–4 ................................................................. 222
  6.2.2 Obedient Sonship and Suffering ....................................................... 223
  6.2.3 Obedient Sonship vs. Disobedient Sonship ....................................... 226
  6.2.4 Summary of Matt 17.1–21 ................................................................. 228

6.3 Summary: Matt 3, 17 ............................................................................. 229

Chapter Seven: Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew. Part 3:
Possible Allusions .................................................................................... 230
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Abbreviations

The abbreviations in this study follow those set forth in the SBL handbook, and the following which are not listed there:

2SH Two-Source Hypothesis
ApOTC Apollos Old Testament Commentary
AYBRL Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BECNT Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BibSt Biblical Studies
BLH Biblical Languages: Hebrew
BST Bible Speaks Today
BU Biblische Untersuchungen
CBI Currents in Biblical Interpretation
ConCom Concordia Commentary
CSCD Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine
CUP Cambridge University Press
DocQ Documenta Q
DSB Daily Study Bible
EHS.T Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie
EV English Version
FIOTL Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FTS Frankfurter Theologische Studien
GBS Guides to Biblical Studies
GCT Gender, Culture, Theory
GD Gorgias Dissertations
IJDMJS Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum Münsteraner Judaistische Studien
LiBi Lire la Bible
LJLE Library of Jewish Law and Ethics
LNTS Library of New Testament Studies
NSBT New Studies in Biblical Theology
OG Old Greek
OTM Oxford Theological Monographs
OUP Oxford University Press
PNTC Pillar New Testament Commentary
*ProEcc* Pro Ecclesia
*PRR* Presbyterian and Reformed Review
PTA Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
SDSSRL Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SEMRR Studies in Early Modern Religious Reforms
SFSHJ South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SM Sermon on the Mount
SMRSHLL Scripta Minora Regiae Societas Humanorium Litterarum Lundensis
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SNTW</td>
<td>Studies of the New Testament and its World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Samaritan Pentateuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StBL</td>
<td>Studies in Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Studies in Theological Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ThKNT</td>
<td>Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USFISFCJ</td>
<td>University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YJS</td>
<td>Yale Judaica Series</td>
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Introduction

In the biblical worldview familial relationships are significant both for the covenant community and as vivid metaphors. One aspect of family life that is emphasized throughout the Old Testament (OT)\(^1\) and New Testament (NT) is the notion that children—and sons in particular—have a responsibility to honor, respect, and obey their parents.\(^2\) G. Bildstein notes that the filial responsibility to honor one’s parents is deep and powerful, and is found:

in the patriarchal narratives that presuppose the graceful subordination and loyal service of children to parents; in the power and meaningfulness of God’s self-description as “father” of his people Israel; in the strategic location of filial piety in the Ten Commandments where it is the first of the “social commands” and indeed the only positive command in the Decalogue made upon man in society.\(^3\)

The emphasis on earthly relationships, as exemplified in the Fifth Commandment,\(^4\) must not be missed,\(^5\) and the importance of this Commandment is reiterated in the NT, including Matt 15.3–6 (cf. Eph 6.2–3). Particularly relevant for the present study is the concept of God as Israel’s Father, and the fealty required within this relationship. Indeed, so significant is the horizontal father-son relationship (as will

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\(^1\) It is also common to use the term *Hebrew Bible*, but the present study will retain the term *Old Testament* since the primary focus is on the New Testament.


\(^4\) The Fifth Commandment is considered here to be Exod 20.12/Deut 5.16.

\(^5\) However, Bildstein (*Honor*, 5) further observes that the Fifth Commandment was also understood to function on both horizontal and vertical planes, since earthly parents in some sense share in God’s creative activity.
be seen from Deuteronomy) that God revealed himself as a Father to Israel in order that his people might more clearly understand the nature of his love for them, and also to summon them to the proper filial response of respect, honor, and obedience. It is the earthly father-son relationship that illustrates the Creator-creature relationship.7

It is the presupposition of this study that if one is to appreciate most fully the NT’s teaching on the sonship of Jesus, the requisite OT background must be duly considered. Part of that background comes from the OT concept of the fatherhood of God. Though this is a prevalent theme in the OT, it is even more pronounced in the NT due to the christological focus of God’s fatherhood. In the OT divine fatherhood begins broadly, focusing first of all on Israel in general (Exod 4.22) before focusing on the king (2 Sam 7.14), yet without losing its corporate nature. In the NT the fatherhood of God is first of all focused on Jesus, the Son of God8 par excellence, and this relationship is then expanded to include all of Jesus’ disciples. This correspondence between the sonship of Israel and the sonship of Jesus is one reason why in the NT Jesus is often portrayed as the New Israel. Hence, in a short but insightful study on the Synoptic Gospels, Joachim Bieneck argued that Jesus as Son of God fulfilled the obedience that was required of Israel, and he further showed that filial obedience is one of the features that reveals a primarily Jewish (rather than Greek) background for Son of God in the Synoptics.9 This sentiment—that Jesus’ status as Son of God implies his obedience to his Father—has been echoed by many others.10

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6 Use of the plural pronoun for Israel will be explained in §3.1.2 (n.51).
7 Some theologians have even posited that earthly father-son relationships are types of the antecedent Trinitarian Father-Son relationship, which is the antitype. Cf. Karl Barth, Dogmatics in Outline (trans. G. Thompson; London: SPCK, 1949), 43.
8 For sake of clarity and in accordance with general custom, in this study “Son of God” will be capitalized in reference to Jesus, but “son” will not be capitalized when speaking of Israel.
Thus, Son of God implies Jesus’ obedience to his Father, and although this can be seen throughout the NT, it is exceptionally clear in Matthew. For Matthew Jesus as “Son of God” is perhaps the most central christological claim, and this sonship is marked by unswerving obedience to his Father. In this vein Ulrich Luz suggests that Matthew adds the notion of obedience to Mark’s understanding of Son of God; William Kynes that Son of God for Matthew not only indicates Jesus’ origin from God, but also his obedience towards God; Birger Gerhardsson that Jesus’ sonship is one of service and obedience to God in everything, including both strength and weakness; Jeffrey Gibbs that Jesus shows his perfect sonship in Matthew by his perfect obedience. These examples could be multiplied, but this selection indicates the extent to which it is recognized that Jesus’ obedience as Son of God is centrally important for Matthew.

It is this concept of filial obedience in Matthew that provides the impetus for the present study. A few observations that provide the rationale for this study will be listed here by way of orientation, with discussions of these coming later in the study:

1) In the biblical worldview children are called to honor, respect, and obey their parents.


11 Despite a number of correctives offered to Jack Dean Kingsbury (Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom [London: SPCK, 1976]), his basic observation that “Son of God” is the most important title, or possibly concept, for Matthew seems to be substantially correct.


15 Jeffrey A. Gibbs, Matthew 1:1–11:1 (ConComm; St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), 108.

2) The importance of this concept is seen in God’s fatherhood to Israel and Israel’s call to filial obedience. These themes are foundationally developed in Deuteronomy.

3) Matthew\textsuperscript{17} speaks from a Jewish worldview, and the Jewish scriptures—not least of which is Deuteronomy—are supremely important for him.

4) Matthew presents Jesus as the obedient Son of God as the fulfillment of the nation of Israel. Thus, the question to be addressed in this study is whether Matthew’s emphasis on Jesus’ obedience as Son of God may be derived from the OT in general—and Deuteronomy more specifically—and what the implications of this may be.

To this end, chapter 1 will explore Matthew’s use of the OT and Deuteronomy, including the role of OT allusions. Chapter 1 will also suggest a modified redactional approach to Matthew that focuses intently on the gospel as a literary whole.

Chapter 2 will seek to establish historical plausibility for the claim that Matthew was heavily indebted to Deuteronomy by tracing the circulation and use of Deuteronomy in ancient Judaism and Christianity. Chapter 2 will thus seek to determine how prevalent knowledge of Deuteronomy appears to have been and which portions may have been particularly well known. It will also be asked which sections and themes of Deuteronomy were most often appealed to in order to set Matthew within its proper interpretive milieu.

Chapter 3 will be devoted to the themes of sonship and obedience in Deuteronomy, particularly as Matthew may have known the book. Focus will therefore be on the Greek OT, but other variants will be considered.\textsuperscript{18} It will be argued that far from being a tertiary teaching of Deuteronomy, the notion of God’s

\textsuperscript{17} “Matthew” will be used in this study as shorthand for the anonymous author of the Gospel of Matthew.

\textsuperscript{18} For this study I will prefer the term “Old Greek” (OG) when referring to Greek traditions Matthew may have known (instead of the more common “Septuagint” [LXX]), since it may be anachronistic to refer to Matthew’s Greek texts as the LXX. Of course, many OG manuscripts closely reflect the later LXX, and when studying OT references in the NT the LXX is the best witness we have to the OG. For more on the state of Greek and Hebrew OT textual traditions as it relates to Matthew, see §1.3.2.
fatherhood to Israel is a core teaching of Deuteronomy, and this relationship required the obedience of Israel.

Chapter 4 will ask how similar themes of sonship and obedience may appear in other biblical and non-biblical writings, especially where these themes may betray Deuteronomic 19 influence. It will be argued that the conjunction of sonship and obedience was quite common in ancient Judaism and Christianity, and that either subsequent authors took these ideas from Deuteronomy, or that Matthew may have understood these themes to have been derived from Deuteronomy.

Chapters 5–7 comprise the crux of the present study. Here it will be argued that Matthew derived his understanding of Jesus’ obedient sonship largely from Deuteronomy. Several Matthean texts will be suggested in support of this view. The texts to be considered will also reveal the tendency for Matthew to equate Jesus’ sonship with Israel’s sonship. It will be argued, based on Matthew’s use of Deuteronomy, that Matthew portrays Jesus as the obedient Son of God that Israel was called to be, yet which Israel was unable to attain. In addition, it will also be argued that obedient sonship in Matthew is not limited to Jesus, but is also seen in Jesus’ call to discipleship.

19 Deuteronomic here refers to texts that betray similarities to Deuteronomy. It is not to be confused with Deuteronomistic which entails more extensive theories about a larger corpus with shared theological features.
Chapter One

Methodology and Approach

1.1 Matthew and the OT

A brief survey of recent scholarship will demonstrate that there is presently no paucity of material dealing with the appropriation of the OT in the NT.¹ This present intertextual focus is a welcome one. In addition to serving as a corrective to the overly Hellenistic tendencies of some post-Enlightenment theology,² it has yielded numerous insights into the Jewish backgrounds of NT studies, the depths of which have yet to be exhausted. One’s understanding of Matthew, in particular, stands to gain much from sustained studies in the OT. That the OT is important to Matthew hardly needs any defense. It is well documented that Matthew employs a greater number and more complex Scriptural quotations than any other synoptic writer.³ According to the helpful index of quotations in the fourth edition of the United Bible Society’s Greek New Testament (UBS4), Matthew contains 56 OT quotations,⁴ whereas Mark and Luke have 54 between them.⁵ Several of these are the uniquely Matthean fulfillment

³ This is the case regardless of what one intends by quotation. The terminology for the present study will be explained below. Cf. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97), 1.31; Graham N. Stanton, “Matthew,” in It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture—Essays in Honor of Barnabas Lindars (ed. D. A. Carson and H. Williamson; Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 205.
⁴ Pages 888–89 in UBS4. This count does not include the dual listings of Exod 20 and Deut 5 for Matt 5.21; 15.4a; 19.18–19, nor does it consider Exod 21.24 and Lev 24.20 as separate citations in Matt 5.38. R. T. France (The Gospel of Matthew [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 10) counts an additional 262 allusions and verbal parallels listed for Matthew in UBS4.
⁵ France (Matthew, 10), referring to the same index, lists only 54 OT quotations for Matthew. He may be referring to the number of total Matthean passages listed, and not the number of OT texts.
quotations. These quotations are indicative of Matthew’s interest in demonstrating that Jesus stood in continuity with Israel’s Scriptures, and was the consummate “filling up” of their meaning. Moreover, although the notion of fulfillment can perhaps most clearly be seen in Matthew’s fulfillment quotations, it is by no means limited to them, as these are only “one component in a much more comprehensive development of fulfillment in Matthew.” Indeed, the fulfillment quotations are indicative of Matthew’s larger concern with showing Jesus as the fulfillment of the OT at virtually every point in his gospel. Thus one could say that the OT is “woven into the warp and woof of [Matthew’s] gospel.”

France aptly summarizes:

The formula-quotations are simply one expression of the total fulfillment theology which undergirds Matthew’s presentation throughout, surfacing sometimes in formal quotation, sometimes in verbal echo, sometimes in the way the story is told so that any reader acquainted with the Old Testament will be set thinking about ongoing patterns in the work of God.

In other words, Matthew’s use of the OT is more complex than a simplified, systematic scheme. Thus, it would not be sufficient merely to state that Matthew uses


10 Stanton, “Matthew,” 205. Jones (“Matthew,” 61) similarly notes a “mass of other references to scriptural passages, allusions which also add important detail to the ‘fulfillment’ framework.” B. W. Bacon (Studies in Matthew [New York: Hentry Holt, 1930], 470) suggested “over 100 quotations and uses” of the OT in Matthew.

11 France, Evangelist, 184.

12 Ibid., 188.
the OT. Instead, the numerous references to the OT indicate the extent to which Scripture shaped Matthew’s Weltanschauung, and therefore provides much of the framework for Matthew’s understanding of Jesus. At the same time, however, Matthew’s christological reading of the OT suggests that Jesus provided a lens through which Matthew understood the OT. It is the identity of Jesus that is preeminently important for Matthew,13 and it is his coming and the advent of the kingdom of heaven that has provided the impetus for Matthew’s gospel (e.g., Matt 4.17). The birth of Jesus as Emmanuel who will save his people from their sins (Matt 1.21–23) marks the key event in the history of God’s people.14 Given the centrality of Jesus for Matthew, the OT should be understood as anticipating and preparing the way for Jesus;15 it is he who gives the OT scriptures their consummate meaning. In a word, the OT is the key to understanding Jesus in Matthew, but Jesus is also necessary to comprehend fully the OT. It is this dialectical relationship16 that permeates Matthew.

A few examples will illustrate this. The opening words of Matthew (Βίβλος γενέσεως) reveal an organic connection with the OT, relating what follows to the first Book of Moses,17 and possibly making reference to a new creation.18 Matthew continues by noting his account focuses on Jesus Christ, υἱὸν Δαυὶδ υἱὸν ‘Αβραάμ—two key figures in salvation history—and then gives a short summary of Israel’s history,

13 Hagner, Matthew, 1:lii.

14 This theme of Jesus’ (divine) presence with his people has often been seen as a Matthean inclusio (cf. Matt 28.20). Cf. David D. Kupp, Matthew’s Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God’s People in the First Gospel (SNTSMS 90; Cambridge: CUP, 1996).


16 Credit for this terminology is due to Prof. Larry Hurtado.

17 This phrase likely has a double reference for Matthew, referring to the OG title of Genesis as well as its genealogical accounts. Although scholars disagree regarding how much of what follows is covered by these first few words, Davies and Allison have persuasively argued that these words serve as a title to the entire gospel. For discussions see Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:150–55; David L. Turner, Matthew (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 56; Hagner, Matthew, 1:9.

18 So Davies and Allison, 1:150; France, Matthew, 28.
indicating Jesus’ significant role in it.\textsuperscript{19} It is thus suggested here, and reinforced throughout the narrative, that for Matthew Jesus is the climax of Israel’s history.\textsuperscript{20}

Another example that illustrates both the importance of the OT for comprehending Jesus in Matthew’s gospel, as well as the primacy of Jesus in Matthew’s reading of the OT, is Matthew’s portrayal of Jesus as the New Israel.\textsuperscript{21} Just as the OT recounts the history of the nation of Israel and their relationship with God,\textsuperscript{22} so Matthew utilizes passages and patterns from the OT to communicate the history and theology surrounding Jesus of Nazareth.\textsuperscript{23} Matthew applies OT passages that refer to the nation of Israel to Jesus, perhaps most notably in chapters 1–4.\textsuperscript{24} Discussions of relevant passages will come later, but a few words will be said here by way of orientation. The first explicit reference to this Jesus-as-Israel typology is Matt 2.15. Here Hos 11.1,

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. France, Matthew, 28–29; John Nolland, The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text (NIGTC; Bletchley: Paternoster, 2005), 70; Turner, Matthew, 56. For the genealogy as the genre “Summary of Israel’s Story,” see the forthcoming dissertation by Jason Hood (University of Aberdeen).

\textsuperscript{20} So N. T. Wright, Christian Origins and the Question of God, vol. 1: The New Testament and the People of God (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 390. Similarly, Nolland (Matthew, 36) notes that one of the purposes for Matthew’s use of the OT is “to retell the OT story as context for the coming of Jesus.”


\textsuperscript{22} This, of course, is a generalization and therefore risks oversimplification. The point here is simply that this is one acceptable summary of the OT.


\textsuperscript{24} It will be argued in later chapters that one reason the New Israel theme is so prominent in these chapters is because it is here that Matthew first establishes who Jesus is. As Luz has noted (Theology, 30–37), these chapters are key to understanding Matthean Christology.
which refers to the nation of Israel as the son of God, is applied to Jesus, thereby suggesting that Jesus (the Son of God par excellence) is representative of the nation.²⁵ Likewise, in his wilderness temptation (Matt 4.1–11) Jesus recapitulates the experiences of Israel.²⁶ Here Jesus quotes, among other passages, Deut 8.3, which is found in a passage that also likens Yahweh’s actions toward Israel to a father’s discipline of his son (Deut 8.5). Again, one of the points of this pericope is Jesus’ role as the New Israel, with particular focus on his filial obedience in the midst of hardship.

The parallels with Israel are not only evident in the citations attributed to Jesus, but also in other details of the passage(s). For example, the temptation setting recalls Israel’s testing in the wilderness. Moreover, Jesus’ testing comes immediately after his baptism in Matthew’s narrative, and many have noted similarities to the Exodus in Jesus’ baptism.²⁷ This further reflects the account of Israel’s temptation, which came after their deliverance through water. The point is simply that Matthew’s ability to communicate Jesus’ relation to Israel is not limited to explicit citations, but is also expressed by narratival descriptions, structure, and various other means.

In light of these considerations, an approach that fails to recognize Matthew’s scriptural saturation at virtually every point (i.e., even where no citation is present) will inevitably lead to “an impoverished view of Matthew’s use of the OT,”²⁸ and therefore to an impoverished view of Matthew’s gospel in general. Heeding this warning, the current study will not only take into consideration Matthew’s OT citations, but will also consider Matthew’s more subtle references to the OT. This chapter will outline a method for identifying the more oblique ways in which Matthew’s gospel is dependent on OT texts, devoting particular attention to Deuteronomy. I will begin with a definition of terminology, which will be followed by a brief survey of recent perspectives on the

²⁵ Allison (“Son of God,” 77) correctly observes that Son of God is the title Jesus shares with Israel. One of the present aims of this study will be to trace the significance of this connection.


²⁷ So, e.g., Hagner, Matthew, 1:61–62; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:344–45.

NT usage of the OT. Lastly, I will indicate the approach and limitations of the present study.

### 1.1.1 Explicit OT Citations

The most readily demonstrable category of OT usage in Matthew is *explicit citation*. These are citations in which Matthew gives his readers a clue—namely an introductory formula—that he is citing from the OT, and often indicates the source of the quote. These include, but are not limited to, Matthew’s fulfillment quotations (*Reflexionszitate/Erfullungszitate*). Although there are debates about Matthew’s Vorlage(n) and textual traditions, there is no question that these are indeed OT quotations. Matthew 3.3 is an example of such a citation. This verse includes an introductory formula (οῦν ὁ ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος) that prefaces the quotation, followed by extensive verbal correspondence with the Septuagintal reading of Isaiah 40.3.30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isa 40.3 (LXX)31</th>
<th>Matt 3.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ</td>
<td>φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὀδὸν κυρίου</td>
<td>ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὀδὸν κυρίου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν</td>
<td>εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By these criteria, 24 of Matthew’s 56 OT citations can be considered explicit.32 It should be noted that, despite the relative clarity of explicit citations, they do not always

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30 This includes Matt 2.23, which may derive from ἡσαίου and messianic expectations (Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 114). In this study *citation* and *quotation* will be used interchangeably.


32 The Götingen text of the LXX will be used in this study.

33 1.23a–b; 2.6, 15, 18; 3.3; 4.4, 6, 7, 10, 15–16; 8.17; 11.10; 12.18–21; 13.14–15, 35; 15.4a–b; 15.8–9; 21.5a–b; 21.42; 22.44; 26.31; 27.9–10. Matthew 2.23 also contains a citation formula.
exhibit precise verbal correspondence with a known text form.\textsuperscript{33} Nevertheless, explicit citations can be identified on the basis of Matthew’s introductory formulas. For citations, I will consider the indices of quotations in NA27/UBS4 to be mostly accurate,\textsuperscript{34} though they do not make the distinction between \textit{explicit} and \textit{implicit} citations.

1.1.2 Implicit OT Citations

A second category of OT usage in Matthew is \textit{implicit citation}, which refers to those texts in which Matthew seems to quote an OT text, but gives the reader little or no indication that he is citing a source. Thus, there is either no introductory formula, or an introduction that is sufficiently vague that one could not rightly call it a formula.\textsuperscript{35} Nevertheless, one may rightly refer to these as \textit{citations} because rather extensive verbal parallels are evident.

Matthew 18.16 is an example of an implicit citation. Here one encounters extensive verbal correspondence with Deut 19.15,\textsuperscript{36} though no introduction is given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deut 19.5b (MT)</th>
<th>Deut 19.15b (LXX)</th>
<th>Matt 18.16b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>שלמה תשנו עירם וא</td>
<td>ἐπὶ στόματος δύο</td>
<td>ἐπὶ στόματος δύο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שלמה תשנו עירם וע</td>
<td>μαρτύρον καὶ ἐπὶ</td>
<td>μαρτυρὸν ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קים 있고</td>
<td>στόματος τριῶν μαρτύρον</td>
<td>σταθήσεται πᾶν ρήμα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קים ופיו</td>
<td></td>
<td>πᾶν ρήμα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{33} More will be said on this phenomenon below.

\textsuperscript{34} It will be apparent that these lists are not carbon copies. The present study will default to the list in NA27, but will also refer to the indices in UBS4.

\textsuperscript{35} 10.35–36 is an example of the former, and 18.16 an example of the latter.

\textsuperscript{36} For the difficulty in establishing the text type of this citation, see Robert H. Gundry, \textit{The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew’s Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope} (NovTSup 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 139; Maarten J. J. Menken, \textit{Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist} (BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 271–73.
The remaining 31 citations in Matthew fall into this category.\textsuperscript{37} Both implicit and explicit citations are important for the present study since they provide extensive verbal parallels that indicate Matthew’s familiarity with and re-appropriation of Deuteronomy.

The differences between explicit and implicit citations may be minimal, and one may even be able to make an argument for labeling some explicit citations as implicit, and vice versa. The importance of these two categories is not in what decision is made regarding individual passages, but in acknowledging that Matthew employs both explicit, formulaic citations of Scripture, as well as more implicit citations, the source of which he does not clearly identify.\textsuperscript{38} At the very least this indicates that Matthew is deeply concerned with the OT, and that his utilization of Scripture is multifaceted. Indeed, his numerous and variegated citations of Scripture suggest that one has reason to expect a positive response when asking whether Matthew often engages the OT in passages where no citation is present.

1.1.3 OT Allusions

The third and most debated category is allusions. That allusions exist in some form in Matthew can hardly be doubted.\textsuperscript{39} It is universally accepted that Matthew in some way makes reference to OT texts without citing passages, but determining what these passages are, what criteria should be employed to identify them, and the level of significance that should be attached to them are thornier matters. For this study allusion will be considered a broad category referring to any passage in which Matthew in his gospel draws upon language, images, themes, and/or structure from the OT, suggesting his indebtedness—whether consciously or unconsciously—to a biblical text.\textsuperscript{40} Thus, the present understanding of allusions will be broad enough to include more widely

\textsuperscript{37} These are 5.21, 27, 31; 5.33a–b; 5.38a–b; 5.43; 9.13; 10.35–36; 12.7, 40; 18.16; 19.4a–b; 19.5, 7, 18, 19; 21, 9, 13, 15; 22.24, 32, 37, 39; 23.39; 24.30; 26.64–b; 27.46.


\textsuperscript{39} Cf. Menken, Matthew’s Bible, 10; Moo, Passion Narratives, 20; France, Matthew, 11.

\textsuperscript{40} These criteria will be outlined below.
recognized references to the OT, as well as those passages that might be said to *echo* OT passages. It should also be noted that an allusion might be *intentional* or *unintentional*. This distinction will be discussed in more detail below (§1.2.3).

The term *allusion* has been chosen for this category for a couple of reasons. First, it is language that is commonly employed and accepted as a legitimate category for biblical authors, even if the criteria for what constitutes allusions often vary from one exegete to another. Second, though other terms are frequently used to refer to subtler allusions, it appears to be more prudent to include all types of allusions under the same heading since it is not possible to demonstrate with precision the differences between an allusion and an echo. Since all categories are artificial, they are best kept to a minimum.

At times there is very little distinction between explicit and implicit citations, and between implicit citations and allusions. Therefore, it is best to view these three categories as points on a continuum, since it is more difficult to determine how to define OT usage the vaguer it becomes. For sake of clarity, any reference to the OT in Matthew, apart from the 56 explicit/implicit citations listed above, will be considered an allusion. The indices of allusions listed in NA27/UBS4 will be referenced, but it will not be assumed that all the passages listed there have strong support, nor will the discussion of possible OT allusions be limited to these passages. Instead, the method for identifying allusions will be outlined, and this method will be applied to particular passages in Matthew. Before this, however, more needs to be said about the warrant for seeking allusions, and the work of those scholars whose contributions have been formative for the method adopted in this study will be acknowledged.

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41 Most notable is the term *echo* in NT studies, especially since the influential work of Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

1.1.4 Richard Hays on Echoes

Foundational for the present study is the approach of Richard Hays, whose methodology for identifying allusions is outlined in Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul. Here Hays argues not only for the existence of subtle OT references in Paul’s letters, but also that these allusive references are highly significant for understanding Paul’s thought. The basis of Hays’s view, which draws heavily on the work of literary critic John Hollander, can be summarized:

Allusive echo can often function as a diachronic trope to which Hollander applies the name of transumption, or metalepsis. When a literary echo links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text, the figurative effect of the echo can lie in the unstated or suppressed (transumed) points of resonance between the two texts.

For Hays, Paul’s references to the OT reveal theological connections that are important for the NT epistle in which it is recalled. In Hays’s estimation, “scriptural echoes lend resonant overtones to Paul’s prose.” In other words, where Paul allusively echoes an OT passage he does not do so incidentally, but these echoes often provide an integral key for understanding Paul’s argument. Although these references are not always easily identified, they are not therefore less important. Elsewhere, discussing the way in which allusions and echoes function as tropes, Hays has noted that the effectiveness of these devices actually “depends partly upon their initial obscurity.” However, once the

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44 Hays, Echoes, 20. Elsewhere Hays defines metalepsis more fully: “In brief, ‘metalepsis’ is a rhetorical figure that creates a correspondence between two texts such that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with the precursor text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly cited.” Cf. idem, The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 43n.38.

45 Hays, Echoes, 21.

46 For Hays, allusions are obvious intertextual references, and echoes are subtler ones. He also recognizes, however, that quotation, allusion, and echo are all points on a spectrum and he implies that we cannot easily distinguish between them (Echoes, 29).

connections are made, the effect for Hays might be compared to a dawning of light that reveals a storehouse of treasures.

A significant aspect of Hays’s perspective is the need to consider appropriately the OT context from which an OT echo is taken. Hays, agreeing with one of the main points of C. H. Dodd’s *According to the Scriptures*, states that Paul’s OT references are not merely proof-texts, but “usually must be understood as allusive recollections of the wider narrative setting from which they are taken.” Hays even suggests that Paul read the OT Scriptures as a literary and/or theological unity. Hays cites the example of Isa 52.5 in Rom 2.24, maintaining that Paul understood Isa 52 in light of the entirety of canonical Isaiah that depicts Israel’s exile and redemption. Thus, the broader context of Isaiah from which Paul’s reference comes must be considered to grasp most fully the effect of Paul’s rhetoric.

Another helpful discussion advanced by Hays states that explicit citations in Paul are merely the *tip of the iceberg* that “point to a larger mass just under the surface.” Hays continues, “It would, therefore, be highly artificial to suppose that Scripture plays an important role in Paul’s thought only in those cases where he quotes a text explicitly.” For Hays, the implication is simple. “That means our efforts to interpret his writings must deal also with allusions and echoes of Scripture in his writings.”

Hays gives seven criteria to assist in finding and evaluating the significance of scriptural echoes in Paul. By these he does not intend to set forth a step-by-step process that always leads to a firm conclusion. Instead, these should underlie any exegetical decisions made regarding echoes. Below is a brief recounting of these principles; later in this chapter I will indicate how these may be applied to Matthew’s usage of Deuteronomy.

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50 Hays, “‘Who Has Believed?’,” 205.


52 Hays, “‘Who Has Believed?’,” 206–8.

1) Availability. Was the proposed text that is being echoed available to the author and/or the original audience?

2) Volume deals with the prominence, either in wording or significance of the OT passage in question, in the possible NT allusion.

3) Recurrence refers to the frequency with which Paul alludes to or quotes the same OT passage. The more often a passage is cited, the more probable it is that an allusion will be valid.

4) Thematic coherence has to do with the OT context from which an echo comes. Here Hays asks whether the meaning, images, and ideas in the possible OT echo help to clarify Paul’s reasoning. In addition, this criterion asks whether the OT passage is consistent with other occurrences in the Pauline corpus.

5) Historical plausibility asks whether the modern-day exegete’s thoughts about a proposed echo would have been feasible to a first-century audience. Put differently, exegetes must be sure that present-day readings and/or theological reconstructions are not anachronistic, but would have fit with what is known of the theological milieu of Paul’s day.

6) History of interpretation asks whether other exegetes throughout history have seen the same or similar connections. This provides a buffer against fantastic, shortsighted, or erratic interpretations.54

7) Satisfaction. This is a way for exegetes to ask themselves whether a proposed reading produces a satisfying account of the surrounding discourse. Although this criterion is arguably the most subjective of the seven, it remains imperative that the exegete has confidence in his/her exegetical conclusions. Presumably, however, achieving this step (in conjunction with the other six) will concomitantly result in interpretations that other exegetes will also find to be superior.

54 Although Hays lists this criterion as important, he also discounts it, suggesting that history may have “dampened our drowned out” some echoes due to hermeneutical revisions stemming from different historical contexts. Thus, Hays insists we must not limit our insights into those discovered in the past.
Despite criticisms that have been offered against these seven criteria, many still recognize their legitimacy. Indeed, Hays’s conclusions are corroborated when one considers the biblical assumptions of Paul and other NT authors. Their widespread appeal—most obviously by way of citation—to OT texts indicates that they saw the OT as sacred Scripture. In addition, many NT texts point to the provisional character of the OT, serving to prepare God’s people for the time of the Christ. Thus, the NT authors’ frequent application of OT texts for their (Christian) audiences suggests they viewed the OT as directly relevant for the eschatological community of the last days. If this is true, it would not be surprising if Paul and other biblical authors read the OT widely, even after the coming of Christ, and did not simply scour it for isolated proof-texts. Old Testament citations certainly reveal the OT’s abiding relevance for NT authors, but their appropriation of the OT is not limited to citations. Instead, citations are merely the most notable way in which the OT is organically incorporated throughout the NT. Awareness of this biblical feature will be especially significant for the present study of Matthew—a book that is saturated with Scriptural citations. It will be argued that OT citations in Matthew—from Deuteronomy in particular—are merely the tip of the iceberg that allows the exegete to look for the larger mass of influence that may lie just below a surface reading.

The following survey will demonstrate the widespread view that various NT writings—particularly Matthew—are replete with allusory scriptural references, and it therefore behoves the exegete to weigh these carefully. Since Hays’s method remains the best approach for identifying and assessing OT allusions, it will be followed in this study. Before these are applied, however, I will briefly survey other scholars who have advanced Hays’s arguments on the nature and significance of OT allusions in the NT.

55 See, e.g., the critique by Stanley Porter (“Use of the Old Testament,” 83) who suggests that of the seven criteria only three are viable, and even these are problematic.

56 E.g., N. T. Wright, Paul: In Fresh Perspective (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 61–62.


1.1.5 Developments of Hays’s Criteria

Since the publication of Echoes, numerous NT scholars have demonstrated an affinity with Hays’s thesis and subsequent elaborations. What follows is a survey of a few of these scholars and their contributions to an understanding of allusions. First, some studies focusing on Pauline and non-Pauline literature will be recounted. Next, more space will be devoted to discussions of the Gospels in general, and Matthew in particular.

1.1.5.1 General NT Literature

Many scholars writing on Paul have demonstrated continuity with Hays’s approach, while adding insights of their own. One such scholar is N. T. Wright. In The Climax of the Covenant, Wright affirms that he finds Hays’s arguments “basically convincing.” However, Wright goes beyond Hays and suggests that Paul read Israel’s Scriptures as a specific story that was moving towards a climax.60

A couple of other scholars note Paul’s interest in the Pentateuch. Carol Stockhausen has shown in her work on 2 Corinthians that Paul is superlatively interested in the stories of the Pentateuch “as narratives.”61 Additionally, Francis Watson helpfully demonstrates that Paul was an interpretive reader of Scripture, and as such was attuned to the theological message of the passages he referenced. He further states that explicit citations to OT passages “are simply the visible manifestations of an intertextuality that is ubiquitous and fundamental to the Pauline discourse,” thus agreeing with Hays’s iceberg metaphor.62 It is especially instructive that these scholars recognize in Paul a keen interest in the Pentateuch.

59 See §1.2.2 below on the relevance of Pauline intertextual studies for studying intertextuality in Matthew.


It is also appropriate to note a couple of scholars who have applied similar insights to other portions of the NT. First, Steve Moyise acknowledges the existence of *intertextual echoes*, and argues that such subtle allusions can sometimes be more influential than explicit citations, especially if they are “frequent and pervasive.” Later Moyise proposes that such allusions can accompany the reading of a NT passage as a “shading voice”\(^63\) that add texture and depth to a text, even when the OT text is not expressly cited.

Second, G. K. Beale’s work will inform the present perspective. Beale recognizes the importance of the OT background for the NT, and believes that the nature of the OT context of an allusion must be taken into consideration. In addition to literary and thematic contexts, Beale maintains the exegete must also reflect on *historical* contexts within literary units. Thus, one must consider the Exodus events when interpreting Hos 11.\(^64\) Put differently, although the historical context for the writing of Hosea was not the Exodus, the literary composition of Hosea assumes and draws upon the historical context of the Exodus to communicate its message.

### 1.1.5.2 Synoptic Gospels

It is significant that Hays himself does not restrict his application of OT echoes to Pauline literature, but has also applied his insights to the Gospels. First, in an article on Mark, he considers how important the OT contexts were for the citations of Isa 56; Jer 7 in Mark 11. Hays shows that the full force of Jesus’ rebuke of discrimination against the Gentiles and the ultimate deception of trusting in national identity based on Temple presence in Mark is lost without a knowledge of the contexts of these two OT passages. Second, Hays notes that the allusion to Job 9 in Mark 6:48 is a key that helps unlock the meaning of the passage and makes sense of the curious phrase καὶ ἦθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτοῦς. He concludes that Mark intends this pericope to be a theophanic vision of Jesus based on connections between the language of Job 9 LXX and Mark 6.


Hays also suggests that \( \tau \pi \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu \) alludes to God’s passing by Moses in Exod 33–34, which adds to the theophanic imagery.\(^{65}\) Additionally, in an even more germane article that surveys the use of the OT in Matthew, Hays presses the need to heed more subtle allusions in addition to fulfillment citations. He further suggests that Matthew read the OT as a narrative, and this is evident the way Matthew himself emphasizes key elements of the OT story (election, kingship, sin, exile, messianic salvation). In Hays’s estimation, Matthew exhibits “a diverse and complex use of Scripture.”\(^{66}\)

An earlier perspective on many of these same themes comes from Douglas Moo, who noted in 1983 that those steeped in the OT, such as the four Evangelists, and writing on religious topics would almost certainly employ scriptural language, even if not intending to evoke a particular passage. He maintains it is not necessary to discuss whether an author intended an allusion, but whether such allusions are present in the text. For Moo, allusions are not only present, but frequent. Moo also provides three guiding principles to identify allusions: the appropriateness of the purported OT text in the new context, the citation of the OT text elsewhere, and the author’s characteristic style.\(^{67}\) These are indeed important criteria to remember when attempting to locate allusions in Matthew.

Of particular interest is the work of those who have focused on the importance of OT allusions specifically in Matthew. J. van Dondewaard suggested in 1955 that too little attention had been given to NT passages that draw from the OT “un seul mot ou une seule phrase, non seulement à cause de la signification restreinte de cette phrase ou de ce mot, mais pour évoquer du meme coup tout le contexte, toute l’histoire, l’événement meme, durant lequel ce mot a été prononcé.” In other words, many OT allusions are not limited to the words included by the author, but evoke the entire contextual world from


which they are derived. Tellingly, van Dodewaard’s article focuses on how this is typical in Matthew.68

Similarly, in 1972 L. Hartman, writing on Matthew, recognized that a quotation or allusion gains much of its communicative effect from a set of its associations and/or context, and warned that one may at times miss the force of a text if an allusion is not recognized. In the course of his study Hartman also suggests that, when identifying allusions, one should try to discern what the author intended.69

A 1979 monograph by Brian Nolan focusing on Matt 1–2 offers a definition for allusions, which he contends are prominent in these two chapters. Nolan suggests that an allusion is “a conscious evocation of an Old Testament personage, event, institution, passage, or literary technique, made by the writer in order to communicate through the medium of received religious tradition.” He adds two criteria to validate such allusions: 1) a series of verbal similarities; 2) a theological motive giving them coherence and direction.70 The arguments set forth later in this study will basically concur with these two criteria, but with the realization that a “series of verbal similarities” can be difficult to establish for allusive references.

R. T. France, who has done substantial work on both Matthew and the use of the OT in the NT, notes that less formal allusions often reveal the OT basis upon which an author formed his thinking.71 As such, allusions may offer important insights into the theological influences of a given author, especially one such as Matthew whose gospel teems over with OT language and imagery. France acknowledges that allusions will not be manifestly evident to everyone, and suggests that Matthew may have been catering to “differing levels of sophistication and readership” in the allusions he includes, and may

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71 France, Jesus and the Old Testament (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), 15. France adds that allusions can be quite difficult to locate.
have included “bonus meanings” in his text for those with a sharp eye.72 This being the case, one should not be surprised to find some rather noticeable allusions, and some that are discovered only after extended reflection, perhaps by those very familiar with the OT. Thus, when studying Matthew, it would be counterproductive to restrict one’s investigation to citations, but one must also consider Matthew’s more subtle OT references.73

Another contribution to Matthean studies can be found in Wright’s *New Testament and the People of God*. Here Wright notes the widespread view that Matthew’s gospel has a “thoroughly Jewish flavour.” Consistent with the observations of this chapter thus far, Wright observes that Matthew’s fulfillment quotations are only “the tip of a very large iceberg.” He also suggests that Matthew’s narrative relies heavily on the story of Israel, most notably as encapsulated in the latter portions of Deuteronomy. Matthew, according to Wright, is in part a narrative that is looking for the fulfillment of Israel’s story. Wright further recognizes the importance of the Pentateuch for Matthew, arguing that the Pentateuch (and Deuteronomy in particular) as *covenant* lies at the back of Matthew’s structure.74

This study will also gain methodological insight from Dale Allison who has argued in detail for a pervasive Mosaic typology throughout Matthew, which further supports the view that OT—especially Pentateuchal—imagery is prominent in Matthew.75 Allison’s criteria for identifying OT allusions are rather straightforward. His approach is to look for a combination of similar circumstances, key words/phrases,

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74 Wright, *New Testament*, 384–89. Deuteronomy 27–30 is especially important for Wright, as he believes the covenant, as Matthew understood it, is summarized in these chapters.

75 Allison, *New Moses*. Michael Fishbane comments on typology in his important work *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 350ff. Fishbane explains how connections were made in the Hebrew Bible by typology: “[S]uch nexuses are the product of a specific mode of theological-historical speculation—one which seeks to adapt, interpret, or otherwise illumine a present experience (or hope, or expectation) by means of an older datum” (352, emphasis original). Although Fishbane’s work is focused on the inner-biblical exegesis of the OT, Matthew’s practice seems to follow this basic pattern.
narrative structure, and verbal or syllabic resonances. Although *The New Moses* deals mainly with typology, it assumes the importance of intertextuality. This latter theme is expounded in more detail in Allison’s more recent work dealing with Q in the Synoptics. Here Allison expands his criteria for identifying allusions. In addition to the principles listed in *The New Moses*, he also mentions shared themes, imagery, and circumstances as elements when, taken together, most likely indicate an allusion. Allison further believes that the history of interpretation is an imperative safeguard in the process of finding allusions. Positively, Allison states that the probability of an intertext is heightened if the author utilizes the source text in other portions of his writing. This criterion will be especially important for the present inquiry into Deuteronomy in Matthew. Finally, Allison concedes that subjectivity is unavoidable in the quest to uncover allusions. For Allison, there is no simple way to identify oblique references, but a mature judgment is needed to “feel” whether a supposed reference is solid or inconsequential. Thus Allison, no less than Hays, does not deny that searching for subtle allusions requires a degree of exegetical judgment. Both agree, however, that the subjective dangers involved in identifying allusions do not thereby undermine the value of such allusions, nor should this deter the exegete from attempting to locate them.

Michael Knowles’s work on Jeremiah also acknowledges the importance of allusions in Matthew. Knowles’s study adds at least two things to the present survey. First, he notes the inherent difficulty in evaluating purported allusions only on the basis of verbal correspondence, since the version Matthew is citing or drawing his references from may not be an extant text form. Second, Knowles explicitly applies Hays’s method

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76 Allison, *New Moses*, 20–21.
77 It is helpful to consider typology under the rubric of *allusion* since most typology is not based on overt scriptural citations, but on parallels between two or more texts (as Allison ably shows in *New Moses*). Therefore, typology is best described as a particular species of allusion. This accords with Bruce Waltke’s observation that “[a]llusions often merge with typology.” Cf. Bruce K. Waltke with Charles Yu, *An Old Testament Theology: An Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 133.
79 Ibid., 10–12.
to Matthew, even noting that Hays’s arguments for allusions based on Paul’s familiarity with the OT have “even greater force” when applied to Matthew.\textsuperscript{82} Similarly, Richard Beaton suggests the need to give greater weight to allusory OT references in Matthew, alongside other explicit references. Attention to this will, according to Beaton, provide the foundation upon which one can truly understand the role of the more prominent formula quotations.\textsuperscript{83}

A final contribution to consider comes from Anne O’Leary, who argues that Matthew is preeminently a rewritten, “Judaized” text of a Markan source. O’Leary acknowledges her debt to Hays and Allison, and inquires how Matthew used Mark as a source. Two aspects of her findings warrant mention here. First, O’Leary believes Matthew exhibits a “Torahized frame.” This simply means that Matthew has added elements of the Torah to the beginning and ending of his narrative. Second, O’Leary contends that certain elements of Matthew’s gospel have been “Deuteronomized,” having been styled in such a way that they echo portions of Deuteronomy.\textsuperscript{84} The most relevant portions of O’Leary’s research for the present study is the consistency of her methodology with the authors already mentioned, as well as her arguments highlighting Deuteronomy’s role in Matthew.

\section*{1.2 Approach}

\subsection*{1.2.1 On Citations and Allusions}

In this study, following a method that is indebted to the scholars above, I will endeavor to identify and assess allusions to Deuteronomy in Matthew based in large part on the prevalence of citations. This study will be particularly focused on Deuteronomy as it relates to the sonship and obedience of Jesus. Given the debated nature of

\textsuperscript{82} Michael Knowles, \textit{Jeremiah in Matthew’s Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthean Redaction}. (JSNTSup 68; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 162–64.

\textsuperscript{83} Beaton, \textit{Isaiah’s Christ}, 19–20.

\textsuperscript{84} Anne M. O’Leary, \textit{Matthew’s Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity} (LNTS 323; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2006), 19, 118, 139, 164–69. The two passages she explicitly mentions are Matt. 17.22–27; 18.15–35. In these passages she follows Thomas Brodie.
allusions, it has been necessary to substantiate their importance.\footnote{Cf. Gundry, \textit{Use}, 3, citing C. Taylor (\textit{The Gospel in the Law} [Cambridge, 1869], xxi): “the least direct allusion testifies to the firmest grasp and appreciation of a subject.”} It should be recognized that allusions are not always more important than citations. Indeed, apart from the citations of Deuteronomy in Matthew, arguments for allusions would carry little weight.\footnote{Cf. Guy Waters, \textit{The End of Deuteronomy in the Epistles of Paul} (WUNT II/221; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 23–24.} Yet it remains that one must give due attention to allusions, or risk insufficient readings of texts. Indeed, it would be highly artificial to conclude that Deuteronomy plays a significant role in Matthew’s thought only where Deuteronomy is cited explicitly.\footnote{Cf. Porter, “Use of the Old Testament,” 96. This approach differs from that of Maarten J. J. Menken, “Deuteronomy in Matthew’s Gospel,” in \textit{Deuteronomy in the New Testament} (ed. S. Moyise and M. Menken; LNTS 358; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 42–62.}

The aim of this study will be not be simply to identify possible allusions, but specifically to evaluate how Deuteronomic thought may have shaped Matthew’s Christology. This study will not consider an OT citation or allusion in Matthew to be bare repetition, but will assume these involve some sort of development.\footnote{Wright, \textit{New Testament}, 385; France, \textit{Evangelist}, 190; Allison, \textit{New Moses}.} Matthew understands the coming of Jesus to mark the major event in salvation history; thus the narrative climax of the OT for Matthew is seen in the person of Jesus. The upshot of this is that although we should search for verbal, thematic, and other similarities in Matthew’s Deuteronomic allusions, we should also expect that Matthew’s utilization of his OT sources might be creatively appropriated. That is, Matthew may take themes, commandments, or other aspects of Deuteronomy and apply them in new ways to people, events, or realities in Matthew that demonstrates the climactic filling up of all Israel’s hope in the person and work of Christ.

\subsection*{1.2.2 Applying Hays’s Method to Matthew}

Hays’s methodology on allusions was first articulated in reference to Paul. Nevertheless, it is the contention of this study that his methodology can rightly be applied to Matthew. Indeed, Hays himself studies Matthew in accordance with his own
principles, and it has become common practice in NT scholarship to apply Hays’s criteria to a gamut of texts. Matthew is particularly well suited for such an endeavor.89

Moreover, the observations of Paul as a reader of Scripture have many parallels to the author of Matthew. Matthew, no less than Paul, is “clearly Jewish, in dialogue with contemporary Jewish thought, and skilled in traditional Jewish interpretation of the OT.”90 Among other factors, Luz points to the author’s understanding of the law and his appeal to the OT as evidence for a Jewish Christian author well versed in the literature of Judaism.91 Similarly, much of Hays’s approach is built on the foundation that Paul was not only familiar with Israel’s Scriptures and interpretive traditions, but also consciously invoked them in his letters.92 Whatever differences may exist between their writings, Matthew and Paul were both first-century Jewish Christians93 who had a thorough knowledge of OT texts and traditions, and who used their Scriptural heritage to elucidate and bolster their arguments. Thus, it would not be surprising if Matthew’s approach to the scriptures, though distinct from Paul’s, exhibits numerous similarities with the former Pharisee.94 In light of all these considerations, it is appropriate and well founded to apply Hays’s approach to Matthew with minimal modification.

1.2.3 Literary and Theological Relationships

Another driving assumption for the present approach is the persuasion that a literary relationship between Deuteronomy and Matthew also reveals a theological

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89 So Knowles, Jeremiah, 164

90 Keener, Matthew, 40. For Paul as a Jewish Christian in conversation with Israel’s Scriptures, see Hays, Echoes, ix-xii; Watson, Hermeneutics, 1–6.

91 Luz, Matthew, 1:80–81. In addition, many believe that Matt 13.52 gives the reader a biographical glimpse of the author: he may have been a scribe who was made a disciple for the kingdom of heaven (γραμματεύς μαθητευθεὶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν). Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:445–46; David E. Orton, The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal (JSNTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 168.

92 Hays, Echoes, xii, 4–6.


94 Phil 3:4–6.
Matthew was not primarily drawing from the OT simply because he preferred the language, but to demonstrate continuity with and fulfillment of the OT in Jesus. Even a preliminary reading of Matthew will demonstrate that the author viewed the OT as authoritative for his purposes. Although this is most readily evident in the fulfillment quotations, the influence of the OT can also be seen in any of the ways Matthew employs these authoritative texts. In other words, one must heed OT allusions in Matthew because they, no less than the fulfillment citations, provide insight into how Matthew’s perspective is shaped by the OT.

This assumes that one can, to some degree, and in general ways, speak positively of the intention of the author. In this study allusions to Deuteronomy in Matthew will be most likely if they can plausibly be attributed to authorial intention. However, positively identifying authorial intent is a slippery enterprise, and one may come across oblique references that Matthew may not have intended, but simply reflect his familiarity with the OT. Although it is not possible to assess with confidence which allusions Matthew intended and which ones may be merely due to his keen familiarity with scriptural texts, it will be argued that Matthew’s use of Deuteronomic sonship texts exhibits a consistent pattern, which may reveal Matthew’s intent. In other words, one can learn something of authorial intent by asking where allusions occur, and how they are employed in the overall context of Matthew’s gospel. What is their function in the narrative? Do they comport with Matthew’s citations? Are they consistent with recognized Matthean themes? Questions such as these, along with the criteria listed below, will help assess authorial intent. However, it should also be recognized that some scriptural allusions may not be intentional, but may still be present in the text. Nevertheless, even in these instances Scripture informs the author’s thought in some way, and we should therefore not dismiss them as insignificant. The key question will be

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95 This assumption is challenged by William S. Green in “Doing the Text’s Work for It: Richard Hays on Paul’s Use of Scripture,” in Paul and the Scriptures of Israel (ed. C. Evans and J. Sanders; JSNTSup 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 58–63.
97 So Hays, Echoes, 28.
whether there is ample reason to believe that Matthew’s gospel is influenced by Deuteronomic sonship themes. It will be argued that there is.

The present approach that seeks to acknowledge Matthew’s literary patterns differs from those who believe an audience-centered approach is the most reliable way to identify purported allusions.99 Although one may not be able wholly to reconstruct the intentions of an author, it remains that focusing on an extant text provides a firmer foundation for an author’s view of the OT than theoretical reconstructions of an author’s supposed audience100—even if one were to have a well-developed hypothesis regarding Matthew’s audience that can be adhered to with confidence.101 As France has argued, Matthew may have even (intentionally) included allusions that were not readily recognizable by all his readers/auditors.102 It is highly unlikely that Matthew’s audience was a homogenous group in which each member had an equally developed knowledge of the Scriptures. Instead, it is more feasible that some allusions in Matthew went unnoticed by an average reader/auditor, and were only picked up on by those with more extensive training and familiarity. This does not mean, however, that the more obscure (or perhaps unintentional) allusions did not exist, only that they were more difficult to distinguish.103

1.2.4 Deuteronomy as an “Iceberg”

Based on the frequent citations to Deuteronomy in Matthew, this study will consider Deuteronomy to be an iceberg in Matthew. That is, in light of the recurrence of

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103 For Matthew as a text that was designed for multiple readings, see Luz, Matthew, 1:6–8.
Deuteronomic citations, it is warranted to look for additional (and likely more numerous) references that reveal Deuteronomic influence and lie just below the surface. Index 4 in NA27 lists 9–10 citations to Deuteronomy in Matthew, the second most of any OT book.\footnote{\textsuperscript{104} This number may depend on how one understands the citation in Matt 4.10 (most likely from Deut 6.13, but possibly from 10.20; 32.43). The citations from the Decalogue may also come from Exod 20. Even if these were subtracted from the tally, however, Deuteronomy would still be cited more often than any other book of the Torah (cf. Menken, “Deuteronomy in Matthew’s Gospel,” 43; Menken posits 15 Deuteronomic citations in Matthew). The most frequent book, according to Index 4 in NA27, is Isaiah with 15. Interestingly, the index of OT quotations in UBS4 lists 13 references to Deuteronomy, and only 10 to Isaiah.} If the iceberg analogy is pressed, it can be inferred that one should expect many more than 10 allusions to Deuteronomy,\footnote{\textsuperscript{105} Index 4 in NA27 lists over four times more allusions than citations to Deuteronomy in Matthew (10 citations, 43 allusions).} and these allusions will reveal foundational Matthean convictions. Put differently, there exists a rather prominent tip of the iceberg, and this study will seek to discover the more inconspicuous references that demonstrate continuity with these citations. In addition, the more prevalent an OT passage is in Matthew (whether citation or allusion), the more likely it is that one will find additional references to the same passage elsewhere. In a word, the proliferation of citations to Deuteronomy gives ample warrant to search for subtler references that may lurk beneath a cursory reading of the text.

1.2.5 Applying Hays’s Criteria

It will now be shown how Hays’s seven criteria relate to Deuteronomy in Matthew.

1) Availability. Matthew’s citations of Deuteronomy indicate that Matthew clearly knew Deuteronomy in some form.

2) Volume will be addressed for each passage in turn. Admittedly, some passages will be “louder” than others. The passages in Matthew will be treated under the headings Strong Allusions, Likely Allusions, and Possible Allusions.

3) Recurrence. It will be argued that some Deuteronomic texts are alluded to in more than one instance in Matthew (e.g., Deut 32). Moreover, some references to Deuteronomic sonship may be more general, with Matthew echoing thematic parallels.
Nevertheless, it will be suggested that this practice also exhibits a pattern of recurrence. Recurrence will be a key criterion for this study.

4) **Thematic Coherence.** This criterion will also be especially important, as allusions will not be limited only to those passages with extensive verbal parallels, but will also include strong thematic links relating to sonship, obedience, and Deuteronomy.

5) **Historical Plausibility.** This is also a significant criterion for the present study, as chapters 2, 4 will argue for widespread Deuteronomic influence, particularly in relation to obedience and sonship, ancient Judaism and Christianity.

6) **History of Interpretation.** This application of this criterion differs slightly from Hays. Chapters 2–4 will be focused on the reception and interpretation of Deuteronomy through the years predating and contemporaneous with Matthew, with particular focus in chapter 4 on how the theme of sonship in various literature may be influenced by Deuteronomy. Chapters 5–7 will then, building on this history, pose new questions regarding how Deuteronomic texts and themes may be operative in Matthew. Thus, much of the history of interpretation in this study will focus on the history before Matthew was written (though some Jewish sources will likely postdate Matthew). But chapters 5–7 will also interact with more recent scholarly literature that in many ways supports the present thesis, even though some of the specific questions addressed by the thesis may be new.

7) **Satisfaction.** This is perhaps the most difficult of all Hays’s criteria to demonstrate, but will be retained nonetheless. Thus I will state clearly which passages are more and which are less likely.

### 1.2.6 Attention to Contexts

Another factor that will be important for this study is attention to the OT contexts of Matthean citations and allusions. **Context** here refers both to the basic message of the OT text employed by the evangelist, as well as to the portions of the OT text that are found in close proximity to the text referenced. It will be assumed that both the basic sense of the OT passage, as well as an awareness for the wider landscape from which a reference is taken, are consistently in view when Matthew alludes to Deuteronomy. Thus, a focus on context will heed not only the wider literary setting of Deuteronomy,
but also the historical, thematic, and theological backgrounds of selected texts.106 Finally, attention to contexts will also be expressed by focusing on the narrative context of Matthew. That is, I will seek to understand how Matthew’s utilization of biblical sources fits with the gospel’s literary and theological characteristics (see below).

In light of this approach, it is appropriate to note the longstanding debates about OT contexts in the NT. Dodd famously argued that certain OT passages were particularly well-known in the early church, and when these passages are cited in the NT the entire context is in view.107 Many today have especially picked up on Dodd’s concept that a narrative substructure is often invoked when a NT writer references an OT text.108 A noteworthy modification of Dodd is found in Barnabas Lindars’s New Testament Apologetic.109 Lindars acknowledged Dodd’s point that certain key passages (and their contexts) were particularly well-known in the early church, but then suggests that these texts were the starting points for Christian theology and the understanding of them developed over time. Thus, passages were used in different ways in various strata of NT texts, which indicates that the original OT contexts may not have been determinative for how they were used in the NT. Lindars’s view has been followed largely by D. Juel, who argued that early Christian writers were primarily engaged in messianic exegesis.110 Thus NT writers were most concerned with explaining how an OT passage might be applied to Jesus than to its original use.

Christology was certainly a (the?) dominant issue for the early church, and this is reflected in the NT writers’ appeals to the OT. This does not necessarily mean, however, that NT writers appropriated OT texts atomistically, or that there is a development in the understanding of OT texts that may progressively deviate from the original contexts. Indeed, although a number of Jewish interpretative methods were

106 For these categories I am especially indebted to Beale, John’s Use, 74; Watson, Hermeneutics.
107 Dodd, According to the Scriptures.
110 Juel, Messianic Exegesis.
used at the turn of the era,\textsuperscript{111} it is also clear that many Jewish exegetes in Matthew’s day were highly sensitive to biblical contexts. This has been argued by David Instone-Brewer, who notes especially that Jewish scribes before 70 C.E. respected scriptural contexts in their exegesis.\textsuperscript{112} There is therefore a \textit{prima facie} likelihood that Matthew, who himself was quite likely a Jewish scribe around this time (Matt 13.52), was a contextually sensitive interpreter.\textsuperscript{113} It will be argued in this study that Matthew’s appeals to Deuteronomy to explicate Jesus’ sonship appear not to have been proof-texting or atomistic exegesis, especially since he does not always draw attention to his allusions. Instead, it will be argued that Matthew weaves Israel’s call to obedient sonship from Deuteronomy into the fabric of his text in such a way that Deuteronomy appears to have served as a significant part of the “narrative substructure” for Jesus’ sonship in Matthew. It is clear from Matthew’s citations of Deuteronomy that he knew and regarded the book as authoritative, but his appeal to Deuteronomic sonship texts is often more subtle, revealing the foundations of his thought. And it is highly likely that Matthew was aware not only of the immediate contexts of the passages he alludes to, but the wider story of Israel’s history (perhaps even as set forth in Deut 32). In sum, Matthew does seem to be aware of the contexts of the passages he invokes from Deuteronomy, particularly as these passages relate to the sonship of Israel.

In conclusion, the present focus on OT contexts will benefit the present study in two ways. First, when the OT context of a supposed reference meshes well with Matthew’s context, this may help to determine the validity of a supposed allusion. Second, an examination of the context of an OT reference may serve to illuminate the significance of an OT reference in Matthew.


\textsuperscript{112} David Instone-Brewer, \textit{Techniques and Assumptions of Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE} (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), especially 167–69.

1.2.7 Christological Focus

Matthew’s appropriation of the OT is primarily christological in nature.\textsuperscript{114} That is, Matthew’s concern is to demonstrate that Jesus is the fulfillment of the Scriptures.\textsuperscript{115} Therefore, it is fitting that the present study asks how Matthew’s engagement with the OT may reveal the contours of Matthew’s understanding of Jesus.

1.2.8 On Subjectivity

Finally, the danger in Hays’s approach should be acknowledged. Identifying and interpreting OT allusions are not a precise science, but require exegetical judgment.\textsuperscript{116} Thus, one should expect differences of opinion. Nevertheless, the insights to be gained from valid observations outweigh the dangers. As argued above, if one does not grapple with Matthean allusions the exegete risks not fully grasping the christological foundations of Matthew.\textsuperscript{117} Although the possibility of subjectivity negatively tainting an exegete’s findings should be recognized, the present approach will advance a cumulative case that will stand even if an occasional error of judgment is made. Identifying allusions may be more subjective than some other exegetical enterprises, but it should be recognized that pure objectivity is a figment of the imagination.\textsuperscript{118} This does not mean, however, that every supposed allusion is equally valid.\textsuperscript{119} By looking for patterns of Matthean employment of the OT, this study will seek allusions that can reasonably be attributed to authorial intent. Thus it will be argued that Matthew consciously invoked a Deuteronomic concept of sonship.

\textsuperscript{114} Hays himself recognizes this christological characteristic of Matthew’s gospel, even though he considers Paul to have read the Scriptures ecclesiocentrically (Echoes, 85).

\textsuperscript{115} See the discussion above regarding the centrality of Jesus for understanding the OT.

\textsuperscript{116} This fact is articulated well by Hays, “‘Who Has Believed?,’” 209; Allison, New Moses, 21.

\textsuperscript{117} So Porter, “Use of the Old Testament,” 95.

\textsuperscript{118} So Wright, New Testament, 82–92.

\textsuperscript{119} For a discussion of Hays’s response at this point, see Waters, End of Deuteronomy, 23–24.
1.3 Limitations and Focus

1.3.1 Scope

The focus of this study will primarily be on Deuteronomy and Matthew, and the significance of the former for the latter. Thus, it will not endeavor to deal with other streams of OT influence. Although numerous questions exist concerning the origin, date, author, and redaction(s) of Deuteronomy, this study will not, for the most part, engage such questions. Focus will instead be given to the text of Deuteronomy as it may have been known to Matthew. In conjunction with this, attention will also be given to OT passages that share Deuteronomic themes, as well as to some texts roughly synchronic with Matthew. This combination of diachronic and synchronic perspectives will hopefully help avoid one of the critiques offered in response to Hays’s methodology.

1.3.2 Matthew’s “Bible”

The Bible Matthew used is notoriously difficult to define with precision since Matthew’s “usage of the OT is distinct and creative, defying easy categorization.” Stendahl has suggested that Matthew basically adheres to a LXX text form, but his fulfillment quotations stand closer to the Masoretic Text (MT). Similarly, Davies and Allison observe that Matthew often agrees with the MT over the LXX in most of his formula quotations, and many of his unique allusions. Stendahl also concludes that Matthew may have employed a targumizing procedure, whereby he created his own renderings of the texts. Gundry agrees that formal quotations in Matthew diverge

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120 The nature of the OT text for Matthew will be discussed in the next section.
122 Note, among others, the important studies by Stendahl, School of St. Matthew; Gundry, Use; Menken, Matthew’s Bible. Cf. David S. New, Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis (SBLSCS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).
123 Beaton, Isaiah’s Christ, 119. So Knowles, Jeremiah, 162.
124 Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 143–51.
125 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:45. To anticipate the discussion below, we must remember that Matthew would not have known the LXX or MT as we know them today. Nevertheless, we can detect similarities to versions extant today in many of his OT references.
126 Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 127.
from Mark and the LXX, and suggests that implicit citations present the reader with “all possible permutations of text forms, and those within a single quotation.” Although Gundry criticizes Stendahl’s lack of attention to non-Septuagintal quotations apart from formula quotations, he also posits Matthew’s role as a targumist, drawing from a knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek textual traditions.

Some, however, are not convinced that the targumizing theory is precise enough to be fully convincing, given the state of the text prior to 100 C.E. That is, recent research regarding the nature of the biblical texts around the turn of the era indicates the apparent fluidity and diversity of the biblical texts at that time. Frank Moore Cross has noted that the diversity of textual traditions among the biblical manuscripts found at Qumran is their “most striking feature.” Similarly, Shemaryahu Talmon observes the “kaleidoscope of textual traditions” exhibited in the Qumran scrolls, and suggests that the biblical manuscripts from Qumran “in their totality present, in a nutshell as it were, the intricate and variegated problems of the OT Hebrew text and Versions.” Emanuel Tov is in basic agreement with these perspectives, but posits more text types than Cross. In addition to the three textual types representing the MT, LXX, and Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), Tov suggests textual classification should include two additional categories: 1) texts written in the Qumran practice of orthography, morphology, and scribal practice; 2) non-aligned texts. This latter category is especially noteworthy, since non-aligned texts (i.e., texts that agree with the MT, LXX, or SP traditions, but

127 Gundry, Use, 9, 28.
128 Ibid., 172. So also Luz, Theology, 38; France, Evangelist, 175–76.
129 So Beaton, Isaiah’s Christ, 29.
130 Frank Moore Cross, “The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text,” IEJ 16 (1966): 81–95; repr. in Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). It is noteworthy, however, that Cross does believe the texts adhere to a “clear, simple pattern” of textual families limited in number (84). Cross understands there to be three main textual types that developed in three main locations: 1) Palestine; 2) Egypt; 3) Babylon. These correspond to what the Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX, MT.
132 Emanuel Tov, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 114–16.
also disagree with that same textual tradition to a comparable extent) illustrate well the
textual plurality and variety in the pre-Christian era.133

Christopher Stanley concurs with these observations, noting that the diversity of
the biblical manuscripts at Qumran suggests a milieu of textual diversity, which does not
allow the exegete to know in advance the OT textual tradition a NT writer may have
utilized.134 Timothy Lim corroborates Stanley’s position, noting that the Qumran
pesharim and the Pauline letters both date to a period when the textual situation is fluid,
and therefore positing only three text types (MT, LXX, SP) is not sufficient to explain
the data.135 Instead, it should be recognized that the OT in Paul’s day was characterized
by textual variety and pluriformity.136

Although the Matthew-as-targumist hypothesis may be difficult to prove,
Gundry’s suggestion that Matthew may have been capable in Greek, Hebrew, and
Aramaic finds more support in recent research.137 For example, Lim has suggested that
Paul would have been polylingual, and most likely could have read the OT in Hebrew,
Greek, or an Aramaic targum. Therefore, it would have been possible for Paul to make
his own translations.138 A similar conclusion regarding Matthew’s capabilities has been
reached by Davies and Allison, who suggest Matthew was capable of reading the OT in
both Greek and Hebrew.139 Since Aramaic was the spoken language of the day,140
Matthew would probably, like Paul, have been able to consult Aramaic sources as well.

133 Ibid., 116–17. These pages also contain examples of texts that Tov considers to be non-aligned.
For others who note the textual fluidity of this time see Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the
Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 9, 12; James C. VanderKam, “Questions
of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A.
Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 91–109. For the view that this diversity may actually
19–45.


136 Lim, *Scripture*, 160


The combination of these factors—the textual diversity of the OT in the first century, as well as the likelihood of Matthew’s biblical proficiency in several languages—can make determining what text Matthew’s allusive wording might reflect quite difficult. It also illustrates the difficulty in simply asking whether Matthew’s references come from the MT or LXX, since both of these, insofar as they are known today, would not have been known in exactly the same way by Matthew. These observations should discourage one from disallowing an OT allusion strictly on the basis of the lack of precise verbal parallels; it is eminently possible that Matthew was familiar with different textual traditions. Moreover, if pinpointing a text form from which citations are drawn is problematic, it is even more arduous when searching for allusions. Nevertheless, attempts to determine Matthew’s Vorlage for particular passages will be important for this study in order to establish if there is a basis for textual dependency. To this end, the present study will take into consideration a number of textual traditions of Deuteronomy, although the primary focus will be the LXX since this is the best representation we have of the Greek textual traditions Matthew and his audience may have known.

These factors also serve to reinforce the approach of not relying wholly on extensive verbal parallels to identify Matthean allusions. If Matthew was polylingual and lived in a time when various text forms of the OT were known, he may have relied on variant readings or adapted his allusive references for his own purposes. Thus, it is prudent to focus on such issues as thematic and theological parallels, in addition to verbal parallels, when attempting to discern relevant Deuteronomic allusions.

### 1.3.3 Synoptic Relationships

The present study will assume the Two-Source Hypothesis (2SH) to describe the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. Some of the Matthean passages to be dealt with in chapters 5–7 are also found in Mark and/or Luke, which means the

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140 So Lim, Scripture, 163.

141 So France, Evangelist, 175; Stanley, Language of Scripture, 48. Illustrative of this is Menken, who in his thorough study of Matthean text forms does not even deal with allusive references because they are, in his view, “too free and elusive” to help determine Matthew’s Vorlagen (cf. Matthew’s Bible, 10).
material has likely first appeared in Mark or Q. Although the 2SH appears to make the most sense of the data and is presently the majority scholarly position regarding Synoptic relationships, it is far from a consensus. Some continue to object to the 2SH, and even more suggest that a straightforward literary dependence on Mark and Q is an oversimplification.\footnote{So France, \textit{Matthew}, 20–22.}

Thus, the present study will adopt the 2SH, but adopt it cautiously.\footnote{See, e.g., Mark Goodacre (\textit{The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem} [Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002]), who rejuvenates the Farrer Hypothesis: questioning Q while affirming Markan priority.} Given that Q remains a hypothesis—albeit a likely one—this study will not place too much weight on the supposed theology of Q, but will consider primarily how probable Q material is used by Matthew. Put differently, this study will not look \textit{first} to Mark or Q to explain a Matthean passage, but \textit{first} to Matthew itself. This approach is a slightly nuanced incarnation of redaction criticism that has been called \textit{composition criticism}. Composition criticism can be defined as “a holistic variation of redaction criticism in which the work itself...viewed rigorously and persistently in its entirety, becomes the primary context for interpreting any part of it.”\footnote{Stephen D. Moore, \textit{ Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 4.} Thus composition criticism displays affinities with both redaction criticism and narrative criticism, but differs from the latter in that:

\begin{quote}
Whereas narrative criticism is preoccupied with the Evangelists’ “story,” composition criticism is interested in the author’s theology...Thus, in its preoccupation with the author’s theological—or better Christological—perspective, compositional criticism remains firmly within the sphere of redaction criticism.\footnote{Joel Willitts, \textit{Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel} (BZNW 147; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 38; cf. the similar approach in Kenyn M. Cureton, “Jesus as Son and Servant: An Investigation of the Baptism and Testing Narratives and their Significance for Cohesion, Plot, and Christology in Matthew,” (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1993), 21.}
\end{quote}

Taking this approach, the primary focus will be on the text of Matthew itself. Matthew may well have taken much of his material from earlier sources, but if he did he has
included these in his gospel in a way that communicates the story of Jesus to his audience in a distinct way. Thus, "even when Matthew duplicates exactly what one of his sources says, this passage has to be viewed as expressing Matthew's convictions and views." Matthew's audience almost certainly did not encounter Matthew's gospel in conjunction with Mark and Luke. Any material Matthew includes in his gospel is material he has appropriated for his own purposes. It is therefore important not to miss Matthew's (redactional) aims as an Evangelist. As Raymond Brown warns: "It may be academically useful to detect the sources [Matthew] employed, but to concentrate on the compositional background and miss the final product is to miss the beauty of the forest while counting the trees." Moreover, although Matthew almost certainly used sources, it is highly unlikely, given Matthew's scriptural saturation and obvious esteem for the OT scriptures, that his knowledge of Deuteronomy was limited to his sources. This will be argued in greater detail in later chapters. Nevertheless, as a form of redaction criticism a composition criticism approach still recognizes the need to look at gospel parallels to understand best Matthew's unique emphases.

It should also be recognized that Matthew may have utilized both written and oral sources. Thus, positing straightforward literary dependence on a monolithic Q document, apart from oral tradition, risks oversimplification. Nevertheless, it is quite


147 It is likely that the majority of Matthew's audience would have heard the gospel. Harry Gamble (Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995]) observes: "It may seem paradoxical to say both that Christianity placed a high value on texts and that most Christians were unable to read, but in the ancient world this was no contradiction" (8). He adds that "although the oral and the written remained different modes, they were far closer and interactive in antiquity than today, and a too sharp theoretical differentiation misconceives the situation" (30). However, this does not mean that Matthew did not intentionally weave in elements of the OT into his gospel, nor that the audience would not have been able to discern them.


150 Ibid., 237. It is generally agreed among Q hypothesizers that Q was a written document, but as John Kloppenborg [Verbin] (*Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000], 59–60) comments: "To conclude that Q was written rather than oral should not...encourage the conclusion that its transmission and character are explicable solely in literary terms, as if once committed to writings, prior oral traditions simply died out."
likely that Matthew knew a written source of the Pentateuch, even if some or most of his knowledge of Jesus traditions was transmitted (at least in part) orally. Although the documentary evidence for Deuteronomy is widespread (see chapter 2), Matthew may have been so steeped in the OT that he invokes the OT from memory and not in consultation with a written source. The interplay between written and oral sources, and the possible flexibility in language this implies, is to be remembered when searching for the influence of Deuteronomy in Matthew.

1.4 Summary

In this chapter an approach to the OT in Matthew has been suggested that takes into consideration both citations and allusions. It has been proposed that rightly interpreting OT allusions is essential for understanding Matthew’s Christology, and that searching for numerous allusions to Deuteronomy in Matthew is appropriate given the pervasiveness of Deuteronomic citations in Matthew. Due to the textual multiformity of Matthew’s era, a focus on possible OT references must not be limited only to precise verbal parallels with the LXX/MT, but must be aware of other possible text forms and allusive references. The approach rehearsed in this chapter will be implicit in the exegesis in chapters 5–7, but will also be helpful for the discussions in chapters 2–4.

Charles E. Hill (The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church [Oxford: OUP, 2004], 67–70), focusing on later Christian writers, challenges the notion that writers in antiquity always operated with a source open in front of them, and further asks “who is to say that the use of [citation] formulas always denotes a higher respect for a text than does the incorporation of words and phrases from that text into one’s thought?” (70n.40). These observations are also relevant for Matthew’s use of his sources.
Chapter Two

The Circulation and Use of Deuteronomy in Ancient Judaism and Christianity

Before studying specific texts in Deuteronomy, it will be helpful to consider how Deuteronomy was known and interpreted in the years leading up to, and approximately concurrent with, the writing of Matthew. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the plausibility of the claim that Matthew and his audience would have been familiar with Deuteronomy. The greater the circulation and influence of Deuteronomy in the years approaching Matthew’s gospel, the greater will be the probability that Matthew may have known and utilized Deuteronomy in similar (and perhaps distinct) ways. To this end, the present chapter will be focused on the text and interpretation of Deuteronomy in general; the following chapter will consider specific texts that relate to the sonship of Israel.

Several questions will be addressed in the present chapter. The first category of questions will deal with the extant evidence of Deuteronomy’s circulation. For example, what can be said about the textual state of Deuteronomy in the first century C.E.? Did it enjoy widespread circulation? Were certain portions known more than others? Does the evidence generally suggest that knowledge of Deuteronomy was limited to a few texts, or do we have evidence that Deuteronomy was viewed as a literary unity?

The second class of questions relates to how Deuteronomy was interpreted in various texts. That is, in addition to investigating the nature of Deuteronomy’s manuscript tradition, it will also be important to consider how ancient writers (Jewish and Christian) understood Deuteronomy and how they may have gleaned from it for their own purposes. Thus, it will be asked how prominent the engagement of Deuteronomic texts was in ancient documents. Are there any patterns to how it was utilized? Are specific portions used more than others? Was it interpreted messianically?
Questions such as these will be addressed in order that Matthew’s employment of Deuteronomy may be viewed in its interpretive context. The conclusions reached at the end of this chapter should shed light on two areas. The first is the physical form in which Matthew may have encountered the text of Deuteronomy (i.e., did Matthew know only excerpts from the book, or is it likely that he knew the entire book?). The second is whether there was a pattern(s) of interpretation from which Matthew may have drawn or deviated. Answering the questions set forth in this chapter will be important to establish the probability of the extent of Matthew’s knowledge of Deuteronomy, as well as whether it is likely that Deuteronomy would have served as an important biblical precedent for the writing of his gospel. Anticipating the results of this chapter, one caveat is necessary. Given the extensive usage of Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Jewish period\(^1\) an exhaustive study of these questions will not be possible here. Instead, the aim of this portion of the thesis is to sketch a picture that will be sufficiently thorough and representative of the interpretive Zeitgeist of Deuteronomy in Matthew’s day.

### 2.1 Text of Deuteronomy

#### 2.1.1 Greek Deuteronomy

One of the most important witnesses of the ancient text and interpretation of Deuteronomy is its Septuagintal form.\(^2\) According to tradition 70/72 Jewish elders translated the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Greek in the third century B.C.E.\(^3\)—a date that seems plausible to Emanuel Tov.\(^4\) However, this original translation, also known as the “Old Greek,” is not a single, monolithic composition that exists in toto, but must be reconstructed from the surviving manuscript evidence. Nevertheless,

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\(^2\) For a discussion of what Vorlage(n) Matthew may have used, see the previous chapter.


\(^4\) Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint,” in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. M. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 161–88. Tov specifically notes the existence of some early papyri of the Pentateuch from the middle or end of second century B.C.E.

43
LXX Deuteronomy is singularly important as an ancient witness to the supposed Hebrew Vorlage from which it was translated, and as the earliest written translation of what is now commonly known as the OT. As a translation it is also an interpretation, and thus may tell us a great deal about how those of the Second Temple period read and regarded Deuteronomy. Another reason to begin with LXX Deuteronomy is due to the immense influence the OG had on NT authors in terms of language, theology, and as a source for citations.

Tov further recognizes that it is best not to make sweeping generalizations regarding the LXX as a whole, but each book must be considered a distinct translational unit. Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, in agreement with John William Wevers, reflect the widely held view that the translator of LXX Deuteronomy produced a conservative translation, which is quite literal in relation to its exemplar. They particularly observe that the translator followed the syntax and style of his model fairly rigorously, and when LXX Deuteronomy does diverge from the supposed parent text, the differences are normally quantitative rather than qualitative. This conclusion is based in part on the premise that LXX Deuteronomy’s parent text was close to the consonantal text of the MT. Wevers further suggests that the Hebrew text used by the translators of LXX Deuteronomy could not have been drastically different from that which is presently represented in the MT, given Deuteronomy’s revered status as a canonical text. To be sure, a certain amount of textual diversity is apparent around this time, as the evidence from Qumran suggests. Nevertheless, by the time of the translation of the LXX,

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6 Idem, “Septuagint,” 163. To reiterate an earlier point, in this study I will use the term LXX for text-critical purposes, but OG when referring to the Greek OT the NT writers may have used (which we do not have direct access to).
9 Dogniez and Harl, Deutéronome, 29, 33.
10 John William Wevers, Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), xi; so Tov, Text-Critical Use, 188.
11 Wevers, Notes, xii.
12 See, e.g., Eugene Ulrich, “Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: A Reappraisal of their Value,” in Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on
Deuteronomy was clearly considered to be an authoritative book. The translation of Deuteronomy thus reveals two important factors: 1) that Deuteronomy was translated along with the other four books of the Pentateuch indicates its scriptural status; 2) the translation of Deuteronomy into Greek is a rather literal rendering of its posited Hebrew parent text.

The oldest surviving manuscripts of LXX Deuteronomy may also be instructive. The Rylands Greek Papyrus (P.Ryl. 458 = Rahlfs 957), which seems to have been used as cartonnage for an Egyptian mummy, dates from the middle of the second century B.C.E. and contains portions of Deut 23–26, 28, though it is quite fragmentary. In 1936 Colin Roberts could claim that this papyrus was 300 years older than any other known biblical manuscript. Although such a claim cannot be maintained today, it remains that P.Ryl. 458 is one of the oldest (if not the oldest) existing biblical manuscripts.

One ancient fragment from LXX Deuteronomy discovered at Qumran is 4QLXXDeut (= Rahlfs 819), which contains Deut 11.4 and dates from the early or middle second century B.C.E. In addition to being another piece of evidence for the widespread circulation of Deuteronomy, this fragment suggests that some members of the Qumran community knew Greek in addition to Hebrew or Aramaic.

Two fragments from the Fouad papyrus also warrant discussion. The Fouad papyrus (P.Fouad 266), which Wevers recognizes as one of the most significant

the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990) (ed. G. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 49–80.


Roberts, Two Biblical Papyri, 11.

So Wüthwein, Text, 71.


discoveries of LXX texts in the 20th century, 19 consists of three fragments, labelled A–C. P.Fouad 266A (=Rahlfs 942) contains portions of Genesis, whereas P.Fouad 266B (=Rahlfs 848) and P.Fouad 266C (=Rahlfs 847) contain portions of Deuteronomy. 20 P.Fouad 266B has been dated to the middle of the first century B.C.E., and P.Fouad 266C to the second half of the first century B.C.E. 21 Of these P.Fouad 266B is more extensive, 22 and is exceedingly important as an ancient witness to the text of Deuteronomy. 23 Indeed, among witnesses to the LXX, only P.Ryl. 458 is older than P.Fouad 266B, 24 which appears to have been copied only about 150 years after it was first translated. 25 Aly and Koenen note the textual value of P.Fouad 266:

P.Fouad 266, indeed, shows that already in the middle of the first century B.C. the text of the Greek Genesis and Deuteronomy was basically steady, though the results of continuous attempts to bring the Greek text into closer accord with the Hebrew are clearly recognizable. 26

A manuscript of Greek Deuteronomy from approximately the second century C.E., which Hurtado includes among Christian documents, is P.Baden 4.56 (=Rahlfs 970). 27 However, it is very fragmentary, containing only a few verses from Deut 29. 28 Of more value is Chester Beatty Papyrus VI (=Rahlfs 803 [963]), a codex that

20 For plates of these fragments, along with commentary, see Zaki Aly and Ludwig Koenen, Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy (PTA 27; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1980). P.Fouad 266B contains parts of Deut 17.14–33.27; P.Fouad 266C contains parts of Deut 10.3–11.16; 31.26–33.27.
21 Aly and Koenen, Three Rolls, 4, 6; cf. Wevers, Text History, 64.
23 Wevers, Text History, 72.
24 Aly and Koenen, 1.
25 Wevers, Text History, 64.
26 Aly and Koenen, Three Rolls, 1.
originally contained all of Numbers and Deuteronomy.²⁹ P.Chest.Beatty VI is most noteworthy for its antiquity, dating from the second or third century C.E.³⁰ Although it is difficult to be certain, Kenyon suggested that it is the oldest of all the Chester Beatty papyri.³¹ Thus, P.Chest.Beatty VI is "extremely important" for establishing the critical text of LXX Deuteronomy because it contains substantial portions of Deuteronomy that are some two centuries earlier than Vaticanus (B).³² As a codex, P.Chest.Beatty VI was most likely a Christian document that demonstrates that early Egyptian Christians were able to use professional scribes for the copying of their sacred books.³³ It is also revealing that the nomen sacrum was used for the name Joshua, which, of course, is also the name of Jesus in Greek (Ἱησοῦς).³⁴ This practice indicates a Christian provenance and, as Hurtado notes, suggests that Christians had begun to venerate the name of Jesus.³⁵ Thus, this may also be early evidence of Christians reading Deuteronomy christologically.

In sum, it is significant that there exists a number of very early copies of LXX Deuteronomy, suggesting that it enjoyed widespread circulation. Moreover, the oldest known fragments of LXX Deuteronomy attest a wide sample of passages, including what are commonly known as both narrative (1–11, 27–34) and legal sections (12–26). This suggests that both the narrative and legal materials in Deuteronomy were esteemed. Manuscripts from LXX Deuteronomy, however, are only one piece of a larger puzzle revealing Deuteronomy's pervasive influence in the ancient world.

³⁰ Ibid., ix; Hurtado, Earliest Christian Artifacts, 212.
³¹ Kenyon, Chester Beatty, ix.
³² Wevers, Notes, 52, 54.
³³ Kenyon, Chester Beatty, ix–x.
³⁴ Cf., e.g., Deut 3.21 (Fol. 62 recto, Col. 1). Several supposed occurrences of this use of the nomina sacra are not extant, but have been reconstructed (e.g., Deut 1.38; 31.3, 7, 14, 23). The nomina sacra does not appear to be used in Deut 3.28 (cf. Fol. 63 recto, Col. 1), although the papyrus is difficult to read at this point. The copy of Numbers in P.Chest.Beatty VI also uses the nomina sacra in this way.
³⁵ Hurtado, Earliest Christian Artifacts, 117.
2.1.2 Qumran Biblical Manuscripts

Deuteronomy was a very important book for the Qumran community. This is evident both from the number of manuscripts preserved, and the extent to which Deuteronomic thought pervades the sectarian scrolls.\(^{36}\) Deuteronomy is the second most attested biblical book in the Qumran library, rivaled only by the Book of Psalms in the number of copies found.\(^{37}\) Lim notes that fragments of 34 original scrolls of Deuteronomy have been discovered to date, and 31 of these were found in caves of Qumran.\(^{38}\) Although none of these scrolls is complete, it is noteworthy that at least part of every chapter of Deuteronomy is represented between them.\(^{39}\) As Crawford notes: "[The] exceptionally high number of preserved manuscripts witnesses to the importance of Deuteronomy in the life and thought of the Qumran community."\(^{40}\) Strikingly, the other four books of the Pentateuch are represented in significantly lower numbers.\(^{41}\) Therefore it may be that Deuteronomy was considered to be the most important book of the Torah at Qumran.\(^{42}\)

A few specific manuscripts merit mention. Duncan notes the oldest fragmentary witness to Deuteronomy, 4QpaleoDeut\(^{4}\), dates from the second half of the third century B.C.E. and contains parts of Deut 26. The oldest surviving manuscript of Deuteronomy is 5QDeut, which was written in square script in the first quarter of the second century B.C.E. and contains portions of Deut 7–9.\(^{43}\)

Most of the Qumran copies of Deuteronomy were found in Cave 4,\(^{44}\) and the most extensive Deuteronomic manuscript from Cave 4 is 4QDeut\(^{4}\).\(^{45}\) Dating from

\(^{36}\) This section will be devoted to Qumran biblical manuscripts; an evaluation of the sectarian scrolls will be covered in §2.2.


\(^{38}\) Lim, "Deuteronomy," 9.

\(^{39}\) Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 145.

\(^{40}\) Crawford, "Reading Deuteronomy," 127; so Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 198; Lim, "Deuteronomy," 9.

\(^{41}\) Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 199. She lists the following number of scrolls for the other books: Genesis–19; Exodus–17; Leviticus–12; Numbers–6.

\(^{42}\) Possible explanations for this preference for Deuteronomy will be considered in conjunction with the use of Deuteronomy below.

\(^{43}\) Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 199. For Duncan, a manuscript is more extensive than a witness.

150–100 B.C.E., it consists of 55 identifiable fragments and contains the greatest amount of text from the most number of chapters. These include Deut 3–4, 7–13, 15–18, 26–29, 31–32. Thus 4QDeut seems originally to have included most or all of Deuteronomy. Other fragments also attest a variety of Deuteronomic passages. One example is 4QDeut, which dates from 50–25 B.C.E. and contains portions of Deut 3, 7–8, 10–11, 15–16. Another fragment, 4QDeut, contains portions of Deut 10, 14–15, 28–29, 31, 33–34. Similarly, 4QpaleoDeut, which has been dated to the first half or first three quarters of the first century B.C.E., comprises portions of Deut 7, 10–15, 19, 22–23, 28, 31–33, and may contain parts of chapters 1, 17, 21, 29–30. An important copy of Deuteronomy from Qumran Cave 1 is 1QDeut, which contains portions of Deut 1, 9, 15, 21, 24–25, 29–33. This sample of biblical manuscripts reveals that a wide array of Deuteronomic material was in circulation among the members of the Qumran community; their knowledge of Deuteronomy was not limited to a few texts.

At the same time, several passages from Deuteronomy were utilized in special use texts. These excerpted texts were presumably employed in liturgical or devotional practices. By Duncan’s count 33 phylacteries and nine mezuzot found in the Judean desert attest portions of Deuteronomy. The prominence of Deuteronomy among these manuscripts indicates that certain passages from Deuteronomy had become standardized for worship and study in Judaism. Deuteronomic texts used in this way include the Decalogue and Shema (Deut 5.1–6.9), Deut 10.12–11.21, and the Song of Moses (Deut 32). Interestingly, Exod 12.43–13.16 is also found among special use texts, but Deuteronomy’s preeminence may be seen in the way that the sections from Exodus frequently follow the sections

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 39.
48 Ibid., 109.
52 Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 130.
from Deuteronomy. Illustrative of this is 4QPhylG which contains the Decalogue from both Deuteronomy and Exodus, but the portions from Deuteronomy seem to take priority over the portions from Exodus.

It is significant for the present focus on sonship in Deuteronomy that two key passages likening Israel to Yahweh’s son are also attested in special use texts: Deut 8, 32. These passages will be investigated in detail in chapter 3, but their presence in special use texts indicates their prominence. Deuteronomy 8.5–10 is found in two biblical manuscripts from Qumran: 4QDeutj’n. The second of these, 4QDeutn, dates from 30–31 B.C.E. and contains almost all of Deut 8.5–10, followed by 5.1–6.1. White [Crawford] has argued convincingly that this document was actually a selection of excerpted texts rather than an entire manuscript of Deuteronomy.

4QDeutJ is also a collection of special use texts (from Deuteronomy and Exodus) that has an entire column devoted to Deut 8.5–10. Moshe Weinfeld agrees that these manuscripts were special use texts, and elaborates on the specific function of Deut 8.5–10 at Qumran: he suggests that this passage was used liturgically for the blessing after meals in Qumran. This practice was closely linked with the recitation of the Decalogue and Shema, which explains the combination of texts from Deut 5–6, 8 in these special use manuscripts.

Deuteronomy 32 is also of interest for the present thesis. This passage is attested in at least four special use texts. The first to note is 4QPhylN, which is a phylactery containing portions of Deut 32.14–20, 32–33. When it was published in the sixth volume of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert series in 1977 the editor could claim that it was “le seul exemple du cantique de Moïse utilisé comme

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54 Ibid., 38.
55 Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 130.
57 White [Crawford], “4QDr*,” 14–17.
58 Ulrich et al., Qumran Cave 4.IX, 76–77. Crawford dates this manuscript to c. 50 C.E.
59 Moshe Weinfeld, “Grace after Meals in Qumran,” JBL 111 (1992): 427–40. In Weinfeld’s assessment the focus is not on the sonship of the Israelites, but on the bounty of the land. Nevertheless, the prominence of this text increases the likelihood that Deut 8.5 would have been widely known and read in the first century.
60 Cf. Milik, Qumrân Grotte 4.II.2, 73.
tefillin. Since then, however, other examples have been identified. 4QDeut from the second half of the first century B.C.E. preserves Deut 32.37–43 (possibly vv. 9–10) and appears to have contained only the Song of Moses, further corroborating the view that Deut 32 was treated as a special text. The Song of Moses also seems to have been treated as a special use text in 4QDeut, a manuscript that also contains Deut 8.5–10. Here portions of Deut 32.7–8 are preserved, and it is estimated that it originally contained 32.1–9. Finally, Deut 32.17–18 is found on 4QDeut, a manuscript that has also been categorized as a special use text, since it contains only passages from Deut 5, 11, 32.

A word about the textual tradition of these discoveries is also necessary. It can be difficult to make generalizations about the Hebrew scrolls from Qumran, especially since a large percentage of Qumran manuscripts of Deuteronomy are not extensive enough to place confidently within a textual tradition. Nevertheless, it is recognized that for Deuteronomy the proto-MT tradition is usually confirmed or supported, although a number of important variants have been identified. This can be illustrated by skimming David Washburn’s *Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, which overwhelmingly notes the tendency of readings to agree with the MT in Deuteronomy. Duncan adds that no biblical manuscript of Deuteronomy from Qumran demonstrates an affinity with the SP. More evidence for these conclusions will be adduced in the section on the sectarian scrolls below.

### 2.1.3 Miscellaneous Manuscripts

In addition to findings at Qumran, manuscripts of Deuteronomy have also been discovered in the Judean desert at Masada, Nahal Hever, and Wadi

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61 Ibid.
63 Ibid., 79.
64 Ibid., 93–95.
65 Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 188.
69 Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 199.
Murabba‘at.\textsuperscript{70} The findings from Masada (Maslc=MasDeut) comprise four fragments containing Deut 33.17–24; 34.2–6. The fragments from Nahal Hever (HevDeut=XHev/Se3) include portions of Deut 9.4–6, 21–23, and the discoveries at Wadi Murabba‘at (MurDeut=Mur2) include portions of Deut 10.1–3; 11.2–3; 12.25–26; 15.2.\textsuperscript{71} This suggests that Deuteronomy was widely used in communities other than Qumran. The diversity of passages discovered is also noteworthy.

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), the Nash Papyrus was the oldest known witness to the Hebrew Scriptures.\textsuperscript{72} Variously dated from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.,\textsuperscript{73} the Nash Papyrus contains portions of the Decalogue from Exod 20.2–17, with some influence of Deut 5.6–21, followed by the Shema from Deut 6.\textsuperscript{74} This papyrus appears to have been a special use text,\textsuperscript{75} indicating Deuteronomy’s prominent role in liturgical and devotional practices. When viewed in light of the similar evidence from Qumran, it can be concluded that special use texts were common for Deuteronomy.

The evidence from Qumran below will indicate that Deuteronomy was indeed commonly used in this way.

\textbf{2.1.4 Summary of Circulation}

The manuscript evidence surveyed above illustrates Deuteronomy’s significance at the dawn of the NT era. Numerous excerpts of Deuteronomy, many dating from before the turn of the era, have been discovered, and these attest every chapter of Deuteronomy.\textsuperscript{76} This suggests that the book was likely known in its entirety. In addition, the prominence of Deuteronomy in liturgical and apotropaic texts points to its high level of influence in cultic and devotional practices.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 198.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Martinez, “Manuscrits,” 75–81.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Würthwein, \textit{Text}, 34.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 34; W. F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Period: The Nash Papyrus,” \textit{JBL} 56 (1937): 145–76.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Würthwein, \textit{Text}, 34.
\item \textsuperscript{75} So Albright, “Nash Papyrus,” 175.
\item \textsuperscript{76} The listings given above do not include Deut 2, 20, 30, but these are also attested in Qumran manuscripts. Cf. Washburn, \textit{Catalog}, 57–73.
\end{itemize}
2.2 Use of Deuteronomy: Jewish Literature

An even fuller picture of the prevalence of Deuteronomy can be seen when an investigation is made of its use in Jewish and Christian literature. Indeed, as Lim notes: “On virtually every page and column of Second Temple Jewish Literature, one is able to detect a verbatim citation, oratio obliqua or allusion to a deuteronomic source.” Two aspects of this quote need to be highlighted. First, given the number of literary engagements with Deuteronomy, it will be impossible to note every occurrence. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw out a sufficient number of references from the wide array of Deuteronomic intertextualites to convey accurately the extent of Deuteronomy’s influence in Second Temple Jewish literature. Second, an exclusive focus on explicit citations to Deuteronomy would not be sufficient to understand best the various and sometimes creative ways Deuteronomy was utilized in these documents. Therefore, the following survey will take into consideration all kinds of engagement with Deuteronomy. Thus a cumulative argument will be mounted that it was commonplace for ancient Jewish authors to draw significantly from Deuteronomy.

2.2.1 Qumran Sectarian Scrolls

Having surveyed the biblical manuscripts and special use texts from Qumran, attention will now be given to the use of Deuteronomy in various sectarian documents. By way of introduction, it should be noted that the authority of biblical books, including Deuteronomy, in these scrolls is apparent from the various citations and citation formulae they employed. Fishbane observes three types of exegetical authority at Qumran:

1. the writing down of new rules together with their...Scriptural justification alongside the Tora of Moses, as is common in the Damascus Document; 2. ...

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78 “Deuteronomic intertextualities” is used here as a generic phrase referring to any sort of textual or thematic engagement with Deuteronomy.
79 So Lim, “Deuteronomy,” 6. Moreover, determining what constitutes a citation is a daunting task in itself.
80 Michael Fishbane, “Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. M. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 339–77. Fishbane notes legal, nonlegal, and prophetic forms of citation (348).
the writing down of new rules together with their Scriptural justification within a new Tora of Moses—as is characteristic of the Temple Scroll; and 3. the preservation in oral form only of new rules...alongside the Tora of Moses.81

Fishbane’s emphasis underscores the prominence of the Mosaic Torah for the Qumran community. Indeed, knowledge of the Mosaic Torah was understood to be the prerequisite for faithful living. Thus it should not be surprising that the Qumran community highly esteemed the figure of Moses, whom they considered to be the prophet par excellence.82 He is the figure most often referred to throughout the scrolls, and his significance is almost always associated with Torah.83 Thus, the importance of Deuteronomy for the Qumran community is inextricably linked with the pride of place given to Moses. Notably, Deuteronomy appears to have been the most cited and influential of the Mosaic books at Qumran.84

Before considering specific scrolls, it is important to note some of the ways DSS employed Scripture. Jonathan Campbell suggests two main categories. The first includes those texts whose starting point is a portion of Scripture, the purpose of which is to harmonize, elucidate, modernize, or comment on biblical material. This description includes implicit editorial exegesis (e.g., Temple Scroll), exegesis of individual books (e.g., pesher), and thematic exegesis (e.g., 4QFlor). The second category describes texts that deal with a topic and uses Scripture secondarily to bolster their arguments (e.g., Damascus Document).85 Excepting pesher, all these types of exegesis are utilized in connection with Deuteronomy.

81 Fishbane, “Use,” 363 (emphasis original).
82 Ibid., 340–44.
84 So Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 201. According to the listings of Washburn (Catalog, 11–79), Deuteronomy is referenced 261x in the DSS. This number is greater than Genesis (108x), Exodus (246x), Leviticus (140x), or Numbers (124x). Washburn’s count is not limited to Qumran, but includes all known DSS through DJD vol. 35. Cf. Emanuel Tov, ed., The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 189–91.
85 Jonathan G. Campbell, The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20 (BZAW 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 19–20. Campbell observes that, regardless of what one might say about the status of canon at this time, the Torah was functioning as canonical (17).
2.2.1.1 Temple Scroll

The first document to consider is both the longest scroll found at Qumran and the scroll that demonstrates more extensive Deuteronomic influence than any other: the Temple Scroll (11QT<sup>a</sup>=11Q19; 11QT<sup>b</sup>=11Q20; [cf. 4Q365a, 11Q21]).<sup>86</sup> The Temple Scroll is a systematic rewriting of Exodus and Deuteronomy, with particular focus on Deuteronomy.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, Deuteronomy may be considered the base text for this document, although it also mixes in other comments and legislation from the Pentateuch and other sources.<sup>88</sup> Fishbane notes the significance of the Mosaic Torah in the Temple Scroll, suggesting that the author may have intended to produce a New Torah by preserving the traditional teaching while representing it in a new, reinterpreted form.<sup>89</sup> Michael Wise is even more explicit, claiming that the author of the Temple Scroll saw himself as a new Moses and intended to write new Deuteronomy for the eschaton.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Crawford describes the Temple Scroll as a “third law” (Deuteronomy being the second law) designed to recapitulate and expand Deuteronomy by the exegetical techniques and legal interpretations of its day.<sup>91</sup> More specifically, Wise proposes that the Temple Scroll was designed to replace the legal portions of Deuteronomy (12–26) outlining the law of the land.<sup>92</sup> Columns LI–LXVI, which have been referred to as “Expanded Deuteronomy” or “Deuteronomy Paraphrase” are particularly relevant in this regard.<sup>93</sup>

That the Temple Scroll was designed to be an authoritative book in the Mosaic stream<sup>94</sup> can also be seen in one of the most striking features of the scroll:

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.; Geza Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English (New York: Penguin, 1997), 190. The titles and translations used for these scrolls are taken from Vermes.
<sup>88</sup> Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 137; Bowley, “Moses,” 177. Crawford (Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008], 12–13) considers this to be one example of “Rewritten Scripture” (or “Rewritten Bible”), “a category or group of texts which are characterized by a close adherence to a recognizable and already authoritative base text (narrative or legal) and a recognizable degree of scribal intervention into that base text for the purpose of exegesis.”
<sup>89</sup> Fishbane, “Use,” 351–54.
<sup>90</sup> Michael Owen Wise, A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Cave 11 (SAOC 49; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 200.
<sup>91</sup> Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 139.
<sup>92</sup> Wise, Temple Scroll, 200. Wise does not believe the author knew Deuteronomy as a book, but rather had a Deuteronomic source.
<sup>93</sup> Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 137; so Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 201.
<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 139.
the widespread omission of Yahweh’s name due to the depiction of Yahweh speaking in the first person singular.95 This occurs when recounting divine revelations, and is usually found in those places from Deuteronomy where the inclusion of third person pronouns might call into question the unmediated nature of the revelation.96 Thus, the Temple Scroll presents itself as an authoritative revelation in agreement with the Mosaic Torah, while frequently bypassing the role of Moses as the mediator of divine revelation. Nevertheless, it is clear from the Temple Scroll that it “has everything to do with Moses”97 in large part because it has everything to do with Deuteronomy.

2.2.1.2 Damascus Document

Another document that borrows significantly from Deuteronomy is the Damascus Document (CD=4Q265–73, 5Q12, 6Q15).98 Vermes divides the document into exhortation and statutes99—a combination that is formally similar to Deuteronomy. The question thus arises whether the Damascus Document was consciously modeled after Deuteronomy. Given the plethora of Deuteronomic manuscripts found at Qumran that collectively attest every chapter of Deuteronomy, it is likely that Deuteronomy was commonly known to have contained significant portions of both exhortation and statutes. Moreover, Fishbane concludes that Deuteronomy has indeed “strongly influenced the style and structure of the Damascus Document.” He notes that CD I–VIII is a collection of paraenetic reviews of the national past that include exhortation (cf. CD I, 1; II, 1; III, 14). These features parallel Deut 4.1; 6.4; 9.1; 10.12. In addition, the recounting of Israel’s history in CD I–VIII is followed by a litany of corporate and civil legislation in CD IX–XVI. This sequence also mirrors Deuteronomy,100 and comports with

98 Duncan (“Deuteronomy,” 201) notes that Deuteronomy is cited in eight fragments of CD from Qumran.
99 Vermes, Scrolls, 190.
Campbell’s stance that the use of Scripture in the Damascus Document is subtle and pervasive, going beyond mere citations or allusions. Much like the Temple Scroll, the Damascus Document viewed Moses as a prophet and esteemed the Torah as the pinnacle of prophetic work.101

The influence of Deuteronomy is not limited to the overall structure, but can also be seen in specific texts. CD I, 1–II, 1 exhorts the audience to obedience alongside the threat of curses, thus demonstrating “striking similarity” to Deut 28.40–42 (cf. Lev 26) in both vocabulary and order of events. More Deuteronomic influence can be seen in CD II, 14–IV, 12a. Campbell attributes the threefold occurrence of “stubbornness of their hearts” (II, 17; III, 5, 11) to the influence of Deut 29.18. Deuteronomy 9.22–24 is quoted in CD III, 7102 in an exhortatory section warning the audience not to make the same mistakes as the ancient Israelites. The Deuteronomic influence continues in CD III, 13–14, where Campbell again notes the influence of Deut 29.1–28, this time in relation to the faithful remnant in the land. Indeed, he suggests that themes from Deut 28–30 pervade CD III, 10–21.

Deuteronomy is again cited in CD V, 2. Here Deut 17.17 is used as a proof text regarding marriage103 in a section explaining the actions of David, who, it is written, apparently did not know this ordinance because it was sealed in the ark of the Covenant.

Another citation from Deuteronomy (Deut 32.28) is found in CD V, 16–17.104 The Song of Moses is used here (in conjunction with Isa 27.11) in reference to Israel as a stiff-necked people. The mention in CD V, 20 of those who led Israel astray and removed boundary markers (יהב; cf. I, 16) may be indebted to the warnings against this practice in Deut 19.14; 27.17.105 Deuteronomic influence is also evident in CD VI, 2–3, which is a reworking of Deut 1.13 for the purpose of justifying the community’s system of courts and councils.106

101 Campbell, Use of Scripture, 17, 58.
102 Ibid., 57–59, 73, 77; cf. Vermes, Scrolls, 129.
104 Vermes, Scrolls, 131. Campbell (Use of Scripture, 31) rightly points out that the audience would most likely have known this allusion.
105 Campbell, Use of Scripture, 93.
106 Fishbane, “Use,” 372; cf. Campbell, Use of Scripture, 94.
Numerous aspects of Deuteronomic influence can be found in CD VIII. The language of Deut 12.8, describing how the Israelites did what was right in their own eyes, is echoed in CD VIII, 7. An excerpt from the Song of Moses (Deut 32.33) is again cited in CD VIII, 8–12. This citation is subsequently interpreted in a pesher-like manner that contains an exegetical pun on the verse suggesting that the punishment of the community’s apostates was divinely preordained. Following this CD VIII, 15 cites two passages from Deuteronomy: Deut 9.5; 7.8. These are employed as exhortation to demonstrate the goodness in the election of Israel and the sectarian community. A concern for the Mosaic covenant is evident in CD XV, which begins the list of statutes. This section of statutes also contains citations from Deut 23.24 in CD XVI, 6–9 and Deut 5.12 in CD X, 15–16. This use of Deuteronomy in the discussion of various laws is not surprising, especially when one considers that Deuteronomy appears to serve as a structural exemplar for the Damascus Document. Campbell summarizes that the emphasis from Deuteronomy in the Damascus Document comes from Deut 27–32 and focuses on the sin-exile-repentance schema. At the same time, the above survey has demonstrated that the author has utilized a wide range of passages from Deuteronomy for a variety of purposes.

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107 Campbell, *Use of Scripture*, 147; Fishbane, “Use,” 357.
110 Vermes, *Scrolls*, 134. The citation of Deut 7.8 here also renders it more likely that Deut 7.9 is referenced in CD VII, 6 (Campbell, *Use of Scripture*, 143; cf. Manuscript B in Vermes, *Scrolls*, 132).
112 Additionally, the Mosaic covenant may be in view even where the term covenant is not used. For the view that the covenant was often assumed in writings of this period, see E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977), 421.
114 Campbell, *Use of Scripture*, 184.
115 Campbell’s conclusions (*Use of Scripture*, 184) are consistent with the method of the present study: “Due to the extent of linguistic and thematic connection between these [texts], of which our author appears to have been well aware, there is no great problem in assuming that, for any pious Jew familiar with the scriptures in Second Temple times, one passage or part thereof would easily connote another.”
2.2.1.3 Community Rule

The blessings and curses as recorded in Deuteronomy are also evident in the Community Rule (1QS=Manual of Discipline; 4Q255–64, 4Q280, 286–87, 4Q502, 5Q11, 13). The blessings and curses of a covenant initiation ceremony are found in 1QS II,116 and these are pronounced by two groups of priestly representatives, just like Deut 27.9–26.117 Deuteronomy’s influence can also be seen in the anticipation of a coming prophet (1QS IX, 11), presumably in the mold of Deut 18.18.118 Zeal for the commandments in 1QS IX, 23 may also derive from Deut 32.35.119

2.2.1.4 Additional Texts

The focus on covenantal blessings is evident in the Blessings (1QSb=1Q28b), although Deuteronomy is not cited explicitly. The Messianic Rule (1QSa=1Q28a), like 1QSb, was originally attached to 1QS and is addressed to the congregation of Israel living in the last days.120 This phrase, which derives from Deuteronomy (4.30; 31.29), is also found in 4QMMT (4Q394–99).121 This document indicates in the exhortation section (4QMMT C=4Q397.14–21, 4Q398) that the time to usher in the last days was at hand, and this would happen when the people returned to the covenant.122 Indeed, this Deuteronomic focus on the last days seems to have been central to the community’s understanding of history.123 In conjunction with the last days, 4QMMT C also refers to the blessings and curses of the Book of Moses. In light of the document’s context, which includes the document’s only citations to

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119 Richard H. Bell, Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11 (WUNT II/63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 221.
121 Bell, Provoked, 227. There appear to be three citations to Deuteronomy in 4QMMT: Deut 7.26; 31.29; 30.1–2 (cf. Vermes, Scrolls, 227). The phrase is also found in CD IV, 5.
122 Collins, Apocalypticism, 61.
Deuteronomy, it is likely that the Deuteronomic blessings and curses are in view.

The short collection of texts known as 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) also has a couple of references to the last days (4QFlor I, 2, 19). Interestingly, here the last days are characterized as the time when a remnant would practice the whole Law of Moses (4QFlor II, 2), thus underscoring the centrality of the Mosaic revelation. 4QFlor also cites Deut 23.3–4 in I, 2–5, forbidding the unworthy from the House of the Lord. Likewise, 4QTestimonia (4Q175) gleans much from Deuteronomy in a short space. In particular, 4QTest associates Deuteronomy with messianic expectations. After citing the words of Moses in Deut 5.28–29 (I, 1–5), the author cites Deut 18.18–19 in I, 5–7. This is the second, and clearest example heretofore encountered of the prophetic expectation in conjunction with Deut 18. Deuteronomy is also utilized in connection with the priestly messiah in this document. 4QTest I, 14–20 cites from the blessing of Moses to Levi (Deut 33.8–11), thus providing clear evidence of Deuteronomy’s association with messianic expectations.

Other documents that highlight the significance of Moses for the Qumran community also emphasize Deuteronomy. One example is the Words of Moses (1Q22). Vermes describes this manuscript as a Mosaic farewell discourse that is influenced by all portions of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy also seems to influence Moses Apocryphon (4Q375). This document that imitates the Pentateuch sets forth instructions for how to treat a person who claims to be a prophet, probably drawing from Deut 13, 18.

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124 The citation to Deut 7.6 comes in 4QMMT B (=4Q394.3–7/4Q395), which Vermes labels “Special Laws” (Scrolls, 222–27). According to Vermes’s reconstruction, this immediately precedes the exhortation section.

125 The Book of Moses here points to Deuteronomy.

126 So Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 201.

127 Vermes (Scrolls, 495) subtitles the document “Messianic Anthology.”

128 The first being 1QS IX, 11. Cf. Allison, New Moses, 74.

129 Collins, Apocalypticism, 86. Some (including Collins) have suggested a reference to Deut 33.10 in 4QFlor as well, but the evidence is fragmentary. Cf. Washburn, Catalog, 74.


The Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 4Q364–67), which Vermes estimates may have been the longest of all the Qumran scrolls, is also of interest. It is not surprising that Deuteronomy is attested in the fragments we have of this document, since it seems to have been a rewriting of the entire Torah. Fishbane notes that this document was “an attempt to harmonize, and integrate various texts on the theme and sequence of the revelation, the role of Moses, and the authority of his successors.” The sequence of texts in fragments 6–12 of 4Q158 includes Deut 5.28–29, 30–31; 18.18–22, in conjunction with texts from Exodus. 4Q364 contains fragments from Deut 1–14; 4Q365 contains portions of Deut 2; 19–20; 4Q366 includes Deut 14.13–21, as well as a juxtaposition of Deut 16.13–14/Num 29.32–30.1. The Reworked Pentateuch thus illustrates the centrality of the Mosaic Law at Qumran, the community’s penchant for rearranging and reinterpreting texts for their purposes.

The so-called Joshua Apocryphon (i) (=Psalms of Joshua=4Q378–79), which recounts the story of Joshua in the form of a farewell discourse, contains a proportionately high number of references to Deuteronomy. The death of Moses (Deut 34.8) is alluded to at least twice (4Q378, fr. 14), and the description of the bounty of the land (4Q378, fr. 11) accords with similar descriptions in Deut 8.7–9. The War Scroll (1QM) also references Deuteronomy in more than one passage. 1QM X, 2–5 cites Deut 20.2–4 in conjunction with the imagery of God as a warrior. Bell further suggests allusions to Deut 32.42 in both 1QM XII, 11–12; XIX, 4 in reference to the violators of the covenant. The influence of the Song of Moses is also apparent in the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH=1Q36, 4Q427–32). Bell notes that allusions to two portions of the Song are evident in these hymns. One finds similar

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132 Vermes, Scrolls, 442.
133 Fishbane, “Use,” 252.
136 Ibid., 262, 311–12. Crawford (“Reading Deuteronomy,” 134) is more cautious in her conclusions, recognizing only portions of Deut 2 given the fragmentary nature of the evidence for 4Q365.
137 Attridge et al., Qumran Cave 4.VIII, 337–43; Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 134–35.
139 Fishbane, “Use,” 346–47.
language and imagery to the venom of serpents (Deut 32.33) in 1QH XIII, 10, 27.\(^{140}\) In addition, the all-consuming fire of Yahweh’s anger in Deut 32.22 finds expression in 1QH IV; XI, 31; XVI, 20.\(^{141}\) The Heavenly Prince Melchizedek (11Q13) cites Deut 15.2 in association with the year of Jubilee,\(^{142}\) and the very short fragment of The Two Ways (4Q473) is inspired by the choice of blessings or curses from Deut 11.26–28.\(^{143}\)

2.2.1.5 Summary: Qumran

This survey of literature indicates that all portions of Deuteronomy—including both legal and narrative—were used extensively by the Qumran community. Aside from Deuteronomy’s widespread use in liturgical texts (e.g., 4QDeut\(^{5}\)), legal portions of Deuteronomy were often employed as proof texts (e.g., Temple Scroll). The blessings and curses of the latter portions of Deuteronomy are also referenced frequently (e.g., 1QS). Some documents go beyond this and use Deuteronomy’s combination of exhortation and law as a structural exemplar (e.g., Damascus Document). Similarly, some authors drew from the role of Moses and the reformulation of the law in Deuteronomy to give warrant to their own re-appropriation of biblical teaching (e.g., Temple Scroll). Deuteronomy is associated with messianic expectations in documents such as 4QTest. The Song of Moses, which has been found among special use texts (e.g., 4QPhylIN), is a portion of Deuteronomy that seems to have been particularly well known and utilized in sectarian scrolls (e.g., 1QH).

2.2.2 OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

The role of Scripture in the OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha has been noted by Steven Weitzman: “One of the few characteristics shared by virtually every composition within the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is a pronounced tendency to emulate, evoke, or echo classical biblical literature.”\(^{144}\) This section will cover both


\(^{142}\) Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 201.

\(^{143}\) Vermes, *Scrolls*, 594.

categories of writings, beginning with the so-called apocryphal books. Significantly, James Zink has calculated that Deuteronomy and the Book of Psalms are the two most cited scriptural books in the Apocrypha.\footnote{\textsuperscript{145}}

\subsection{2.2.2.1 Tobit}

The Book of Tobit was one of the most widely read books of the Apocrypha in the ancient world,\footnote{\textsuperscript{146}} as well as one that draws heavily from Deuteronomy’s theology and phraseology.\footnote{\textsuperscript{147}} Joseph Fitzmyer notes that this narrative is dominated in a special way by the teaching of Deuteronomy.\footnote{\textsuperscript{148}} Indeed, in a recent article Micah Kiel states: “it has become commonplace to conclude that the book of Tobit bears a strongly Deuteronomic theology.”\footnote{\textsuperscript{149}} Scholars particularly note the Deuteronomic doctrine of retribution in Tobit, which offers blessings for obedience to the Torah and curses for disobedience (Deut 28–30).\footnote{\textsuperscript{150}} In addition, Tobit’s hope for restoration “resonates deeply” with Deut 30–32.\footnote{\textsuperscript{151}}

The influence of Deuteronomy is perhaps clearest in Tob 13–14. Weitzman has amassed a convincing cumulative case that Tobit’s hymn in Tob 13 is linked intertextually with the Song of Moses, even though the agreement is more conceptual than verbal. Thus, the reference to the God who wounds and heals, kills and makes alive in Deut 32.39 is echoed in Tob 13.2. Tobit’s assurance in 13.6 that God will not hide his face from those who truly seek him (ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ κρύψῃ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἄφι ὑμῶν) likewise seems to have been influenced by the statement that God would turn his face from his people in Deut 32.20 (ἐπιστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπ’ αὐτῶν). Beyond this, the view of Israel’s future in Tob 13.8–17

\begin{itemize}
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{145}} James Keith Zink, “The Use of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha” (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1963), 194. According to Zink’s calculations, Deuteronomy is cited 13x and Psalms 12x (he includes one reference in 4 Ezra among the Apocrypha.)
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{146}} Bruce M. Metzger, \textit{An Introduction to the Apocrypha} (New York: OUP, 1957), 31.
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{148}} Joseph A. Fitzmyer, \textit{Tobit} (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 36.
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{149}} Micah D. Kiel, “Tobit and Moses Redux,” \textit{JSP} 17 (2008): 83–98.
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{150}} Moore, \textit{Tobit}, 20; DeSilva, \textit{Apocrypha}, 78; Fitzmyer, \textit{Tobit}, 47.
\item\footnote{\textsuperscript{151}} DeSilva, \textit{Apocrypha}, 72. Moore (\textit{Tobit}, 20) lists several other aspects of Deuteronomic theology in Tobit.
\end{itemize}
demonstrates similarities with Deut 32, which describes settlement in the land, apostasy, punishment, and ultimate restoration.\footnote{Weitzman, “Allusion,” 50, 53–54.}

Weitzman also observes affinities between Deut 31.14–30, which introduces the Song of Moses, and Tob 12. Consistent with Yahweh’s instructions in Deut 31.19 to Moses (with Joshua by his side) to write (γράψατε; cf. 31.22, 24) the words of the song, the angel Raphael instructs Tobit and his son, Tobias, to write (γράψατε) their praise in a book (Tob 12.20). The difference here is that Tobit’s hymn is called a song of praise, whereas the Song of Moses was intended as a witness \textit{against} Israel. However, the connection with Deut 32 is clear, especially since the Song of Moses was commonly interpreted in the Second Temple period as being a song of praise.\footnote{Ibid., 52, 55. Weitzmann also notes an extant Hebrew version of Tobit, often referred to as the Münster text. Although the origins of this text are not clear, this Hebrew version “reformulates the narrative introduction to Tobit’s hymn so as to heighten its similarity to the narrative of Deuteronomy 31” (57; emphasis original).}

Finally, it is to be noted that both songs are performed by paragons of piety shortly before their deaths, they appear near the end of their respective books, and are followed by a farewell address.\footnote{Ibid., 53. The features of both documents here may well belong to the category of testament, a genre which is widely acknowledged to include writings influenced by Deut 31–34.} It thus appears that Deut 32 has provided a pattern that is intentionally followed in Tob 13.

Di Lella convincingly lists nine Deuteronomic features in the final chapter of Tobit (14):\footnote{For the list that follows, see Di Lella, “Deuteronomic Background,” 381–84. On the similarities between Tobit and Deuteronomy, see Fitzmyer, \textit{Tobit}, 65–68.} (1) long life in the good land and prosperity are dependent on fidelity to Yahweh (Deut 4.40; 31.29/Tob 14.4). The doctrine of retribution can also be included here (Deut 28.15/Tob 14.4; Deut 28.63–65/Tob 14.7); (2) the possibility of mercy after sin and judgment (Deut 30.1–4; Tob 14.4–6; cf. 13.5–6); (3) rest and security in the land in connection with obedience (Deut 12.10–11/Tob 14.7); (4) blessing of joy and the command to rejoice (Deut 12.12/Tob 14.7); (5) the equation of fearing and loving God (Deut 10.12/Tob 14.6–7); (6) commands to bless and praise God (Deut 8.10; 32.3, 43/Tob 14.9); (7) a theology of remembering; (8) centralization of the cult (Deut 12.1–14; 16.6/Tob 14.5); (9) the inclusion of a final exhortation (Deut 30.15–20/Tob 14.9).\footnote{Building on these observations, Anne M. O’Leary (\textit{Matthew’s Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity} [LNTS 323; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 64].} These observations lead Di Lella to the
broader conclusion that, given the extensive manner in which the author of Tobit employed Deuteronomy, the latter must have been a source of encouragement to Jews of the Hellenistic age.\textsuperscript{157} Kiel adds another dimension to the Deuteronomic parallels, suggesting that the character Tobit emulates the character of Moses from Deuteronomy (and Numbers).\textsuperscript{158}

Tobit’s parallels to Deuteronomy, however, are not limited to the end of the book, but are also evident in its opening chapter. Di Lella observes a concern for the building of the Temple in the beginning of Tobit (1.4), which is also echoed at the end (14.5), forming an \textit{inclusio}.\textsuperscript{159} This \textit{inclusio} appears to have some merit, as it corresponds to the well-known teaching of Deuteronomy regarding the centralization of the cult (12.1–14). Similarly, O’Leary suggests the author of Tobit has “deuteronomized” the opening and closing chapters of the book.\textsuperscript{160} As further evidence for this, in addition to a Temple \textit{inclusio}, suggests that the vocabulary clusters in Tob 1.3 and 14.8 [Symmachus] (\textit{ἀλήθεια, δικαιοσύνη, ἐλεημοσύνη}) evoke Deuteronomy where these themes occur together in contexts promoting justice.\textsuperscript{161} This particular aspect of Deuteronomic influence, however, is not as convincing, since the proposed vocabulary cluster is nowhere found in LXX Deuteronomy.\textsuperscript{162}

Nevertheless, the sum of the parallels given above provides a cumulative case that Deuteronomy was indeed of the utmost importance for the author of Tobit.

\textbf{2.2.2.2 Sirach}

A second apocryphal work to consider is Sirach (=Ecclesiasticus), a sapiential book in which Ben Sira emphasizes such Deuteronomic themes as care for the poor, disdain for adultery, truthfulness in speech, and the need to honor one’s parents.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{157} Di Lella, “Deuteronomic Background,” 387.

\textsuperscript{158} Kiel, “Tobit and Moses,” 83–84. For example, he points to Deut 12.11–14/Tob 1.6–7 and Deut 1.9, 12/Tob 1.10 (91–92).

\textsuperscript{159} Di Lella, “Deuteronomic Background,” 385.

\textsuperscript{160} O’Leary, \textit{Matthew’s Judaization}, 70.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 66. Cf. Di Lella, “Deuteronomic Background,” 386.

\textsuperscript{162} O’Leary lists Deut 5.17–21; 10.12–19; 22–25 as passages where these themes are evident.

\textsuperscript{163} DeSilva, \textit{Apocrypha}, 162.
To this list one can add from Di Lella’s study such doctrines as God, election, repentance, faith, and fear of the Lord, which lead him to conclude that Ben Sira’s overall outlook is Deuteronomic. Di Lella also rightly notes in Sirach the prominence of the Deuteronomic teachings of retribution (Deut 28/Sir 9.12; 14.12, 16–17; 17.27–28), and the equation of fearing and loving the Lord (Deut 10.12–13; 30.16/Sir 2.15–16).164

Gerald Sheppard has investigated how wisdom developed into a theological key by which to interpret Torah and prophetic traditions.165 In this vein, he notes how Ben Sira re-appropriated various biblical motifs into his wisdom tradition, particularly those from Deuteronomy:

In sum, the writer of Sirach, while he has not cited particular OT passages, has in fact drawn freely upon the motifs of the OT narrative traditions. There is, moreover, an unusual predilection for Deuteronomic expressions specifically indicative of the wilderness traditions and the Mosaic allotment of land to the tribes of Israel.166

These connections are most readily apparent in Sir 24, where Deuteronomy plays an “unusually prominent role.” Here, the botanic language related to Wisdom’s journey in Sir 24.13–17 reflects the agricultural descriptions of the Promised Land in Deut 8.7–19; 32.13–14.167

A more important example in Sir 24 is the role of Moses as lawgiver for the assembly of Jacob in Sir 24.23, which reflects verbatim the phrase “νόμον διν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωσῆς κληρονομίαν συναγωγάς Ιακώβ” from Deut 33.4 LXX. It is significant that this phrase is included with no indication from the author that it is a quotation. Instead, as Sheppard implies, this mingling of older tradition with a new interpretation is indicative of the way later, inner-biblical redactors would appropriate older traditions to validate their new interpretations. In this case, the author applies Deut 33.4 to both Torah and the role of Wisdom in Israel’s history.168


166 Ibid., 43. Emphasis added.

167 Ibid., 54, 63.

168 Ibid, 60.
Beyond this, Sheppard notes even more Deuteronomic influence in Sir 24.23. After a rather detailed discussion, he summarizes the parallels between role of wisdom in Deut 4, 30, 32 and Sir 24.23:

[I]f one reads D[eu]t 4 and 32 together alongside D[eu]t 30 the conception emerges of a book of Torah (ch. 30) which comes near to Israel (chs. 4, 30) from beyond the heavens and is her wisdom (chs. 4, 32). This imagery coincides perfectly with the presuppositions of Sir 24.23 and probably reflects his hearing of Deuteronomy.169

In other words, Ben Sira has found in Deut 4, 30, 32 elements that support his interpretation of Wisdom. Reading these passages as the background for Sir 24.23, in conjunction with the citation of Deut 33.4, suggests the probability that Ben Sira has formulated this statement based on his amalgamation of Deuteronomic themes.

Further support for Sheppard’s view is adduced from Sir 51.26, where (in a way similar to 24.23) Ben Sira concludes that Wisdom is the book of the covenant. This seems to be based upon Ben Sira’s particular reading of Deuteronomy. Shared concepts between Sir 51.26 and Deuteronomy include the nearness of wisdom (cf. Deut 4.6–7), the metaphor of a yoke (Wisdom in Sirach/Torah in Deuteronomy), and the need to seek wisdom wholeheartedly (cf. Deut 30.10).170 In sum, Sheppard convincingly argues that Deuteronomy played a prominent role for the author of Sirach, who read Deuteronomy in conjunction with Wisdom.

Finally, Bell suggests several allusions to the Song of Moses in Sirach.171 One is Sir 49.4–7, a text that speaks of the power and glory of the kings of Judah being given to a foreign and foolish nation.172 Similarly, in Deut 32.21 Yahweh says he will provoke Israel to anger with a foolish nation. Although a conceptual parallel may exist between the two texts, it is difficult to make too much of this example since the verbal parallels are not very explicit. A second suggested allusion to Deut 32.21 is Sir 50.25–26 LXX, which mentions a no-nation and a foolish nation. The verbal parallels here are a bit more impressive, as οὐκ ἔστιν ἡθνος in Sir 50.25

169 Ibid., 66. Emphasis original
170 Ibid., 66–68.
171 See Bell, Provoked, 221–23.
172 LXX does not include “foolish;” this comes from the Hebrew text cited by Bell (222).
reflects οὐκ ἔθνει in Deut 32.21 LXX, and, similarly, ὁ λαὸς ὁ μωρός in Sir 50.26 may also evoke ἐθνεὶ ἀσωμέτω from Deut 32.21 (so LXX). A third text is Sir 17.17 which states that Israel is Yahweh’s portion (μερὶς κυρίου Ἰσραήλ ἐστίν). This reflects closely the language of Deut 32.9 LXX (μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ιακωβ). ¹⁷³

The numerous thematic and verbal parallels considered above indicate that Deuteronomy was almost certainly known and utilized by Ben Sira to articulate his distinctive, sapiential ideas.

2.2.2.3 Baruch

Baruch is another book with strong ties to Deuteronomy. In Zink’s estimation, Baruch references at least 13 passages from Deuteronomy. ¹⁷⁴ DeSilva notes Baruch’s commitment to Deuteronomy’s theology of history, particularly in relation to the sin-exile-repentance pattern, and this schema even unites the various sections of Baruch. ¹⁷⁵ The curses alluded to in Bar 1.20 are reminiscent of Deut 28, and the Israelites’ predicament of being few in number in Bar 2.13 (κατελείφθησαν διὰ λίγοι) likely echoes Deut 28.62 (καταλείφθησαν ἐν ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖ). After a Deuteronomic reference to God’s holy habitation (Bar 2.16/Deut 26.15), Deut 28.62–64 again shines through in Bar 2.28. ¹⁷⁶

Extensive verbal parallels to Deut 30.12–13 are found in Bar 3.29–30:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deut 30.12–13</th>
<th>Bar 3.29–30</th>
</tr>
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</table>

¹⁷³ Sheppard also sees similarities between Deut 32.9/Sir 24.9, but suggests that this reference might be mediated through Jeremiah (Wisdom, 45–46).


¹⁷⁵ DeSilva, Apocrypha, 207–10.

These parallels demonstrate a substantial dependence of Baruch on Deuteronomy.\(^{177}\)

As is the case with Sirach, however, the author does not draw attention to this virtual citation from Deuteronomy, but incorporates it into a new context to legitimate his new interpretation.\(^{178}\) Similarly, a few verses earlier, Bar 3.9 likely draws the language ἀκοῦες Ισραήλ from Deut 6.4.\(^{179}\) Baruch 4 evidences at least two more references to Deuteronomy. Jerusalem’s exiled children are indicted in Bar 4.7 (θύσαις δαμονίιος καὶ Ωθέω) in terms akin to Deut 32.17 (ἐθυσαν δαμονίιος καὶ Ωθέω), and the coming wrath of a foreign nation (Deut 28.49, ἐπάξει κύριος ἐπὶ σὲ ἐθνὸς μακρόθεν) is fulfilled in Bar 4.15 (ἐπήγαγεν γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐθνὸς μακρόθεν).\(^{180}\)

### 2.2.2.4 2 Maccabees

A final book from the Apocrypha to consider is 2 Maccabees, a composition which DeSilva also sees to have been profoundly influenced by Deuteronomy’s theology of history.\(^{181}\) Daniel Schwartz is more specific, suggesting that the theology of history in 2 Maccabees is derived from Deut 32. This is based largely on

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\(^{178}\) So Sheppard, *Wisdom*, 93, 105.

\(^{179}\) David G. Burke, *The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9–5:9* (SBLSCS 10; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 77. Burke admits that this language might also come from 4 Ezra 9.30, but Deut 6 is more likely.


\(^{181}\) Ibid., 273.
the only explicit biblical quotation in the entire book, which comes in 2 Macc 7.6. Here it is noted that Moses explained in his song (ὥς δὲ οὖς ὄρνης Μωσῆς) that the Lord would have compassion on his servants (ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθῆσαι), a phrase taken directly from Deut 32.36. Indeed, Schwartz makes a convincing case that this citation provides the interpretive key for the entire book. He notes that the persecutions of God’s people come in 2 Macc 5–6, following the sins recounted in 2 Macc 4. The martyrdom of the Jews is recounted in 2 Macc 6–7, expressing the hope that their deaths would lead to the reconciliation of God and his people (2 Macc 7.38). The turning point of 2 Macc then comes in its middle chapter, where God’s wrath is turned to mercy (2 Macc 8.5). This change is brought about by the martyrs of 2 Macc 7, whose hope (which is soon realized) is expressed in the words of Deut 32.36.182

Moreover, Schwartz points out that the sin-punishment-restoration pattern is indicative of Deut 32 as a whole, and that this perspective is also echoed in 2 Macc 5.17–20. These verses reflect the Song in that the Lord would ignore his people because of their sins (Deut 32.20), but would eventually be reconciled with his people (Deut 32.36). He further suggests that Deut 32.35 is operative in 2 Macc 5.12–13, especially in light of the Song’s probable influence in 5.17–20, but this case must be made from perceived conceptual correspondence rather than on the basis of verbal parallels. Additionally, the view in 2 Macc that Israel was God’s unique people (2 Macc 6.16 [τὸν ἡμῶν λαόν); 14.15 [τῆς ἡμῶν μερίδος]) probably reflects Deut 32.9 (ἐγενήθη μέρις κυρίου λαός αὐτοῦ).183

Beyond this, Schwartz notes the presence of καταλάσσω in 2 Macc 5.20; 7.33; 8.29, and argues that this term derives from Deut 32.36, even though Deut 32.36 LXX attests παρακαλέω and not καταλάσσω. Nevertheless, Schwartz observes that καταλάσσω is very rarely used in the first century B.C.E. to refer to God’s reconciliation with his people, but it is used this way three times in 2 Maccabees. The best explanation for this, according to Schwartz, is that the author of 2


183 Ibid., 228–229.
Maccabees chose καταλάλωσιν to render the Hebrew בנים from Deut 32.36.184 Further supporting this claim is the recognition that 2 Macc 7.33; 8.29, along with 2 Macc 7.6, are the only places in 2 Maccabees where the Israelites are called δούλοι. This is also consistent with Deut 32.36, which uses the same term to refer to the Israelites.185 In sum, for Schwartz it is “difficult, if not irresponsible” to deny the conclusion that Deut 32 has thoroughly informed the author’s thought.186

The parallels given here between Deuteronomy and 2 Maccabees include both verbal and thematic. Moreover, it is certainly significant that the only explicit biblical quotation in 2 Maccabees (7.6) is from Deut 32, and this comes in a strategic point in the narrative. It is not necessary to follow all of Schwartz’s suggestions to conclude that Deuteronomy was a key book for the author of 2 Maccabees.

2.2.2.5 Testament of Moses

Several compositions from the so-called OT Pseudepigrapha evince the influence of Deuteronomy. The first to consider is the Testament of Moses. Likely written in the first third of the first century C.E., T. Moses is a prediction of Israel’s history from their entrance into the Promised Land until the end of days.187 The main source for this work is clearly Deut 31–34.188 This can be seen in the outline of the book as well as in scriptural allusions and theological perspective.189 For example, T. Mos. 1 utilizes the framework of Deut 31,190 heaven and earth are called as witnesses in T. Mos. 3.12 much as they are in Deut 4.26; 30.19; 31.28, and T. Mos.

184 Ibid., 231. Schwartz admits that the author must have used the [proto-]LXX in 2 Macc 7.6, but for some unknown reason made his own rendering of the Hebrew in these cases.
189 Priest, OTP, 1:923.
190 Harrington, “Interpreting Israel’s History,” 63.
10 draws upon Deut 33.191 The transfer of leadership, a concern of Deut 31–32, is recounted in T. Mos. 11–12, although the latter seems to move beyond the former.192 Dale Allison echoes the work of R. H. Charles, suggesting that Deut 18 was influential for the author of T. Moses.193 Additionally, T. Moses employs a Deuteronomistic schema of history.194 Tromp, who sees a three-fold repetition of the sin-punishment-repentance-salvation pattern, notes this most extensively: sin (2.3–9; 5.1–6.7; 7) → punishment (3.1–3; 6.8–9; 8) → repentance (3.4–4.4; ---; 9) → salvation (4.5–9; ---; 10).195 Priest similarly notes the presence of the Deuteronomistic doctrine of retribution in T. Moses.196

2.2.2.6 Jubilees

Jubilees is an account of the revelation given to Moses during the 40 days he spent on Sinai, and draws mostly from Gen 1–Exod 24.18.197 However, portions of Deuteronomy are also formative. Most prominent is Jub. 1, which is based on Deut 31–34.198 Like Deut 31–32, Jub. 1.4 indicates that Moses was instructed to teach about future events. Further, the book of Moses in Jubilees was to function as a witness against the people, just like the Song of Moses. The bounty of the land described in Jub. 1.7 seems to refer to Deut 31.20, and the description of the people as stiff-necked in the same verse may allude to Deut 31.27.199 Harrington maintains that the most significant parallels are those that attempt to understand Israel’s history (Jub. 1.8, 13–16/ Deut 31–32).200 In Jub. 1.21 Israel is referred to as the Lord’s inheritance, a sentiment that echoes Deut 9.26, 29, and the promise that the Lord will circumcise the hearts of Israel’s offspring evokes Deut 10.16; 30.6. Anticipating the

191 Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 29.
193 Allison, New Moses, 28.
196 Priest, OTP, 1:922.
198 Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 41n.136.
200 Ibid. Harrington also sees an apostasy-punishment-vindication scheme here.
discussion of chapter 4, the assertion in Jub. 1.24–25 that the Israelites will do the Lord’s commandments and he will be a father to them likely echoes Deut 14.1. Thus, the opening verses of Jubilees strongly evoke portions of Deuteronomy, especially Deut 31–34.201 The influence of these chapters, however, also extends to other parts of Jubilees. This can be seen in the reference to Deut 32.8–9 in Jub. 15.31–32,202 and Jub. 31 may draw from priestly messianic expectations associated with Deut 33.10.203

2.2.2.7 2 Baruch

The influence of Deuteronomy can also be seen in 2 Baruch.204 As a preliminary observation, the purpose of 2 Baruch, much like Deuteronomy, is to exhort its audience to obedience to the law.205 In addition, M. Whitters notes that Deuteronomy’s farewell song and blessing (i.e., testament) preceded by an extended recitation of laws and exhortations is an appropriate analogy for 2 Baruch, which can also be viewed as an extended discourse (2 Bar 1–77) followed by a farewell epistle (2 Bar 78–87). This reflects a Deuteronomic tendency to combine a testament with a longer didactic work.206 A distinctive feature of Deuteronomy—the conditional sentence—is also frequent in 2 Baruch. In Deuteronomy the protasis of these sentences deals with obedience to divine law, and apodasis with reward for obedience. Interestingly, these conditional sentences occur 14 times in Deuteronomy and 14 times in 2 Baruch. The theme of remembrance is also prominent in both books. Murphy notes that language for remembering or forgetting occurs 40 times in Deuteronomy, and is at least as prominent in 2 Baruch, although the purposes for which the author uses it differ from Deuteronomy. The combination of wisdom and

201 Harrington, “Interpreting Israel’s History,” 62
202 Bell, Provoked, 223.
203 Collins, Apocalypticism, 86.
204 This is true despite the dearth of Deuteronomic connections noted by A. F. J. Klijn in his OTP introduction (1:619).
205 Frederick James Murphy, The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch (SBLDS 78; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 124.
understanding, which is key in Deuteronomy (e.g., 4.6; 32.28), is also prevalent in the eschatological outlook of 2 Baruch.207

The so-called epistle of 2 Baruch (78–87) most vividly evokes the imagery of Moses and Deuteronomy, such that Baruch is portrayed as a new Moses with a new Torah.208 In particular, echoes of Deuteronomy resound in 2 Bar. 84.1–8. Allison notes the similarities of this section with Deut 33–34,209 though the parallels with Deuteronomy go well beyond these two chapters. The mention of the Mosaic covenant and the role of heaven and earth as witnesses in 2 Bar. 84.2 reflect Deut 4.26; 30.19; 31.28.210 Moreover, the violation of the covenant leads to the scattering of the people (Deut 4.27; 32.26/2 Bar. 84.2), but with the hope of reconciliation (Deut 32.36/2 Bar. 84.6). The presentation of Moses in 2 Baruch also appears to be patterned on the Deuteronomic portrait of Moses.211 Examples include 2 Bar. 76/Deut 34, passages in which both figures are called to ascend a high mountain in order to look at lands which they are about to leave behind. Beyond this, both men are presented as teachers (Deut 4.1, 14; 5.31; 6.1; 31.22/2 Bar. 44–5; 84.9), and both address the people in similar ways (Deut 5.1; 9.1/2 Bar. 31.3). Murphy summarizes the similarities between the two books as “a certain community of forms, language, and setting.”212

2.2.2.8 Miscellaneous Texts

A couple of minor references to Deuteronomy in the Pseudepigrapha may also be instructive. First is 4 Macc. 18.19, which cites a portion of Deut 32.39 (εγὼ ἀποκτένων καὶ ζήν ποιήσω). This passage in 4 Maccabees is parallel to 2 Macc. 7, which also cites Deut 32. Moreover, the portion of the Song of Moses cited in 4 Macc. 18.19 is an apt reference for a passage dealing with resurrection, since Deut 32.39 was frequently used in reference to the resurrection in post-exilic literature.213

208 Whitters, Second Baruch, 159, 168.
209 Allison, New Moses, 66.
210 Murphy, Structure and Meaning, 125. Cf. T. Mos. 3.12.
211 Murphy, Structure and Meaning, 125–26. Murphy also notes this characteristic in 2 Bar. 1–9, which seems to have been influenced by Deut 9.25–29 (131).
212 Ibid., 129, 132.
213 Bell, Provoked, 223.
The OG of Deuteronomy 33.3 is also cited in 4 Macc. 17.19 (καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χειρὰς σου). A second passage of note comes from 1 Enoch 103.9–12, which is a pastiche of words and phrases from Deut 28 dealing with covenantal curses.

2.2.2.9 Summary: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

It has been argued here that the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings have gleaned language and themes from Deuteronomy. In particular, blessings and curses, a Deuteronomic schema of history, and Deut 32 seems to be especially prominent in these writings. As was the case in Qumran, several authors used Deuteronomy as a basis to legitimate new compositions. The latter chapters of Deuteronomy also seem to have been influential in testamentary forms of literature.

2.2.3 Synagogue

Although a degree of mystery still veils aspects of current knowledge of ancient synagogues, many features can be stated with confidence. It is clear that synagogues served a pivotal role for Jews in the Diaspora and in Judea by the first century C.E. Further, ample evidence exists that the reading of the Torah was “universally accepted,” and was a (if not the) central function in ancient synagogues. Indeed, Levine notes that by this time the Torah had become the

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215 Martin McNamara, Targum Neofiti 1: Deuteronomy. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes (ArBib 5A; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 2.
second holiest object in Judaism, trailing only the Temple.\textsuperscript{219} Some, however, understand the Torah to have had an even greater significance than the Temple:

With the earliest emergence of the synagogue during the Babylonian exile, the Torah assumed the central role in Jewish life, never to relinquish it again, even through Second Temple times, where it existed side by side with a re-emerging sacrificial ritual, but always looming greater in significance than the cultus.\textsuperscript{220}

Moreover, the Torah reading portion of the service was likely the most participatory and dramatic component of the worship service. These readings, in conjunction with the prophetic readings, were often used as a “springboard for instruction,” and served as a focal point for most other liturgical elements in the synagogue.\textsuperscript{221}

Although it is difficult to ascertain precisely how the readings took place, the Torah may have been read within a three to three-and-a-half year cycle (Palestine), or on a yearly cycle (Babylon).\textsuperscript{222} It is difficult, however, to know with certainty the specifics of these supposed cycles.\textsuperscript{223} The key point is that by the first century of the present era a weekly ceremony centered around communal reading and study of the Torah (and other Scriptures) was standard Jewish praxis.\textsuperscript{224} Thus, the reading of Deuteronomy, as part of the Torah, would have been a common feature of the main focus of synagogue worship in the NT era. In light of the role given to instruction following the scriptural readings in the synagogues, might Deuteronomy have been particularly well-suited for such instruction given its exhortatory focus? One can do little more than pose the question at this point, but it is possible that Deuteronomy’s content would have made it especially well-disposed to be a popular basis for exposition in the synagogue.


\textsuperscript{221} Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 144, 154. Levine believes the instruction that came after the scripture reading was more closely related to the prophetic reading than the Torah reading (147).

\textsuperscript{222} Perrot, “Reading of the Bible,” 137; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 140.

\textsuperscript{223} Catto, *Reconstructing*, 124. Bell (Provoked, 227) suggests that Deut 32 would have had a place in the weekly Torah reading, though this is far from certain.

\textsuperscript{224} Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 139.
2.2.4 Philo

Even though Philo of Alexandria did not write a commentary on Deuteronomy, he does interact considerably with it. Not surprisingly, his preferred interpretation of Deuteronomy is allegorical. For example, for Philo the divine law reveals the philanthropy of Moses and the benevolence and love of God for men, while Moses and God in Deuteronomy are the models that men must adopt among themselves. Philo also uses selected verses from Deuteronomy as the basis for arguments that he develops homiletically.225 In addition, Philo regroups the totality of the Mosaic legislation under the headings of the Decalogue since, for Philo, the specific Mosaic laws are subordinate to the Ten Commandments.226

Philo also re-appropriates the Deuteronomic teaching on blessings and curses. In *Her.* 177 he utilizes the duality of blessings and curses in a discourse on equality.227 He also draws heavily from Deut 28 (cf. Lev 26) in *Praem.* 79–162.228 On a macro level, two writings (*Virt.* 51–174; *Hypoth.* 6.1–7.19) review Mosaic history and laws with an apologetic tendency, thus exhibiting a similar purpose and structure as Deuteronomy.229 Bell further notes the extensive references (more than 30, by his count) to Deut 32 in Philo.230 Most explicit is *Virt.* 72–75, which states that Moses hymned to God with a Song (ὑμνεῖν μετ' φῶς).231 Philo’s explanation of this Song, however, is much more positive than it is in Deuteronomy, perhaps reading the Song through the hopeful lens of Deut 32.43 as preserved in the LXX.232 Moreover, for Philo the reference to “heaven and earth” in Deut 32.1 indicates “the totality of the elements of the universe called to a universal harmony” (cf. *Virt.* 74).233 It should also be noted that Philo does not demonstrate an affinity for

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228 Ibid. Borgen (269n.8) lists various examples from Philo’s writings that refer to Deut 28: Deut 28.1–2; 7/Virt. 47–48; Deut 28.12/Leg. 3.104; Deus 156; Her. 76; Deut 28.14/Post. 102; Deut 28–29/Her. 250; Deut 28.49–57/Spec. 1.313; Deut 28.65–66/Post. 24–25; Deut 28.67/Flacc. 167.


230 Bell, *Provoked*, 225. Dogniez and Harl (*Deutéronome*, 32) note some of these references: Leg. 3.105; Post. 121, 167; Plant. 59; Deter. 14; Sobr. 10; Mut. 182; Somn. 2.191.

231 Philo, *Virt.* 72 (Thackeray, LCL).

232 Bell, *Provoked*, 225.

233 Dogniez and Harl, *Deutéronome*, 321 (author’s translation).
messianic interpretations of Deuteronomy. Illustrative of this is Philo’s apparent lack of interest in the promised prophet of Deut 18, even though he does develop the prophetic figure of Moses.234

In sum, although Philo does not show an overwhelming interest in Deuteronomy, his concern with Deuteronomic blessings and curses, the Song of Moses, and his allegorical interpretations underscore the manner in which he engaged the book. It should also be noted that Philo draws from all parts of Deuteronomy, including both legal235 and narrative portions.236

2.2.5 Josephus

Josephus summarizes and synthesizes Deuteronomy in Ant. 4.176–331.237 Louis Feldman has noted that Josephus was not a mere copyist of Deuteronomy, but introduces his own views—historiographical, political, religious, and cultural—into the biblical text.238 Interestingly, Josephus claims in Ant. 1.17 that he did not add or omit anything from the writings of Moses, but he actually does both.239 Josephus may have intended these comments in Ant. 1.17 to assure his readers that he had done his research honestly. Indeed, in Ant. 1.18 he implies that not everything he includes is dependent on Moses.240 At the same time, the comment in Ant. 1.17 may reflect Deut 4.2; 12.32 as known in the LXX.241 In any case, Josephus’s inclusion of Deuteronomy, however reworked it may be, indicates his knowledge of the book and his acknowledgement of Mosaic authority. In fact, Josephus may have been following the example of Moses himself, who he believed played a significant role in the transmission of Israel’s Scriptures.242

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234 Ibid., 69–70.
235 E.g., Decal. 154–75; Spec. 2.232.
236 E.g., Somn. 2.17–30; cf. Dogniez and Harl, Deutéronome, 70.
239 Ibid., 539. Cf. Ant. 4.196.
240 Feldman, Studies, 540–41. The relevant text reads: “Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα σχέδον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἔμειν ἀνθρωπίαν Μουσέως.”
242 Ibid., 541–42.
Dogniez and Harl explain Josephus’s use of Deuteronomy: “Le Text de Josèphe fait connaître quelques actualisations de lois, quelques explications de coutumes...Le livre du Deutéronome est essentiellement pour lui un sujet de fierté.”

At the same time, Feldman notes that Josephus may have been writing for a non-Jewish audience, to explain the customs of the Jewish people, while also writing in order to give his Jewish audience a defense.

An example of this is found in Ant. 4.262. Here Josephus expands upon the pericope of the rebellious son (Deut 21.18–21) and opines that God is a Father to the whole human race. As we will see in the next chapter, Deuteronomy does speak of the fatherhood of God, but the focus of this relationship is particularly with Israel, not with the entire human race.

A similar observation can be made in conjunction with Josephus’s reading of the witness laws of Deuteronomy. Although Josephus does not explicitly contradict Deuteronomy in his reference to these portions of Deuteronomy (19.15–20), his discussion of Moses’ teaching attributes teachings to Moses that are not found in Deuteronomy. Instead, a portrait of Moses’ teaching is constructed that is consistent with the values of the Roman ruling class. Thus the content of Deuteronomy, though it was an authoritative text for Josephus, is ultimately made subservient to Josephus’s larger heuristic purposes.

Harold Attridge has noted that Ant. 4.176–95, in addition to being a loose paraphrase of Deuteronomy, also exhibits a paraenetic quality that is “certainly based on the similar tone of Deuteronomy.” He further observes that the Josephan view of providence in which God rewards virtue and punishes vice also echoes Deuteronomy. A discussion of blessings and curses, another prominent gleaning from Deuteronomy, is found in Ant. 4.304–8. Like some of Philo’s writings, portions of Contra Apionem (2.157–219) are based on the form of reviewing Mosaic

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243 Dogniez and Harl, Deutéronome, 70–71.
245 Depending on the reading one chooses, Deut 32.8–9 could be an exception.
248 Ibid. These shared features cannot be pressed too far, however, since (as Attridge notes) the passage a rather free composition and does not mirror Deuteronomy closely in all the details.
history and laws found in Deuteronomy. It should also be noted that Josephus uniquely understands Deut 31–32 to be recurrent rather than a once-time event. Rather than focusing on the role of Deut 32 as a witness against Israel (Deut 31.19, 26), Josephus refers to it as a poem in hexameter verse (ποίημα ἕξαμετρον, Ant. 4.303).

Like Philo, Josephus did not promote messianic interpretations of Deuteronomy. This is to be expected, since he was not an advocate of messianic interpretations of Israel’s Scriptures in general, but wrote largely in opposition to messianic movements. Finally, it should be noted that, like many of the writings surveyed thus far, Josephus refers to both narrative and legal portions of Deuteronomy.

2.2.6 Pseudo-Philo

One final corpus to consider briefly is Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (L.A.B.). This Latin text has been variously dated to the first century C.E., probably sometime before 70 C.E. Deuteronomy does not receive extensive treatment in this partial recounting of Israel’s history, but chapters 31–34 of Deuteronomy are addressed in L.A.B. 19. L.A.B. 19.1 tersely summarizes Deuteronomy (“He began declaring to them the words of the Law God had spoken to them”), then establishes a testamentary framework. References to Deuteronomy in L.A.B. include the covenantal language of Deut 4.26/32.1 (L.A.B. 19.4), the partial citation of Deut 5.27 (L.A.B. 19.4), and Deut 31.16 in L.A.B. 19.6. Harrington observes another instance of an apostasy-punishment-vindication schema.

References

249 Borgen, Philo, 59.
252 For an analysis of the text(s) of the Pentateuch used by Josephus in the first four books of the Antiquities, see Étienne Nodet, Le Pentateuque de Flavius Joséphe (La Bible de Josèphe I/1; Paris: Cerf, 1996).
253 Frederick James Murphy, Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 90; Bruce Norman Fisk, Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo (JSPSup 37; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 3; D. J. Harrington, OTP, 2:299.
255 Murphy, Pseudo-Philo, 267.
256 Ibid., 90–91.
of Israel’s history. Thus, we can observe in Pseudo-Philo’s *L.A.B.* an emphasis on the latter portions of Deuteronomy that appears to have been common in ancient Judaism.

### 2.2.7 Summary: Jewish Literature

The above survey of Jewish literature is by no means exhaustive. The contention of this chapter, however, is that the numerous and variegated engagements with Deuteronomy in this assortment of writings demonstrate sufficiently that Deuteronomy was an important book for both the sectarian community at Qumran and the wider traditions of Judaism. This is not surprising given the extensive circulation of Deuteronomy detailed in §2.1. As Crawford aptly summarizes: “Deuteronomy may be termed the ‘second law’ but clearly had attained first place in Second Temple Judaism.”

### 2.3 Use of Deuteronomy: Christian Literature

Deuteronomy was not only widely known and used as an authoritative text in Jewish literature, but a consideration of early Christian writings indicates that Deuteronomy was also an important document in the incipient church. The following analysis will include a sample from the NT and Apostolic Fathers. To be addressed here is the extent to which Deuteronomy was used as a source, and the manner in which the authors of these documents (who were roughly contemporaneous with the author of Matthew) may have read Deuteronomy similarly to or differently from Jewish authors in light of the coming of Jesus Christ.

#### 2.3.1 New Testament

**2.3.1.1 Pauline Epistles**

Deuteronomy is, by most counts, at least the third most referenced OT book in the NT. The present investigation of Deuteronomy in the NT begins with the

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258 Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy,” 140.

259 It is only assumed here that Matthew was written in the first century, and that the documents included in this survey were written by at least the first part of the second century.

260 This count depends on how one quantifies such references. A simple enumeration of the references listed in the Index of OT quotations in UBS4 (pp. 887–88) reveals 79 citations of Psalms,
Pauline corpus—a collection that includes the earliest extant Christian writings, and also engages Deuteronomy in numerous places. Space will only permit a brief survey of selected texts, but this will be sufficient to demonstrate Paul’s\(^{261}\) keen interest in Deuteronomy.\(^{262}\)

First to be considered is Galatians, an epistle in which Paul’s use of Deuteronomy is notoriously complex. Two explicit citations to Deuteronomy (21.23; 27.26) are found among the four OT citations in Gal 3.10–13. In Gal 3.10 Paul appeals to the final curse from Deut 27 to illustrate the all-encompassing requirement of covenantal obedience, and he may have taken the phrase \(\epsilon\nu\iota\nu\tau\omega\ \beta\beta\lambda\iota\omega\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\mu\omicron\omega\) from Deut 28.58/30.10.\(^{263}\) It is also to be noted that the language of the curse (\(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\))—a word often juxtaposed with \(\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omega\gamma\iota\alpha\) in the LXX in covenantal contexts\(^{264}\)—is likely derived from Deuteronomy.\(^{265}\) In Gal 3.13 Paul cites Deut 21.23 in a surprising way, claiming that Jesus’ shameful death by crucifixion at the hands of the Romans was actually a means of redeeming those under the law, with the double result that the blessing of Abraham might come to the nations, and the promise of the Spirit might be received by faith. Here Paul takes a verse that dealt with the cursed\(^{266}\) status of one hanged on a tree, and asserts that Jesus’ cursing has resulted in a blessing for those he has redeemed. Thus the quotations from Deuteronomy drive the interpretation of 3.10–14, so that Paul’s

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50 of Deuteronomy, 48 of Isaiah (though some of these are extended quotations). Interestingly, Index 4 in NA27 lists 48 citations of Deuteronomy, and approximately 96 of Isaiah. Despite differences in precise enumeration, there is widespread agreement that Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms, are the three most referenced OT books in the NT (see Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, eds., Deuteronomy in the New Testament [LNTS 358; London: T&T Clark, 2007], 1).

\(^{261}\) This investigation will focus on the undisputed letters Romans, Galatians, Philippians, 1–2 Corinthians. Thus, it will be appropriate to refer to Paul as the author of these texts.

\(^{262}\) For a discussion on the importance of Deuteronomy to Paul, see Richard B. Hays, Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 163–64.


\(^{264}\) BDAG, s.v.


\(^{266}\) The addition of \(\epsilon\rho\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\omicron\omicron\), especially in light of similar language in 3.10, is due to its use in the context of covenantal blessings/curses in Deut 27–28. Cf. Ciampa, “Galatians and Romans,” 104.
logical flow can be described as a movement from curse to blessing. Unique to Paul is the application of a text reserved for one accursed by God and applying it to Jesus and his redemptive, messianic work. We can also note Paul’s concern with covenantal features of Deuteronomy. In addition to these explicit references, Paul’s warning against receiving another gospel in Gal 1.8–9 may echo the warnings against deceptive teachers from Deut 13.12–16, and the mention of God’s impartiality in Gal 2.6 may derive from Deut 10.17.

No Pauline epistle has more citations of Deuteronomy than Romans. Paul cites a portion of the Decalogue from Deut 5.21 (Exod 20.17) in Rom 7.7. By encapsulating this commandment with the succinct 
\[ \text{ἐπιθυμήσεως}, \] Paul broadens its scope to include all types of coveting. Portions of the Decalogue (Deut 5.17–21) are also cited in Rom 13.8–10 in order to illustrate the way the Roman Christians were to love one another. An even more creative appeal to Deuteronomy is found in Rom 10. Rom 10.6 opens with the phrase 
\[ \text{ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη ὀντως λέγει}, \] which is followed by a warning against Israel that mirrors exactly the wording of Deut 8.17; 9.4 LXX (μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου). Charles Cranfield notes the opening phrase of 10.6 is “specially noteworthy” because it shows that Paul sees in Deuteronomy the doctrine of justification by faith. Paul’s appeal to Deuteronomy continues in the argument of 10.7–8, where he cites Deut 30.12, 14. Here Paul compares salvation in Christ to the nearness of the law given through Moses. As Douglas Moo notes, Paul here teaches “that the message about the righteousness by faith... is, like the law of God, accessible and understandable.”

In Rom 10.19 Paul cites Deut 32.21—the first of three citations to the Song of Moses in the latter chapters of Romans—in the midst of a litany of quotations dealing with the contrasting responses of Jews and Gentiles to the gospel. Hays

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267 So Waters, *End of Deuteronomy*, 103–4, 244.
270 Ibid., 656.
notes that here God purposes to provoke Israel to jealousy by including the Gentiles, who are invited to join God’s covenant people in praise. This last aspect is highlighted by the citation of Deut 32.43 in Rom 15.10. This citation, juxtaposed with that of Deut 32.21 (Rom 10.19), is an indication that Deut 32 contains Romans in nuce. The Song of Moses (Deut 32.35) is also cited a third time in Rom 12.19, where Paul urges his audience not to seek revenge but to leave room for God’s judgment. Finally, Paul cites Deut 29.3 (and Isa 29.10) in Rom 11.8 to underscore Israel’s hard-heartedness.

Paul cites Deuteronomy four times in the Corinthian epistles, and alludes to Deuteronomy in several other instances. The emphases of shunning sexual immorality and idolatry of the other nations are both prominent in 1 Corinthians and Deuteronomy. This can be seen in 1 Cor 5.13 (ἐξάρατη τὸν ποιητὴν ἐξ ἵμων αὐτῶν), which echoes the Deuteronomic injunction to expel the wicked from among the congregation of the Israelites (ἐξάρατος τὸν ποιητὴν ἐξ ἵμων αὐτῶν; Deut 17.7; 19.19; 21.21; 22.21; 24.7). This reference is preceded by a mosaic of imagery in 1 Cor 5.11 that gives a representative list, drawn mostly from Deuteronomy, of the type of sin that warrants expulsion. These are the sexually immoral (Deut 22.21–22, 30), greedy, idolater (Deut 13.1–5; 17.2–7), reviler (Deut 19.16–19), drunkard (Deut 21.18–21), and robber (Deut 24.7). In 1 Cor 6.1–6 Paul applies the lessons of Deut 1.9–17 (and Exod 18.13–26) to the problem of Corinthian lawsuits, and the Deuteronomic teaching on divorce (Deut 24.1–4) is the background for 1 Cor 7.39–40.

In addition, the Shema (Deut 6.4) appears to provide the foundation for Paul’s argument against polytheism in 1 Cor 8.6. Following a possible allusion to Deut 6.4

274 Hays, Echoes, 164. More specifically, Hays sees the following themes from the Song of Moses in Romans: God’s election of Israel (32.6–14), Israel’s rebellion (32.15–18), God’s judgment (32.19–35), God’s final deliverance (32.36–43).

275 So Cranfield, Romans, 2:646–48.


277 Ibid., 121. The textual variant here is of no great consequence for this allusion.


279 Ciampa and Rosner, “1 Corinthians,” 711; Rosner, “1 and 2 Corinthians,” 125.

280 Ibid., 127.
in 1 Cor 8.4, Paul again takes up the *Shema* in 8.6. It will be helpful to show the similarities between the relevant portions of these passages.\(^{281}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deut 6.4 LXX</th>
<th>1 Cor 8.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἀκούε Ἰσραήλ κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν κύριος εἶς ἐστιν</td>
<td>ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἰς θεός ὁ πατὴρ εἰς οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Richard Bauckham observes the connections between the two passages:

Paul has in fact reproduced all the words of the statement about YHWH in the *Shema*...but Paul has rearranged the words in such a way as to produce an affirmation of both one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ.\(^{282}\)

Thus, whereas the *Shema* declares that the Lord, the God of Israel is one, Paul expands this saying to identify the Father of Jesus as the God of the *Shema* and Jesus Christ as the *Shema*’s Lord.\(^{283}\) Bauckham labels this phenomenon of identifying Jesus Christ as intrinsic to the identity of the one God of Jewish monotheism as *christological monotheism*.\(^{284}\)

In 1 Cor 9.9 Paul applies the prohibition from Deut 25.4 against muzzling an ox while it “treads out the grain” (RSV) to illustrate his right to remuneration for his labors.\(^{285}\) Deut 32.17 (ἐθύναν δαμιῶνοι καὶ οὐ θεό) provides Paul with fitting language to communicate the abhorrence of implicit idolatry among the Corinthians

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\(^{281}\) This structure of 1 Cor 8.6 is adapted from Wright, *Climax*, 129.


\(^{284}\) So Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 26–27.

in 1 Cor 10.20 (ὁ θάνατος, δαμασκίνιος καὶ οὐ θεός), and Paul's question in 1 Cor 10.22 asking if the Lord will be provoked to jealousy (ἡ παραζηλούμεν τὸν κύριον;) recalls the Lord's statement in Deut 32.21 (αὐτοί παρεξήλωσαν με). Other possible Deuteronomistic allusions in 1 Corinthians include Deut 15.14 in 1 Cor 16.2 and Deut 31.6–7, 13 in 1 Cor 16.23. In 2 Cor 13.1 Paul cites the witness laws of Deut 19.15, possibly indicating his view that his three visits to the Corinthians were equivalent to three witnesses.

Although a number of other instances of Deuteronomistic influence in Pauline thought could be cited, a final passage to be considered is Phil 2.15. Here it is very likely that Paul, although no explicit citation is present, alludes to Deut 32.5. In Deut 32.5 Moses accuses Israel of revoking their status as children of God (ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μομητά) as part of a crooked and distorted generation (γενεὰς σκολιὰς καὶ διεστραμμένη), whereas Paul in Phil 2.15 encourages the Philippians to be blameless children of God (τέκνα θεοῦ ἁμώμα) in the midst of a crooked and distorted generation (μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιὰς καὶ διεστραμμένης). When viewed in light of the command in 2.14 to do all things (χωρίς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν), Paul probably cites Deut 32.5 in order to urge the Philippians to submit to, and not grumble against, their leaders (cf. Exod 15.24; 16.2, 7–9, 12; Num 14.27; 17.5, 10).

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286 Hays, First Corinthians, 169–70; Rosner, “Deuteronomy in 1 and 2 Corinthians,” 130–31. 1 Cor 10.20 involves some textual questions, but the shared language with Deut 32 would be clear regardless of which variant from NA27 one might choose.

287 Rosner, “1 and 2 Corinthians,” 131. The references to Deut 32 in 1 Cor 10 suggest that the background of “the Rock” in 1 Cor 10.4 may also derive from Deut 32 (vv. 4, 15, 18, 30–31, 37), although this title is only found in the MT. Cf. John W. Olley, “A Precursor of the NRSV? ‘Sons and Daughters’ in 2 Cor 6.18,” NTyS 44 (1998): 204–12.


291 Further supporting this is the occurrence of ἁμώματα attested in D F G Ψ 1739 1881 al. This variant has likely been influenced by the OG of Deut 32.5 (LXX: μομητα).

292 So Silva, Philippians, 123–24.
2.3.1.2 Synoptic Gospels and Acts

Having seen the extent to which Deuteronomy has influenced Pauline thought, attention will now be given to the various ways Deuteronomy is engaged in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Assuming the Two-Source Hypothesis, Mark is the earliest gospel and therefore may be considered first. Steve Moyise suggests five or six Deuteronomic citations in Mark, and at least six other significant allusions, which is a very conservative estimate. The first citation comes from the Decalogue (Deut 5.16/Exod 20.12) in Mark 7.10 in relation to the practice of corban, which actually undermined the Law’s demand to honor one’s parents. The interpretation of Deut 24.1–4 is the focus of the controversy over divorce in Mark 10.4. In contrast to those who sought to make divorce normative, Jesus suggests Deut 24 is “a text of concession, not a text of intention.” A second reference to the Decalogue (Deut 5.16–20/Exod 20.12–16) comes in Jesus’ encounter with the rich young man in Mark 10.19, in which he affirms the need to obey the (second half of) the Decalogue, before calling the young man to sell his possessions and follow Jesus. In Mark 12.19 the Pharisees and Herodians quote Deut 25.5 in their attempt to trick Jesus, but the issue focuses more on the resurrection than on the interpretation of this passage. Significantly, Jesus identifies the Shema (Deut 6.4–5) as the greatest commandment only in Mark 12.29–30.

Some of the more widely recognized Deuteronomic allusions in Mark include Deut 18.15, a familiar text that applies the expectation of the coming Prophet who is to be heeded (σου αὐτοῦ ἀκούσει) to Jesus in his Transfiguration in Mark 9.4, 7 (ἀκούσει αὐτοῦ). Less obvious, though a possibility that should not to be dismissed too quickly, is the role of Deut 30.15 in Mark 3.4. Here Jesus’ healing a

294 So ibid., 27–28.
296 Cf. Ibid., 200.
298 Adela Yarbro Collins, Mark: A Commentary (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 572.
299 Ibid., 423–26. But see also the possible role of Exodus, noted in §6.2.3.
man with a withered hand on the Sabbath may recall the choice between life and death presented Israel in Deut 30. Watts suggests:

If [Mark had Jewish tradition] in view, then in “stretching out his hand” (cf. Sir. 15:16) in response to the Torah embodied in Jesus, the curse of powerlessness (Deut. 28:20, 32) is reversed and the man finds life (Deut. 30:15, 29) as a new hand is given to him in the house of the Lord in fulfilment of Isaiah’s new exodus (Isa. 56:4–5).300

Deuteronomic allusions are also found in Mark 13, including the warning against being led astray by false signs and wonders (Mark 13.22/Deut 13.1–2), and God’s gathering his people from the ends of the world (Mark 13.27 [καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τησσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἀκρού γῆς ἐως ἀκρού οὐρανοῦ]/Deut 30.4 [ἀπ’ ἀκροῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐως ἀκροῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκείθεν συνάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου]).301


On a larger scale, David Moessner has argued for an organizing “fourfold Exodus typology based on the calling and fate of Moses in Deuteronomy as a heuristic principle for the plotted story in [Luke] 9:51–19:44”—a section which is previewed by a portrait of Jesus as the Prophet (9.1–50) drawn largely from Deut 18.15–19. Moessner notes some unique connections among the Synoptics between Jesus and Moses in 9.1–50, including only Luke’s version of the heavenly voice at the Transfiguration matches Deut 18.15b LXX in both vocabulary and word order.303

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300 Watts, “Mark,” 144. For the relationship between “hand” and male genitalia (and thus the reference to Isa 56.4–5), Watts notes Song 5.4; Isa 57.8.


303 David P. Moessner, Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 7, 46, 60–61. For more parallels, see pp. 60–70.
Moessner further connects the Lukan travel narrative (Luke 9.51–19.44) to Deuteronomy in a number of ways. He observes the descriptions of the fecundity of the Promised Land (Deut 6.3; 8.8; 14.23–26; 32.13–14; etc.), the primacy of eating, drinking, and rejoicing in the Land (Deut 12–26), and Israel’s lack in the wilderness which anticipated (and warned against) their future filling (Deut 8.2–14; 28.31–33; 53–57; 31.20; 32.15). He then points out ways Jesus leads his people to a fuller, and surprising, experience of “eating and drinking” in the presence of the Lord (Luke 13.25) in ways that recall the language and concerns of Deuteronomy. In addition to Luke 13.25, Moessner notes in conjunction with meals such features as the Deuteronomic concern for the poor (Luke 14.13–14/Deut 15.1–18) and the overindulgence of the wealthy that leads to idolatry (Luke 16.14–15/Deut 11.16). Jesus, the rejected Prophet, includes in his feasting “the poor and the outcast, women and tax collectors, in short the children of the covenant...while the rest of all Israel persisting in their stubborn resistance shut themselves out.” Moessner concludes that, for Luke, the Mosaic vision of a new Exodus that was even greater than the past (Deut 30.1–10) has been accomplished in Jesus Christ, fulfilling the joy of the feast (Deut 26.1–11).304

Moessner’s study is perhaps most convincing in his comparisons with Jesus as the Prophet like Moses from Deuteronomy. Although it is clear that there are numerous other parallels with Deuteronomic imagery in the Lukan travel narrative, it is not as clear whether this provides the interpretive key for the entire section. Nevertheless, Moessner’s monograph makes a strong case for the importance of Deuteronomy in Luke, such that Deuteronomic themes should be given due consideration when one studies Luke’s gospel.

Deuteronomy is also cited twice in Acts, identifying Jesus as the expected Prophet of Deut 18 (Acts 3.22/Deut 18.15–20; Acts 7.37/Deut 18.15).305 Deut 15.4 is echoed in Acts 4.34,306 and Deut 21.22 serves as the background for the references to Jesus’ death on a tree in Acts 5.30; 10.39, although the theological implications

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304 Ibid., 264–77.
are not explored in detail as in Gal 3.13.\footnote{James D. G. Dunn, The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity (2d ed.; London: SCM Press, 2006), 78.} In addition, the inheritance mentioned by Paul in Acts 20.32 may reflect the inheritance given by God to his people in Deut 33.3–4.\footnote{Marshall, “Acts,” 597. Cf. Deut 4.21, 38; 12.9–10; 15.4; 19.3, 10, 14; 20.16; 21.23; 24.4; 25.19; 26.1; 31.7.}

As noted in the previous chapter, Matthew contains more citations to Deuteronomy than either Mark or Luke. By Menken’s count, Matthew includes five citations to Deuteronomy from Mark (Matt 15.4/Deut 5.16 [or Exod 20.12]; Matt 19.7/Deut 24.1, 3; Matt 19.18–19/Deut 5.16–20 [or Exod 20.12–16]; Matt 22.24/Deut 25.5; Matt 22.37/Deut 6.5), and a cluster of three citations from Q (Matt 4.4/Deut 8.3; Matt 4.7/Deut 6.16; Matt 4.10/Deut 6.16[or 10.20]). In addition, four of the five uniquely Matthean citations to Deuteronomy are found in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5.21/Deut 5.17 [or Exod 20.13]; Matt 5.27/Deut 5.18 [or Exod 20.14]; Matt 5.31/Deut 24.1, 3; Matt 5.38/Deut 19.21 [or Exod 21.24/Lev 24.20]; cf. Matt 18.16/Deut 19.15).\footnote{Menken, “Deuteronomy in Matthew’s Gospel,” 42. Menken includes two other, freer citations in the Sermon on the Mount: Matt 5.33/Deut 5.11, 20; 23.22; Matt 5.43/Deut 7.2; 20.16; 23.4, 7.} Additionally, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the prevalence of Deuteronomistic citations enhances the plausibility that numerous other allusions to Deuteronomy abound in Matthew. Some of these will be considered in chapters 5–7, where it will also be argued that Matthew was not limited to his sources for his knowledge of Deuteronomy, and that Matthew has unique emphases that can be attributed to his reading of Deuteronomy. At this point it will suffice to note the suggestive comment of Thomas Brodie that Deuteronomy was the most influential OT book for the author of Matthew.\footnote{Brodie, “Fish, Temple, Tithe, and Remission: The God-based Generosity of Deuteronomy 14–15 as One Component of Matthew 17:22–18:35,” RB 99 (1992): 697–718, here 699. The significance of this statement is underscored when we consider the extent to which the OT in general is important for Matthew.}

2.3.1.4 Hebrews

In a recent monograph David Allen has convincingly shown that Deuteronomy serves as a Scriptural background for the hortatory portions of Hebrews.\footnote{Allen, Deuteronomy and Exhortation, 12.} He suggests 21 citations of and allusions to Deuteronomy in Hebrews,
most of which come from Deut 28–34. More specifically, many of these derive from the Song of Moses, with some of the more explicit including Heb 1.6/Deut 32.43; Heb 3.12/Deut 32.15; Heb 10.30/Deut 32.35–36. Another noteworthy reference for the present study is the citation of Deut 8.5 in Heb. 12.7, which compares God’s discipline of his people to a father’s discipline of his son. The work of Allen also draws attention to thematic parallels including covenant, blessings/curses, land, and rhetorical affinities. Allen concludes that Hebrews becomes a new Deuteronomy, presenting its audience with the Deuteronomic choice between blessing and curse. Allen has undoubtedly mounted an impressive cumulative argument that Deuteronomy is of primary relevance for the exhortatory portions of Hebrews.

2.3.1.5 Gospel of John and Revelation

Although the Gospel of John is not normally seen to contain explicit quotations of Deuteronomy, it would be wrong to assume that there is no evidence of Deuteronomistic influence in the fourth gospel. The witness laws of Deut 19.15 (and/or Deut 17.6) serve as the background for Jesus’ comments in John 8.17 (cf. 5.31–34), and allusions to the expected Prophet of Deut 18.15 are numerous (John 1.21; 4.19–26; 6.14; 7.40; cf. 5.46). Steyn argues that Deut 6.4 (κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν κύριος εἶς ἔστιν) is in view in John 8.54 (θεὸς ἡμῶν ἔστιν), since the former is the only possible OT passage explicitly claiming that God is Israel’s God. The

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312 Gert Steyn ("Deuteronomy in Hebrews," in Deuteronomy in the New Testament [ed. S. Moyise and M. Menken; LNTS 358; London: T&T Clark, 2007], 152–68) suggests only nine possible quotations or allusions to Deuteronomy in Hebrews. Unlike Allen, Steyn address neither the less explicit echoes, nor the thematic parallels. For a detailed discussion and demonstration of all 21 citations/allusions see Allen, Deuteronomy and Exhortation, 43–109.

313 Ibid., 43–75.


317 Ibid., 156–98, 225.


320 Köstenberger, “John,” 443; Allison, New Moses, 89.

321 Steyn, “John’s Gospel,” 87. He also argues that Deut 6.4 is in view in John 5.44 (88).
Son’s priority to raise the dead and give new life in John 5.21 (γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγέρει τοὺς νεκρούς καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, ὅπως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁῦς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ) may reflect the similar description of God in Deut 32.39 (ἐγὼ ἀποκτενὼ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω), and Mosaic imagery from Deuteronomy may be found, among other places, in John 5.37/Deut 4.12; John 5.45/Deut 31.26. Finally, it may be noted that Jesus’ promise to prepare a place for his disciples (John 14.1–2) may recall Yahweh’s preparation of the Promised Land for his people (Deut 1.29–33).

Deuteronomy is one of the many voices that can be heard from the intertextual mélange of Revelation—a book that is permeated by the OT more than any other NT book. Michael Tilly suggests 19 references to Deuteronomy in Revelation. Probable allusions include the opening of the mouth of the earth (Rev 12.16/Deut 11.6), the covenantal curse of “evil sores” (Rev 16.2/Deut 28.35), the judgments on behalf of God’s people (Rev 6.10; 19.2/Deut 32.43 LXX), sacrifices to demons (Rev 9.20/Deut 32.17), the swearing by one who lives forever (Rev 10.5–6/Deut 32.40; cf. Dan 12.7), and the recognition that all of God’s ways are just (Rev 15.3/Deut 32.4). It is therefore fitting to conclude that Deuteronomy was known and utilized by the author(s) of John and Revelation.

2.3.1.5 NT Summary

This brief survey has argued that Deuteronomy was a commonly used source for NT authors. Deuteronomy seems to be extremely important for Romans, Hebrews, and Matthew. Although certain portions of Deuteronomy may be more

322 Ibid., 90–91.
323 Köstenberger, “John” 443.
324 Andreas J. Köstenberger and Scott R. Swain, Father, Son, and Spirit: The Trinity and John’s Gospel (NSBT 24; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2008), 143n.47.
328 Ibid., 173–74; Beale and McDonough, “Revelation,” 1115.
329 Ibid., 1117; Tilly, “Deuteronomy in Revelation,” 174.
330 Ibid., 1134; Tilly, “Deuteronomy in Revelation,” 176.
prevalent in the NT (e.g., Decalogue, Shema, Song of Moses, blessings/curses), the NT authors drew from a wide sample of Deuteronomic material to make a variety of exegetical and hortatory points.

2.3.2 Apostolic Fathers

At least two early, non-canonical Christian writings from the eclectic corpus known as the Apostolic Fathers also exhibit Deuteronomic influence. The most extensive of these is the Epistle of Barnabas, which can be dated somewhere between 70–135 C.E. A central concern of the author is the correct understanding of Torah, and Deuteronomy in particular. The author interprets Scripture allegorically, and claims that Christians are the true heirs of the covenantal promises. Deuteronomy 9.12 (καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρός με ἀνάστηθι κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος ἐντεῦθεν ὦτι Ἰσραὴλ ὦ λαὸς σου οὕς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου) is cited in Barn. 4.8 (λέγει γὰρ ὦτις κύριος ... κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὦτι Ἰσραὴλ ὦ λαὸς σου, οὕς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου), the need for God’s people to circumcise their hearts in Barn. 9.5 (Περιτιμήθητε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν υμῶν) recalls Deut 10.16 (περιτεμένω οὖν τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν υμῶν); Barn. 10.2 names Deuteronomy explicitly (Δευτερονομία), and the notion of covenant here may be taken from Deut 4.10, 13; the prohibition against idolatry in Barn. 12.6 (Οὐκ ἔσται υμῖν οὔτε χωνευτὸν οὔτε γλυπτόν εἰς θεὸν υμῶν) demonstrates parallels with Deut 27.15 (ἐπικατάρατος ἀνθρώπος δόταις πούσης γλυπτόν καὶ χωνευτόν; cf. Lev 26.1); and the Decalogue (Deut 5.6–21/Exod 20.1–17) is alluded to throughout Barn. 19. In addition, legal portions of Deuteronomy (and/or Leviticus) are echoed in Barn. 10.1 (Deut 14.8–14; also Lev 11.7–15) and Barn. 10.11 (Deut 14.6; also Lev 11.3).

On a macro level, Deuteronomy may well have provided the overarching structure for Barnabas. The interplay of polemics (Barn. 2–17) and paraenesis

333 Holmes, Apostolic Fathers, 372.
334 Ehrman, Apostolic Fathers, 2:3.
335 For suggestions regarding this reference and those that follow, see the editions of Ehrman, Holmes.
(Barn. 18–21),\textsuperscript{336} or exegesis and ethics,\textsuperscript{337} reflects Deuteronomy’s alternation between exhortation and law. More pointedly, Rhodes suggests that the teaching of the Two Ways (Barn. 18–21) draws heavily from the tradition of Deut 30.15–18, and the focus on choice, walking in God’s ways, reward and retribution, and the appeal to learn from God’s righteous requirements (cf. Deut 5.1) further reflect Deuteronomy. Rhodes also suggests that it is “particularly noteworthy” that an eschatological urgency accompanies the exhortation in Barnabas, much like Deuteronomy, and the most significant evidence for the author’s “Christianized Deuteronomism” is in the repeated allusions to the curses upon Israel for their maltreatment of Jesus.\textsuperscript{338}

Deuteronomic thought is also apparent in 1 Clement, which, like Barnabas, is concerned with direct citations of the Christian OT.\textsuperscript{339} Traditionally dated 95–96 C.E.,\textsuperscript{340} 1 Clement cites or references portions of the Song of Moses in at least three places. These include the allusion to the fatness of God’s beloved (1 Clem. 3.1/Deut 32.15), the precise, verbal correspondence to Deut 32.8–9 in 1 Clem. 29.2,\textsuperscript{341} and the close echo of Deut 32.39 (ἐγὼ ἀποκτείνω καὶ ζήν ποιήσω) in 1 Clem. 59.3 (τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ ζήν ποιήσω). Additionally, 1 Clem. 52.3–4 cites almost verbatim Deut 9.12–14.\textsuperscript{342}

It is thus reasonable to conclude that the authors of 1 Clement and Barnabas, much like a number of NT authors, utilized Deuteronomy as an important scriptural source in their articulation of Christian doctrine.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{336} James N. Rhodes, The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition: Polemics, Paraenesis, and the Legacy of the Golden-Calf Incident (WUNT II/188; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 90.
  \item \textsuperscript{337} Paget, “Barnabas,” 77. Cf. the Damascus Document.
  \item \textsuperscript{338} Rhodes, “Barnabas,” 93–107. Barnabas 4.14 may reference Matt 22.14, but this is disputed (Paget, “Barnabas,” 76n.30).
  \item \textsuperscript{340} Holmes, Apostolic Fathers, 36.
  \item \textsuperscript{341} 1 Clem. 29.2 does, however, omit one καί.
  \item \textsuperscript{342} For textual details, see Donald A. Hagner, The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome (NovTSup 34; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 40–41.
\end{itemize}
2.4 Summary and Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to illustrate the wide circulation and use of Deuteronomy in Jewish and Christian literature in order to enhance the plausibility that the author of Matthew may have known and utilized Deuteronomy as an important text in his gospel. Indeed, the frequency with which Jewish and Christian authors reference Deuteronomy is immensely striking. The widespread circulation of and appeal to Deuteronomy up to and including the first century illustrates Deuteronomy’s well-established place as a prominent piece of literature in its own right, and indicate an interpretive milieu that render it very likely Matthew knew Deuteronomy beyond what he might have found in his sources. A few summarizing comments of the use and transmission of Deuteronomy are in order:

1) The above survey indicates that passages from throughout Deuteronomy (i.e., both narrative/exhortatory and legal portions) were known and utilized.

2) Yet some portions of and themes from Deuteronomy were especially popular, including Deut 5–6, 8, 10–11, 27–30, 32.

3) Deuteronomic texts were interpreted in a variety of ways. Authors appealed to Deuteronomy to give rationale for new laws, to vindicate the legitimacy of Christianity, to highlight the covenantal dimensions of God’s relationship to his people, and to articulate the character of the Messiah. Excerpts from Deuteronomy were also used as devotional and liturgical texts. Although Deuteronomy was an authoritative text for the authors of these writings, some of them nevertheless felt the freedom to redact Deuteronomy as supposed instruments of new revelation.

4) Deuteronomy’s language and/or structure was often used as a pattern or exemplar for other writings that stand in the Deuteronomic tradition. Examples include the Damascus Document and Barnabas, with their alternation between legal and hortatory sections, and Hebrews, with its adaptation of Deuteronomy’s exhortatory techniques.

Having thus considered the widespread influence of Deuteronomy in general, the next chapter will turn to the specific theme(s) of sonship and obedience within this prominent book.
Chapter Three

Sonship and Obedience in Deuteronomy

3.1 The Importance of Deuteronomy

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the significance of Deuteronomy in the ancient world can hardly be overstated. More recently, modern scholars have often focused on Deuteronomy as a key for such theological positions as the Tetratext/Hexateuch proposals of the 20th century, theories of the Deuteronomistic history,1 and it is the lynchpin for Wellhausen's source-critical theory of the Pentateuch.2 It has even been argued that Deuteronomy is the most important book for constructing an OT theology,3 and that no book is more basic for understanding the NT.4

One advancement in Deuteronomic studies over the past fifty years is the application of insights gained from ancient Near Eastern (ANE) suzerain-vassal treaties to the form and content of Deuteronomy.5 Taking its cue from such studies, this chapter

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1 J. Gordon McConville, Deuteronomy (ApOTC 5; Leicester: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002), 18, 29.
will argue that one of the major ways the covenantal bond between Yahweh and his people is expressed in Deuteronomy is in terms of the father-son relationship. Indeed, the nation of Israel as son of God is important throughout the OT, and this finds its foundational expression in Deuteronomy.6 Despite the prominence of Israel’s sonship in Deuteronomy, the perspective of the final book of the Pentateuch is often neglected in conversations dealing with the fatherhood of God or the foundations of Son of God terminology in the NT.7 This chapter will attempt to help alleviate such lacunae, and will particularly be interested in aspects of sonship in Deuteronomy that may be relevant for the Gospel of Matthew.

Although the present study is primarily focused on Matthew’s knowledge of Deuteronomy, in order to explain most fully the relationship of sonship and obedience in Deuteronomy the covenantal context of the book must first be sketched. This is because the basis for the union of sonship and obedience in Deuteronomy is its covenantal character. Thus, “[i]t is against the background of the covenant that the divine sonship of Israel is to be understood.”8 Even though Matthew may not have been aware of all the details pertaining to the nature of ANE covenants, brief sideways glances to the nature of ancient covenants throughout this study will be beneficial since this appears to be the immediate context providing the framework for sonship and obedience. Indeed, in chapter 4 it will be argued that the themes of sonship and obedience often reoccur in covenantal contexts. This renders it more likely that Matthew may have also connected sonship and obedience with covenant. Moreover, if, as it is argued in chapters 5–7, Matthew consciously articulated Jesus’ sonship and obedience in a way that evoked Deuteronomy, it is quite likely that he was aware of the covenantal nature of

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6 So Trevor J. Burke, Adopted into God’s Family: Exploring a Pauline Metaphor (NSBT 22; Nottingham: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2006), 50. This study will consider son, sonship, son of God, son of Yahweh to be virtually equivalent. Assuming a NT perspective, this study will use Yahweh and God interchangeably.

7 This observation is foundational to the recent dissertation: James Earl Harriman, “Our Father in Heaven: The Dimensions of Divine Paternity in Deuteronomy” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005).

Deuteronomy (since the theme is prevalent in the book itself), even if he may not have been familiar with the specific contours of ANE covenants in general.

### 3.1.1 Deuteronomy and Covenant

Before surveying the primary texts in Deuteronomy that speak of the father-son relationship, the covenantal features of the book should be noted. The concept of covenant is often utilized as an important rubric for organizing OT studies. Moreover, Deuteronomy occupies a significant place in discussions of OT covenants given the wide recognition that it exhibits many characteristics of ANE suzerain-vassal treaties. Some even suggest that the entirety of Deuteronomy has been purposefully crafted to accord with the structure of such documents. Although there is no unanimity of opinion regarding the extent to which Deuteronomy has drawn from ANE treaties, there is nevertheless widespread agreement that the book should be considered a covenant document. Therefore, covenant may provide a framework for interpreting the

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11 Kline (Treaty, 28ff) argues for the integrity of Deuteronomy based on the treaty structure he sees of the entire book. Others caution against making the parallels too precise, suggesting that not all the components of Deuteronomy fit neatly into a set pattern (so McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 19). A. D. H. Mayes (Deuteronomy: Based on the Revised Standard Version [NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1979], 34–35) believes many place too much emphasis on ANE documents in their studies of Deuteronomy. He notes that Deuteronomy does not set itself forth as a treaty document, and it would be improper to “transfer directly and immediately” from the literary contexts of ancient treaties to the literary context of Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, even he acknowledges that the form, vocabulary, and ideas of Deuteronomy have been affected by ANE treaties.

theological distinctives of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, it will serve the present chapter well to consider passages and themes in Deuteronomy in light of its covenantal makeup.

Determining a definition for covenant is difficult due to the multiplicity of issues and traditions one must consider. However, most scholars readily agree that a central aspect of covenant in the OT, and Deuteronomy in particular, is the special relationship between Yahweh and Israel. This study will consider a covenant to be: “an elected, as opposed to natural, relationship of obligation established under divine sanction.” This definition highlights both the relational and obligatory aspects of the covenant. These two aspects are consistent with what is known of many ancient extra-biblical covenants, whereby a king (=suzerain) would seal his beneficence to a lesser people by recounting privileges bestowed, while also requiring certain obligations in return. The covenant agreement would thus establish the relationship and stipulations between a king and a people (or a lesser king). Similarly, the covenant as expounded in Deuteronomy


13 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 36.


15 Gordon Paul Hugenberger, Marriage as Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage Developed from the Perspective of Malachi (VTSup 52; Leiden: Brill), 171. This working definition is also adopted (independently of the present research) by David M. Allen (Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: A Study in Narrative Re-presentation [WUNT II/238; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 112–13).

16 To be sure, scholars often posit several types of covenants with varying degrees of responsibility (so Hahn, Kinship, 1–213, especially 30), but Deuteronomy is often considered to be a treaty-type covenant and these clearly entailed obligations. Cf. Moshe Weineld, “The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East,” JAOS 90 (1970): 184–203.

17 For an example see “Treaty between Tudhaliya II of Hatti and Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna,” §12 (Gary Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts [ed. H. Hoffner; SBLWAW 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996], 16).

18 Weinfeld (“B’rît—Covenant vs. Obligation,” Bib 56 [1975]: 120–28) emphasizes the obligation aspect of the covenant, particularly in response to those who see it only as a relationship. He also takes exception to the sharp distinction made by some between Bund, Abkommen, and Verpflichtung. For a survey of other ancient documents that list stipulations for vassals, see Weinfeld, Deuteronomic School, 66–100.
distinguished Israel from the surrounding peoples, and effectively bound the nation in obedience to Yahweh. These covenantal features provide the cultural backdrop for Deuteronomy.

Particularly significant for the present study is the recognition that the covenantal bond is often described in terms of a father-son relationship. Historically, ancient suzerains were often referred to as “father,” and vassal(s) as “sons” or “children.” This practice is attested in numerous texts from various kingdoms. In the Mari documents from the 18th century B.C.E. we have the record of a letter sent to king Zimri-Lim from Yatar-Ami, who calls himself the son of Zimri-Lim, although he was not Zimri-Lim’s son in the normal sense. Similarly, in Egyptian documents from a couple of centuries later a Hyksos king refers to a Kushite ruler as his son: “Aawoserre, the Son of Re, Apophis greets my son, the ruler of Kush.” In addition, the Amarna letters from the 14th century B.C.E. contain a letter from Rib-Addi of Byblos to a ranking Egyptian official (Amanappa): “To Amanappa, my father, speak: Thus Rib-Addi, thy son: I fall down at the feet of my father.” Here is another example of a ruler from one kingdom honoring a political figure from another kingdom using the appellation father.

Although none of these documents is a treaty per se, the language is nevertheless indicative of the manner in which kings and officials would employ familial language

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22 “Punishment by Fire,” translated by William L. Moran (ANESTP, 627). Moran notes that in this particular example, contrary to general usage, the filial relationship did not denote a vassal relationship, but was an expression of respect (n.56, emphasis added).

23 “Second Kamose Stele,” lines 20–24 (Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* [ed. Edmund S. Meltzer; SBLWAW 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 26). The following citations will reflect the English translations of these documents.


25 For more on the identity of Amanappa, see the comment on line 1 of this letter in Albright and Moran, “Re-Interpretation,” 134.
when speaking of close political ties. These are relationships that are codified in suzerain-vassal treaties, such as those from the Hittites, which demonstrate parallels with Deuteronomy. For example, the great Hittite king Suppiluliuma in a certain treaty promises to adopt Shattiwaza of Mittanni as his son.26 This Hittite practice is also reflected in the royal inscription of Azatiwata, where it is asserted, “every king made me a father to himself because of my justice and my wisdom and my goodness.”27 Earlier the document states that Azatiwata had been made a mother and father to the city of Adanawa.28 In light of both these sections, it is reasonable to infer that Azatiwata viewed the citizens of Adanawa as his children in some sense. Another example of this is the Azatiwada inscription, where it is stated, “Ba‘al made me a father and a mother to the Danunians. I caused the Danunians to live.”29

These texts help to explain the inclusion of similar familial language in the covenant context of Deuteronomy.30 Tigay notes the metaphor of father and child is used in Deuteronomy to explain God’s actions and Israel’s responsibilities to him.31

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26 “Treaty between Shattiwaza of Mittanni and Suppiluliuma I of Hatti,” §3 (Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts, 45).
28 Ibid., 2.21:3.
30 See especially 1.31: 8.5; 14.1; 32.5–6, 15–20. That a physical relationship is not in view is the consensus. Cf. G. Fohrer, “οικ, νικόθεις,” TDNT 8:340–54. Hahn (Kinship, 42) more extensively observes: “the root metaphors of covenant and kinship underwrite the father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel throughout the various Old Testament traditions and periods of salvation history.”
McCarthy is even more specific, asserting that Israel’s sonship to Yahweh is extremely close, if not identical, to the Deuteronomic idea of the covenant. Moreover, he states that this connection must be remembered even where explicit references to father-son relationship are not found.32 Similarly, L. Kuyper has noted that one cannot speak of the covenant relationship in Deuteronomy without referring to the father-son bond between Yahweh and Israel.33 Thus, since covenant is a key concept in Deuteronomy,34 it should not be surprising that familial language and imagery are used to communicate central Deuteronomic themes.

Although the familial language of Deuteronomy finds its context and precedent in ANE treaty language, it will be argued in this chapter that the portrayal of the character and activity of Yahweh in Deuteronomy exceeds what would have been expected of an earthly suzerain.35 In other words, despite Deuteronomy’s similarities with ANE covenants, Deuteronomy is not merely a repetition of what one might find in such documents.36 Instead, the fatherhood of Yahweh in Deuteronomy exhibits a unique character. Thus, although the cultural context(s) of Deuteronomy is significant, the unique features of the father-son texts in Deuteronomy must be considered. It is further to be noted that this focus on the book of Deuteronomy is a more solid foundation for the present study, since it is clear that Matthew knew (at the very least) significant portions of Deuteronomy.37

34 Although it would be a mistake to limit the study of covenantal themes in Deuteronomy to instances where נָחַל is used, it is nevertheless significant that the term is used in at least 26 passages, with διαθήκη (LXX) occurring about as often.
37 For the argument that the books of the Pentateuch (and therefore Deuteronomy) were widely collected and recognized as authoritative by the turn of the era, see the previous chapter. Cf. Eugene Ulrich, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 21–22, 60; Roger Beckwith, The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism (London: SPCK: 1985), 435–36.
An additional feature that will be important for the remainder of this study is the historical and literary foundation of Israel’s sonship in Deuteronomy, which is found in the Exodus. This is because the views of sonship in Deuteronomy and Exodus are often linked together in subsequent literature. The most prominent passage in this regard is Exod 4.22–23, where Yahweh refers to Israel as his “firstborn son” (יהוה בנו הבכור; LXX: πρωτότοκος μου Ἰσραήλ). This marks the foundational reference to Israel as the son of God in the OT. Moreover, already in this passage a covenant relationship may be in view, and thus Israel here is called to be an obedient son. This special relationship between Yahweh and Israel finds more formal expression in Exod 19.1–9. Although this passage is not as relevant as Exod 4, here one finds the record of Yahweh’s covenant made with Israel after their escape from Egypt. That is, the establishment of Yahweh’s special relationship with Israel, along with the related obligations, is found in these verses. By means of this covenant, it can be said that Israel as a nation was brought into existence. As will be shown below, this covenant is expounded in Deuteronomy (Deut 1:5).

In sum, the covenantal father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel is prevalent in Deuteronomy, but is not unique to it. It has its canonical foundations in the book of Exodus, and finds its context in the world of ANE suzerain-vassal treaties.

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45 Anderson, *Contours*, 32.
3.1.2 Covenant and Filial Obedience

As noted above, the father-son relationship is best viewed as a manifestation of a covenantal relationship that entails obligations on the part of the “son.” These obligations are clear in Deuteronomy, a book which is devoted to covenantal themes (including the father-son relationship). Indeed, Deuteronomy has a pervasively “Torahic” character that sets forth the conditions of Yahweh’s covenant for Israel, and Tigay adds that the “main theme of Deuteronomy is the ardent and exclusive loyalty that Israel owes to the LORD.” This focus on specific commands is found throughout the book, but perhaps most notably is the concentration of commandments in chapters 12–26 of Moses’ second address (4.44–28.69). More generally, the sermonic style of Deuteronomy is portrayed as Moses’ final exhortation to the Israelites to be obedient to Yahweh in the land they are about to enter. In addition, much of the content of the final portions of Deuteronomy, especially the blessings and curses of 27–30, reinforces the necessity for Israel’s obedience to the covenant. The choice facing Israel in these passages is clear: obedience to the covenant would lead to life and prosperity, whereas disobedience would lead to cursing and death (30.15–20).

Again the point should be made that the obedience required is a covenantal obedience, and therefore an obedience that was called for in light of the antecedent (filial) relationship established by Yahweh. The filial relationship is first established, and obedience is to arise within this relationship. Thus, the interplay of divine grace and Israel’s responsibility in Deuteronomy is complex, but one should not conclude that

48 McConville, Deuteronomy, 43; Waltke, Theology, 500.
49 Tigay, Deuteronomy, xiii.
50 The next section will address issues of supposed Mosaic authorship.
51 So McConville, Deuteronomy, 19. In this chapter, and throughout this study, plural pronouns will be used for the singular nation of Israel for two reasons: 1) to avoid referring to the son of God with a feminine pronoun (as is often done when she is used for Israel); 2) to highlight the corporate nature of Israel as the son of God (something Deuteronomic sonship passages often do). This concurs with the insights of Fohrer (TDNT 8:351–52), that there is no difference between Israel as son and the Israelites as sons of Yahweh.
52 This point will also arise in the discussion of election below.
Israel’s filial status before Yahweh is based wholly upon their ability to keep Torah. Instead, Yahweh has established the relationship; Israel is to respond appropriately. Brueggemann aptly sums up the two sides of the issue: “As a covenant partner of Yahweh, Israel is a people defined by obedience.” This relational focus of covenantal obedience in Deuteronomy sets the stage for understanding the description and calling of Israel’s sonship.

Though the remainder of this chapter will primarily be concerned with demonstrating the unique contours of Israel’s sonship in Deuteronomy, it will be helpful to summarize some of the covenantal aspects of the book’s theology.

1) The father-son relationship is a particular way of describing the covenantal relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Moreover, this description is not merely synonymous with the covenant relationship, but, as will be argued below, it deepens and adds an emotive element to it.

2) It will also be argued that since the naming of Israel as the son of God has such relational significance, it therefore represents one of the most emphatic ways to motivate obedience in the entire book. Put differently, the sonship of Israel is a prominent theme in Deuteronomy, and that sonship is predicated on obedience. This factor—the necessity of Israel’s filial obedience—will be very significant in the present survey of Deuteronomic themes, and will most clearly be seen when a composite picture of the father-son references is constructed.

3) It follows from the first two observations that the relational aspect of the covenant provides the best context for interpreting the calling of Israel to be an obedient son. That is, in the father-son relationship obedience must be seen as subject to the covenant. The exegetical sections that follow will argue that sonship and obedience

53 So Deut 7.6—11. At the same time, the call to obedience is solemn and sincere, as the curses threatened in chapters 27–29 indicate. Cf. Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol. 1: The Theology of Israel’s Historical Traditions (trans. D. Stalker; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 230.


55 I am indebted to Dr. Paul Foster for this pithy formulation.

56 So Brueggemann, Theology, 418.
are inextricably linked in Deuteronomy, and the gravity of Israel’s calling to be an obedient son deserves serious consideration.

Hahn’s conclusions echo well this study’s understanding of the importance of the covenantal father-son relationship in Deuteronomy:

[T]he predominance of father-son terminology in Deuteronomy, coupled with its prominence in ancient suzerain-vassal treaties (which the Deuteronomic covenant so closely resembles), strongly suggests that the suzerain-vassal arrangement between Yahweh and Israel in the Deuteronomic covenant tradition is equivalent in substance and practice to the relationship between a father and his minor son.57

3.1.3 Approach to Deuteronomy

Before showing in greater detail the textual bases for the preceding observations, it is necessary to sketch the present assumptions and approach to Deuteronomy. This chapter will not be concerned with evaluating the history of critical studies in Deuteronomy, nor in questions of historical authorship or date. Instead, this chapter will consider Deuteronomy as it is likely to have been known to Matthew, treating the LXX as the benchmark, but also playing close attention to the MT where it may provide background for Matthew. To be sure, this approach that seeks to focus on Deuteronomy as Matthew may have known it is not devoid of difficulty given the textual diversity of Deuteronomy in the first century;58 it is not self-evident which Vorlage Matthew may have known. Nevertheless, Septuagintal textual traditions do figure prominently in Matthew, although some degree of Hebrew influence is also evident, especially in Matthew’s unique material.59 Therefore, a consideration of the MT will be appropriate

57 Hahn, Kinship, 91.
alongside the critical Göttingen LXX, as the readings attested in the combination of these Vorlagen should provide a text that approximates reasonably well what Matthew likely knew.  

Regarding the authorship of Deuteronomy, this study will assume Moses as the implied author of the text. Whereas the real author may be described as the historical person who composed a particular book, the implied author is reconstructed by the reader from the narrative. That is, Deuteronomy leads the reader to the conclusion that the voice of Moses should be heard throughout. As Childs notes, “the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is an important theological affirmation” that lends authority to the laws attributed to Moses. Regardless of how much or how little of the extant book should actually be attributed to Moses, it is most significant for this study that Moses has traditionally been understood as the author of Deuteronomy. This apparent consensus in the ancient world will be important for further chapters, as many later writings (from Matthew’s perspective) would have gleaned their teachings from Deuteronomy. This chapter is chiefly concerned with Israel’s sonship and call to obedience in Deuteronomy, anticipating how this theme may be reflected in Matthew.

3.2 Exegesis

Deuteronomy offers an explanation and expansion of the laws given at Sinai. The protagonist in Deuteronomy is clearly Moses, who summons Israel to obey the

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7–10) who proposes that Matthew used a version of the LXX that was brought into greater conformity with the Hebrew (although he does not believe Matthew’s copy of Deuteronomy was revised in this way).

60 It should also be noted that the LXX stands very close to the MT in Deuteronomy.

61 Mark Allan Powell, What is Narrative Criticism? (GBS; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 5.


63 Many scholars continue to believe that at least portions of Deuteronomy can be linked back to Moses, even if they do not affirm him as the author of the entire book. Cf. S. R. Driver, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), lvi; Tigay, Deuteronomy, xxvi.

64 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 24–25.

65 Cf. Deut 1.5.
covenant, using various rhetorical appeals and devices.66 The following sections will argue that some of the most prominent persuasive means to motivate obedience used by Moses in Deuteronomy are his references to Israel as the son of Yahweh, along with Yahweh as a Father.

3.2.1 Deut 1

The first reference to Israel as a son in Deuteronomy is found in Deut 1.31a: ὁς εἶ τις τροφοφόρησαι ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Here the provision of Yahweh for Israel in the wilderness is likened to a man (ἄνθρωπος) caring for his son (υἱός). In this passage, Israel is not explicitly referred to as a son, but an analogy is made that likens the care of a human father for his son with Yahweh’s care for Israel.67 Inasmuch as Moses uses this image to chide Israel for their refusal to enter the promised land (1.32), the exegete has warrant for asserting Moses understood Israel to be the son of Yahweh. Indeed, scholars are in widespread agreement that conveyed in this passage is the tender picture of a(n earthly) father lovingly caring for his son.68 In this passage, Yahweh demonstrates care for Israel unmatched even by Moses. This fatherly compassion becomes even clearer as the book progresses, as it is repeated in more emphatic ways.69

The word used to communicate this concern in the MT (עָבַד) should be noted. This word has traditionally been rendered “carried” or “bore” by most English translations.70 Although עָבַד in the Qal pattern can simply mean to lift up or to carry,71

66 One such example is the alternation between second person singular and plural verbs for emphasis. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld, Deuteronomy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 15; idem, Deuteronomic School, 171–78.

67 The last portion of this phrase, which features a possessive pronoun (αὐτοῦ/αυ), solidifies the interpretation that “man” should be interpreted as a father. Harriman (“Our Father,” 1) rightly states that it would be wrong to assume fatherhood is in view only where the term “father” is used. Cf. Jonathan T. Pennington, Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew (NovTSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 218.


69 See the discussions on Deut 8, 14, 32 below. McConville (Deuteronomy, 57) cites the change to a singular verb (גֹּזָה) as further evidence for this intimate image in the MT. Harriman (“Our Father,” 224), however, warns that Yahweh’s intimacy with Israel is not always demonstrated by such singular verbs.

70 For the former translation: NRSV, NASB, NIV, NKJV, NJPS; for the latter: RSV, KJV, IPS.
in this context it may be read with an infused emotive element.\textsuperscript{72} This is also clear in the LXX, which employs τροφοφορέω, a neologism meaning “nurture, sustain” (cf. 2 Macc 7.27).\textsuperscript{73} A comparison with a parallel use in Num 11.12 further corroborates this interpretation. In Num 11.12 the Qal of נָשַׂא is again found on Moses’ lips, as he asks God if he (Moses) is to carry (יָיִן) Israel in his bosom as a nurse might bear up (כֹּל) a nursing infant.\textsuperscript{74} Here, as in Deut 1.31, נָשַׂא (though LXX is αἴρω) communicates compassionate care, with Israel being likened to a child. Further, Moses implies that it is Yahweh who bore Israel, since Moses himself could not take credit for this.\textsuperscript{75} This perspective reflects Deut 1.31.\textsuperscript{76}

Although the Qal of נָשַׂא is used some 164 times in the MT of the Pentateuch alone, two further occurrences of this word are revealing. First, in Exod 19.4 Yahweh instructs Moses to tell Israel how he bore them (כִּי) on eagles’ wings when he delivered them from Egypt. Even though the terminology for sonship/fatherhood is not found here, the image in this passage is a tender one of Yahweh’s care for Israel and his mighty acts on their behalf. Moreover, immediately following this verse (vv. 5–6) the Israelites are, like Deuteronomy, exhorted to be faithful to the covenant. The second relevant usage of this verb is in Deut 32.11, where it is stated that Yahweh has protected Israel by bearing them (כִּי) on his pinions. Interestingly, the image of an eagle is also repeated here, further connecting this passage with Exod 19. Timo Veijola takes these passages into consideration when commenting on Deut 1.31:

Sein Verfasser veranschaulicht Jahwes liebevolle Fürsorge in fast pietistisch klingender Sprache: Im Gegensatz zu Mose, der das Volk nicht mehr alleine zu tragen

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\textsuperscript{72} D. N. Freedman and B. E. Willoughby, “נָשַׂא, nāša’,” TDOT 10:29–36. This emotive element is not surprising given the characteristic that Deuteronomy, as an oration, is directed “to the heart and emotions” (Weinfeld, Deuteronomic School, 171).

\textsuperscript{73} John W. Wevers, Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 18–19. Wevers posits that the LXX translator specifically had the provision of manna in mind; Harriman (“Our Father,” 226) understands this image as a father carrying his son over difficult terrain.

\textsuperscript{74} Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:31–32.

\textsuperscript{75} Jacob Milgrom, The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 85.

\textsuperscript{76} Childs, Exodus, 366.
vermochte (V. 9), „trug“ Jahwe es durch die ganze Wüste (vgl. Ex 19,4; Num 11,12; Dt 32,11f; Hos 11,3; Ps 91,11f; Apg 13,18) und zeigte darin handfest sein väterlich Güte.77

Thus, Yahweh’s fatherly care for his son is clearly communicated in Deut 1.31, and this is evident in both the LXX/MT. But Harriman has suggested that fatherhood imagery might be even more extensive, extending from vv. 30–34.78 This is based on his analysis of the Hebrew text.79 In 1.30 Yahweh is said to fight for Israel, which is undoubtedly something an earthly suzerain would do for a vassal.80 Harriman, however, suggests this activity is also descriptive of a father’s care for his children. He adds that treaties would often reflect the desire for suzerains, as actual fathers, to protect their families from other king(dom)s. Regardless of how extensive the fatherhood imagery is in Deut 1, Harriman is surely right to conclude that there is an immanence to the fatherhood language of Deut 1 that surpasses what would have been expected of an ANE suzerain. Indeed, it is “remarkable” to Harriman that 1.31 does not say Yahweh carried Israel as a suzerain, since this image was not intimate enough for the author of Deuteronomy.81

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suggest that ANE covenantal aspects are not in view in Deut 1. Harriman even acknowledges that in the end it is difficult to say with certainty whether the fatherly actions of Yahweh are to be sharply distinguished from his suzerainty actions. This is the case for at least two reasons. First, the mixing of suzerain and father images demonstrates the two concepts are not mutually exclusive.82 Second, the entirety of Deuteronomy begs to be read in a covenantal context.83 Thus,

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77 Timo Veijola, Das 5. Buch Mose Deuteronomium: Kapitel 1,1–16,17 (ATD 8,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 39 (emphasis added).
78 Harriman, “Our Father,” 220.
79 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 103n.11 also argues that 1.30–34 may indicate a single unit of thought.
80 Harriman (“Our Father,” 220) cites the treaty between the Great King of Hatti, Mursili and his vassal Tuppi-Teshshup as an example.
81 Ibid., 217, 221–24. While Harriman’s point is valid, it is to be noted that the word used is נְפָר and not the more explicit משָׁר.
82 Ibid., 224–25.
83 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:31; Craigie, Deuteronomy, 103; contra Fensham, “Father and Son,” 128–35 who does not see covenantal themes at play in Deut 1, 8 because these passages convey non-
even when individual passages might not seem to have this notion in the forefront, the finalized form of the book is one influenced from beginning to end by covenantal features.  

In sum, it may be said that although Deut 1.31 reflects ANE customs to a large degree, it moves beyond them by attributing deeper emotive and paternal elements to the actions of Yahweh than would normally be expected of an earthly suzerain. It is true that suzerains often referred to vassals with familial language, but the tender description of Yahweh’s care for Israel seems to have more in common with the actual bond of a father and a son than with the role of an ANE suzerain. But regardless of the cultural background for Deut 1—which Matthew may or may not have known—it is clear that Yahweh’s fatherly care for his son Israel is in view.

3.2.2 Deut 8

A second and even more significant passage that reveals the father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel is Deut 8.5: καὶ γνωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὃς εἶ τις παιδεύσαι ἀνθρωπος τὸν ἰδίν αὐτοῦ, ὃπως κύριος ὁ θεός σου παιδεύσαι σου. Here, as in 1.31, the role of Yahweh is likened to a man’s (ἀνθρωπος, i.e., father) relationship to his son (τὸν ἰδίν αὐτοῦ). Before considering this passage in more detail, it should be affirmed at the outset that although Yahweh’s fatherhood is communicated by way of metaphor (ὅς εἰ/τι), this in no way undermines the reality of this relationship. As Jon Levenson has noted, the father-son relationship in ancient Israel... 

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covenantal images. He prefers to see covenantal themes related to the father-son relationship only in 14.1; 32.43. This view, however, fails to consider adequately the covenantal characteristics that pervade Deuteronomy and does not give due credence to the inherent call to obedience in passages such as 1.31; 8.5 as a characteristic of covenantal agreements.

84 So Craigie, Deuteronomy, 36.


86 This is true even though the two offices often overlap.
went beyond the figurative, as the ancients did not always distinguish the biological from the non-biological, or perhaps made only casual distinction between them.

The focus of Deut 8 is the way in which Yahweh disciplines (πατερευμα) his son Israel. This is the second major characteristic of Yahweh’s fatherly love in Deuteronomy (the other being his compassionate care, 1.31). The description of Yahweh as a man who disciplines his son ensures that the fatherhood of Yahweh in Deuteronomy is not to be interpreted merely in terms of tenderness devoid of authority. Instead, Yahweh as Father also requires obedience from his people, and engages in disciplinary action, if necessary, to elicit the proper response. At the same time, as a Father Yahweh’s discipline is a loving action that has his people’s best interests in mind.

The divine discipline mentioned in this passage probably recalls the manna and other provisions in the wilderness. Moreover, this discipline also entails Israel’s lack in the wilderness, and its main aim seems to have been educational. For Calvin, this discipline “includes everything belonging to a proper education.” This view is reflected by the term πατερευμα in the LXX, which always translates ἀγνό in Deuteronomy. Discipline was normally directed toward children, who had the

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88 Thanks to Dr. A. K. M. Adam for this additional suggestion.
89 Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 41.
90 Wright, *Knowing Jesus*, 120.
91 McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 170.
92 M. Sæbø (“לעם, ysr,” TLOT 2:548–51) suggests that Yahweh’s direction of history is discipline in this passage.
95 Harriman, “Our Father,” 250. It is unclear which edition of the LXX Harriman utilized, but his statement holds true for the Göttingen text.
responsibility to respond in obedience to their fathers. To be sure, however, it also involved hardships.97

It is significant that the father-son metaphor is utilized in Deut 8, a chapter whose tenor is argumentative, as Moses pleads with Israel to keep the laws of Yahweh.98 Here Moses alludes a second time to the father-son relationship (in Deuteronomy) in order to motivate Israel to keep Yahweh’s commandments. The call to obedience begins in v. 1, where Moses reminds Israel they are to obey all the commands of Yahweh.99 This is continued in vv. 2–6, which are of primary interest for the present purposes, since father-son language is found in v. 5. It is for good reason that many commentators deal with these verses as a unit.100 After instructing Israel that Yahweh disciplines them as a son, Moses continues in v. 6: ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβεῖται αὐτόν. This verse, which follows Moses’ reminder to Israel that they are sons of Yahweh, is clearly another summons for Israel to keep Yahweh’s commandments. Verse 6 begins with φοβεῖται (MT: ἔτεκας [Qal]), a verb frequently used in Deuteronomy to summon Israel to obedience, and which is found four times in Deut 8 alone (vv. 1, 2, 6, 11). The proximity of these numerous calls for Israel’s obedience to the declaration of Israel’s sonship (v. 5) sufficiently establishes that Israel, as a son, is to keep God’s commandments.

But the case can also be made that 8.6 is the necessary consequence of what precedes it, especially the filial relationship of 8.5. This is more likely in the MT than the LXX, since in the Greek 8.6 begins with a typical καί. In other words, conjunctions in the LXX are rarely significant in themselves, but the LXX as a rather literal translation of a Hebrew exemplar often exhibits a paratactical structure.101 However, the

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98 McConville, Deuteronomy, 166.
100 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:173–74; Craigie, Deuteronomy, 184–86.
waw consecutive suffix form in the MT may be more significant. Either way, the flow thought from 8.5 to 8.6 seems to be one of logical progression, which would certainly fit with a common use of the waw consecutive form. If this reading is correct, it would be proper to render the beginning of v. 6 with “therefore” in English. The sense, then, is that because Yahweh disciplines Israel like a son, they therefore are to keep his commandments. This reading would make more explicit what is already clearly present in Deut 8.1–6: as the son of Yahweh Israel is called to obedience. Indeed, even in the LXX the close association between sonship in 8.5 and obedience in 8.6 should not be missed.

This connection between sonship and obedience in Deut 8 has been noted by a number of scholars. Harriman states that being a true son of Yahweh did not first of all have to do with physical descent, but with yielding to Yahweh and obeying his commands. Similarly, Macdonald observes that the parental actions of Yahweh here confirm that Israel was called to obedience. The image in Deut 8.5, then, adds the aspect of discipline to the understanding of Israel as son of Yahweh. This discipline is recounted in a context that demonstrates the necessity of obedience, and the very need for discipline implies that Yahweh, as a Father, was proactively seeking the obedience of Israel. Nevertheless, Yahweh is also likened to a treaty-initiating king who demands obedience and holds out the possibility of blessings or curses depending (in part) on his son’s response to discipline. Thus, Deut 8.5 may be another example of ANE covenantal themes used as a vehicle to communicate theological truths. Yahweh’s discipline of his son Israel in Deut 8 is one way he seeks to procure filial obedience.

102 Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §32.2.
103 Ibid., §32.2.1.c; Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar (BLH 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), §21.3.1.ii.b.
104 So Weinfeld, Deuteronomy, 390; NJPS.
106 Macdonald, Monotheism, 136.
107 For the role of fathers in discipline, see Deut 21.18–21 (below), and Proverbs (e.g., 3.11–12).
108 Wright, Deuteronomy, 3.
Deuteronomy 14.1 contains one of the most explicit references to Israel as God's son in Deuteronomy: Υἱὸς ἐστε κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. Moreover, the relationship between Israel's status as son and their call to obedience is even more pronounced in these verses than in Deut 8. This chapter outlines a code of holiness laws (14.1–21), both internal (vv. 1–2) and external (vv. 3–21), which Israel was to follow in its day-to-day life. These laws were to be a major means by which Israel was to be distinguished from their pagan neighbors, while also reflecting Israel's vertical relationship with their holy God. That is, many of the prohibitions given to Israel were practices in which other peoples from their historical context were engaging, often in association with a foreign religion or cultic activity. Israel's status as sons of the LORD their God is the reason and motive for abstaining from these practices. Driver sums it up well:

[The Israelites] are Jehovah's children; and while on the one hand they are the objects of His paternal care and regard (1:85), they owe to Him on the other hand filial love and obedience, they should conform their character to His, and do nothing that is unworthy of the close and intimate relation in which they stand to Him.

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109 The plural of sons in this context may emphasize each member of the collective Israel in the role of the nation as a whole. Cf. Driver, Deuteronomy, 156; McConville, Deuteronomy, 247–48.

110 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:287.


112 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:287. At the same time, the focus in Deut 14 does seem to be on Israel's holiness, whereas the parallel passage in Lev 11 focuses on Yahweh's holiness. Cf. Rolf Rendtorff, The Covenant Formula: An Exegetical and Theological Investigation (trans. M. Kohl; OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 24.

113 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 233.

114 So McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God,” 146; Kuyper, “Deuteronomy,” 332; Craigie, Deuteronomy, 229; Wevers, Notes, 240.

115 Driver, Deuteronomy, 156.
McCarthy adds that for Israel to indulge in these forbidden practices would be to deny the fundamental father-son relationship articulated in terms of the covenant.\footnote{116} In a word, Deut 14 demonstrates how a true son should act.\footnote{117}

Since the Israelites are sons of Yahweh, they are set apart from the other nations. Verse 2 indicates this by the phrase: ὑ αἰ γι νσ εἰ κυρία τω θεό. For the second time in Deuteronomy Israel is referred to as a “holy people.” The first occurrence of this phrase is found in 7.6 in the context of Yahweh’s gracious election of Israel that is based on his love, not on the moral quality of Israel.\footnote{118} The same passage also speaks of Israel as the “special treasure” (περιοσε ος/πιεις) of Yahweh, a sentiment repeated in 14.2.\footnote{119} Mayes notes that this term originally applied to the property, but came to denote the vassalage of a man to a god or king.\footnote{120} This highlights Israel’s special relationship,\footnote{121} which is an apt corollary to Israel’s sonship.\footnote{122} Indeed, in this passage sonship is virtually synonymous with holiness and election.\footnote{123} Thus the mantra again rings true: Israel’s sonship is predicated on obedience.\footnote{124}

### 3.2.4 Deut 32

A fourth portion of Deuteronomy in which an understanding of the sonship of Israel is significantly developed is Deut 32. Although some consider this Song of Moses to consist of some of the oldest material in Deuteronomy, others consider it to be a later

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\footnote{117} Raymond Brown, The Message of Deuteronomy: Not by Bread Alone (BST; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1993), 158.

\footnote{118} This phrase is repeated in 14.21, providing an inclusio for the purity laws (so Veijola, Deuteronomium, 295; Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:286–95).

\footnote{119} Of the six times this word is used of Israel in the LXX, three are found in Deuteronomy (7.6; 14.2; 26.18). It may be significant that this rare word (used only eight times in the LXX) is also applied to Israel in Exod 19.5. Cf. F. Dreyfus, “Le Thème de l’Héritage dans l’Ancien Testament,” RSPT 42 (1958): 3–49, especially 15–16). Cf. the discussion of Mal 3.17 in chapter 4.

\footnote{120} Mayes, Deuteronomy, 185, quoted in Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:291. The kingly aspect may explain the usage of this term for Israel primarily in covenantal contexts.

\footnote{121} MacDonald, Monotheism, 154.

\footnote{122} So Veijola, Deuteronomium, 296.

\footnote{123} McConville, Deuteronomy, 247.

\footnote{124} So Keil and Delitzsch, Pentateuch, 915.
addition. Differing conclusions regarding the date of this section, however, should not lead one to assume that Deut 32 has been carelessly patched into the structure of the book, such that its theology fits awkwardly with the rest of Deuteronomy. Childs warns that the final chapters of Deuteronomy (31–34) should not be disregarded as a miscellaneous compendium of unrelated passages, but are “an important example of canonical shaping of the final form of ancient tradition.”

Indeed, one can even argue that the Song of Moses functions as the climax of Deuteronomy. This conclusion is informed by James Watts’s study of hymns inset in Hebrew narrative. Watts notes that the form of Deut 32 is a hymn, as it includes both an invocation of praise to God and an indicative statement of praise to God (vv. 1–3). He further notes: “The use of hymns to climax or conclude a narrative was an established practice of ANE literature,” and he sees no reason to deny this function is operative in Deut 32. The poetic form of the song provides its images with greater emotive power intended to impress to the audience, “as forcefully as possible,” the message of the entire book. Simply put, the Song of Moses brings Deuteronomy to a literary apex by providing a summary of Deuteronomic themes in memorable form.

3.2.4.1 Verses 4–6

In light of these findings by Watts, it can be asserted that the themes of Deut 32 will likely be key elements of the entire book. Of central importance for the present study is the recognition that parent-child imagery pervades Deut 32. The unique feature of the filial imagery found in the Song of Moses, in comparison to the passages

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125 For discussions of dating, see Paul Sanders, The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32 (OtSt 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996); McConville, Deuteronomy, 451–52.
127 McConville, Deuteronomy, 450.
129 Watts, Psalm and Story, 73, 78, 80.
thus far surveyed, is the focus on Israel’s unfaithfulness in contrast to Yahweh’s faithfulness. After a few introductory remarks (vv. 1–3), Moses praises Yahweh for his faithfulness and perfection (v. 4), and rebukes the Israelites for being unfaithful children of Yahweh (vv. 5–6). It is to be noted that although the LXX and most English translations prefer “children” in v. 5 (LXX: τέκνα),132 the MT again reads “sons” (תֵּאוֹם).133 However, there is little difference between these two options. Of more relevance is the statement in v. 5 that the Israelites are not sons/children of Yahweh (יַעֲנֵי נַפְלֵי; LXX: οὐκ αὐτῶν τέκνα), but are a crooked and perverse generation (γενεὰς σκολὴ καὶ διεστραμμενή).134 This should not be taken to mean that Israel’s filial relationship had been finally revoked. Instead, crookedness and perversity would falsify the covenant that bound Israel to Yahweh as son. Put differently, Israel’s unfaithful actions were antithetical to their calling as a son of their holy, faithful Father. Indeed, v. 6 indicates that Yahweh is Israel’s Father who bought (κτάμεν),135 made (ποιήσας), and created (κτίσας)136 Israel. Fokkelman observes that in the MT the phrase “your father” in v. 6 (גַּם) stands structurally opposite of “not his sons” in v. 5.137 This denotes the tragic unfaithfulness of Israel, who repaid the kindnesses of their Father with disobedience.138

Of further interest in these verses is the epithet “Rock” (ثمان) used in reference to Yahweh in the MT (LXX: θεός). The image is introduced in v. 4, and is the one towards whom the sons in v. 5 have acted corruptly. Referring to Yahweh as חם, which is

131 For a discussion on the abrupt changes in person and perspective throughout the song, see Thiessen, “Form and Function,” 408–9.
132 So RSV, KJV, NIV, NASB.
133 Driver (Deuteronomy, 351–52) includes here a helpful discussion of Israel’s sonship in the OT.
134 On the difficulties of translating this verse, see Craigie, Deuteronomy, 377n.15.
135 The verb נָטַת could also be translated created (L. Kocher and W. Baumgartner, “נָטַת,” HALOT 3:1111–13). For more on this term, see below.
136 The Hebrew is “established” (נָטַת).
137 Fokkelman, Major Poems, 73.
138 So ibid., 72. Regarding when Israel became God’s son, some connect Deut 32.6 with Exod 4.22 and so see it in the Exodus (so Craigie, Deuteronomy, 379; George A. F. Knight, The Song of Moses: A Theological Quarry [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 29), but for others it is more ambiguous. C. Wright (Knowing Jesus, 126) finds it best to understand Israel’s sonship as antecedent to the events in Exodus, based in large part on the reference to sonship in Exod 4.22, where Israel is already referred to as Yahweh’s son before the Exodus. In this he follows Marie-Joseph Lagrange (“La Paternité de Dieu dans l’Ancien Testament,” RB 26 [1908]: 481–99).
parallel to God (יָהָוֶה) in this verse, emphasizes his faithfulness, in distinction to the unfaithfulness of Israel. Indeed, the faithfulness of God is clearly in view in the LXX as well, even though the term “rock” is not used. God is also described as ἀπόθεος in 32.18 (LXX: θεός) in association with his role as divine Father. To anticipate the following discussion, there is a close relationship between God as Rock and God as Father in Deut 32 (MT), with Harriman even suggesting that rock further emphasizes that nature of God’s fatherhood.

3.2.4.2 Verses 15–20

The image of God as a Rock is found a second time in 32.18 MT. Here Israel is again reprimanded for disobedience directed toward their Rock (יָהָוֶה) who begot them (יִתְמָר; LXX: γεννησαυτόν σε), the God (יָהָוֶה; LXX: θεός) who gave them birth (יִתְמָר; LXX: τρέφοντός σε [“nourishes you”]). As it has been demonstrated in previous passages, the parental imagery for Yahweh underscores the intimacy between Yahweh and Israel. This parent-child relationship is made more explicit by the following

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142 Deuteronomy 32.8 should also be noted. The last two words of 32.8 are difficult to establish, referring either to the sons of God, sons of Israel, or angels of God. The MT reads וְתָבֵא, the OG ἀγγέλων θεοῦ or more likely ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, which is probably closer to the original, as evidenced by Rahlfs 848 (=P. Fouad 266B) and the Hebrew of 4QDeut (םיָהָוֶה וּב; so Wevers, Notes, 513). It is therefore best to understand this as a reference to heavenly/divine beings (so McConville, Deuteronomy, 448). The Israelites may be in view if one adopts the MT, but even then they are not portrayed as God’s son. Thus, 32.8 is not of primary relevance for the present discussion because it does not refer to Israel as the son of God, and there is no reason to think Matthew may have read it this way. For more, see Sanders, Provenance, 76–81, 155–59; Michael S. Heiser, “Deuteronomy 32.8 and the Sons of God,” BibSac 158 (2001): 52–74; Christensen, Deuteronomy, 2:791, 796.

143 It is noteworthy that the primarily paternal image of Yahweh in Deuteronomy is here mingled with maternal imagery. God’s parenthood is thus not limited to fatherly aspects. Cf. Knight, Song, 65. Harriman (“Our Father,” 163–64) rightly maintains that fatherhood imagery is still valid here since the metaphor of Yahweh as Father relates to his function, not to his gender. Thus, as Father, Yahweh can embody motherly aspects as well.

144 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 383.
verses. Verse 19 refers to disobedient Israel as Yahweh’s sons and daughters,145 and v. 20 as sons in whom there is no faithfulness.

Additionally, the epithets Rock and God are also used synonymously in the MT of 32.15, just as they are in 32.4, 18.146 In v. 15, however, the sonship of Israel, if it is referenced, is more veiled than in vv. 5, 18. There is no mention of begetting, parenthood, or sonship, but of God who made them (אַחַיָּהוּ), the Rock of their salvation (נַחֲלָתָם). However, the verb רְשָׁעָה (LXX: ποιεώ) is also used in 32.6, where it clearly describes the activity of God as Father. Thus, it may be that God’s forming activity described in v. 15 is also parental.

A final connection of interest is a short chiasm noted by Fokkelman between vv. 4–5 and v. 20 in the MT, which frames vv. 7–18.147 The outer edges of the chiasm are marked by the nouns נָבִיא (v. 4) and נָבִיא (v. 20). The first noun describes the faithful character of God, whereas the negation of the second draws attention to the lack of faithfulness among the sons of Israel. This is in keeping with a major theme of these verses, which contrasts Yahweh and Israel. Mention of the sons (plural) of Israel is made in vv. 5, 20 in close connection with references to the fatherhood of God. Thus, it is proper to understand the sons of Israel in these verses as the sons of God—a collective description of a singular reality. Israel was the son of God as a nation, and the individual members were sons of God as a part of that nation.148 The chiasm also notes the noun רְשָׁעָה, which is used twice to describe the perverseness of the Israelites (vv. 5, 20; LXX: γενέα). This inner chiasm frames vv. 7–18,149 which contains similar themes relating to the faithfulness of Yahweh and the faithlessness of the sons of Yahweh.

Although it may be too bold to think that Matthew would have been aware of these chiastic features, the references to Israel as faithless sons (v. 20) in contrast to Israel’s faithful Father (vv. 4–6) is evident from even a cursory reading of the text. The

145 The inclusion of daughters at this point emphasizes the responsibility of each Israelite. So McConville, Deuteronomy, 461.

146 32.18 employs מִלְוָה for God; 32.15 employs נָבִיא.

147 This paragraph is adapted from Fokkelman, Major Poems, 96–98.


149 Fokkelman (Major Poems, 96) notes that the edges of the chiasm are equidistant from vv. 7, 18.
message of these verses is clear: as sons (and daughters) of Yahweh, Israel should be faithful. Instead, the Israelites were disobedient children.

3.2.4.3 Verse 43

An additional reference to the Israelites as God’s sons is found in Deut 32.43 LXX and 4QDeut\(^4\), which are noticeably longer than the MT. In these texts it is stated that God will avenge the blood of his sons (το άμα τών υλών αυτού ἐκδικήσαι [LXX]; ר י ה ז ל [4QDeut\(^6\)]).\(^{156}\) Instead of sons, the MT reads servants (העביד), but in this case 4QDeut\(^4\), which is reflected in the LXX, probably stands closer to the original text.\(^{151}\) It is also to be noted that the designation of the Israelites as sons is more germane to the language of the Song than the Israelites as servants.\(^{152}\)

Indeed, the reference to Israel as God’s son in Deut 32.43 in conjunction with similar language in 32.5 has led Angelika Strotmann to observe an inclusio in Deut 32 that sums up the entire Song of Moses under the theme of Israel’s sonship.\(^{153}\) Although one should surely be cautious when noting an inclusio that is based upon a disputed textual variant, there is nevertheless a strong possibility that the reference to Israel as God’s sons in 32.43 LXX/4QDeut\(^4\), as apparently the more original text, was widely known in the ancient world. It is not possible to know, however, if Matthew was aware of this connection. In any case, Deut 32.43 should be considered another reference to Israel’s sonship in the Song of Moses, and as it comes at the end of the Song, also supports the view that Israel’s sonship is a key feature of the entire Song.

\(^{150}\) The first half of 32.43 LXX also includes a reference to “all the sons of God” (πάντες υἱοί θεοῦ), but this likely refers to lesser deities and not to Israel (so Wevers, Notes, 534). The reading of 4QDeut\(^4\) (יְדָה) also suggests the reference here is to heavenly beings, and not to the Israelites.

\(^{151}\) So Arie van der Kooij, “The Ending of the Song of Moses,” in Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (ed. F. García Martínez et al.; VTSup 53; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 93–100; Tigay, Deuteronomy, 314. In support of this view, Tigay notes that the first and fourth colons lack parallel colons in the MT, which is unlike any other section in the Hebrew of the Song (516).

\(^{152}\) Sanders, Provenance, 253.

3.2.4.4 Sonship and Obedience in Deut 32

This brief survey has attempted to focus only on some aspects of God’s fatherhood and Israel’s sonship in the Song of Moses. Of primary concern is the portrayal of God as a steadfast Father, and Israel as disobedient children.154 Yahweh is holy and demands Israel’s devotion.155 The filial relationship between Yahweh and Israel is invoked in Deut 32 to exalt the righteousness of God, while rebuking Israel for their unfaithfulness. Sons of Yahweh should reflect the character of their Father. In sum, the Song portrays Yahweh as creating, nurturing, guiding, and protecting Israel, and expects Israel to demonstrate filial loyalty in return. Instead, Israel acts “in an unfilial way.”156 Again the covenantal aspects of Deuteronomy provide the best lens through which to understand Israel’s call to obedient sonship.

God’s faithfulness in the Song also meshes well with covenantal characteristics. In suzerainty covenants, both parties undertook responsibilities.157 This Song portrays Yahweh as covenantally faithful, wholly without blame. Israel, on the other hand, has not demonstrated the same level of fidelity; they are rebellious covenant members. This perspective may explain why the Song has so often been considered a covenant lawsuit.158 Although the present study has focused primarily on the first half of the Song of Moses, there is ample evidence to state that the fatherhood of Yahweh and the call for Israel to be an obedient son are significant themes of the entire Song. In accord with Watts’s monograph, it can further be said that sonship and obedience, as themes of this poetic segment, are therefore themes of the entire book. The inclusio suggested by Strotmann would further emphasize the pervasiveness of Israel’s sonship throughout the Song.

154 So Childs, Introduction, 220. Craigie (Deuteronomy, 377) entitles 32.4–9 “A Faithful God and a Faithless People.”
155 Macdonald, Monotheism, 145–46.
156 Tigay, Deuteronomy, 301.
157 For examples of this mutual loyalty in ANE treaties, see “Treaty between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Huqqana of Hayasa,” §§5–6 (Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts, 24); “Treaty between Mursili II of Hatti and Tuppî-Teshshup of Amurru,” §§6–8 (Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts, 55–56).
A final passage to consider is the case of the rebellious son (Deut 21.18–21). This passage will be addressed last because it does not refer to Israel as the son of God. Nevertheless, it does afford insights into the responsibilities of parents and children in Israel. Indeed, the disobedient son in these verses serves as an example for Israel, warning them of the dangers of filial rebellion. This chapter is found toward the end of the so-called Deuteronomic law code (Deut 12–26). Verse 18 begins with the description of a son who is stubborn (ἀπειθεῖς) and rebellious (ἐφείσωσθε), who will not obey his father and mother. If he still does not obey despite his parents’ disciplinary actions (παρακαταλέγει), they are then to take him to the elders of the city, who, along with the men of the community, will stone him. By so doing, the evil will be purged from among the Israelites.

The first thing to notice in this passage is the son’s obligation to be obedient to his parents; he stands under his parents’ authority. The actions described here are an affront to the relational bond between the son and parents. The son is in effect saying, “I am not your son; you are not my parents.” Second, the son is described as being a glutton and a drunkard (συμβολοκοπῶν οίνοφλυγεί; MT: מְסָוִי). It is best not to view these as isolated crimes, but as proverbial, denoting typical examples of the son’s corruption. The key aspect of this case seems to be the son’s violation of the commandment to honor his father and mother (5.16). The corollary of this is that by

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159 In the analysis of Waltke (Theology, 480–81), the macrostructure of Deuteronomy may be seen as a chiasm, with these chapters that set forth the covenant stipulations forming the pivot.

160 MT: מְסָוִי.


163 Bellefontaine, “Reviewing the Case,” 17.

164 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 2:484; Driver, Deuteronomy, 247–48; Craigie, Deuteronomy, 20.

165 Ibid., 283; Christensen, Deuteronomy, 2:484. Christensen notes the work by D. N. Freedman (The Nine Commandments: Uncovering the Hidden Pattern of Crime and Punishment in the Hebrew Bible [New York: Doubleday, 2000]) that argues on a canonical level that, except coveting, all the commandments of the Decalogue have a corresponding episode of disobedience involving death. This pericope is the episode involving death that relates to the fifth commandment.
dishonoring his parents, he was at the same time dishonoring God.166 Moreover, “the rejection of parental authority is tantamount to a breach of the covenant in Israel.”167 The correlation between disobedience to one’s parents and disobedience to God is perhaps the key factor in understanding the harshness of the son’s sentence.168 These verses do not simply speak to an isolated incident of rebellion, but to incorrigibility that threatened the entire covenant community.169

To summarize, Deut 21.18–21 demonstrates the necessity of filial obedience to earthly parents, and consequently to God. The incorrigibility of the wayward son was not an isolated crime, but threatened the entire covenant community. Given the frequent references to Israel as the son of God in Deuteronomy, this passage further serves as a picture of how the Israelites were to respond to their Father, and illustrates the consequences of disobedience. The rebellious son denied the authority of his parents and rejected his filial relationship,170 the very thing Israel as God’s son would be in danger of if they similarly disobeyed Yahweh’s covenant.171 Thus, it was of the utmost importance that Israel as son of God demonstrate filial obedience to their Father. Indeed, the existence of the covenant community depended on it.172 From a wider perspective it may be said that this passage is “almost prophetic of Israel’s future.”173

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166 Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 284.
167 McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 331.
168 Ibid.
169 Bellefontaine, “Reviewing the Case,” 21; Fleishman, “Legal Innovation,” 324. Interestingly, Calvin’s sermon on this passage (1555) recognizes this corporate dimension, concluding that this sort of incorrigibility threatened the existence of the entire community in his own day. See Raymond A. Blacketer, *The School of God: Pedagogy and Rhetoric in Calvin’s Interpretation of Deuteronomy* (SEMRR 3; Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 240.
170 Bellefontaine, “Reviewing the Case,” 19.
171 This passage also typifies the way earthly parent-child relationships magnify the importance of the heavenly father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Moreover, the prevalence of familial language throughout Deuteronomy (e.g., 4.9–10, 37–40; 5.16; 6.7, 20ff; 11.18–21; 21.15–21; al.) reinforces the obligation of Israel to be an obedient son by illustrating the importance of family in Yahweh’s covenant community.
As the rebellious son of Deut 21.18–21 was punished for disobedience, so would Israel be punished if they rebelled.174

3.3 Filial Themes

Having examined five key passages in Deuteronomy that pertain to the sonship of Israel, this study will now consider three themes that further elucidate aspects of Israel’s sonship and Yahweh’s fatherhood.

3.3.1 Election

The prerequisite for Israel’s obedience was its election,175 or the way in which Israel became the son of God. This perspective is perhaps most clear in Deut 7, which emphasizes divine grace in the election of Israel. Deut 7.6–8 states that Israel was chosen simply because Yahweh loved them.176 The election of Israel is closely related to their holy status, often expressed by the phrase λαὸς ἱερός (MT: כָּל עִיר).177 This holiness meant that Israel was set apart from other nations because of their particular relationship to Yahweh.178 Thus, the holy status was not something achieved by Israel’s obedience to the law. Obedience was, however, the necessary outworking of their election.179 Although Israel did not procure its covenant relationship by obedience, this was the living expression of the special relationship granted to them.180 Although Israel’s election was by free grace, their holy Father would not tolerate a covenant people who failed to keep his commandments.181

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175 Waltke, Theology, 509.
176 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 179.
177 Deut 7.6; 14.2, 21; 28.9; cf. 26.17–19. This phrase also demonstrates a revealing overlap with the usage of περιουσία/πλούτος (7.6; 14.2). Cf. Exod 19.5.
178 Craigie, Deuteronomy, 179; Macdonald, Monotheism, 156.
179 Ibid.; Clements, God’s Chosen People, 33.
180 McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, 175–76.
181 Christensen, Deuteronomy, 1:157.
3.3.2 Love

Deuteronomy has been called the book of love *par excellence*, and it has been suggested that love is the operative principle throughout the book. Love is important for the present study for two reasons. First, in Deuteronomy love is closely related to obedience. The love required of Israel is to be expressed in loyalty, service, and unqualified obedience. Indeed, love is virtually synonymous with covenant obedience in Deuteronomy.

This leads to the second observation, that the father-son relationship is key to understanding Israel’s love for God. Since love in Deuteronomy is portrayed in filial terms, love should be seen as a matter of faithfulness within the father-son relationship. Conversely, the father-son relationship is conceived of in terms that correspond to the Deuteronomic conception of covenant love. In other words, the love commanded in Deuteronomy is the love of a father and son—language that was also employed by ANE treaties. The proper response of Israel to Yahweh was filial obedience; this can also be described as love. Therefore, love is not merely an

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183 Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 37.
185 McKay, “Man’s Love for God,” 433; Wright, *Knowing Jesus*, 124.
186 McKay, “Man’s Love for God,” 427.
188 Wright, *Knowing Jesus*, 124.
190 Moran, “Love of God,” 78; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 41. In a well known parallel to Deut 6.5 a treaty of Ashurbanipal commands the vassal to “love Ashurbanipal as yourselves” (cf. Moran, “Love of God,” 82n.33). Vos (“Scriptural Doctrine,” 7) adds that love is in view in Deuteronomy even when not explicitly mentioned because the covenant and fatherhood of Yahweh necessitates on the indispensability of such a relational love.
191 So McKay, “Man’s Love for God,” 432, 435.
internal emotion, but something that was to be manifested in visible ways.\textsuperscript{192} It should also be noted that love is a motivation for obedience in Deuteronomy.\textsuperscript{193}

3.3.3 Inheritance

A final theme to consider is the relationship between inheritance (e.g., κληρονομεῖν/הַלֵּלַיִם) and sonship. For the purposes of this study, it is noteworthy that the father-son relationship is in view when Deuteronomy speaks of inheritance. Although Israel’s inheritance of the land is the primary focus for this theme in Deuteronomy, Israel is also referred to as Yahweh’s inheritance.\textsuperscript{194} McConville observes that this latter perspective is quite similar to Israel’s sonship of Yahweh, since it is sons who inherit in the ANE culture.\textsuperscript{195} Indeed, the priority of sonship was demonstrated in the ANE in that, in principle, it was only sons who had the right to inherit.\textsuperscript{196} Moreover, the firstborn son received a larger portion than anyone else. Thus, the importance of the firstborn son as an heir should not be underestimated. It is, of course, Israel who is Yahweh’s firstborn son (Exod 4.22).

This interface between father-son concepts and inheritance can be seen in Deut 4. In 4.20 it is stated that Yahweh redeemed Israel so that they would be his own possession (εἶναι αὐτῷ λαόν ἔγκληρον; MT: הַלֵּלַיִם לְךָ תָּבֹא לְיהוָה). Dreyfus suggests that the focus of the term הַלֵּלַיִם (MT) is on the stable character and permanence of the possession.\textsuperscript{197} This would again highlight the uniqueness of Israel’s personal

\textsuperscript{192} This is in keeping with Deuteronomy’s view that internal and external qualities cannot be separated—one involves the other (e.g., 10.16).

\textsuperscript{193} Vos, “Scriptural Doctrine,” 7. And, since love is so closely associated with sonship, this is tantamount to saying that sonship is the motivation for obedience. This comports especially well with 8.5–6; 14.1–2.

\textsuperscript{194} Compare, e.g., 1.38; 3.28; 4.21, 38; 12.9; 15.4; 26.1; 31.7 with 4.20; 9.26, 29; 32.9.


\textsuperscript{196} E. Lipinski, “מֵהָל, nābal,” TDOT 9:319–35. Eryl W. Davies (“The Meaning of Pl’snayim in Deuteronomy XXI 17,” VT 36 [1986]: 341–47) argues for the traditional interpretation that the firstborn son received a double portion, as opposed to two-thirds as is commonly accepted. Regardless of how much more the firstborn son received as an heir, it is clear that he was given preference.

relationship with Yahweh, who treats Israel more intimately than the other nations. This favored relationship is elucidated further in 4.37, where Tigay suggests father-son imagery is again in view. He bases this largely on the love exhibited by Yahweh, and his role in assigning an inheritance. Properly speaking, then, it is a son (perhaps a firstborn) who is in view when an inheritance is discussed. Furthermore, in keeping with the overall outlook of Deuteronomy, the inheritance of the land is a gift, but is also contingent on Israel’s obedience. In light of all these considerations, it may be concluded that the theme of inheritance is another way in which Israel’s sonship is emphasized.

3.4 Summary and Conclusions

It has been argued in this chapter that Israel was considered to be a son of Yahweh in Deuteronomy and that this theme is not tertiary, but is highly significant in Deuteronomy. It is expressed in Deut 1, 8, 14, 32, quite possibly 21, and is corroborated by other passages and themes. It has further been argued that the father-son relationship should be viewed in its covenantal context. Although Deuteronomy certainly echoes ANE covenantal concepts, Yahweh’s fatherly affection in Deuteronomy is more intimate than in similar ANE documents.

Israel as the son of Yahweh had the responsibility to be obedient. This is a characteristic that was also reflected in the father-son language of ANE treaties. Thus, what was true of covenants at the beginning of the chapter has also been found in

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198 So G. Wanke, "חָדַשׁ, חַדַּשׁ" TLOT 2:731–34.
200 Tigay, Deuteronomy, 56.
201 Deuteronomy 21.15–17 indicates that it was the father in ancient Israel who distributed the inheritance.
202 Waltke, Theology, 544. The thematic connections between vv. 15–23 may be relevant for a study of Matthew. These verses contain three laws (vv. 15–17; vv. 18–21; vv. 22–23) that begin with בֵּית בֵּית (MT: 'ב). The first deals with inheritance rights of the firstborn, the second with a rebellious son, and the third states that the land being given as an inheritance (קֶּהֶרֶץ/רַבָּן) is not to be defiled by a body hung on a tree. Since the notion of inheritance is bound up with sonship, these passages have a shared foundation. Taken together, these three laws all speak of the land, the inheritance of a son. It will be argued in chapter 5 that Matthew was familiar with 21.18–21, and possibly 21.22–23, which may mean that he was familiar with the larger context of Deut 21 and the concept of inheritance as it relates to a son.
particular texts and themes throughout Deuteronomy, reinforcing the necessity to read Deuteronomy as a covenant document. As such the prominence of the relationship should not be forgotten—the covenant was not an impersonal statement of law, but a personal relationship.\footnote{Mendenhall, “Covenant Forms,” 58.} The laws in Deuteronomy were the conditions of that relationship.\footnote{McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God,” 146-147.} Put more forthrightly, the sonship of Israel in Deuteronomy demanded their obedience. Indeed, obedience may even be the primary significance of the father-son relationship.\footnote{Wright, Knowing Jesus, 130.} Similarly, McCarthy is correct that “reverential fear, loyalty, and obedience” are in view when the OT speaks of Israel as a son.\footnote{McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God,” 145.}

Moreover, to rebuke Israel for their disobedience, the author of Deuteronomy employs filial language to demonstrate the gravity of their sin and reemphasize their duty to be obedient.\footnote{Macdonald, Monotheism, 101.} Tigay rightly notes that their rebellion is characterized as unfilial conduct,\footnote{Tigay, Deuteronomy, xv.} which assumes sonship necessarily entails obedience. To merit the title “son of Yahweh,” Israel had to be obedient;\footnote{Macdonald, Monotheism, 101.} true sons of Yahweh are those who do his will.\footnote{Harriman, “Our Father,” 236.} The sonship of Israel in Deuteronomy does not express Israel’s special position so much as a relationship of obligation (Verpflichtungsverhältnis).\footnote{Paul Winter, “Der Begriff ‘Söhne Gottes’ im Moselied Dtn 32 1–43,” ZAW 67 (1955): 40–48.} Therefore, when encountering Israel as son of God in Deuteronomy, it is necessary to be cognizant of the requirements that are always in view.

It has been necessary to trace these motifs in some detail due to the lack of attention normally given to Deuteronomy when discussing sonship Christology in the NT. Although Israel’s sonship is not unique to Deuteronomy, it is appropriate to consider Deuteronomy in detail since it is here that sonship finds its fullest, most foundational canonical expression. Indeed, in the next chapter it will be shown that a number of other

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item 203 Mendenhall, “Covenant Forms,” 58.
\item 204 McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God,” 146-147.
\item 205 Wright, Knowing Jesus, 130.
\item 206 McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God,” 145.
\item 207 Macdonald, Monotheism, 101.
\item 208 Tigay, Deuteronomy, xv.
\item 209 Lagrange, “La Paternité,” 485.
\item 210 Harriman, “Our Father,” 236.
\end{itemize}
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ancient authors often associated Israel’s sonship with their obedience, often in contexts that evoke Deuteronomy.
Chapter Four

Sonship and Obedience in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature

The previous chapter outlined the ways in which Israel was called to be the obedient son of God in Deuteronomy, and a case was made that this is a major theme of Deuteronomy that likely would have been recognized by Matthew. The present chapter will build on chapter 3 to show ways in which other Jewish and Christian authors re-appropriate this Deuteronomic teaching in new contexts. It will be argued that Israel’s sonship is a common theme in Jewish and Christian literature, and Deuteronomic influence is often seen in those texts in which Israel is said to be in a filial relationship to their divine Father. Thus, Israel’s sonship is one particular aspect of Deuteronomy’s pervasive influence in general that was noted in chapter 2. As the following survey will show, it is also significant that many of the writings that demonstrate Deuteronomic influence are the same writings that most clearly connect Israel’s sonship with obedience. As in Deuteronomy, this filial language for Israel frequently reflects Yahweh’s covenantal love for his people and summons Israel to obedience (or underscores the inexcusable nature of their disobedience).

To this end, this chapter will survey some of the most prominent passages that refer to Israel as the son of God1 elsewhere in the OT, other Jewish, and early Christian literature particularly inasmuch as such references may betray similarities with Deuteronomy and/or portray obedience as a necessary corollary of sonship. If it can be established that these themes were frequently related in Jewish and Christian

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1 This chapter will consider “son of God” to include references to Judah, Israel (and synonymous epithets for the Northern Kingdom), and Judah/Israel together. Thus, any passage that refers to God’s people in filial terms will be relevant. Israel will be used as shorthand to refer to any of these options.
writings leading up to and roughly contemporaneous with Matthew, it may help explain why Matthew also linked sonship and obedience in his gospel.²

4.1 Sonship and Obedience: OT

The most significant corpus of writings to consider in conjunction with Matthew is the OT,³ the importance of which is illustrated by Matthew’s numerous fulfilment citations that appeal to the OT. Significantly, many OT writings link sonship and obedience in contexts that share language and themes with Deuteronomy, and many of these are passages that Matthew seems to have known. Here, as in chapter 3, attention will be given to both the LXX—since Matthew wrote in Greek—and MT—since Matthew’s text also bears marks of Hebrew influence.

4.1.1 Latter Prophets

The shared features between Deuteronomy and many portions of the Latter Prophets have led a number of scholars to conclude either that Israelite prophets consciously based their messages on the foundational Mosaic covenant as expressed in Deuteronomy,⁴ or that Pentateuchal/Mosaic traditions underlie the message of the prophets.⁵ Moreover, the blessings/curses offered by the prophets find their obvious

² It will not be necessary for the present study to establish the dating of each of these books. Instead, it will suffice to demonstrate theological and literary similarities between Deuteronomy and these other documents. Matthew certainly would have considered Moses to be the author of Deuteronomy, and therefore would have assumed that Deuteronomy preceded books portrayed as post-Mosaic. Thus Jeffrey A. Gibbs (“Israel Standing with Israel: The Baptism of Jesus in Matthew’s Gospel (Matt 3:13–17),” CBQ 64 [2002]: 511–26, here 519n.35) states: “The results of modern critical scholarship regarding the dating of various sources for the OT narratives are a part neither of the worldview of the human author of [Matthew’s] Gospel nor of the ‘narrative world’ created by the implied author of the Gospel.”


precedent in the covenantal blessings/curses of Deut 27–30. Regardless of the actual date(s) of canonical Deuteronomy’s origins, Matthew almost certainly would have viewed the prophets’ covenantal messages to have been derived from Deuteronomy. As the following survey suggests, it is the Mosaic, covenantal tradition that explains both Israel’s designation as sons and their call to obedience in the prophets.

4.1.2 Hosea

Hosea is considered first given its strong connections with Deuteronomy and its significance for Matthean Christology. Covenant is important to Hosea, as the Exodus tradition, the establishment of the covenant, and the giving of the law lie at the heart of Hosea’s message. More specifically, Deuteronomic material appears to have served as the background for much of Hosea’s thought. Combining these two observations, the need for covenantal faithfulness is a central concern of Hosea as it is in Deuteronomy. Moreover, the covenantal context of Hosea also enables the reader to understand best the significance of the love language and the father-son imagery to be considered below. Indeed, Weinfeld concludes that the description of the love between Yahweh and Israel is the most prominent connection between Deuteronomy and Hosea. Two sections that illustrate this are of particular relevance for the present purposes: Hos 1–2; 11.
4.1.2.1 Hos 1–2

Though Hosea’s covenantal concerns are similar to the language of Deuteronomy, he also uses the image of *marriage* as a way to speak of the covenant. The two images—father-son on the one hand, and husband-wife on the other—are not contradictory, but complementary. This is not unique to Hosea, but the prophets often mix metaphors to communicate their messages. Moreover, it is noteworthy that these are both *familial* images. This is fitting, since covenants were frequently couched in the language of kinship. In the Hosean framework, the inclusion of Gomer and her *children*—who picture Israel—may be another way to indicate Israel’s collective sonship.

Moreover, the name of Hosea’s third known son, Lo-Ammi (נַעְמִי; LXX: Οὐ-λαός-μου) is especially significant for its covenantal overtones. At the Exodus, Yahweh promised that Israel would be *his* people (Exod 6.7; Lev 26.12; Deut 27.9). In the LXX λαός is coupled with a possessive pronoun linking Israel to Yahweh (ἐμοὶ, μου, σου), and in the MT each of these passages attests זא accompanied by a possessive ב. Attention to verbal parallels in the MT also suggests that the name Lo-Ammi may be a wordplay on Deut 32.21, where the nations are God’s *non*-people (ἔξω τοῦ; LXX: οὐκ ἐξελεύνοι). Clearly the name Lo-Ammi for Hosea’s son represents Yahweh’s shocking judgment on his people—who were often also likened to a son—because they had been disobedient to his covenant.

Yet this drastic statement is not without hope; the prospect of salvation remains. Thus the next verse (2.1 [1.10]) repeats the phrase נַעְמִי נִצְּוֹ/ו ו לֶאֶזְכָּר μָעָה but contrasts this state with the assurance that Israel would be called the sons of the Living God (נַעְמִי וָאָבָנָה לֶאֶזְכָּר; LXX: θεοῦ θεοῦ ζωοντος). This last phrase is unique to

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13 For gender inclusive language of Israel’s sonship, see Deut 32.19.


17 So ibid., 22, 29.
Hosea, but the filial imagery in association with the covenant (perhaps in connection with Deut 32) is similar to the Deuteronomic passages surveyed in chapter 3. Furthermore, Israel’s filial designation in 2.1 provides a climactic force to the section, given its unexpectedness in light of what precedes it. Thus, in spite of Israel’s filial rebellion, Hosea looks forward to a day when the Israelites would be called “sons of the Living God.”

It may also be significant that this portion of Hosea shares a number of linguistic parallels with Deut 8. These include Israel’s sonship, the warning against forgetting (הָשְׁמָו; LXX: ἐπιλαυθάνομαι) Yahweh (Deut 8.11, 14, 19; Hos 2.15 [2.13]), and the rare idiom (occurring in only Deuteronomy and Hosea) “multiply silver and gold” (Deut 8.13: διδάκτοισίν; LXX: πληθυσμένοιν οὐκ ἀργύριον καί χρυσίον πληθυσμένοις οὐ/ Hos 2.10 [2.8]: βλέπεις Λήλα ἱρήν ητία; LXX: ἀργύριον ἐπλήθουσα αὐτῇ). But Hos 1–2 also highlights two important features not emphasized in Deut 8: Israel’s filial rebellion against God, and the coming day of Israel’s eschatological renewal when they will be known as בנים על כל דָּא (LXX: γονεὶ θεοῦ ζωντας).

4.1.2.2 Hos 11

A more widely recognized reference to Israel’s sonship is found in Hos 11.1–4, a section that has a number of telling parallels to passages considered in the previous chapter. Here the tenderness of Yahweh toward his son Israel is recounted. It is Yahweh who loved Israel, rescued them from Egypt (v. 1: διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγὼ ἡγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ εἶ Ἀλγυπτίων μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ/ LXX: ἀγαπήσα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκ Αἰγύπτου μετέκαλε τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ), and taught them to walk (v. 3). Yet, Israel had not

18 Ibid., 27. The phrase רֵאָּּא is used infrequently in the MT (Jos 3.10; Psa 42.3; 84.3); cf. מֵאָּּא (Deut 5.26; 1 Sam 17.26, 36; Jer 10.10; 23.36; also Deut 4.33 LXX).
19 Andersen and Freedman (Hosea, 203) note Israel’s designation as God’s son in the Exodus as the background for this passage, and observe that “Hosea has a doctrine of redemption by recapitulation.” One might say the same of Matthew.
20 Ibid., 205. Similarly, recall the important role of Israel’s sonship in the climactic Song of Moses.
21 Ibid., 131–132. Other connections to Deuteronomic in the MT here include the fulfilment of מֵאָּּא (Deut 13.18 [13.17]) in Hos 2.21 [2.19], and Deut 32.39 (יְשֵׁבָּא יַעֲבָּר נַחַל; αἱ ὁσὶν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου) is similar to Hos 2.12 [2.10] in both MT/LXX (יְשֵׁבָּא יַעֲבָּר נַחַל לַא לֶב נַחַל; καὶ ὁδεῖς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου).
22 Given the verbal links with Deut 32.21 noted above, it is possible that parallels to Israel’s filial rebellion from Deut 32 are present here.
responded appropriately, but had repeatedly turned to other gods (v. 2). Thus this passage, much like Deut 21.18–21, calls Israel to account for their sins with the language and form that resemble a legal setting.23 Indeed, one of the major background themes of this section appears to be the case of the rebellious son.24

However, the most significant parallel to Deuteronomy for the present purposes is the father-son relationship mentioned in 11.1. Even though the LXX reads ἄνεκνος αὐτοῦ, Matthew clearly recognized this as a reference to God’s son as evidenced by the use of ὦτός in Matt 2.15. The interrelation of Yahweh’s love (ἰαπάμμα, the father-son relationship, and Egypt connects this passage to Deuteronomy and its historical precedent of the Exodus and the giving of the covenant.25 Although covenant is not mentioned explicitly in Hos 11, Andersen and Freedman rightly observe that the relationship in view in 11.1 is like that between a suzerain and a vassal.26 Thus, there is warrant for understanding the love in 11.1 to be closely connected with covenantal fidelity.27 This same link is evident in Deuteronomy (e.g., 6.5; 7.9; 10.12; 11.1; 30.20).28

Hosea 11.4 is also relevant, but is more difficult to interpret due to apparent textual corruption.29 The text may continue the imagery of Israel’s sonship, or it may compare Israel to a beast of burden cared for by Yahweh.30 However, the vocabulary

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24 Marvin A. Sweeney, The Twelve Prophets (vol. 1; Berit Olam; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 112–13.


26 Andersen and Freedman, Hosea, 576

27 Stuart, Hosea, 178.

28 In addition, similarities to Deut 1 are seen in the characteristics of Yahweh’s affection in these verses. P. DeBoer (“The Son of God in the Old Testament,” in Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Syntax and Exegesis [ed. C. Labuschagne et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1973], 188–207) writes that paternal love and nurture is the focus in 11.1 just as in Deut 1.31. Similarly, Weinfeld (Deuteronomy, 148) connects this theme of caring/loving and guiding a child to the same concept in Deut 1. Indeed, although the verbal parallels are not exact, the language of 11.3 may recall the similar language in Deut 1.31, where Yahweh carries Israel as a Father carries his son. The “bearing up” of Israel in Deut 1.31 assumes that Yahweh carried Israel as if in his arms. Hosea 11.3 MT is not altogether clear that a similar action is in view, but might be translated woodenly “to take them on his arms.” Although Andersen and Freedman (Hosea, 579) note that ἄνεκνος is not used for carrying in one’s arms, they do acknowledge that ancient versions (Syriac [Targums]) suggest that the text was generally understood by the rendering “I took them upon his arm.” This is consistent with Hos 11.3 LXX which reads ἀνέκνος αὐτοῦ ἔπι τόν βραχον μοῦ. Thus the actions of Yahweh here are similar to Deut 1.31.

29 See the critical apparatus of Karl Elliger (BHS, p. 1004).

30 Stuart, Hosea, 179.
of yoke (יָוֵק; δούμας) and love (רְמָנָה; ἀγαπήσωμα) suggest a divine-human covenantal relationship. This would comport well with the tenderness of the father-son relationship mentioned explicitly in v. 1, and would also entail Israel’s need for obedience.

To summarize, Hos 11.1–4 describes Yahweh’s fatherly, covenantal care for Israel. Yet, the point should not be missed that Israel has not responded appropriately. They have foolishly neglected their Father Yahweh, to whom they were bound in the covenant. Mays further suggests the father-son imagery provides a poignancy to this Hosean passage, which is also a characteristic of the father-son relationship in Deuteronomy.

Language pertaining to the sonship of Israel does not end in 11.4, but is found again in 11.10. Stuart rightly notes that the second half of Hos 11 “reveals God’s love in an especially passionate way,” as the return from Exile is described. It is stated in 11.10–11 that Yahweh’s sons (יִשְׂרָאֵל; LXX: τέκνα) will return from the west (Egypt and Assyria) back to their homes, receiving the blessing that the rebellious children in 11.1–3 could not receive. In this sense, these verses speak of an eschatological hope for Israel. Just as the Exodus was the defining event of salvation when God’s son was originally called out of Egypt, so Hosea looks forward to a day when God’s son will again come out of the land of Egypt. It may be that this combination of Israel’s sonship and Hosea’s eschatological expectations that made this passage so appealing to Matthew.

In sum, Hosea exhibits a striking number of thematic and verbal parallels with Deuteronomy, specifically with passages that speak of Yahweh’s fatherly love and Israel’s covenantal obligations. Although the Israelites had perenniellly been


32 So Wolff, Hosea, 198.

33 Mays, Hosea, 154.

34 Stuart, Hosea, 183. Exile may be seen as the chief covenant curse in Deuteronomy (Deut 4.27–28; 28.36–68; cf. Lev 26.33).

35 Cf. Deut 4.30; 30.1–10.

36 Stuart, Hosea, 182.

37 In this way Hos 11 is much like Hos 2.
unfaithful sons, Hosea conveys an eschatological hope for the renewal of Israel that is intimately linked with their filial status.

4.1.3 Jeremiah

Jeremiah has numerous connections with both Deuteronomy and Hosea, including the concern with covenantal faithfulness.38 This is not surprising, since Jeremiah—regardless of whether the book of Deuteronomy was known to him—would likely have seen the Mosaic covenant to be fundamental.39 William Holladay has even argued effectively, based in part on the similarities between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, that Jeremiah saw himself as a successor to Moses, which may explain his interest in the unprecedented idea of the New Covenant.40 The Song of Moses is also influential in Jeremiah, evidenced in the MT by the nuance of certain words and a number of phrases that are found only in Deut 32 and Jeremiah. These include the language of forsaking (שָׁפָט) God (Deut 32.15; Jer 15.6), the use of בְּרֵי for foreign gods (Deut 32.16; Jer 2.25; 3.13), and the phrase יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרֵי (Deut 32.22; Jer 15.14; 17.4).41

One significant aspect of Jeremiah’s theology that corresponds to Deuteronomy is the familial imagery he attaches to the covenant.42 Eichrodt acknowledges the father-son relationship as one of the three most significant images in the entire book,43 and the prevalence of familial imagery “sharpens the betrayal” of Israel and adds emotive elements to the character of Yahweh.44 Eichrodt even


41 Ibid., 19–20. Holladay notes at least 11 noteworthy parallels between Deut 32 and Jeremiah. Lundbom (Jeremiah, 1:141) similarly notes the influence of Deut 32 in Jer 2.2–9.

42 This is also like Hosea. Cf. Lundbom, Jeremiah, 1:142; Thompson, Jeremiah, 83. Thompson adds that, like Deuteronomy, the father-son relationship is essentially the same as the covenant relationship (66).

43 Eichrodt, Theology, 1:59. The other two are marriage and the divine shepherd.

suggests that Jeremiah's articulation of the father-son relationship involves the imagery of fervent love and emotion in a way that surpasses Hosea. In a word, Jeremiah's focus on the covenantal father-son relationship exhibits extensive similarities with Deuteronomy, including the call to obedient sonship.

4.1.3.1 Jer 3–4

The first passage to consider is Jer 3–4, which is part of a collection of oracles indicting Israel for sin, calling for repentance, and threatening judgment, but with the promise of a new era of grace. It is in this latter category that the first mention of Israel as Yahweh's children is found (3.14). Echoing the theme of Israel's filial faithlessness from Deut 32.5–6, 20, in Jer 3.14, 22 Yahweh identifies Israel as his faithless sons (יִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁפֵטֹת לוֹ; LXX: ἀφετηρισμός τοῖς) — referring to either Judah alone or to both Israel and Judah — and calls them to repent. Verse 13 is clear that Israel had not heeded the voice of their God, and thus had breached the covenant. The sentiment is thus a familiar one: as sons Israel was to demonstrate obedience required by the covenant. If Deut 14.1 describes how a true son should act, Jer 3.14, 22 indicate how a son must not act.

It may also be relevant that 3.19 refers to Yahweh as the Father of Israel, alongside images of the inheritance (דָּתֶן; LXX: κληρονομία) of the land. Both these issues are concerns of Deuteronomy, and both these references assume Israel's divine sonship. Verse 19 also opens with the possibility that Yahweh would have set his people among his sons (יִשְׂרָאֵל; LXX: εἷς τέκνα). However, this use of sons in


46 Thus, Lundbom (Jeremiah, 1:319) concludes that three sources are especially formative for the early preaching of Jeremiah: Deuteronomy, the Song of Moses, and Hosea.

47 See ibid., 299.


49 Lundbom, Jeremiah, 1:313.

50 Thompson, Jeremiah, 201.

51 On the land's connection to Deuteronomy here, see Lundbom, Jeremiah, 1:319.
3.19 likely derives from Deut 32.8, and thus most likely refers to the nations. Therefore, these sons serve as a foil to Israel. Peter Craigie rightly remarks:

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\text{All along, it had been God's intention to give his people the status of "sons"; as such, they would have received as an inheritance a wonderful land, they would have called God "My father," and they would not have turned back from walking in his ways. The nostalgia lies in that he had indeed made his people sons and given them a land as an inheritance; the disappointment is to be found in the failure of the people to respond to that sonship, for they had been consistently unfaithful toward God.}
\]

Verse 20 continues the expression of God's deep compassion and Israel's unfaithfulness by utilizing the imagery of a marriage. 3.21 describes the weeping of the Israelites, which is attributed to their having forgotten (ניָהוּ, LXX: ἐπιλανθάνωμαι) Yahweh—a clear violation of Deuteronomy. 3.22 again highlights the disobedient sonship of Israel, and offers healing if they would repent. In Jer 4.22, which continues the basic outlook heretofore observed in Jer 3, Israel is called "foolish children" (טבליים; LXX: γύρω ἐφρονείς), a description which summarizes well the familial foolishness of the Israelites in Deut 32.6.

Thus, in Jer 3–4 there is a clear focus on Israel's need for covenantally obedient sonship, along with indications of Deuteronomic theology. Moreover, Jeremiah laments Israel's disobedience which, as in Deut 32, is shocking precisely because of the gracious filial status bestowed upon them.

4.1.3.2 Jer 31 (38 LXX)

Jeremiah 31, which anticipates a new covenant, is especially intriguing for a study of Matthew, given the explicit citation of Jer 31.15 in Matt 2.18. This is also the second significant occurrence in Jeremiah when Israel is called God's son.

\[\text{\footnotesize 52 So William McKane, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986–96), 1:78–79; Lundbom, Jeremiah, 1:319.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 53 Craigie, Kelley, and Drinkard, Jeremiah 1–25, 64.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 54 Ibid.; Lundbom, (Jeremiah, 1:83) attributes this to Hosean influence.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 55 Ibid., 146. Cf. Deut 4.23; 6.12; 8.11, 14; 32.18.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 56 MT: בְּנֵי שֵׁם; LXX: νεοὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 57 Lundbom, Jeremiah, 1:355.} \]
Before speaking of a New Covenant in vv. 31–34, Jer 31[38] speaks of a coming day of salvation when Israel would return from Exile. Yahweh’s love, which is celebrated in v. 3, again communicates the father-son relationship. In v. 9 one of the reasons given for the return from Exile is Israel’s status as son of Yahweh (כָּבָד הַצָּכָרַת לַיפָּרְט תּוֹ לְדָיִם מְלָכָה מִלָּוֶּה אֶלֻּהֶם. LXX: εἰς πατέρα καὶ Εφραίμ πρωτότοκός μου ἐστίν).58 Israel as firstborn son here links Israel’s sonship with the Exodus.59 Additionally, the mention of streams of water in the MT (יוּדֶת בְּהֵלָה וְּנַבַּים) may be an allusion to the same phrasing in Deut 8.7, which speaks of the fertility of the Promised Land, and follows closely a reference to Yahweh as Israel’s Father (Deut 8.5). In sum, the father-son imagery in Jer 31.9[38.9] is again climactic,60 being one of the most significant ways to speak of both Israel’s redemption and Yahweh’s constant love.

A second reference to the sonship of Israel in Jer 31[38] comes in v. 20.61 Here Yahweh asks the rhetorical question, “Is not Ephraim a dear son to me?” (אַחֲרֵי מֵעַל בִּירֵי לְקָרַב אֵלִי; LXX: υἱὸς ἀγαπητός Εφραίμ ἐμοί.). The rest of the verse and the surrounding context (cf. v. 9) indicate that Ephraim is indeed a very precious son to Yahweh. The imagery that accompanies this statement in the MT is most striking, as the bowels (נַחֲלָה) of Yahweh62 are said to be in turmoil (נִשְׁמָה). This illustrates the deep, emotional love of Yahweh for Israel, despite his son’s faithlessness.63 As in Hosea, Jeremiah here conveys an eschatological hope that Israel, God’s son, would receive mercy from their Father and be brought back to the life of blessing (cf. 31[38.9, 20]).

58 Ephraim here is most likely refers to Northern Israel (Lundbom, Jeremiah, 2:425–26). For a dissenting view, see McKane, Jeremiah, 2:792.
60 Ibid.
61 The father-son relationship may also be alluded to in v. 18, where Ephraim’s discipline (נָפַל כָּל; παροικοῦ) by the hand of Yahweh is recounted (cf. Deut 8.5; 21.18–21). Cf. Jer 10.24; 30.11; 46.28.
62 While this may be taken as feminine imagery of a womb, Lundbom (Jeremiah 21–36, 446–447) demonstrates that the same wording can be used of males, and is not convinced that Yahweh’s fatherhood should be abandoned.
63 So Lundbom, Jeremiah, 2:446–47.
Jeremiah 31[38] also contains a number of features that suggest it is deeply indebted to Mosaic tradition. The references to Israel’s sonship recall the wilderness wanderings, which is the historical and literary context of Deuteronomy. Further, verbal parallels to Deut 8 are found in close proximity to Israel’s sonship in Jer 31[38], and (as noted above) Jeremiah’s concern with a New Covenant indicates his interest in Mosaic themes.

These references from Jer 31[38] should be understood in conjunction with Jer 3–4 and the overall outlook of Jeremiah, which has a deep concern with the covenant. Jeremiah also includes numerous references to Israel’s sonship and Israel’s necessity of filial obedience. It should also not be missed that Deut 32 seems to have been important for Jeremiah. This is fitting since both Jeremiah and Deut 32 utilize the sonship metaphor to highlight the disobedience of Israel vis-à-vis the mercy of their Father. It is therefore likely that Israel’s (disobedient) sonship in Jeremiah may have been understood by Matthew to have a Deuteronomic precedent.

4.1.4 Isaiah

It is instructive for the present purposes that Israel is referenced as Yahweh’s sons in several Isaianic passages, and these generally demonstrate Deuteronomic influence. Although these Isaianic texts may not be cited in Matthew, Isaiah was clearly an important text for Matthew. It therefore makes sense for this study to consider Isaiah in some detail.

4.1.4.1 Isa 1

The clearest similarities with Deuteronomic sonship are found in Isa 1. Isaiah 1.2 describes Israel as sons (אֶּרֶץ; LXX: υἱοίς) who have revolted against Yahweh, even though he had begotten and reared them. As a preliminary observation to this section, Israel’s filial status in Isaiah must not be viewed as an extension of a generic human metaphor, but is based on Israel’s covenantal relationship with

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64 Index 4 in NA27 suggests two Matthean allusions to Isa 1: Isa 1.15/Matt 6.7; Isa 1.17/Matt 23.23.
66 LXX includes ἐγένετο. This verb is only rarely applied to Yahweh in the OT, but it is also found in Deut 32.18 and may be relevant for Matt 1.20 (see §7.1).
Yahweh established in the Exodus. More specifically, the influence of the Song of Moses looms large in Isa 1. Following the logic of Deut 32, Yahweh’s fatherly care for Israel in 1.2 is contrasted with Israel’s rebellion. More explicit connections with Deut 32 come in Isa 1.4, where the prophet describes Israel as “sons who act corruptly” in the MT (בנזים תבש; LXX: νυόλ διονομον). This language is very similar to Deut 32.5, which chastises Israel for acting corruptly as sons (ל אל נביה). H. Williamson, commenting on 1.4, observes that the relational aspects of 1.4a become increasingly narrow, and the woe becomes sharper. Thus, the title בנים יב is climactic. This passage thus highlights God’s love by referencing Israel’s sonship, while the disobedience mentioned underscores the heinousness of Israel’s sin in spite of Yahweh’s fatherly goodness. Thus, the “inexorable demand” for sons to be obedient underlies this verse.

Before outlining additional similarities with Deut 32 below, it is also significant that parallels to Deut 21.18–21 have been observed in these verses. Watts suggests vv. 4–7 run parallel to Deut 21.18–21, and Williamson also admits the thematic similarities between the two passages, even though the lack of verbal correspondence renders him hesitant to assert Deut 21 is explicitly referenced here. It is possible that the reference to flogging in 1.5 (ח; LXX: παληροω) may refer to a particular means of disciplining a rebellious son, which is stated more generally in Deut 21.18 (ח; LXX: παληροω). This interpretation coincides with Kaiser’s view,
which connects this striking with discipline, since the use of the rod was a necessary means of a son’s education.  

Returning to similarities with Deut 32, Isa 1 is often regarded as having at least some features of a covenant lawsuit, or *rib*. In a *rib*—a form that may be influenced by suzerain-vassal treaties—Yahweh calls his people to answer for their breach of the [Mosaic] covenant. G. E. Wright summarizes the *rib*:

> The heavenly lawsuit implies a Suzerain, one who claims authority over all powers on earth, and who is presiding over the highest tribunal in the universe. Furthermore, it implies a covenant which the Suzerain has granted a vassal, a covenant which the vassal has broken.

The view that Isa 1.2–20 is such a lawsuit is based largely on the appeal to heaven and earth as witnesses in v. 2. Such an appeal reflects ANE treaty language, similar to what is found in Deuteronomy, especially Deut 32.1. Aside from this address to heaven and earth, however, there is little evidence for seeing a *rib* in these verses. But regardless of the *Gattung* one ascribes to these verses, the most

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74 Kaiser, Isaiah 1–12, 20.
78 Others have seen more extensive characteristics present. For example, Harvey (“Rib-Pattern,” 178) breaks the *rib* down into five categories and assigns a portion of Isa 1.2–20 to each: 1) Introduction (v. 2); 2) Interrogation (vv.11f); 3) Indictment (vv. 2cd–3, 15c); 4) Reference to the vanity of rituals (vv.13–15b); 5) Declaration of culpability or threat of destruction, and assigns (vv. 16–20). This outline, however, is not commonly followed today. Huffmon (“Lawsuit,” 292) suggests that 1.2 serves as an historical prologue.
79 Wilderberger, Isaiah 1–12, 10; Kaiser, Isaiah 1–12, 11–12.
80 Also Deut 4.26; 30.19. Huffmon (“Lawsuit,” 295) asserts that the appeal to heaven and earth in a context like Isa 1 is ultimately dependent on the Sinaitic Covenant.
striking features for the present study are the clear parallels with the Song of Moses, especially the designation of the Israelites as faithless sons. In sum, the strong parallels with the Song of Moses and the additional similarities to Deut 21 render it plausible that Matthew, if he indeed knew Isa 1, may have recognized connections between Isaiah’s portrayal of Israel’s disobedient sonship and similar themes in Deuteronomy.

4.1.4.2 Isa 30

Israel’s filial rebellion is again articulated in ways similar to Deuteronomy in Isa 30. In 30.1 the leaders of the nation are described as לֹא כַּיָּדוֹת, which, perhaps significantly, is the same vocabulary used to describe the rebellious son in Deut 21.18 (לֹא כַּיָּדוֹת). The LXX, however, differs more considerably (Deut 21.18: υἱὸς αὐτοῦ/Isa 30.1: τέκνα ἀποστάται). Although the political leaders of Judah appear to be immediately in view in 30.1, the nation as a whole cannot be finally divorced from its leadership. Kaiser suggests the father-son relationship here signifies Yahweh’s unconditional authority over his son, and the non-negotiable nature of obedience. The context for sons in this instance is a political treaty, or covenant: by agreeing to an alliance with Egypt for reasons of political expediency, the people of Judah had disregarded the covenant with Yahweh, who is said to fight for them.

God’s people are referred to as sons in 30.9, this time as “sons of deception” (בלשם, LXX: υἱοὶ ψευδεῖς). Here it appears that all God’s people are in view, and the childlike obedience they should render to Yahweh is assumed. This correlation, although less verbally explicit, is also consistent with the requirement of

82 Aside from the filial designation and appeal to heaven and other, additional parallels with Deut 32 include eating the produce of the land (Isa 1.19/Deut 32.13), God’s hiding his face (Isa 1.5/Deut 32.20), judgment by fire (Isa 1.7/Deut 32.22), destruction by sword (Isa 1.20/Deut 32.25, 42), divine vengeance (Isa 1.7, 20/Deut 32.35–36, 41, 43), and the overall forensic tone. Cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, Isaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (3 vols.; AB 19–19B; New York: Doubleday, 2000–3), 1:181. See also Childs, Isaiah, 18; Wilderberger, Isaiah 1–12, 12; Huffmon, “Lawsuit,” 288; Williamson, Isaiah, 1:32n.37.


85 Watts, Isaiah, 1:395. The word לֶשֶם is not used here, but Watts (1:392) argues that “make an alliance” is the best translation for ἀναθέτειν. LXX is συνθέτησιν.

86 Exod 23.32; Judg 2.2; cf. Deut 1.29ff.

Israel’s filial obedience in Deuteronomy. The connections with Deuteronomy are clearer in the MT of Isa 30, but that Israel should be obedient sons is beyond question even in the LXX.

4.1.4.3 Isa 40–66

Additional references to Israel as God’s son are found in Isa 40–66, but these are not as important for the present purposes. Isaiah 43.1–7, which likely finds its background in the Exodus,88 includes a reference to Yahweh’s sons and daughters (43.6). Although the theme of filial obedience is not primary here, it is significant that Israel is referred to as sons and daughters only here and in Deut 32.19.89

Isaiah 63.7–64.11[12] also includes several references to the sonship of Israel. Here the prophet is disconcerted with the people’s rebellion, and memorializes the great day of deliverance under Moses.90 Deuteronomy may particularly be recalled in the remembering (יר possessing; LXX: μεμνήσομαι) in 63.11 (cf. Deut 8.2, 18).91 The reference to sons who are not to deal falsely (בנים לא תנהו; ת Enemies of מאתם [63.8]) assumes that, as sons, Israel would be obedient to Yahweh,92 who had redeemed and carried (בל!), Israel (63.9), echoing Deut 1.31 MT (תאפם).93 Verse 16 continues this concept, addressing Yahweh as Israel’s Father, a theme which is also picked up in 64.7[8], although these last two verses do not explicitly link sonship with obedience.

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89 So Dille, Mixing Metaphors, 75. While Dille notes the relationship to the Exodus and Deut 32.19 in these verses, she does not believe that the covenantal relationship is the best way to view this imagery. Instead, she agrees with F. Charles Fensham that “daughter(s)” is never used in covenantal formulae. For a response to Fensham’s view, see §3.2.1.
90 Watts, Isaiah, 2:336; Blenkinsopp, Isaiah, 3:257.
93 The verb ולל is in the Piel in Isa 63.9, while Deut 1.31 attests the Qal. Deut 1.31 LXX communicates this by τροφοφορέω, whereas Isa 63.9 reads ἀναιματάναι. Other parallels to Yahweh’s carrying Israel in Deut 1.31 include: 1) in Isa 40.11 Israel is compared to sheep, and Yahweh to a shepherd, who will carry them (בְּ), 2) in Isa 46.3–4 Yahweh is said to have carried Israel from his womb (הָעַיֵּנ וְנַחֲמוּ), and he promises to carry (בְּ) Israel in the future. So Blenkinsopp, Isaiah, 3:260; Dille, Mixing Metaphors, 36n.48.
To summarize, various Deuteronomic and covenantal features are found in Isaiah in conjunction with the language of Israel’s sonship. Thus, much like Deuteronomy, Isaiah’s references to Israel’s sonship reveal Yahweh’s tender care for Israel and the related necessity of Israel’s obedience.

4.1.5 Malachi

Finally, Malachi also weds a deep interest in covenant with an understanding of Israel’s status as the son of Yahweh. The book is saturated with covenantal language,94 and the Mosaic Covenant is assumed throughout.95 By way of example, covenantal aspects can be seen in the portrayal of Yahweh as a great king (=suzerain, 1.14),96 the use of ρεπικατάρατος to speak of covenantal curses (1.14),97 the description of blessings in 3.7–12 that correspond to covenantal blessings,98 and the references to covenant in conjunction with Levi and Israel’s fathers (2.1–10).99 This covenantal context sets the framework for the relationship between sonship and obedience. As A. Hill observes: “Because covenant maker Yahweh was Israel’s father (Deut 32:6–12), he was deserving of conduct appropriate to the bond (Exod 20:12; Deut 30:1–10).”100 Given these broad, thematic parallels, it is not surprising that many scholars closely associate Malachi with Deuteronomy.101

Similarities to Deuteronomy’s covenantal outlook first appear in 1.2–5. Particularly striking is the Yahweh’s love for Israel stated in 1.2 (σπέρμα; LXX: ἕγαγα την ζωήν). This is almost certainly the same fatherly, covenantal love noted by

96 Ibid.; Ralph L. Smith, Micah-Malachi (WBC 32; Waco: Word, 1984), 300.
99 Ibid., 551. Cf. Lev 2.2; Deut 28.12; 33.8–10.
100 Hill, Malachi, 43.
101 Beth Glazier-McDonald, Malachi: The Divine Messenger (SBLDS 98; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 73; Smith, Malachi, 300.
Moran that is expounded in Deuteronomy. Relevant for the present study is 1.6. Here it is acknowledged that a son honors his father, and a servant his master, but the priests had not honored Yahweh their Father. Consistent with the love language of 1.2, the combination of father-son and master-servant imagery in 1.6 most likely indicates that a covenant relationship is in view in 1.6, which would also makes sense of the obedience that is assumed in both relationships.

Malachi 2.10-16 further touches on Israel’s sonship, identifying God as Israel’s Father and making reference to covenant(s). This first point is expressed by setting “one Father of all of us” (οὐδὲν ἀδήμων ἡμῶν; LXX: πατὴρ εἶς πάντων ἡμῶν) and “one God [who] created us” (οὸς ὁ θεὸς εἶς ἐκτισεν ὑμᾶς; LXX: θεὸς εἶς ἐκτισεν ὑμᾶς) in parallel in 2.10a. Here only Yahweh is Father in the sense of being the Creator. This point is significant because only a few times in the OT is God portrayed as both Father and Creator (cf. Deut 32.6; Isa 63.16; 64.7[8]). Given the rarity of this imagery, it is likely that this passage echoes Deut 32.6, especially since Deuteronomy is one of the three main books upon which Malachi’s vocabulary seems to rely.

A final filial reference that may be indebted to Deuteronomy is Mal 3.17. Here the rare term ἁλή, which is found only eight times in the entire MT, is applied to Israel. Significantly, three of the eight occurrences of this word are found in Deuteronomy in reference to Israel (7.6; 14.2; 26.18; cf. Exod 19.5). It may also be significant that ἁλή is used in conjunction with father-son imagery in 3.17 much

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102 Moran, “Ancient Near Eastern Background,” 77-87; McKenzie and Wallace, “Covenant Themes,” 555-56; Smith, Malachi, 305.
103 Smith, Malachi, 311; Achtemeier, Malachi, 178.
105 This may be an emphatic lamed, as it stands before a noun in a verbless clause and assumes an emphatic “yes.” See Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §11.10.i.
107 Hill, Malachi, 228, 255 (also Jeremiah, Ezekiel); cf. Smith, Malachi, 321; Achtemeier, Malachi, 181.
108 LXX is περιεόκοιτος; περιεόκοιτος is used in Deuteronomy.
as it is in Deut 14.1–2. Thus the epithet נְפָא for Israel links Malachi’s message with Deuteronomy, and is quite likely another way Malachi denotes the father-son relationship between Israel and Yahweh in Deuteronomic terms.

Finally, it is to be noted that these references are found in the final portion of the Twelve that stands at the end of the Latter Prophets. As such, Malachi uniquely looks ahead in eschatological hope to a new day of salvation. This would be the day when Yahweh, as Israel’s Father, would spare his people as a man might his servile, or obedient, son (3.17; LXX: τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν διούλουντα αὐτῷ). Achtemeier rightly notes the eschatological implications of the application נְפָא to Israel in Mal 3: “[O]n the Day of the Lord the true Israel will stand forth and God’s covenant promise will be fulfilled. Israel, embodied in its remnant, will become as she was intended to be, a holy and faithful community, living under the reign of God.”

In conclusion, Malachi includes a number of passages with probable Deuteronomic influence, including imagery of God’s fatherhood and Israel’s need for obedient sonship. Additionally, the use of נְפָא in Mal 3.17 MT is an important verbal parallel with Deut 14.1–2 that communicates Israel’s treasured status as sons of Yahweh.

**Excursus: Proverbs**

It is not clear how important Proverbs was for Matthew, but Prov 3.11–12 is particularly relevant for the present focus on Deuteronomy, sonship, and obedience. A number of similarities between Proverbs and Deuteronomy have been suggested, but two are especially relevant here: the language of love and discipline. Here the father addresses his son, exhorting him not to reject the discipline (בְּרָאשָׁי; LXX: πατερικα) of Yahweh, since Yahweh reproves (בְּרָאשָׁי; LXX: πατερικος) those whom he loves, as a father reproves the son in whom he delights (םֹּאֶב אֲבָרֶךְ בָּעָדָיו; LXX: πάντα υἱὸν δὲν παραδίδεσθαι). It is to be noted in this

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110 See Achtemeier, Malachi, 194–95. She also suggests there might be an allusion here to Deut 21.18–21.

111 Ibid., 195.

passage that the discipline of Yahweh, which is designed to procure obedience, is directed toward the son whom he loves. This is quite similar to God’s fatherly discipline in Deut 8.5, and especially to the discipline of the rebellious son Deut 21.18–21.\textsuperscript{113}

**Excursus: Royal Sonship**

Sonship was not limited to national Israel in the OT, but also included the Davidic king (cf. 2 Sam 7; 1 Chron 17; Pss 2, 89, 110, 132). Although some modifications are necessary when addressing royal sonship, this should be seen as a particular incarnation of Israel’s national sonship that has its foundations in the covenantal relationship established between Yahweh and his people.\textsuperscript{114} Thus, royal sonship is a representative way to denote the sonship of Israel—the king is the representative of God’s people, and in one sense is the nation.\textsuperscript{115} And the king, as the “Epitome of the People,” was was not exempt from Israel’s call to an obedient filial relationship.\textsuperscript{116} Yahweh’s promise to correct the disobedience of the king (2 Sam 7.14: ἀμήν; LXX: ἐλέγχω) is especially significant here.\textsuperscript{117} Therefore, Israel’s national sonship and their need for obedience is maintained even when royal motifs are drawn to the fore; the sonship that distinguished Israel before the monarchy remained and was not abrogated by the the particularized, royal sonship.\textsuperscript{118}

For Matthew, both Israel as the corporate son of God and the Davidic king as son of God are important themes (though this study focuses on the former). In light

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{113} Bruce K. Waltke (*The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1–15* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 249) notes that the verb ἀμήν belongs to the sphere of legal proceedings, which suggests a similar context to Deut 21.18–21.
\item\textsuperscript{116} Joachim Bieneck, *Sohn Gottes als Christusbezeichnung der Synoptiker* (ATANT 21; Zürich: Zwingli, 1951), 22, 26.
\item\textsuperscript{117} Waltke, *Theology*, 661. Cf. Psa 89.30–32.
\end{itemize}
of the above observations, it is conceivable that Matthew would have considered
Israel’s sonship as articulated in the context of the Mosaic Covenant to be
foundational and antecedent to the monarchy, and thus the sonship of the Davidic
king would have arisen out of this Mosaic precedent.119

4.1.6 Preliminary Summary
Since Matthew is explicitly concerned with demonstrating how Jesus is the
fulfilment of the OT, a preliminary summary of OT passages is in order. Israel’s
national sonship is not limited to a few texts, but was developed and appropriated by
numerous biblical authors. Significantly, this relationship was, like Deuteronomy, to
be marked by obedience.120 Though many have argued that the prophetic books rely
upon the Mosaic Covenant as articulated in Deuteronomy, it is not necessary for the
present purposes to determine which actually came first. For Matthew, Moses would
have been the author of Deuteronomy and, as the prophet par excellence, was the
forerunner of all of Israel’s subsequent prophets. Therefore, it only needs to be
established that a sufficient number of parallels relating to sonship and obedience
exist to conclude that, from Matthew’s perspective, these prophetic themes were
likely building in part upon Deuteronomy. The evidence above strongly suggests
this is indeed the case.

4.2 Sonship and Obedience: Later Jewish Literature
It has thus far been argued that many OT compositions share with
Deuteronomy an interest in the father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel,
often in conjunction with obedience. In the sections that follow these same themes
will be traced through other relevant references in Jewish literature121 and early
Christian writings. For the following texts it is not necessary to determine which

119 So David R. Bauer, “The Kingship of Jesus in the Matthean Infancy Narrative: A Literary
Contexts, Content and Conditions of the Davidic Promises,” in Messiah and King in Israel and the

120 As Bieneck (Sohn Gottes, 17) notes of the OT witness, Sohn Gottes and Gehorsam belong
together.

121 For a detailed study of the fatherhood of God in several Jewish writings predating the NT, see
Angelika Strotmann, Mein Vater bist du! (Sir 51.10): Zur Bedeutung der Vaterschaft Gottes in
ones (if any) Matthew may have known. Instead, the purpose of the following sections is to trace the prevalence of imagery concerning Israel’s sonship and the call to obedience through various texts that form part of the interpretive milieu of Matthew’s day in order to establish the likelihood that Matthew may have made similar connections.

4.2.1 Qumran

4.2.1.1 Temple Scroll

As noted in chapter 2, the Temple Scroll (11QT) is a systematic rewriting of Exodus and Deuteronomy, with special emphasis on Deuteronomy. Within this framework the Qumran community’s sonship and correlated call to obedience are found in 11QT XLVIII, 7–10. Although these lines are a “redactional fusion” of Lev 19.28–29; 21.5; Deut 14.1–2, the explicit mention of the people as “sons of Yahweh, your God” (המם אמהו יתוה אלוהים ו) followed by specific holiness demands focused on the Land strongly resembles the language and structure of Deut 14. It is also noteworthy that the pericope of the rebellious son (Deut 21.18–21) is included in 11QT LXIV, 1–6. Although the author(s) of the Temple Scroll does not expound in detail the relationship between Israel’s sonship and obedience, the scroll may convey this connection inasmuch as it follows Deut 14, the Deuteronomic text that may be the most explicit in its correlation of sonship and obedience.

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122 See §2.2.1. The titles and translations for these documents come from Geza Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English (New York: Penguin, 1997).


127 The text of this pericope does not deviate in any significant way from Deuteronomy.
4.2.1.2 4QDibHam

4QDibHam (=4Q504) comprises collective prayers replete with biblical echoes. In 4Q504 III, 4–7 the community celebrates that God had named them sons (בֵּן) in the eyes of the nations, and had appointed Israel “my son, my first-born” (בֵּןָּךְ). The naming of Israel as firstborn reflects the first indication of this status in Exod 4.22. Moreover, the agglutination of scriptural passages in these prayers makes it difficult to distinguish sharply between images from various biblical passages. Thus, even though Israel is not referenced as firstborn son in Deuteronomy, the links to Deuteronomy in 4Q504 should not be discounted. Indeed, the next phrase in 4Q504 speaks of the discipline of Israel as a son (בֵּן), which is likely a reference to the connection between divine discipline and Israel’s filial status in Deut 8.5 (cf. Deut 21.18). These features, along with the elements of covenant, election, and Moses in the sections immediately following (4Q504 III, 9–12), suggest the Deuteronomic articulation of Israel’s sonship is operative in 4Q504.

4.2.1.3 Special Use Texts

Additionally, it is significant that Deut 8, 32—two passages that clearly convey Israel’s sonship—were not only found in copies of Deuteronomy at Qumran, but also circulated separately as special-use texts. The privileged position occupied by these texts suggests that the contents of Deut 8, 32, and consequently Israel’s filial designation, may have been even more familiar to the Qumran community than other portions of Deuteronomy or the Pentateuch.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Israel’s sonship is mentioned in Deut 8.5. Significantly, this verse often stands at the head of Deut 8 as a special-use text. For example, Deut 8.5–10 appears to have served as a basis for grace after meals in Qumran. In addition, 4QDeut includes Deut 8.5–10 in a separate column (V), which therefore also begins with a mention of Israel’s sonship. Likewise, 4QDeut

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129 For transcriptions of the Hebrew for 4Q504, see ibid., 139–68.
130 This point, and the interrelatedness of Exod 4.22/Deut 8.5, is also made by Strotmann, Mein Vater, 333–34.
131 See §2.1.2.
contains only Deut 8.5–10 (column I) and Deut 5.1–6.1 (columns II–VI), and therefore may also have highlighted Israel’s sonship.\(^{132}\)

4QDeut\(^1\) may also draw attention to Israel’s sonship in Deut 32: column XII contains Deut 32.7–8, but may well have contained all of Deut 32.1–9, and therefore another reference to Israel’s sonship (32.5–6).\(^{133}\) Similarly, 4QDeut\(^4\) contains, among other passages, portions of Deut 32.17–18, which refers to the God who begot Israel. Moreover, 4QDeut\(^4\) contains a unique reference to Israel’s sonship in Deut 32.43 (וה בֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל), and most likely would have contained several other references to Israel’s sonship if it originally contained the entire Song of Moses.\(^{134}\)

Although is impossible to know whether Matthew would have been aware of the special status afforded to these texts in places such as Qumran, the inclusion of Deut 8 in the Temptation Narrative of Q (which also includes portions of another special-use text from Qumran, Deut 6) renders it feasible that Deut 8 was also a well-known text outside the Qumran community. In addition, the prevalence of Deut 32 in early Christian writings indicates it was certainly a widely known text in the first century.\(^{135}\) In sum, Israel’s sonship as articulated in Deuteronomy seems to have been prominent in special-use texts at Qumran.

4.2.1.4 Damascus Document

Another relevant reference is the Damascus Document, which seems to have been patterned on Deuteronomy.\(^{136}\) In CD XIII, 8–9 it is said of the Guardian of the camp: “He shall love them as a father loves his children [ imread(?)], and shall carry [ unreadable] them in all their distress like a shepherd his sheep.”\(^{137}\) Here the metaphor of a father and shepherd are conflated, and are applied to a human being rather than to God. Nevertheless, the language for the Guardian here picks up on


\(^{134}\) Ibid., 93, 137. LXX also attests this phrase: τῷ αἴμα τῶν ὑλῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικάται.

\(^{135}\) For examples of widespread Christian usage, see §4.3 below.

\(^{136}\) See chapter 2.

language applied to God from the OT, and thereby underscores the community’s awareness of God’s fatherhood. Indeed, given the influence of Deuteronomy in the Damascus Document, the image of a father’s compassion may reflect such passages as Deut 1.31, although the explicit mention of compassion (זֶרֶךְ) is more similar to Psa 103.13.

4.2.1.5 Thanksgiving Hymns

The combination of filial imagery and obedience may also be found in 1QH XVII, 35–36. Here God as a Father to all his sons is contrasted with earthly parents. Worth noting is the phrase “sons of Thy truth” (בְּנֵי אֲבֹתְךָ), which likely refers to those who are faithful to God. 1QH XVII, 35 is thus a corporate statement of sonship, with the designation “sons of Thy truth” specifying the quality of those to whom God is a Father. The passage continues, comparing God to a foster-father (טַב) who cares for all his creatures. If this additional image intends God’s tender care to be applicable to all creatures indiscriminately, it would deviate from Deuteronomy that attributes this relationship specifically to God’s covenant people. Nevertheless, 1QH XVII clearly understands God to be a Father, and may intend this relationship to be viable especially, or only, for those who walk in obedience to him. However appropriate the thematic similarities of sonship and obedience in these two documents, the significant dearth of verbal links should caution one from making unwarranted assertions regarding the influence of Deuteronomy in the Thanksgiving Hymns.

138 This numbering follows Vermes’s adoption of E. Puech’s reconfiguration of these Hymns (it was formerly IX).

139 The reading בְּנֵי אֲבֹתְךָ is supported by Vermes, Scrolls, 284; Menahem Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 162, and the rendering of Wise, Abegg, Cook, and Gordon as found in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, vol. 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 48.

140 Maternal imagery is used for God’s compassion in 1QH XVII, perhaps reflecting Isa 49.15 or Deut 32.18.

141 Though it might reflect other biblical passages, such as Psa 145.9.
4.2.2 Sonship and Obedience: OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

4.2.2.1 Wisdom

The interrelatedness of righteousness and sonship is reflected in Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom 2 recounts the thoughts of the ungodly regarding the righteous man:

He professes to have knowledge of God, and calls himself a child of the Lord. He became to us a reproof of our thoughts; the very sight of him is a burden to us, because his manner of life is unlike that of others, and his ways are strange. We are considered by him as something base, and he avoids our ways as unclean; he calls the last end of the righteous happy, and boasts that God is his father. Let us see if his words are true, and let us test what will happen at the end of his life; for if the righteous man is God's son, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries. (Wis 2.13–18, RSV)

The obedience of this righteous man, the son of God, is highlighted by his reproaching the ungodly for their sins, and by his manner of life, which is different from the disobedience of others. This righteous man is referred to as παῖς κυρίου in 2.13, which may be a collective formula representing the entire community. Although the παῖς language suggests that the author may well have had in mind the Servant Song in Isa 52.13, the next few lines use more explicit sonship language. In 2.16 God is claimed as his Father, and in 2.18 it is clear that the impious speaker believes the righteous man claims to be the son of God (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ δύκαιος υἱὸς θεοῦ). Even here, however, the righteous man's significance goes beyond himself, likely referring to all the righteous in Israel. Thus the righteous son of God, may be viewed as a particularization of what Israel as son of God was called to be. In short, Wis 2 clearly connects the sonship of the righteous man/remnant with

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145 Strotmann, Mein Vater, 109, 116.
obedience. Although Wis 2 lacks verbal parallels with Deuteronomy, this joining of sonship with obedience stands in clear continuity with Deuteronomy.146

The connection with Deuteronomy is more readily demonstrable in Wis 11.4–14, which Strotmann has rightly argued has Deut 8.2–16 as its background.147 Key here is the correlation between discipline (παιδεύω; Wis 11.9) and God’s fatherhood (Wis 11.10; πατήρ), which is also found in Deut 8.5.148 In addition, the testing (ἐκ πειραμάτων) of Israel in Wis 11.4 corresponds to the same wording in Deut 8.2, 16 LXX, and the phrase ἐκ πείρας ἀκροτόμου is common to Wis 11.4/Deut 8.15. It is also significant that God’s role as a Father who disciplines Israel was included in the author’s retelling of the Exodus events in Wis 11. It is again important to remember that God’s fatherly discipline is necessary in order to procure obedience.149 Thus these references to discipline necessarily assume the importance of filial obedience.

An additional point worth noting in Wisdom is the tendency to see divine sonship as an eschatological reality, since it will only be in the future that all will be truly holy sons.150 Indeed, because the ideal state of the obedient son of God is seldom realized, this text lent itself to the possibility of later, messianic interpretation.151

4.2.2.2 Tobit

God’s fatherhood toward Israel is also found in Tob 13—a chapter that has already been shown to be greatly influenced by the Song of Moses.152 In Tob 13.4 it is said that the Lord God is Father to the sons of Israel. Since Tob 13 gleans heavily from Deut 32, the notion of God as Father probably also derives from Deut 32 (cf. Deut 32.6), especially since the summons in Tob 13.4 to make God’s greatness known echoes Deut 32.3.153 Here the notion of God’s fatherhood encourages the

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146 See also Wis 16.26, echoing Deut 8.3.
147 The following insights relating Deut 8/Wis 11 come from Strotmann, Mein Vater, 121–26.
148 Although the term “father” is not found in Deut 8.5, there is widespread agreement (as noted in chapter 3) that Yahweh is there portrayed as Israel’s Father.
149 Cf. Thompson, Promise, 54.
150 Larcher, Sagesse, 1:253.
151 De Kruijf, Der Sohn, 18.
152 See §2.2.2.
153 See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Tobit (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 308–9.
Israelite exiles to repent, since God is the one who sent them into Exile (13.3) and who would restore them again (13.5). These verses also recall the Deuteronomic doctrine of retribution corresponding to the people’s actions (Tob 13.3/Deut 4.25-40; Tob 13.5/Deut 30.1-3; Tob 13.6/Deut 30.10). \(^{154}\) Strotmann makes a similar argument, suggesting Deut 32.6 as a background for Tob 13.4 in light of the numerous Deuteronomic parallels in Tob 13 and the role of Deut 32.39 in Tob 13.2. \(^{155}\) More generally, she also notes the prevalence of fatherly language for God in Deut 32.1-20, which further enables Deut 32 to serve as an appropriate background for Tob 13. Significantly, Tobit also connects God’s fatherhood with discipline, \(^{156}\) which is necessary because of the people’s disobedience (Tob 13.2-5). In sum, Tob 13.4 derives primarily from Deut 32, and both passages share the view that the Israelites must be obedient sons.

4.2.2.3 Jubilees

Jubilees 1.24–25 contains an even more explicit link between Israel’s sonship and their call to obedience:

And their souls will cleave to me and to all my commandments. And they will do my commandments. And I shall be a father to them, and they will be sons to me. And they will all be called “sons of the living God.” And every angel and spirit will know and acknowledge that they are my sons and I am their father in uprightness and righteousness. And I shall love them. \((\text{Jub. 1.24–25})^{157}\)

Here it is those who do God’s commandments that will be God’s sons. Put differently, only those who are obedient to God will enjoy the filial relationship. In Jub. 1.23 the reason given for this is Yahweh’s purification of his people, his cutting the foreskins of their hearts. This final, definitive covenant will be made only with the faithful Israelites who are submissive to the laws of the covenant. \(^{158}\) Consistent

\(^{154}\) Ibid.; Strotmann, Mein Vater, 44–51.

\(^{155}\) Ibid., 49–53.


\(^{157}\) O. S. Wintermute, OTP, 2:54. He suggests Deut 14.1; Jer 31.9; Hos 1.10 as scriptural background for this passage. Cf. Jub. 2.20; 19.29.

with Deut 14.1–2; 32.4–6, this passage adds that God is a “father in uprightrightness and righteousness,” indicating the necessity of obedience in light of the holiness of God himself. Allusions to Deut 32, however, are more likely here, given the influence of Deut 31–34 in Jub 1. Thus, the designation of the obedient as “sons” within a section of Jubilees that has most likely been modeled after Deut 31–34 lends further credibility to the claim that the author has re-appropriated Deutoronomic teaching in a new context.

4.2.2.4 Psalms of Solomon

In Pss. Sol. 18.4 Israel bears the distinction of the Lord’s firstborn: “Your discipline for us (is) as (for) a firstborn son, an only child.” Again, Israel as firstborn reflects Exod 4.22, suggesting that the historical and literary context of the Pentateuch is in view. This is rendered more probable by the link between discipline and Israel’s collective status as son of God in Pss. Sol. 18.4 (cf. Deut 8.5). This discipline is viewed in conjunction with a cleansing that would precede the coming of the Messiah. Indeed, the Lord Messiah is said to bring with him a rod of discipline to direct people in righteous acts (Pss. Sol. 18.5–8). Combining these features, it can be said that in Pss. Sol. 18 Israel is the Lord’s firstborn who requires discipline in order to walk in obedience in preparation for the Messianic kingdom. In addition, it is noteworthy that it is only the righteous remnant in Pss. Sol. 13.4–9 that are identified as God’s sons. This ethical focus agrees with Deuteronomy’s vision of Israel’s calling to be God’s obedient son.

4.2.2.5 Additional Texts

Another text to consider is T. Mos. 10.3: “For the Heavenly One will arise from his kingly throne. Yea, he will go forth from his holy habitation with indignation and wrath on behalf of his sons.” This passage likely alludes to Deut

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159 Contra Chen (God as Father, 126–27) who suggests that the ethical demands of sonship in Jubilees is a new trajectory. She does, however, correctly affirm that “for the Israelites to be called degenerate, ungrateful, and unfaithful children of God in the Old Testament is a contradiction in terms” (127).

160 See the discussion in §2.2.2.6.

161 R. B. Wright, OTP, 2:669.

162 So Chen, God as Father, 129.

32.43 as reflected in the LXX, which states that God will avenge the blood of his 
sons.164

Another possible allusion to Deut 32 is found in 6 Ezra 1.24–25:165 "Woe to 
those who sin and who do not observe my commandments,’ says the Lord…‘Depart, 
you faithless children!’"166 Here the children are characterized as faithless due to 
their lack of obedience to God’s commandments, which may reflect Deut 32.20.

4.2.3 Philo

Philo’s teaching on the fatherhood of God is noteworthy because of the 
universality he ascribes to divine paternity. Although Philo in some instances 
recognizes God’s special relationship with Israel, he most often portrays God as the 
Father of the universe.167 The application of God’s fatherhood both to the universe 
in general and in a distinctive way to a select group is evident in Conf. 144–47. After 
commenting that, in contrast to those who believe numerous gods and fathers were 
responsible for the existing world, the God of the OT is the Creator and Father of all 
things (Conf. 144), Philo cites Deut 14.1; 32.6, 18 in Conf. 145 to indicate those who 
have the knowledge of the one God are the true sons of God.168 Thus he affirms both 
God’s universal fatherhood and the need to be found worthy to be sons of God in a 
special sense. This status is afforded to those who submit to God’s unique Firstborn, 
also known as the Word, the Beginning, the Man after God’s image, and Israel 
(Conf. 146).169 Although Philo’s treatment of this topic merits additional 
investigation beyond the scope of the present study, it will suffice here to note that 
his articulation of God’s peculiar fatherhood in this passage is drawn from 
Deuteronomic texts addressed in the previous chapter.

In addition, Philo notes in Deus 53–54 that the fatherhood of God in Deut 8.5 
is an anthropomorphism given for the sake of instruction; it does not actually teach

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165 Included as 2 Esdras 15.24–25 in English versions of the Apocrypha (so RSV).

166 B. M. Metzger, OTP, 1:556.

167 Chen, God as Father, 136. Cf. Somn. 2.27; Spec. 4.180; Conf. 63; Legat. 3.

168 These scriptural references are noted in Philo, Conf. 145 (Colson and Whitaker, LCL).

169 Language adapted from Colson and Whitaker, LCL.
God is a man. Here Philo appears to be more interested in the via negativa than in making positive statements about the nature of God's fatherhood. Finally, it is suggestive that Philo has a penchant for citing portions of Deut 8 (especially vv. 17–18). Although he does not typically include vv. 1–10 in these references, his frequent appeal to this chapter of Deuteronomy is further evidence of the extent to which Deut 8 was a familiar passage in the ancient world.

4.2.4 Josephus

Josephus writes relatively little about the sonship of Israel. His comments on Deut 21.18–21, however, are insightful. In Ant. 4.260–262 Josephus suggests the actions of the rebellious son are an affront to God, because God is the Father of all humanity and he "regards himself as a partner in the indignity done to those who bear the same title as himself." This statement of God's universal fatherhood is surely indicative of Josephus's apologetic aim to render Judaism palatable to his contemporaries. One additional point that bears repeating from chapter 2 is Josephus's familiarity with the Song of Moses, which he mentions explicitly in Ant. 4.303.

4.2.5 Targumic Literature

Although much (if not all) of the material contained in the targumic and rabbinic literature to be considered likely postdates the writing of Matthew, it is nevertheless worthwhile to consider the way certain Deuteronomic texts and themes were appropriated by the later Jewish community. If similarities to the literature surveyed above are also found in these (probably) later texts, it will lend added credibility to the argument that the correlation of sonship and obedience was a widely recognized relationship.

It will be helpful to consider first some Aramaic targums. Targum Onqelos, which was eventually adopted as the official targum of Babylonian Judaism, does not

171 Dogniez and Harl, Deutéronome, 69.
172 Ant. 4.262 (Thackeray, LCL).
offer many unique Aramaic renderings, given its relatively literal character. Of more interest is Targum Neofiti. Chilton notes that this targum, likely dating from the third century, includes a clever rendering of Deut 32.6 that emphasizes the unique fatherly relationship of God to Israel. This is communicated by the Aramaic rendering נ3פ for the Hebrew ה3פ. Whereas the latter term can mean either “create” or “purchase,” the Aramaic term denotes “acquire” more than “create,” indicating the particularity of God’s fatherhood to Israel. Preceding this, Tg. Neof. Deut 32.5 adds “beloved” before “sons,” revealing the conviction that the immensity of God’s love for Israel is seen in God’s bestowing a filial relationship upon them. The rendering of Tg. Neof. Deut 32.1 includes an additional reference to the Israelites as sons of the Lord, in contrast to the sons of man. The sense of this passage seems to be that the sons of the Lord enjoy a permanency not afforded to the sons of men. McNamara also notes that in Tg. Neof. Deut 4.30 “the Lord your God” is replaced by “your Father.” A further reference to God’s fatherhood comes in Tg. Neof. Deut 33.24, which refers to the Father of the twelve tribes who is in heaven.

The designation “beloved” is also found in Tg. Neof. Deut 14.1, where it replaces the designation “sons.” However, one should not conclude from this lacuna that Tg. Neof. did not understand the Israelites to be sons of God. This is evident from the renderings of Tg. Neof. Deut 1.31; 8.5, both of which refer to Israel as God’s son. Moreover, it is eminently likely that sons is missing from the manuscript in 14.1. In addition, Israel is clearly understood to be in a filial relationship to God in the renderings of Deut 32 noted above, where the combination of “beloved” with


175 Ibid., 157. Later Chilton suggests that this passage may have been based on later variants from the 11th–13th centuries (158–59).

176 Martin McNamara, Targum Neofiti 1: Deuteronomy. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes (ArBib 5A; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 147.

177 McNamara, Targum and Testament, 116. However, the 1997 translation produced by McNamara (Targum Neofiti 1, 39) does not attest this reading.

178 McNamara, Targum Neofiti 1, 172.

179 Alejandro Diez Macho, Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana 5: Deuteronomio (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978), 131, 496
“sons” in Tg. Neof. Deut 32.5 is particularly instructive. Chilton notes the overall prominence of God’s fatherhood in Tg. Neof., asserting that it is the essential link between Israel and God in this targum.

The connection between Israel’s beloved status and their position as sons is also made explicit in Tg. Ps-J. Deut 14.1, which reads: “you are like beloved sons before the Lord your God.” Similarly, Tg. Ps-J. Deut 32.5 refers to the Israelites as “dear children.” Another reference to the fatherhood of God is found in the addition of Tg. Ps-J. Deut 28.32, which notes the ability of Israel’s “Father in heaven” to rescue Israel from foreign oppressors. The same thought is found in FrG. Tg. Deut 32.6, which adds “in heaven” to the “your Father” found in the other Palestinian targums and in the Hebrew text.

Although the above references clearly echo and even expand the view of Deuteronomy that Israel was God’s son, some targums tend to avoid the phrase. Indeed, in the targums to the Prophets the designation “Father” for God is either replaced by another word or is reworked into a simile comparing God to a father. This is true for the targums of Isa 63.16; 64.7; Jer 3.4, 19; 31.9; Mal 1.6.

In sum, Israel’s sonship is clearly communicated through the targums of Deuteronomy. Some of these targums include additional references to God’s fatherhood in Deuteronomy. Thus, the targumic literature in general reflects a “rich conceptual development” of God as Father, extending to texts that do not speak of God’s fatherhood in the Hebrew tradition. In addition, the notion that Israel is a beloved son is often in the foreground. Overall, these targums reflect the perspective

180 McNamara also notes the equation of Israel’s beloved status with being sons of God in m. 2Abot 3:14 (ibid., 78). Also see Tg. Onq. Deut 14.2 which calls Israel the “beloved nation” just after noting their status as God’s sons. Cf. Bernard Grossfeld, The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes (ArBib 9; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 50.

181 Chilton, “God as Father,” 158.

182 Ernest G. Clarke, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy. Translated, with Notes (ArBib 5B; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 43. Italics added to highlight the addition of beloved.

183 Ibid., 90.

184 Ibid., 77; Chilton, “God as Father,” 160. McNamara (Targum and Testament, 116) notes that it is only in the Palestinian targums to the Pentateuch (Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, Fragmentary) that one finds the designation “Father in heaven.”

185 McNamara, Targum and Testament, 119.

186 Ibid., 115.

187 Ibid.
of Deuteronomy outlined in chapter 3. Thus, the acknowledgement of Israel’s divine sonship extended well into the first several centuries after the turn of the era.\textsuperscript{188}

4.2.6 Later Jewish Writings

A few additional references from later Jewish literature reveal views consistent with the Deuteronomic portrayal of obedient sonship advanced in chapter 3. One treasure trove of materials is the complex Tannaitic midrash known as \textit{Sifre} Deuteronomy, which dates from around 300 C.E. and systemically addresses passages from Deuteronomy, amplifying them by a variety of means.\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Sifre} Deut §48 points out the importance of Torah study, citing Deut 8.3 to affirm that “bread” refers to exegesis whereas “everything that comes out of the mouth of the Lord” refers to laws and lore.\textsuperscript{190} The comments that follow affirm that obedience does not only make the heart of one’s earthly father glad, but also gladdens one’s heavenly Father. Beyond this, an allegory in \textit{Sifre} Deut §48 compares a king (God) who handed a bird (Torah) to his servant (rabbinic sage) in order to keep it for his son (Israel).\textsuperscript{191} In addition to indicating the important role of the early rabbinic sages, this allegory is built upon the conviction that Israel’s life (as God’s son!) depends upon their adherence to the Torah. Thus \textit{Sifre} Deut §48 recognizes God’s fatherhood and the importance of obedience within that relationship.

Deuteronomy 14.1–2 is addressed in \textit{Sifre} Deut §§96–97. In §96 Rabbi Judah states that one is a child of God only if that person’s life is conducted in the

\textsuperscript{188} The triennial, Palestinian Torah reading cycle may also give some indication of the level of awareness of the connections between Israel’s sonship and Deuteronomy in Second Temple Judaism. According to Charles Perrot ("The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in \textit{Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity} [ed. M. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 137–59), the 143\textsuperscript{rd} cycle may have begun with Deut 14.1–15.6, and thus the clear statement that Israelites were sons of God. Interestingly, this likely would have been read conjunction with Isaiah 63.8ff, which indicates the waywardness of God’s children. In addition, the 157\textsuperscript{th} cycle would have read Deut 32 in conjunction with Isa 1.2ff—two passages that highlight the (disobedient) sonship of God’s people. The combination of these two sets of passages, all of which indicate Israel’s sonship, suggest that the understanding of Israel’s sonship, and the prophetic critique of Israel’s filial disobedience, were commonly recognized in the Second Temple period.


\textsuperscript{190} This phrasing comes from Neusner, \textit{Sifre}, 1:161.

\textsuperscript{191} For this interpretation, see Steven D. Fraade, \textit{From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy} (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 107.
way of good children. To be sure, Rabbi Meir disagrees with this view, observing that one is a child regardless of the level of obedience. Nevertheless, this interchange reveals the existence of some debate regarding the relationship of sonship to obedience in Deut 14.1–2. *Sifre* Deut §97 draws two insights from these verses. The first is simply that the Israelites are to sanctify themselves, and the second underscores the beloved status of Israel as God’s unique possession, surpassing everyone except the original patriarchs. In sum, *Sifre* Deut §§96–97 echo the concern of Deut 14 that Israel must be holy because of their filial relationship to God, and emphasize the lofty position held by Israel by virtue of this status.

*Sifre* Deut §308 again reveals a debate regarding sonship and obedience. Commenting on Deut 32.4–6, Rabbi Meir considers children covered with blemishes to be children of God, despite their disobedience. A rejoinder to this view is offered by Rabbi Judah, who insists that God’s children must bear no blemishes. In the end, *Sifre* Deut §308 agrees with Rabbi Meir, noting the appellation “children” for God’s people even when they are rebellious in such biblical texts as Isa 1.4; Jer 4.22; Ezek 33.31. Nevertheless, by the use of *qal wahomer* argumentation, *Sifre* Deut §308 reveals that the obedience of God’s children was a desideratum; their disobedience was a conundrum. A similar argument is found in *Sifre* Deut §320, which takes its cue from Deut 32.19–31. Again it is asked if the Israelites are God’s children when they anger him, how much more would this be true if they did not anger him?

Another perspective is found in *Sifre* Deut §32. Here prosperity in all of life is to be avoided. Instead, (citing Deut 8.5; Prov 3.12) the Lord’s chastisement of his son is necessary, since suffering is what causes the father to delight in his son.

Finally, the preciousness of the Israelites to God is manifest in *Sifre* Deut §§36, 309. *Sifre* Deut §309 observes the special effort the Lord made to acquire Israel, which indicates Israel’s supreme value to the Lord. In §36 Israel is precious because God’s commandments surround them. Indeed, in §36 the Israelites, as God’s children, are encouraged to be marked by God’s commandments, since this would render them desirable in their Father’s sight.

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The Palestinian Talmud also includes a relevant passage. Here the explanation of Rabbi Eleazar, following a partial citation of Deut 14.2,\(^{193}\) is recorded in response to the question of the identity of “sons.” His answer is:

When Israel does the will of the Holy One, blessed be he, they are called his children, and when Israel does not do the will of the Holy One, blessed be he, they are not called his children. (y. Qidd. 61c)\(^{194}\)

Thus, for Rabbi Eleazar there is a direct correlation between Israel’s obedience to God’s will and their designation as sons of God. Similarly, the Babylonian Talmud states: “when you behave as sons you are designated sons; if you do not behave as sons, you are not designated sons” (b. Qidd. 36a).\(^{195}\)

Also relevant is Deut. Rabb. 7.9, where Rabbi Judah quotes God as saying that the Israelites will be called his children when they receive his words. He continues, stating that the Israelites must occupy themselves with Torah study and divine precepts in order that everyone will recognize the Israelites as God’s children.\(^{196}\) In other words, the Israelites would be known as God’s children by knowledge of and adherence to God’s commandments.

This survey reveals a number of texts that speak of God’s fatherhood. This is in keeping with the trend of rabbinic materials in which God’s paternity is a common theme.\(^{197}\) Moreover, these authors are clearly aware of the relationship between Israel’s sonship and their call to obedience. Indeed, in some rabbinic texts the distinguishing mark of the Israelites’ filial identity is their faithfulness to the Torah. Thus it is appropriate to recognize the frequent correlation between sonship and

\(^{193}\) The partial citation reads: “For you are a holy people to the Lord your God.” Jacob Neusner, ed. (The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Expansion. Qiddushin [CSJH 26; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984], 111) is probably correct to see here a reference to Deut 14.2, since R. Eleazar’s response deals with the question of sonship, which is addressed in Deut 14.1. Vermes (Scrolls, 72–73) suggests R. Eleazar’s comment pertains to Deut 7.6.

\(^{194}\) This translation comes from Neusner, Qiddushin, 111.


\(^{196}\) For a translation of this passage, see J. Rabbinowitz, ed., Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy (London: Soncino Press, 1939), 143. See also Deut. Rabb. 12.7 for expositions of God’s fatherhood in Deut 1.31.

obedience in rabbinic materials in general, and in rabbinic comments on Deuteronomy in particular.

4.3 Sonship and Obedience: Early Christian Literature

Attention will now be given to the way in which certain Christian writers show an awareness of Israel’s call to obedient sonship, particularly in relationship to Deuteronomy. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that Matthew was by no means the only early Christian who related the themes of sonship and obedience.

4.3.1 Pauline Epistles

Philippians 2.15, which draws from Deut 32.5, is perhaps the clearest application of Deuteronomic sonship among the epistles of the NT. Paul’s use of τέκνα in Phil 2.15, in reference to the Philippians, derives from the OG of Deut 32.5. But Paul also draws upon this passage to specify that the Philippians should be blameless (ἄμωμοι) children of God. The Philippians are to be distinguished from their present generation by living holy lives befitting God’s children, thus enabling them to shine as stars in the midst of a dark world. Although he does not employ the precise term for “son,” Paul clearly recognizes the familial relationship afforded to Israel in the Song of Moses, and encourages the Philippians to live obediently in light of that relationship.

A second passage to consider is Rom 9.4. It should be admitted at the outset that there are no apparent verbal parallels that would necessitate Paul’s use of Deuteronomy here. Nevertheless, this passage may be a significant indication of Paul’s conviction that corporate Israel was called to obedient sonship, and this appears to be derived from the Pentateuch (perhaps in part from Deuteronomy). It is therefore worthy of consideration here. In Rom 9.4–5 Paul lists several privileges afforded to the Israelites, the first being adoption (υἱόθεσία), which most likely refers to Israel’s unique, national sonship. Cranfield rightly notes that υἱόθεσία entails

198 The basis for this allusion was given in chapter 2.
199 Peter T. O’Brien (The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 293) observes that τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα stands in apposition to ἀμετμητοὶ καὶ ἀκέραιοι.
200 So James D. G. Dunn, Romans (2 vols.; WBC 38A–B; Waco: Word, 1988), 2:526; C. E. B. Cranfield, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975–79), 2:461; Thomas R. Schreiner, Romans (BECNT; Grand Rapids:
the Lord’s adoption of Israel in the Exodus that began his paternal relationship with Israel, and that Israel was required to respond with love, trust, and obedience.\textsuperscript{201} Similarly, Fitzmyer observes the fatherly affection that was constantly shown to Israel, which should have led to Israel’s filial obedience.\textsuperscript{202} Indeed, for Paul Israel’s disobedience which is evident in their apparent exclusion from God’s promises, is all the more shocking in light of God’s fatherly affection toward Israel, and even calls into question the faithfulness of God himself (9.6)!\textsuperscript{203}

In addition, Paul’s list of privileges in Rom 9.4–5 can be divided into two sets of three, with each element in the respective lists finding a conceptual correlate in the other.\textsuperscript{204} In this relationship, Israel’s adoption/sonship corresponds to the giving of the law. It is therefore possible that Israel’s sonship and the giving of the law have more in common than only their origin in the Exodus events. It may be that Paul viewed the law itself as a distinguishing mark of Israel’s sonship. If so, this would be another way of intimating the need for Israel’s filial obedience. This point, however, must remain only a preliminary suggestion, especially since it is not altogether clear if the process of law-giving or the content of the law is intended by νομοθεσία.\textsuperscript{205}

Another relevant passage that speaks of God’s fatherhood is 2 Cor 6.18, which mainly comprises a citation of 2 Sam 7.14. However, Paul curiously takes Nathan’s oracle that David’s seed would be God’s son and applies it to the Corinthians, stating that they would the Lord’s sons and daughters. Many commentators interpret the inclusion of daughters here to come from Isaiah (e.g., 43.6; 49.22; 60.4).\textsuperscript{206} It is possible, however, that the plural sons and daughters


\textsuperscript{201} Cranfield, Romans, 2:461.

\textsuperscript{202} Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Romans: A New Translation, with Introduction and Commentary (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 545. Both Cranfield and Fitzmyer note the Deuteronomic background for understanding Israel’s sonship and call to filial obedience.

\textsuperscript{203} So Schreiner, Romans, 482.

\textsuperscript{204} The two sets are: 1) adoption, glory, covenants; 2) giving of the law, worship, promises. Cf. Schreiner, Romans, 483.

\textsuperscript{205} Cranfield (Romans, 2:463) writes that the content of the law is in view, while Moo (Romans, 564) prefers the giving of the law. Schreiner (Romans, 483) takes a more agnostic view.

\textsuperscript{206} Cf. Margaret E. Thrall, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–2000), 2:478–79; Murray J. Harris, The
reflects Deut 32.19. A reference to Deut 32.19 would be fitting in light of the shared polemic against idolatry in 2 Cor 6.14–7.1 and Deut 32.7, 15–18.\(^{207}\) This is also similar to the way Paul uses Deut 32 in his argument against idolatry in 1 Cor 10.20, 22.\(^{208}\) An allusion to Deut 32.19 in 2 Cor 6.18 is also plausible in light of Phil 2.15, which calls God’s people to be *holy children* in the midst of a crooked generation (Deut 32.5). If 2 Cor 6.18 alludes to Deut 32.19, it would similarly be a reference to God’s children applied positively to Christians, though taken from a context warning against familial rebellion.

These NT passages are important inasmuch as they indicate a larger awareness of and appeal to Israel’s call to obedient sonship from the OT to the early church. Moreover, at least one of these passages (Phil 2.15) argues for filial obedience *directly* from Deuteronomy. Thus, although it will be argued that Matthew primarily applied these themes to Jesus, the passages above establish the precedent of uniquely Christian applications of Deuteronomic sonship texts.

### 4.3.2 Later Christian Literature

God’s fatherly discipline is addressed in *1 Clem.* 56. This section, which is devoted almost entirely to the subject, ties God’s discipline in with God’s fatherhood in at least two places. The first is the citation of Prov 3.12/Heb 12.6 at *1 Clem.* 56.3–4, which argues that God disciplines every son whom he loves. The second is found in the summary at *1 Clem.* 56.16, which states that God’s discipline is at the same time great protection, because God is a kind Father who disciplines his people that they might receive mercy.\(^{209}\) These thematic connections between God’s fatherhood and discipline, especially in *1 Clem.* 56.16, may reflect (at least in part) Deuteronomy, given the role of Deuteronomy in *1 Clem.* 52, 59.\(^{210}\)

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\(^{208}\) Ibid., 210. Cf. §2.3.1.1.


\(^{210}\) See §2.3.2.
One other Christian author to consider is Athanasius (ca. 293–373), whose *Orations against the Arians* first sets forth his understanding of God’s divine fatherhood. Interestingly, these disputation reveal a disagreement over the nature of sonship described in *Deuteronomy*. In a portion arguing that Jesus is not *created* but *begotten* (2.58–61), Athanasius takes exception with the Arians’ exegesis of Deut 32.6, 18. According to Athanasius, his opponents equated *created* and *begot* in these verses, thereby misunderstanding the nature of begetting.

In response, Athanasius maintains a distinction between *created* and *begot*: the two terms refer to different natures, with *begot* being the more important term. For Athanasius it is also significant that God is portrayed as the Creator of men in Deut 32 before he is portrayed as the One who begot them (*C. Ar. 2.58*). This is consistent with the nature of man who must first be created, after which some are called to be sons through the unique Son (*C. Ar. 2.59*). In contrast, Jesus was begotten before he was created (his creation being his incarnation) since God is his Father by nature (*C. Ar. 2.61*). This reveals Athanasius’s concern to defend the eternal generation of the Son. For Athanasius the purpose of the begetting imagery in Deut 32 is to indicate God’s love toward men and give Moses an opportunity to reproach his audience, since they were ungrateful in spite of God’s graciousness (*C. Ar. 2.58*).

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212 The following discussion relies on *C. Ar. 2.58–61* (*NPNF*² 4:380–81).


214 Ibid., 219–20. Widdicombe also notes that, for Athanasius, all instances of begetting in the Bible refer in some way to the Son.

215 The exegetical methods of Athanasius are not always straightforward. Widdicombe (*Fatherhood*, 212) even suggests: “The passages of exegesis in Athanasius’ writings are often extensive, repetitious, and seemingly convoluted.” He nevertheless lists several features of Athanasius’s method, including the observation that reality is prior to words, which probably serves as part of Athanasius’s rationale in *C. Ar. 2.58–61* (212–13, 217).

216 It may be that Athanasius understands the generic “men” here to refer to Israel, since it is they who were called to be God’s sons and who were addressed by the Prophets (cf. *C. Ar. 2.59*).

Although the writings of Athanasius are surely worthy of more detailed investigation, this brief glimpse into the controversies of his day serves as an illustration of the way later authors utilized Deuteronomy to articulate particular views of sonship. Athanasius differed with the Arians’ interpretation of Deut 32 and its implications for Christology.

4.4 Summary and Conclusions

Now that the relevant literature has been considered, a more comprehensive summary is in order.

1) The concept of Israel’s national sonship is found in numerous Jewish and Christian texts. The most prominent Deuteronomic passages echoed in later literature appear to have been Deut 8, 32 (as well as Deut 21), although parallels to Deut 1, 14 have also been adduced.

2) Of particular significance for the present study is the observation that Israel’s sonship is frequently referenced in connection with the need for obedience. The frequent references to the discipline of a son should be understood as a corollary to the need for a son to be obedient.

3) Although most of the texts included above consider all Israelites to be God’s sons, sometimes this designation is limited to a faithful remnant. Additionally, some authors applied God’s fatherhood to all creatures in general.

4) Israel’s sonship is a prominent way of underscoring Yahweh’s divine, paternal love for his children. This is clear in the OT passages, but is perhaps equally prominent in later Jewish writings.

5) Deuteronomic texts were applied to new situations in a variety of ways. Especially relevant for this study is the practice of Christian authors who applied passages intended for Israel to Christian audiences. More generally, Christian writers generally reinterpreted Deuteronomic passages in light of the person and work of Jesus Christ.

In sum, it should be noted that all these features—Yahweh’s love for his son Israel, along with his expectation of filial obedience—are foundationally expounded in Deuteronomy. Although it is impossible to know how many of the texts surveyed in this chapter Matthew may have known, the profusion of biblical and non-biblical texts that correlate Israel’s sonship and obedience is striking. This increases the
plausibility that Matthew and his readers were aware of these connections. Furthermore, these passages not only indicate that God had loved Israel and that Israel in turn was called to filial obedience, but there is a pervasive realization that Israel had not been faithful to this calling. Some of these texts even look ahead in eschatological hope to a day when God’s wayward children would be renewed in their covenantal faithfulness. In a word, many of these texts reveal that Israel was not the obedient son they were called to be.
Chapter Five

Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew

Part 1: Strong and Likely Allusions

In preceding chapters it has been argued that Deuteronomy was of preeminent importance not only to Matthew (chapter 1), but to numerous authors in the ancient world (chapter 2); that Deuteronomy conveys a prominent message of Israel’s sonship and call to obedience within that relationship (chapter 3); and that these related themes of sonship and obedience are prominent in other Jewish and Christian writings, often found in contexts that echo the language and themes of Deuteronomy (chapter 4). This study will now apply these insights to the Gospel of Matthew. It will be argued that Matthew also utilized language and themes from Deuteronomy in his articulation of Jesus’ sonship and obedience to his Father. Indeed, understanding the teaching of Deuteronomy provides a significant background for the way Matthew understands Jesus’ relationship to Israel and Jesus’ fulfilment of the Scriptures.1

The following sections will categorize Matthew’s scriptural engagement under three main headings. The first is strong allusions and will focus on Matt 4.1–11, a text that most conspicuously connects Jesus’ obedient sonship with Israel’s sonship via Deuteronomy (Deut 8). The second category, likely allusions, refers to texts that incorporate textual citations/allusions, themes, and/or images from Deuteronomy in a way that highlights Jesus’ obedient sonship. The third set of texts, possible allusions, assumes the first two categories and, as part of a cumulative argument, will suggest other texts that fit the schema suggested in the first two categories. Chapter 5 will discuss only strong and likely allusions; chapter 6 focusing on significant possible allusions; and chapter 7 on other possible allusions.

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1 It bears reemphasizing the extent to which Deuteronomy is cited by Matthew, as well as Matthew’s penchant for alluding to those scriptural texts that form the foundation for this thought (such as the oft-cited Deuteronomy; cf. chapter 1 of this study).
These chapters seek to present a cumulative and coherent case, highlighting what Richard Hays has called “clusters” of ideas,\(^2\) that describe Jesus in terms of Deuteronomy’s call for a filially faithful Israel. Although it has been argued in chapter 4 that the theme of Israel’s sonship is found in other documents besides Deuteronomy, Matthew’s clear interest in Deuteronomy (evidenced by the number of citations) and the prevalence of Israel’s sonship in Deuteronomy provide a *prima facie* likelihood that Matthew gleans from *Deuteronomy’s* perspective of sonship. Moreover, Matthew’s citations and verbal parallels with Deut 8, 32 are significant, since these are two well-known texts from Deuteronomy that highlight Israel’s sonship. The discussion below will reveal that Matthew, much like a number of other ancient authors, recognized and utilized the theme of Israel’s sonship from Deuteronomy for his own purposes. Matthew demonstrates continuity with writings that precede him, yet also exhibits a distinctive interpretation of Deuteronomy that centers around his understanding of the unique life and work of Jesus Christ. It is to these Matthean texts that most of the remainder of the study will be devoted.

### 5.1 Strong Allusion(s): Matt 4.1–11

The most explicit Matthean passage connecting the sonship of Jesus and the sonship of Israel in Deuteronomic terms is the Temptation Narrative (4.1–11). This passage immediately follows Jesus’ baptism and the revelation via a heavenly voice that he is God’s Son (3.13–17). After this declaration of Jesus’ sonship, he is then (τότε) in 4.1 led by the Spirit\(^3\) into the wilderness to be tested by the devil (πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου). After fasting 40 days and nights,\(^4\) vv. 3–11 recount three temptations presented to Jesus by the devil, along with Jesus’ responses.

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2 A point Hays emphasized in a conversation with the author (11 December 2008).


4 Νόκται υποεράκωντα is a Matthean insertion, which is likely intended to recall Moses’ fast of 40 days and nights as recorded in Exod 34.28; Deut 9.9. This is but one indication that Matthew’s knowledge of the Pentateuch was not limited to his sources. Cf. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97), 1:358. The Mosaic resonances here highlight the Mosaic background for Matthew’s thought, but it should not be assumed that Jesus as the New Moses (so Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993]) and Jesus as the obedient son are competing themes. Rather, they are complementary, though here sonship may be stronger given the explicit testing of Jesus’ sonship (see below).
Significantly, in these temptations Jesus’ divine sonship is a prominent theme, and by means of this sonship Jesus represents national Israel. The text’s filial focus is evidenced in the devil’s preface to the first two temptations (4.3, 6): εἰ υἱὸς εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ. As a number of scholars have noted, it is probably correct here to view these statements as first class conditionals, which assumes the truth of the statements.

Thus, the devil is not questioning the fact of Jesus’ divine sonship (which the heavenly voice had just declared to be true in 3.17), but the mode of Jesus’ divine sonship. Put differently, according to this passage the proper appropriation of Jesus’ divine sonship entails a proper understanding of the biblical background of sonship. This is suggested by the most relevant passage for the present purposes: the citation of Deut 8.3 in Matt 4.4 in the first temptation.

Moreover, a significant study by Birger Gerhardsson, which remains commonly invoked by scholars, suggests that Matt 4.1–11 is an haggadic midrash on Deut 6–8. Although Gerhardsson’s case for haggadic midrash appears to be a bit speculative given his overstated emphasis on the role of the Shema, there is nevertheless widespread agreement with Gerhardsson that the three citations to Deut 6–8 in Matt 4 are indicative of a larger correspondence between the two passages, including themes and scenic background.

Thus, Gerhardsson is probably correct that the sonship of Israel is key to understanding all three temptations, even though sonship is only explicitly mentioned in the first two. It is probably also correct that a proper understanding of Deut 6–8 provides the key to the whole episode.

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8 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:353.


10 Gerhardsson, Testing, 11.

5.1.1 First Temptation

In Matt 4.2 Jesus is said to have fasted for 40 days and nights, after which he was hungry. The devil uses this opportunity to encourage Jesus to turn some stones into bread (4.3). Jesus responds with a most fitting citation of Deut 8.3: οὐκ ἐπὶ ἁρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεις ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἔκπορευομένῳ δία στόματος θεοῦ. The only difference between the Matthean version and the LXX is the omission of the definite article before ἔκπορευομένῳ. 12 Deuteronomy 8.3 is also cited in Luke 4.4, but the citation there ends after ἄνθρωπος. Here Matthew has almost certainly expanded the citation from Q (rather than Luke has truncated it)13 in order to highlight his concern with the word of God and Jesus’ obedience to it.14 This would also indicate that Matthew knew Deut 8 beyond what was cited in his sources.15

Following the precedent of Gerhardsson noted above, it is also possible to adduce a number of additional correspondences between Matt 4 and Deut 8. Thus, the words spoken to Israel in Deut 8.3 are found in the context of Israel’s testing when they hungered in the wilderness. Similarly, Jesus’ temptations are set in a wilderness context where he also hungers. In Deut 8.2–3 Moses reminds the Israelites how Yahweh had guided them for 40 years, a number which corresponds to Jesus’ 40-day fast. These same verses indicate that Israel’s wilderness hungers were designed to reveal their hearts, and consequently whether they would keep Yahweh’s commandments. Likewise, Jesus’ testing was designed to test his obedience in a specific situation in time of need. In both instances the divine word was more important than fleshly appetites.

It is important to note the way in which these similarities underscore what is likely the most prominent connection between Jesus and Israel in Matt 4: the parallel—or better contrast—between their sonships, as Jesus here relives the

12 The MT does not contain “word.” Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:363n.23.
13 This conclusion is reached by an impressive number of scholars, on which see Christoph Heil, ed., Q 4.1-13, 16: The Temptations of Jesus Nazara (DocQ; Leuvan: Peeters, 1996), especially 142–46.
temptations of his ancestors.\textsuperscript{16} The sonship of Israel is assumed in Deut 8.3 (and in all of Deut 8.1–10), but is specifically mentioned in Deut 8.5. Although Deut 8.5 is not explicitly cited in Matt 4, scholars are in virtually unanimous agreement that the sonship of Israel from Deut 8.5 is of the utmost importance for understanding the first temptation.\textsuperscript{17} More extensively, Davies and Allison suggest all of Deut 8.1–10 as the requisite background for understanding the devil’s temptation and Jesus’ response.\textsuperscript{18}

Of course, assuming the hypothetical reconstruction(s) of Q, Matthew may not have been the first one to note these connections between Jesus and Israel. Nevertheless, Matthew demonstrates in his more extended citation of Deut 8.3 and in the details of his narrative that he was well-aware of the contents of Deut 8 and molded his narrative to compare and contrast Jesus’ sonship in his temptation with the sonship of Israel in their wilderness temptation from Deut 8.\textsuperscript{19}

5.1.2 Second Temptation

As in the first temptation, in the second temptation the devil also assumes Jesus’ divine sonship, prefacing this temptation with “Εἶ ὁ ὡς οὗ τοῦ θεοῦ” (4.5). Here the devil challenges Jesus to throw himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple. The rationale given by the devil is a quotation from the OG of Psa 90.11–12 (91 MT).\textsuperscript{20} Jesus responds in Matt 4.7 by quoting from Deut 6.16: οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου.


\textsuperscript{18} Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:363. By way of example, they also mention the presence of stones [and bread! in Deut 8.9 which they suggest was well-known to Matthew. On a different note, the term used for Jesus’ tempting in Matthew (πειράζω) may also link this account to Deuteronomy, where ἐκπειράζω (MT: נדꙇ) is used for a covenantal testing (cf. Deut 8.2; so Gerhardsson, Testing, 25). The covenant is assumed in Deuteronomy (probably even in the very concept of sonship), and Jesus’ testing, as the recapitulation of Israel’s testing, is the quintessential covenantal testing.

\textsuperscript{19} So Menken, “Deuteronomy,” 49.

\textsuperscript{20} Matthew’s version reflects the LXX, excepting the omission of the second half of 90.11 and the insertion of καὶ.
It is to be stressed that the second temptation is also the second time the sonship of Jesus is explicitly challenged, and the second time that Jesus rebuts a temptation of the devil by quoting from Deuteronomy. Thus the primary significance of the second temptation is the demonstration of Jesus’ obedient sonship in conjunction with Deuteronomy. However, another possibility in this passage is whether the devil’s response may betray a secondary allusion to the sonship of Israel from Deut 1.31. (Thus, this is a possible and not a strong allusion. However, this possibility is considered here due to its location in the midst of strong connections to Deuteronomy.) A combination of verbal parallels (though to the Hebrew) and thematic links suggests this possibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psa 90.12 LXX</th>
<th>Psa 91.12 MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἁρπαζίαν σε μῆποτε προσκόψης πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου</td>
<td>יְבִלְרַכְסִים שְׁמַנְתָּךְ פְּרָחַיְךָ יְבִלְרָכָלָּךְ</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deut 1.31 LXX</th>
<th>Deut 1.31 MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ ἦν ἐλάστε ὡς ἐτροφοφόρησεν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὡς εἰ τῆς τροφοφόρησε άνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὅδον ἦν ἐπορεύθητε ἐκεῖ ἠλθεῖε εἰς τὸν τόπον τούτον</td>
<td>ἀλλὰς ἡμὰς ἀναλίητα ἀπορρίμματα καὶ τὰ τρέχοντα ἐν κέλτοις ἀναλίητας αὐτοῖς κτενίσματα ἀπορρίμματα καὶ τὰ τρέχοντα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The context of Deut 1, much like Psalm 90[91] speaks of God’s tender care for Israel and his bearing them up. This bearing of Israel is communicated in Psa 90.12 LXX by αἴρω, whereas in Deut 1.31 it is conveyed by τροφοφόρεω. However, in the MT both passages convey God’s tender care by the term קֶשֶׁ.21 Significantly, this term (as noted in chapter 3) is used for God’s bearing up Israel as on wings in two well-known passages: Exod 19.4; Deut 32.10–11. The importance of these passages increases the likelihood that, even though it was a common word, Matthew

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21 So Dupont, Tentations, 32.
(and/or Q\textsuperscript{22}) may have known the usages of \textit{\gamma\nu\pi\omicron} in reference to God's covenantal care for Israel, and consequently connected the term with another reference to Israel’s sonship in Deut 1. Indeed, it is significant that in Deut 1 this language is connected to God’s \textit{fatherhood}, since in the second temptation the issue is again Jesus’ \textit{sonship}. It is for these reasons that a number of scholars suggest that Deut 1.31 may in fact be in view in Matt 4, even though it is certainly not the \textit{primary} OT resonance.\textsuperscript{23}

If Matthew did recognize such a connection between Psa 90[91] and Deut 1,\textsuperscript{24} it is of course also possible that he was not dependent on the Hebrew, but that he knew of a variant OG reading that employed \textit{\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\omega} in Deut 1.31. However, this theory suffers from a lack of any known variants that attest \textit{\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\omega} in Deut 1.31.\textsuperscript{25} It is more likely that, if Matthew and/or Q did intend this allusion to Deut 1, it was based on a Hebrew text.\textsuperscript{26} In support of this hypothesis is the recognizable Hebrew influence in many of Matthew’s OT references (as noted in chapter 1).\textsuperscript{27} Thus it is not out of the question that in the midst of a gospel passage replete with Deuteronomic echoes, Matthew may have found a secondary allusion to Deut 1.31 in his inclusion of Psa 90[91]—which shares a key term with Deut 1.31 in the MT—in addition to more general, thematic correspondence. However, this should not be considered much more than a possibility. The more certain observation is that in the second temptation Jesus’ sonship, most likely in contrast to Israel, is again in view.

\textsuperscript{22} To reiterate the approach of this study, although I am interested in Matthew’s sources, the \textit{composition criticism} approach is concerned primarily with the integrity of the whole gospel, so it will be assumed that Matthew understood and made his own any quotations he includes.


\textsuperscript{24} It is also possible that a connection to Deut 1 could have been made in Q without Matthew being aware of it. However, given Matthew’s clear interest in Deuteronomy throughout his gospel, it is more likely that if a link is to be found in Q, Matthew also would have recognized this.


\textsuperscript{26} Questions such as this highlight the difficulty in identifying precisely what Matthew’s OT \textit{Vorlage(n)} may have been.

5.1.3 Third Temptation

In addition to these first two temptations that clearly focus on Jesus’ sonship, Matthew includes a third that does not explicitly mention the sonship of Jesus. However, as noted above, it may well be that the first two temptations provide the precedent for the third temptation, so the sonship of Jesus is assumed in the third as well. Luz takes this approach, observing that in each of the three temptations Jesus’ affirms his sonship to God in obedience to the word of God from the OT.\textsuperscript{28} Similarly, as noted above, it is probably correct that Deut 8 (and therefore Israel’s sonship) provides the key for understanding all three temptations.\textsuperscript{29} However, even if the third temptation is not to be viewed as a direct challenge of Jesus’ sonship, the first two temptations provide ample warrant for understanding Jesus’ temptations in general to be the reliving of Israel’s temptations as God’s son.

5.1.4 Summary and Significance

In sum, Matt 4.1–11 clearly links Jesus’ sonship with Israel’s sonship as articulated in Deuteronomy, while also including a vindication of Jesus’ sonship that is based on his quotations from Deuteronomy. It is thus highly significant that all three of Jesus’ responses to the devil are taken from Deut 6–8. These responses provide the key for understanding the entire passage.

In addition to the similarities already noted, one other correspondence between this passage and Deut 6–8 is worth noting. In both instances God’s son is tested before a watershed event. In Deuteronomy Moses, who was about to leave the Israelites, exhorted them to remain faithful as they were preparing to enter the Promised Land. Moses therefore reminded them of their need for perpetual faithfulness to God’s word. Similarly, Matt 4.1–11 is the final component of Jesus’ preparation before he begins his public ministry (4.17). In Deuteronomy Israel was called to be God’s obedient son. In Matthew’s temptation narrative, Jesus recapitulates the experience of Israel’s sonship and, quoting from Deuteronomy, demonstrates he is the fully obedient Son of God in the way Israel was called to be.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28} Luz, \textit{Matthew}, 1:150.


\textsuperscript{30} Kennedy (“Recapitulation,” 39) lists four elements of recapitulation: repetition, summing up, representation, embodiment.
Thus, Jesus demonstrates himself to be the true Israel who completes and fulfills Israel’s history, while also serving as a representative for his people. More extensively, a number of scholars have observed that the basis for all of Matthean Christology is fundamentally established in Matt 1.1–4.16. It is also argued that 1.1–4.16 should be considered a unified prologue, since this section contains the entire gospel in kernel form.

Regardless of how one chooses to articulate the structure of Matthew, the christological focus of 1.1–4.16 that closely identifies Jesus with Israel is clear. Within this, 4.1–11 might rightly be considered the climax of Matthew’s extended introduction to Jesus. It is highly significant that the focus of this passage is Jesus’ obedient sonship in contrast to Israel.

### 5.2 Likely Allusions

This section comprises two series of texts that should likely be considered Matthean allusions to the Deuteronomy’s view of obedient sonship. Each of these focuses in some way on the sonship of Jesus or his disciples, and each text deals with obedience or disobedience in connection with either Jesus’ sonship or the familial relationship of the disciples. Moreover, it will be argued that each of these texts reveals Deuteronomic influence by way of citation or extensive thematic similarities.

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35 Gibbs (Matthew 1:1–11:1, 42) writes: “The ultimate significance of Jesus, his conflict with the leaders of Israel and with Satan himself, and his ultimate triumph ad the ensuing mission from Galilee are all presented, yet in kernel form” (italics his).

36 So Kynes, *Christology of Solidarity*, 9–11.
5.2.1 Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5–7)

5.2.1.1 Deuteronomic Influence in the SM

The Sermon on the Mount (SM) marks the first of Matthew’s five major discourses.37 At least four things are striking about the SM for the present purposes. First is the density of citations to Deuteronomy in these three chapters (a reasonable estimate is six).38 Probable citations and allusions include Matt 5.21 (Deut 5.17 [5.18 LXX]); 5.27 (Deut 5.18 [5.17 LXX]); 5.31 (Deut 24.1, 3); 5.33 (Deut 5.11, 20; 23.22); 5.38 (Deut 19.21 [cf. Exod 21.24; Lev 24.20]); 5.43c (Deut 7.2; 20.16; 23.4, 7).39 Although Matthew’s SM is in many ways close to Luke’s Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6.17–49), it is instructive that these Deuteronomic references are unique to Matthew.40

Second, in addition to these rather explicit references, Matthew’s SM shows a number of syntactical earmarks of having been influenced by Deuteronomy. Some of these have been articulated by Paul Ellingworth.41 Ellingworth seeks to account for the frequent alternation between singular and plural second person statements in the SM by observing the similar phenomenon in the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy (Deut 27.2; 30.19; cf. Exod 22.22–23; Lev 19.19), which is for Ellingworth “too striking to be ignored.” In addition, he notes that in several of these alternations there are series of sayings with a wide application (e.g., οὐκεῖν [5.31]; οὐκ έδόθη [5.32]; ὑπερτύεις [5.39]; πάς οὐ [5.22; 7.8]). This is consonant with what one finds in some of the legal precedents from the Pentateuch (Deut 18.12, 19; 22.5; cf. Exod

Scholars are in widespread agreement that Matt 5–7 should be treated as a unit, though nothing approaching a consensus of its structure has been reached (so Nolland, Matthew, 196).

This is the number given by Menken, “Deuteronomy,” 42–62.

Ibid., 42.


For the discussion that follows see Ellingworth, “‘Thou’ and ‘You’ in the Sermon on the Mount,” BT 58 (2007): 11–19. Thanks are due to Dr. Ellingworth for bringing this article to my attention.
21.12–17 et al.; Lev 11.24–27). Although Ellingworth himself is hesitant to argue for direct influence of Deuteronomy on the SM, he does conclude that the focus on the law in the SM (5.21–48) gives ample warrant for inferring that Deuteronomy (and Pentateuchal traditions) may be in view throughout the SM. Ellingworth has thus adduced syntactical evidence supporting the claim that Deuteronomy may have influenced the SM.

Third, another earmark that points to Deuteronomy’s influence in the SM is the role of blessings and curses at its conclusion. The SM ends by outlining the blessings of obedience versus the consequences of disobedience that follow a presentation of the demands of God (7.13–27; cf. Deut 28; 30.15; also Lev 26.3–46). Similarly, France suggests that Matt 7.13–27 may reflect the two ways of Deut 11.26–32. A closely related proposal has been offered by N. T. Wright, who sees the beatitudes of Matt 5.3–11 corresponding to the Deuteronomic blessings, whereas the woes of Matt 23.13–33 are styled after the Deuteronomic curses. Wright further suggests that the Deuteronomic choice between blessing and curse has been woven into the entire narrative of Matthew.

These options may well be complementary, as they both point to the importance of Deuteronomy for Matthew. But it is especially noteworthy that many have seen a reference to Deuteronomy at the end of the SM, since this is also the end of a discourse in Matthew. This is consistent with the larger Matthean pattern in which each of Matthew’s five major discourses ([1] Matt 5–7; [2] Matt 10; [3] Matt 13; [4] Matt 18; [5] Matt 24–25) concludes with a summary stating that Jesus finished his words using the aorist ἐκτέλεσεν, a form which is used only five times in Matthew (7.28; 11.1; 13.53; 19.1; 26.1). The last instance (26.1) closely reflects the other four statements, but the addition of “all” also serves as a culmination of all

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42 Blaine Charette, The Theme of Recompense in Matthew’s Gospel (JSNTSup 79; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 79; Kynes, Christology of Solidarity, 53.
44 Additional support for this view is marshalled by Jason Hood (“Matthew 23–25: The Extent of Jesus’ Fifth Discourse,” JBL 128 [2009]: 527–43), who argues that including chapters 23–25 in the fifth discourse highlights the connections between these chapters and the SM.
five summary statements: ὁτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ θαυμάσιος πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτων. This statement is quite similar to the role of Moses in Deut 31.1: καὶ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς λαλῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτων (cf. Deut 31.24; 32.45). It is therefore highly likely that Matthew, who has an overarching interest in connecting Jesus to Mosaic themes, has included Deuteronomic phraseology at the end of his widely-recognized five major discourses which serves to strengthen the Mosaic parallels.

5.2.1.2 Sonship and Obedience in the SM

A fourth striking feature of the SM is the high concentration of fatherhood language for God in association with Jesus’ quintessential ethical demands for his disciples, especially when viewed in conjunction with the pervasive Deuteronomic influence in the SM as a whole. God is referred to as Father seventeen times in the SM (with only one of these referring to God as Jesus’ Father), and the disciples’ sonship is mentioned another time. Moreover, the fatherhood of God is also mentioned at key junctures of the SM (5.16, 45, 48; 6.9; 7.21). Luz has even suggested a structure for the SM that would further highlight the fatherhood of God throughout the SM. Luz’s proposal, which views the Lord’s Prayer as the center of the SM, is listed below. The number of references in each section to God’s fatherhood or sonship of the disciples is listed in brackets:

A) Frame: Situation (5.1–2)
B) Introduction (5.3–16) [2]

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47 Evans, “Purpose of Matthew,” 67–68.
48 So, e.g., Allison, New Moses.
51 Kynes, Christology of Solidarity, 47. A study devoted to God’s fatherhood in Matthew should be noted here: David K. Lowery, “God as Father with Special Reference to Matthew’s Gospel,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 1987). Unfortunately, neither University of Aberdeen nor the British Library was able to provide a copy of this dissertation for consultation.
52 So Kynes, Christology of Solidarity, 48.
As attractive as this structure is, it is probably best not to grant it too much weight, especially since it has not been commonly recognized in the SM, and it is questionable how symmetrical 5.21–48 and 6.19–7.11 are. Nevertheless, one does not need to rely on this structure to understand that the theme of God’s fatherhood pervades the SM.

In addition to this emphasis on God’s fatherhood, it is beyond doubt that Jesus in the SM is outlining the ethical requirements for his disciples. This is clear, for example, in the choice noted above presented at the end of the SM (7.13–27). Jesus is portrayed as a new lawgiver after the pattern of Moses, and Jesus’ law similarly culminates in a Deuteronomic choice between blessing and curse (as noted above). The high concentration of fatherhood language is significant because the disciples are called to be obedient as sons of their Father in heaven. The several (unique) allusions to Deuteronomy in the SM render it extremely likely that Matthew had Deuteronomy in mind as he constructed this portion of his gospel. It is proposed here that another indication of Deuteronomic influence is the union of ethical demands with the concept of God as the disciples’ Father, and therefore with the disciples’ status as sons. That is, although Jesus is portrayed in Matthew as the obedient Son in accord with Deuteronomy, Jesus also made it clear that the necessity

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54 France, Matthew, 155n.8; Stanton, Gospel, 298.
of obedient sonship extended to his disciples. This hypothesis will now be tested by a brief survey of the relevant portions of the SM.

The first clue in the SM that the disciples are called to be sons with a particular ethical characterization is Matt 5.5: μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. This, however, is only a slightly relevant text, as its main OT precedent is not Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 4.1), but more probably Psa 37.11 [36.11 LXX] and/or Isa 61.7. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that to speak of an inheritance is to speak of that which applies to sons (see chapter 3). It has therefore been suggested that the concept of inheritance casts the disciples in the role of national Israel and underscores their status as sons.57 But this filial concept receives much clearer articulation in Matt 5.9 in what some consider to be the high point of the Beatitudes:58 μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ νῦν θεοῦ κληρονομοῦσι. Although the disciples are in one sense already sons of God, as evidenced by the numerous references to God as their (present) Father in the SM (5.16, 48; 6.1, 4, 6, 8–9, 14–15, 18, 26, 32; 7.11), the future κληρονομοῦσι also indicates that the disciples are not yet sons60 of God in the fullest sense. Thus, Matt 5.9 offers the hope of a future, eschatological realization of the sonship of Jesus’ disciples.61

Although much more could be said about the term εἰρηνοποιός, the important point for the present study is that the disciples’ eschatological sonship is here associated with their task of making peace.62 Thus their sonship is bound up with a particular way of living that is pleasing to God, which might be glossed as obedience. This beatitude offering the prospect of sonship might therefore be best interpreted in a light of the covenantal context of Deuteronomy, which also

56 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:450.
57 Charette, Theme of Recompense, 93–94; cf. Pattarumadathil, Your Father, 51.
59 άυτοι is omitted by N C D et al.
60 Although “children” is also an acceptable translation of υἱοί, “sons” will be preferred here in order to emphasize the inheritance right of sons in the ancient world (so Nolland, Matthew, 206) and to make the proposed parallels with Deuteronomic sonship more easily distinguishable.
61 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:458; Pattarumadathil, Your Father, 108.
62 Rudolf Schnackenburg ("Die Seligsprechung der Friedensstifter (Mt 5,9) im mattäischen Kontext," BZ 26 [1982]: 161–78) correctly notes that the promise of being sons of God in Scripture is broader than this macarism, and is thus not always bound up with the idea of peace.
associates faithfulness to God with sonship (cf. Deut 14.1; 32.19). Moreover, sonship in 5.9 is likely to have been understood by Matthew’s audience in light of the previous explanation of Jesus’ sonship in Matt 3.13–4.11, and how Jesus himself was obedient to his Father. Likewise, the disciples, by obedience to their Father’s will, can also be called sons of the Father. Not only so, but it is also highly likely that sons of God in Matt 5.9 indicates that the disciples are to reflect God’s character, who himself is the God of peace, the supreme Peacemaker.

Much like Matt 5.9, in 5.45, the disciples’ filial relationship to God is again associated with their call to reflect God’s character. In 5.44 the disciples are called to love their enemies and pray for those who persecute them. The result of this is found in 5.45a: ὅπως γένητε υἱοὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἵμων τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. The assumption made by this passage is that the disciples’ love for their enemies is a reflection of their Father’s character, and this is a necessary characteristic for those who would be sons of God. Although 5.45 may differ from 5.9 in assuming a more realized (present), eschatological sonship, it is certainly clear that obedience is to be distinctive of God’s children. The sonship of the disciples is thus a dynamic phenomenon: they are already God’s sons (5.45 al.), but await the future attaining of the fullness of their sonship as they undergo testing in this world (5.9).

In light of this connection between sonship and obedience, a number of commentators have suggested a similar idea is found in b. Qidd. 36a: “when you behave as sons you are designated sons; if you do not behave as sons, you are not designated sons.”

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63 Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 1:126; Nolland, Matthew, 205n.60. An echo to Hos 2.1 is also possible (so Schnackenburg, “Seligpreisung,” 177).
64 Deut 4.1–11 was considered above; Matt 3 will be addressed in the next chapter.
65 Luz, Matthew, 1:198.
67 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:554; France, Matthew, 226; Turner, Matthew, 176n.36; Kynes, Christology of Solidarity, 48. Cf. Eph 5.1–2; 1 Pet 1.14–22; 1 John 4.7–12.
68 The subjunctive here is used as final/purpose clause. Cf. BDF §369; C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek (2d ed.; Cambridge: CUP, 1959), 138. For sonship here as a present reality see Robert H. Gundry, Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 98; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:554. For the dissenting view, see Carson, “Matthew,” 159; Bonnard, Matthieu, 75.
69 So Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 1:193.
designated sons.”\textsuperscript{70} The Palestinian Talmud similarly states in \textit{y. Qidd.} 61c: “When Israel does the will of the Holy One, blessed be he, they are called his children, and when Israel does not do the will of the Holy One, blessed be he, they are not called his children.”\textsuperscript{71} The reader will recall from the previous chapter that these comments are found in the midst of a conversation regarding how to interpret Deut 14.1–2.\textsuperscript{72} Moreover, the previous two chapters further indicate that the perspective that God’s sons must be obedient is a common theme, and is often linked with Deuteronomy. It is thus not surprising to find similar connections in Matthew, within a section of his gospel that also features numerous allusions to Deuteronomy. Some differences do exist, however, since the eschatological community of God’s sons in Matthew is inextricably linked with Jesus, the supremely obedient Son. But this will be considered in more detail below.

Matthew 5.48, is also relevant: “\textit{Εσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ως ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.} This passage renders it even clearer that the disciples’ obedience is to be based on the character of God himself—who is named as their Father—even to the point of having \textit{perfection} as the goal.\textsuperscript{73} It is perhaps significant that the background for this admonition comes from Deut 18.13 (τέλειος οὗτος ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου) probably in conjunction with Lev 19.2 (αὐτὸς ἐσεσθε ὁ ἄγιος κύριος τὸ θεὸς ὑμῶν).\textsuperscript{74} Τέλειος in Deut 18.13 translates \textit{τελειος}, which denotes the need for God’s people to be blameless before him.\textsuperscript{75} Matthew 5.48 is thus another passage in the SM that combines Deuteronomistic influence with the disciples’ call to be obedient sons.


\textsuperscript{72} See §4.2.6.

\textsuperscript{73} France, \textit{Matthew}, 228.

\textsuperscript{74} Cf. France, \textit{Matthew}, 228; Turner, \textit{Matthew}, 177; Nolland, \textit{Matthew}, 271.

\textsuperscript{75} Donald A. Hagner, \textit{Matthew} (2 vols.; WBC 33A–B; Waco: Word, 1993–95), 1:135. It might also be relevant that in Deut 32.4 God’s works are said to be \textit{τελειος} (LXX: \textit{αὐτολυνεῖς}). Cf. Wolfgang Trilling, \textit{Das wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäusevangéliums} (ETS 7; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1959), 167.
Of the numerous references to God’s fatherhood in Matt 6, it is clear that the almsgiving in view in 6.4 (ἐλεημοσύνη) answers the demands of caring for the poor in Deut 15.7–11. The Lord’s Prayer (6.9–13) is also pertinent, as the disciples have the privilege of calling God “our Father.” This phrase is distinct in Matthew, as it is the only instance in the entire gospel that Jesus uses the phrase “our Father.” Every other time in the gospel that God’s fatherhood (including the concept of sonship) is referenced it is either in reference to Jesus alone (e.g., 2.15; 3.17; 7.21; 10.32–33; 11.27; 12.50; 14.33; 16.16–17; 18.10; 17.5; 20.23; 26.39), or to the disciples alone (e.g., 5.16; 5.45; 6.1; 6.4–8, 15, 18; 7.11; 10.20; 23.9). Only in 6.9 does Jesus speak of “our Father,” but this is only in order that he might show his disciples how they should pray. The implication of this is the sonship of Jesus and the sonship of the disciples are not identical; Jesus stands in a unique relationship to God as his Father vis-à-vis his disciples (cf. 11.25–27). Jesus’ sonship is direct and unmediated, whereas his disciples’ sonship is contingent upon the sonship of Jesus. It is therefore also to be noted that the filial relationship assumed in the Lord’s Prayer is not applicable for everyone, but specifically for Jesus’ disciples, or those who obey the will of God and follow his Son.

This point is made explicit in a climactic statement in the SM, 7.21: Ο Públicoς ο Θεός μου. Κύριε κύριε, εἰσελθέσθαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλήλοις τὸ ἔργον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Here the point is clear: doing the will of Jesus’ Father is a necessary requirement for entering the Kingdom of Heaven. This passage is important not only for stressing the obedience that is required, but it also makes clear that the Father of Jesus’ disciples is also the Father of Jesus. This means not only that the disciples can share in a similar filial relationship to God via Jesus the unique Son of God, but also intimates that the disciples’ obedience is to reflect the obedience of Jesus himself. Indeed, it is Jesus who pre-eminently accomplishes his Father’s will (ἐλεήμων) in Matthew (26.42), and

76 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:578.
77 German scholarship commonly refers to the prayer simply as the Vaterunser.
79 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:601.
80 ἐλεήμων is a Matthean redactional term (cf. Luz, Matthew, 1:30). See also Armin Wouters, “...Wer den Willen meines Vaters tut”: Eine Untersuchung zum Verständnis vom Handeln im Matthäusevangelium (BU 23; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1992), 167, 176.
his disciples are to emulate this way of life. Thus there is a christological focus even to the disciples’ obedience. The standard to which the disciples must strive to attain is therefore not only found in Jesus’ teaching, but also in his behavior.\(^81\) This is especially clear when the SM is viewed in the context of the gospel as a whole.\(^82\) It has been the obedience of Jesus as the Son that has heretofore been emphasized (3.15–17; 4.3, 6),\(^83\) and the disciples’ obedience as sons must not be abstracted from the actions of Jesus who came to fulfill all righteousness (3.15).

The unique obedience of Jesus is further evidenced in the concept of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) in the SM. This significant term will be revisited in the next chapter in conjunction with 3.15, but here it is to be noted that although Jesus clearly calls his disciples to righteous living in the SM (5.6; 5.10; 5.20; 6.1; 6.33), righteousness is pre-eminently a christological category for Matthew; Jesus bound himself to the demands of righteousness.\(^84\) This can be seen in 5.10–11. In 5.10 Jesus blesses those who are persecuted (ἀναπηρούμενοι) because of righteousness, and in 5.11 he blesses those who will be persecuted (ἀναπηρούμενοι) because of himself. The implication is that one who is persecuted for righteousness is persecuted because of Jesus himself, the epitomizer of righteousness.

Similarly, the christological emphasis of fulfill can also be seen in the SM, in 5.17–18, where Jesus is said to fulfill the Law and Prophets. As with numerous portions of the SM, explanations for this phrase are legion.\(^85\) However, the approach of Deines is quite helpful. He suggests that it is neither Jesus’ teaching nor Jesus’ actions that exclusively fulfills the Law and Prophets, but instead is his entire mission, including teaching, deeds, and messianic works.\(^86\) For the present study it

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\(^{82}\) A point urged by Stanton, *Gospel*, 305.
\(^{86}\) Deines, “Not the Law,” 75. James M. Gibbs (“The Son of God as Torah Incarnate in Matthew,” in *Studia Evangelica* 4:1 [ed. F. Cross; Berlin: Akademic-Verlag, 1968], 37–46) has proposed that Jesus’ actions in Matthew are characterized by τελειόο and his teaching by τελειος. However, this distinction cannot be maintained since the teaching and actions of Jesus are mutually complementary,
merits noting that 5.17–18 is a *christological* statement about the role of Jesus, which *leads to* the righteousness required of Jesus’ disciples in 5.19–20. The point is Jesus’ disciples must exemplify a righteousness that surpasses that of the Scribes and Pharisees, but this cannot be understood in abstraction from Jesus, the ultimate fulfiller of righteousness. Instead, the disciples are to share in Jesus’ righteousness in a way that must in some way be similar to the way in which they share in his sonship.

The reason for noting this christological focus in the SM is that the disciples’ call to obedience is not to be separated from the definitive obedience of Jesus. The same is true of their sonship, which is mediated through Jesus. Thus, in the SM, the disciples have the opportunity to be sons of God through Jesus the Son, and are also called to embody a righteous life after the manner and by the precedent of Jesus. The result is a combination of sonship and obedience with a clear, christological focus. This is a view of sonship that is entirely consistent with Deuteronomy, yet contains a new element.

The points of continuity between Matthew’s portrait of the disciples’ sonship and that of Deuteronomy should be clear. First, in the SM Matthew portrays sonship as something that must be marked by obedience, specifically the obedience in conjunction with God’s own character (5.45, 48). Moreover, this combination of sonship and obedience is found in a context where references to Deuteronomy abound. Second, the SM is also consistent with the hope that developed in the literature considered in chapter 4, which looked forward to a day when God’s people would be fully obedient as his sons (cf. Hos 2.1; 11.10; *Jub.* 1.24–25). Something similar seems to be in view in the eschatological expectation of 5.9, although there is also a present reality to the sonship of the disciples observable in several texts. This perspective of an obedient people who would be God’s sons is consistent with the

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87 Deines (“Not the Law,” 77) has labeled this transition: “From Christological Fulfillment to Disciples’ Obligation.”
88 Deines, “Not the Law,” 81.
89 Note also the christological thrust of *τέλειος*. See especially 19.21 in light of 5.48: perfection is not only a matter of conforming one’s character to the Father, but also in following Jesus.
development of obedient sonship in Deuteronomy and literature that, for Matthew, would have been derived from Deuteronomy.

The new element in Matthew’s presentation of obedient sonship in the SM is the unique role assigned to Jesus in the mediation of both sonship and obedience. Although it remains that God’s people, like Israel in the OT, were to be obedient to him as his sons, it is also the case that Israel is recapitulated in one man, Jesus of Nazareth. And, as the representative of the nation, Jesus also sums up and exemplifies the obedience that was required of God’s people. This christological obedience enables and calls for the derivative obedience of Jesus’ disciples. Thus, both Jesus’ obedience as the true Israel and the disciples’ obedience as sons of God (who follow Jesus) are portrayed as the obedient son(s) envisioned in Deuteronomy.

5.2.1.3 Summary

In conclusion, some key features of the SM will be restated. First, the SM contains a high density of references to Deuteronomy. Second, the fatherhood of God and the sonship of the disciples are key themes. Third, these are found in the context of Jesus’ ethical teaching. The combination of these factors renders it quite likely that Matthew not only had Deuteronomy in mind as he composed the SM, but was aware of the calling in Deuteronomy for God’s people to be obedient in the context of the father-son relationship as he applied this to Jesus and his disciples.

5.2.2 Matt 11.16–19

Matthew 11.16–19 contains a very likely allusion to the disobedient son of Deut 21.18–21 in relation to Jesus. After recounting a catalogue of messianic deeds from Isaiah (26.19; 29.18; 35.5–6; 42.7, 18; 61.1) to the messengers of John the Baptist who inquired if he was the one to come (Matt 11.2–15),90 Jesus makes a comparison between “this generation” (τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην) and the responses of children playing traditional games. There are two major interpretations of this simile. The majority opinion relates John’s ascetic ministry to those who played a dirge in 11.17b, with the lack of mourning in response to the dirge mirroring the lack of response to John’s ministry. Similarly, Jesus’ ministry of eating and drinking is

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90 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:242.
compared in 11.17a to those who played the flute (i.e., dance music), yet the response was again the rejection of his message. Some, however, find it better to understand those who played the flute and sang a dirge to correspond to “this generation” which prefaces the account in 11.16, especially since Matthew appears to liken “this generation” (and thus not John and Jesus) to the children who play the music. Moreover, the order of John->Jesus does not correspond to the order of the children who supposedly represented their ministries (flute players->dirge singers). However, the explanatory comments in 11.18-19 make the majority interpretation more likely.

Regardless of the view one takes on the preceding point, the most salient portion of the passage is the characterization of Jesus (here “Son of Man”) in 11.19 as φάγως and οἰνοπότης. It is highly likely that the combination of these two words echoes Deut 21.20, and therefore characterizes Jesus as the rebellious son of Deut 21.18–21. However, Matt 11.19 is not especially close to Deut 21.20 LXX, which combines a participle and a verb and also uses different terminology (συμβολοκοπῶν οἶνοφλυγεί). On the other hand, 11.19 is rather close to the MT (ἐβάζεται δὲ τὸν ἐξερευνητήν) and to the targums, which associate the gluttony with the eating of meat (e.g., Tgs. Pseudo-Jonathan, Onkelos). The impetus for this Matthean allusion may come from Q, since Luke 7.34 uses the same phrasing. But regardless of what might be posited as Matthew’s intermediate source for this allusion, the exegete who sees here a reference to Deut 21.20 is on solid ground since the wording corresponds closely to the known Hebrew tradition of Deut 21.20.

Indeed, scholars commonly do recognize a reference to Deut 21.20 in Matt 11.19. The reasons for this are not only the wording (which is certainly close to the

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91 So Fiedler, Matthäusevangelium, 241.
92 So Hagner, Matthew, 1:310; Gundry, Commentary, 212; Turner, Matthew, 296.
94 France, Matthew, 433–34.
MT), but also the appropriateness of the contextual links. First, the associations noted by Gundry between gluttony and the eating of meat would likely be a charge relevant to Jesus who came eating and drinking, fraternizing with tax collectors and sinners (11.19). These revelrous repasts, which Jesus’ adversaries disdained, probably often included a course of meat, which would have been viewed as excessive since most people would have eaten red meat only a few times a year.97 Thus the allegation of being a wine drinker and meat eater, deriving from traditional understandings of Deut 21.20, would have been a relevant allegation.

A second reason why alleging Jesus was the rebellious son of Deut 21.18–21 is likely in this context is the dangers posed by the incorrigible son to the entire covenant community. Similarly, it appears that “this generation” in Matthew feared that Jesus’ perceived libertine practices among tax collectors and sinners threatened the covenant community of its own day. As H. C. Kee has observed of the probable historical context underlying this text: “In the setting of the ministry of Jesus, his aggressive practice of welcoming aliens and the excluded into the community which he is shaping can only be regarded as rebellion and sedition by strict adherents to ritual, cultic and ethnic limits for participation in those who see themselves as the people of God.”98 Thus, it seems as though one reason Jesus’ contemporaries accused him of being an incorrigible son like Deut 21 is the threat he posed to the covenant people by his attempt to redefine the people of God.99

A third factor that points to an allusion to Deut 21.20 in Matt 11.19 is the traditional application of Deut 21 to the nation of Israel. More specifically, the application of Deut 21.18–21 to Israel is based largely on their (filial) disobedience as a nation (Isa 1.4–7; 30.1; Jer 5.23; cf. Hos 11.1–4).100 It would be entirely consistent for Matthew to draw upon a text from Deuteronomy that was often applied to national Israel—and was also a text that focuses specifically on filial obedience—

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to Jesus. Indeed, it has already been argued from Matt 4 that Jesus is cast as the obedient Son of God in Matthew in contrast to Israel, and that much of this imagery comes from Deuteronomy. If Matthew does include here an accusation against Jesus as the disobedient son of Deut 21, it should likely be taken as ironic. That is, the point of view expressed by the detractors of Jesus (that he is a disobedient son) does not correlate to Jesus’ actions (Jesus is the obedient son). The presence of irony in Matthew’s gospel would not be surprising, since the Gospels are replete with irony. As Powell states: “the basic story lines of our Gospels are built upon extended ironies: the people of Israel reject their Messiah; God’s own Son is accused of blasphemy by characters who are themselves blasphemers.”

The irony of Matt 11.19 may run even deeper, however, than simply the charge being a false accusation against Jesus. It may be that Jesus is not only the disobedient son, but his accusers, as a part of “this generation” of Israel, are actually the ones who could be characterized as God’s disobedient sons. Indeed, this would be consistent with the common understanding of “this generation” in Matthew. Most interpreters follow Evald Lövestam on this phrase, who argued convincingly in a 1980 article that two notoriously wicked generations of the past—those of the Flood and the wilderness wanderings—served as the precedent for the pejorative references to “(this) generation” in the Gospels (e.g., Matt 11.16; 12.39–42; 16.4; 17.17; 23.36; Mark 8.12; 9.19; Luke 7.31; 9.41; 11.29). Moreover, the primary OT background for this language in Matthew (in accord with the use of the phrase elsewhere) comes mainly from Deut 32.5, 20, which describe the wilderness generation, but this is then applied to the contemporaries of Jesus and John who did not accept the salvation that was presented to them. They therefore accused Jesus of being something (incorrigible) of which they themselves were actually guilty.

101 Irony can be defined simply as “the true interpretation is actually contrary to the apparent meaning” (Mark Allan Powell, What is Narrative Criticism? [GBS; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 30).

102 Ibid., 31.


105 Ibid., 411; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:260.
Given that OT context for the negative references to “(this) generation” in Matthew likely come from Deut 32.5, 20—two verses that speak of the disobedience of Israel as sons—it may also be that the references to “(this) generation” in Matthew are used in filial contexts. That is, it may be that “(this) generation” is used to refer to the generation of Jesus’ contemporaries in a way that highlights their disbelief in response to the salvation offered to them as sons, and this is contrasted with Jesus, the one who epitomizes what an obedient son should be. This point is implicit in Matt 11.19, where, based on the clear references to Jesus’ obedience already included in Matthew, the reader is well aware that Jesus is not the disobedient son of Deut 21 (or Deut 32!), but is in reality the obedient son. This hypothesis—that Matthew’s use of “(this) generation” serves as a contrast with the obedient sonship of Jesus—will be considered further in conjunction with Matt 3, 12, 17 in following chapters.

A fourth contextual point in favor of a reference to Deut 21.20 in Matt 11.19 is the role this passage has in anticipating Jesus’ crucifixion. Immediately following Deut 21.18–21 is the well-known passage concerning a criminal who is accursed, having been hung on a tree after execution (Deut 21.22–23). This passage was commonly understood to refer to crucifixion in the ancient world, and it is clear that Paul understood the death of Jesus on the cross to correspond to the curse of Deut 21.23 (Gal 3.13). There is therefore sufficient evidence that Deut 21.22–23 was associated with crucifixions in the first century to infer that Matthew may also have made connections between Jesus’ crucifixion and Deut 21.23. Moreover, an allusion to the shedding of innocent blood from Deut 27.25 (ἐπικατάρατος δὲ ἀνάλημα ἀδόρα παταξάει ψυχήν αἵματος ἀδίκου) is likely in view in Judas’ words in Matt 27.4 (Ἡμαρτον παραδοὐς αἵμα ἀδίκου). An intriguing possibility is whether Matthew may have known of the early Christian tradition, reflected for example in Paul’s epistle to the Galatians (cf. Gal 3.10, 13 citing Deut 27.26; 21.23), in which the hanging on a tree from Deut 21.23 is associated with the twelve curses of Deut 27.15–26. If so, Matthew may be another early Christian author who connected the

(cursed) crucifixion of Jesus as being a result of the cursed actions of others (cf. Matt 27.4; Gal 3.10).

At the same time, Matthew’s previous reference to Deut 21.20 brings a distinctive perspective to the conversation. As one who is accused of being the incorrigible son of Deut 21.20, Jesus would have been subject to the curse of execution if he were indeed threatening the covenant community. Although the pericope regarding the disobedient son mentions stoning and not hanging on a tree, it is quite possible that Matthew and/or his audience would have associated the fate of the rebellious son to be fulfilled by the death of Jesus. Two reasons support this. First, the rebellious son was to be executed by the covenant community, an end which ultimately befell Jesus as the Jewish leaders handed him over to Rome to be crucified. Second, the close proximity and thematic coherence between Deut 21.18–21 and 21.22–23 suggest that many may have understood these two passages quite close together, perhaps even with the hanging on the tree being a result of the execution of 21.21.\(^{109}\)

Indeed, the apogee of the irony associated with Jesus and Deut 21 is that Jesus, who is for Matthew the obedient son, is put to death at the behest of the generation of his contemporaries who consider him to be a disobedient son, though (ironically) they themselves are cast in this light by Matthew. This contrast is rendered even more likely by the presence of “(this) generation” language, which derives from the accusations against Israel as disobedient sons from Deut 32. These suggestions comport with Kee’s observation that implicit in Matthew’s reference to Jesus as the rebellious son of Deut 21.20 is Jesus’ preparedness for his execution.\(^{110}\)

5.3 Summary

This chapter has set forth three foundational texts that wed the themes of sonship and obedience with Deuteronomistic influence. The most explicit of these is Matt 4, though Matt 5–7 and Matt 11 also contain very strong links with

\(^{109}\) Cf. §3.3.3n.201, and the similar thoughts in Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 41.

\(^{110}\) Kee, “Glutton and Drunkard,” 391.
Deuteronomy, obedience, and sonship. The next chapter will consider two additional texts that are highly suggestive and should likely serve as additional support for these three foundational texts.
Chapter Six

Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew

Part 2: Significant Possibilities (Matt 3, 17)

Having considered three rather explicit Matthean passages that draw from Deuteronomy in association with a call to filial obedience, this chapter and the following chapter will consider several other texts that combine sonship and obedience and should be considered possible allusions to Deuteronomic sonship. This chapter will be devoted to two texts which have very strong verbal parallels with one another, and which combine a focus on Jesus' sonship with the nature of his obedience: Matt 3.15–17 and Matt 17.1–20. It will be suggested below that although these texts exhibit possible links with Deuteronomy, they are nevertheless significant possibilities. Thus, if the discussion which follows proves convincing, these texts would yield sizeable dividends for the current thesis. The reason for their significance is largely because of the foundational and climactic role these texts play in the gospel narrative.

Therefore, because of the potential significance of these texts, and because I will be setting forth a new hypothesis regarding the scriptural background for the heavenly voice in Matt 3.15; 17.5 that derives from Deut 32, these two texts have warranted a separate chapter. It is hoped that the following discussion may incline some to consider one or both of these texts as likely allusions, but in order not to claim too much I have refrained from categorizing either text as likely.

6.1 Matt 3.15–17

6.1.1 Rationale

The first additional text that is potentially significant for the present study is Matt 3.15–17. Although at first glance this passage may seem to demonstrate no explicit parallels with Deuteronomy, a deeper investigation suggests this text is
certainly worthy of consideration. Indeed, these verses contain perhaps the most explicit commentary in the entire gospel on the obedience of Jesus, and this obedience is explicitly linked to his sonship. The following discussion will note the importance of Jesus’ obedience in this section, its close ties with the explicit links to Deuteronomic sonship in Matt 4, and the nature of the heavenly voice that is found both in 3.15 and 17.5.

6.1.2 Unity of Matt 3–4

Significantly, Matt 3.15–17 is a pericope that is very closely linked to the temptation narrative. Thus, many of the key elements from Matt 4.1–11 are first introduced in Matt 3.15–17. Indeed, the baptism narrative in which Jesus’ sonship is clearly declared sets the stage and prepares the reader for the testing of that sonship in the temptation narrative. There is therefore widespread agreement among scholars that the baptism and testing narratives should be viewed in light of one another, perhaps to an even greater degree than many other consecutive pericopes in Matthew. An extensive list of similarities is provided by Kennedy, who notes 10 verbal and thematic correspondences between Matt 3–4. These include: (1) the use of an infinitive of purpose for baptism (3.13) and temptations (4.1); (2) the temporal use of τότε in 3.13 and 4.1 that unifies the narrative; (3) the use of υἱός for Jesus; (4) the wilderness setting; (5) John’s humble diet and Jesus’ fast; (6) the role of Galilee in 3.13 and 4.12; (7) divine approval of Jesus’ obedience (3.16–17; 4.11); (8) “stones” in 3.9; 4.3; (9) Jesus faces hindrances from two characters who seem to recognize who he is (John the Baptist, the devil), and identical phrasing is used in reference to both characters when Jesus prevails (τότε ἀφίημι αὐτόν); (10) Jesus’ life corresponds to the exodus experience of Israel: Jesus’ sonship is declared (Matt

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2 For the list that follows, see R. Joel Kennedy, “The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel’s History in Matthew 1:1–4:11,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 2008), 231–44.
3.17; cf. Exod 4.22), Jesus is baptized through water (Matt 3.16; cf. Exod 14), and Jesus’ sonship is tested in the wilderness (Matt 4.1–11; cf. Deut 8).³

Taken together, these observations form a convincing cumulative case that Matt 3–4 are exceptionally closely linked verbally and thematically. Of particular significance is the implication that Matt 3–4, and thus Jesus’ baptism and Temptation, are best understood against the backdrop of Israel.⁴

6.1.3 Fulfilling All Righteousness

The most important connection for the present purposes is the link between Jesus’ sonship and obedience,⁵ and Jesus’ obedience is most clearly highlighted by the pregnant statement in 3.15. In this context Jesus comes to be baptized by John, but John does not agree to this straightaway (3.14). To this Jesus responds: “Αφες ἄρτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπει ἐστίν ἡμῖν πληρώσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην (3.15).⁶ John then agrees to baptize Jesus, after which a heavenly voice declares the sonship of Jesus: οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν φίλοις ἐδόκησα (3.17). Thus here one finds an affirmation of Jesus’ sonship closely connected to Jesus’ fulfilling of righteousness. The close relationship between 3.15 (an important description of the obedience of Jesus) to 3.17 (a declaration of Jesus’ sonship) warrants a close consideration of 3.15. Once the nature of Jesus’ obedience in 3.15 has been established, its relationship to the heavenly voice of 3.17 and the possibility of Deuteronomic resonances in the heavenly voice will be considered.

As the first words that Jesus speaks in the entire gospel, his comments in 3.15 are highly significant. Indeed, they are programmatic for Jesus’ ministry throughout the rest of the narrative.⁷ Beginning here in his baptism and culminating in the cross,
Jesus’ life will be one uniquely marked by perpetual obedience (*immerwährende Gehorsam*) to his Father. As Schlatter succinctly observes: “Das Verhalten Jesu wird als Gehorsam beschreiben.” Indeed, Söding sees 3.15 as the key to 1.1–4.11, and therefore the key to Matthean Christology in general. Thus, whereas 4.1–11 might be considered the climax of Matt 1.1–4.16, Matt 3.15 may be considered the key to understanding these chapters, as it prepares the reader for the climactic testing of Jesus.

The most significant portion of 3.15 for this study is the phrase “to fulfill all righteousness” (πληρώσῃ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην). The interpretations for this phrase are legion, and an exhaustive survey is not possible here. However, the general consensus that δικαιοσύνη in Matthew refers to God’s requirement upon humanity has much to commend it and should not be abandoned. Although some would object that this reading is tantamount to equating δικαιοσύνη with δικαίωμα, and others would object that δικαιοσύνη should be viewed as a gift in line with God’s saving activity from the OT, Matthew consistently employs δικαιοσύνη in an ethical sense, elucidating what is required of the disciples (5.20; 6.1, 33; cf. 5.6, 10; 21.32).

At the same time, the divine requirement must be understood Christologically (i.e., this demand of God is something that Jesus uniquely fulfills) in this passage for

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10 Söding, “Gehorsam,” 717.


a number of reasons. First, even though Jesus includes John in his task of fulfilling all righteousness (πρέπον ἔστων ἰσότητι), it is clear from the primary focus on Jesus throughout the remainder of Matthew’s narrative, coupled with John’s relatively minor role in the gospel after Matt 3, that it is Jesus alone who truly fulfills all righteousness. John prepares the way for Jesus (3.3), but does not accompany him throughout the remainder of his ministry (cf. 14.1–12), and it is Jesus alone who is extolled by the heavenly voice. Second, the use of πᾶσαιν in 3.15 should be understood as highlighting the quantitative nature of Jesus’ accomplishment: Jesus fulfilled every aspect of righteousness. The baptism of Jesus is thus but one example of the fulfilment of righteousness that characterizes Jesus’ ministry from beginning to end. Third, righteousness here should be understood primarily christologically given the christological force of the term πληρώσαν Χριστόν in Matthew. This is clear in large part from the frequent application of πληρώνω to Jesus in the uniquely Matthean fulfillment citations, as well as the unique role assumed by Jesus in fulfilling the Law and Prophets. Moreover, a uniquely christological understanding of righteousness is evident not only in 3.15, but also in 5.10–11 where Matthew equates the disciples’ persecution because of righteousness with their persecution because of Jesus.

Thus the fulfilling of all righteousness by Jesus in Matthew is both something God requires of humanity—which is evident in Jesus’ identification with sinners in a baptism of repentance (something for which he had no need)—and something that

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17 So Przybylski, Righteousness, 94; de Kruijf, Der Sohn, 121.


Jesus alone accomplishes. It is important that this christological fulfillment of righteousness not be separated from righteousness as God’s requirement. Instead, it is precisely because God required righteousness from humanity that it was fitting (πρέπειν) for Jesus to accomplish, or fulfill it. And, as the fulfillment of God’s requirement, the gift or grace aspect of righteousness is not abrogated but highlighted by Jesus’ supreme accomplishment of it. This gracious understanding of righteousness is inextricably linked with a christological understanding of righteousness, and is made possible by Jesus’ identification with sinners in undergoing John’s baptism of repentance. By agreeing to this baptism, which is one example of Jesus’ programmatic righteousness, Jesus embraces the demands on Israel at that time, identifying himself with Israel so that their situation becomes his. John’s baptism, which is here explicitly associated with repentance (and therefore sin), likely draws attention to coming eschatological judgment. In this light, Jesus’ baptism anticipates his own eschatological trial, whereby he will eventually pour out his blood for the forgiveness of sins (26.28; cf. 20.28). And, as the discussion below will clarify, this fulfilling all righteousness is inextricably linked with the sonship of Jesus.

6.1.4 The Beloved, Obedient Son

6.1.4.1 Jesus as New Israel in His Baptism

This identification of Jesus with his people also highlights the representative nature of his sonship. Kynes has noted how Jesus’ identification with his people is linked to fulfilling all righteousness in 3.15, since Jesus fulfills all righteousness by fulfilling the role of a righteous Israel throughout his entire life and ministry. Thus, the identification of Jesus with his people in these verses, especially when viewed in conjunction with the declaration of Jesus’ sonship in 3.17, underscores the corporate nature of Jesus’ sonship. Indeed, a number of factors combine to suggest that the best background for understanding Jesus’ sonship in 3.17 is corporate Israel.

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22 So Kennedy, “Recapitulation,” 245.
23 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:299. Note also the symbolism associated with baptize. So James D. G. Dunn, Jesus Remembered (CM 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 364–69.
24 Cf. Hagner, Matthew, 1:60; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:323.
25 Christology of Solidarity, 26.
First, as noted above, Jesus’ baptism in 3.16 is his obedience to the call to Israel for repentance. This focus on Israel is revealed by a number of factors, including the appeal to Israel’s prophets (3.3) and the prophetic role of John (3.4 with Elijah in 2 Kings 1.8; cf. Matt 17.12–13), the regions of those who came to be baptized (Jerusalem, all Judaea, regions of the Jordan, 3.5), and the reference to true children of Abraham (3.9). Second, the wilderness setting of Matt 3 recalls, and the progression of Jesus’ experiences relives, Israel’s exodus experience, especially when Matt 3 is read in conjunction with the temptation narrative that follows. It is further significant that Israel’s wilderness experience in Matt 3 may justly be viewed through the lens of Israel’s sonship, much as it is in Matt 4.1–11. The links between Israel’s sonship and Jesus’ sonship in Matt 3 are summarized by Davies and Allison: “Israel was adopted and became God’s ‘son’ at the exodus from Egypt, at the crossing of the Red Sea, and some scholars have found a new exodus motif in the story of Jesus’ baptism: when Jesus comes out of the waters, new Israel is born.”

Third, and building on the preceding quote, the heavenly voice in 3.17 that declares Jesus’ sonship most likely does so in terms that were designed to evoke images of national Israel.

6.1.4.2 The Heavenly Voice: Overview

In 3.17 the heavenly voice declares that Jesus is God’s beloved Son in whom he is well pleased. Many scholars, taking their cue primarily from the account in Mark, suggest two OT references are conflated in these passages: Psa 2.7, Isa 42.1. For the sake of the following discussion, included here is a synopsis of the accounts in Matthew, Mark, and Luke:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matt 3.17</th>
<th>Mark 1.11</th>
<th>Luke 3.22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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26 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:328.

The primary point of interest for the present study is determining what OT reference(s), if any, Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἁγαπητός is alluded to in Matt 3.17. Since the majority report among scholars, which is accepted here, is to view Mark as a primary source for Matthew, it is indeed important to take into consideration Mark 1.11. For Mark, it is highly likely that an allusion to the OG of Psa 2.7 is intended by the phrase Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἄγαπητός. This is evidenced by the shared second person language in both Mark 1.11 (Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἁγαπητός) and Psa 2.7 (Υἱός μου εἶ σύ). Indeed, only in Psa 2.7 in the LXX is the term “you are” found in conjunction with God’s son. The term ἁγαπητός in Mark 1.11, along with the final part of the quotation that indicates the divine good pleasure, is often viewed as deriving from Isa 42.1, although other passages have been suggested. The wording in Luke 3.22 corresponds exactly to Mark, so Psa 2; Isa 42 are often suggested as the OT background for Luke as well.

6.1.4.3 The Heavenly Voice in Matthew: A Brief Forschungsbericht

The phrasing of the heavenly voice, however, is different in Matthew (as the underlined portions indicate above). Although this study assumes the Two-Source Hypothesis, it is even more important for the present investigation to understand the Gospel of Matthew first of all on its own terms. When this approach is taken, there is little basis for positing a reference to Psa 2.7 in the heavenly voice. Arguably the strongest links with Psa 2.7 in Mark is the second person address “you are.” When

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the second person address is absent, as it is in Matthew, virtually the only links that remain are the words υἱός μου.  

It has also been suggested that Matthew’s text reflects the targumic rendering of Psa 2.7, which would explain the inclusion of ἀγαπητός in the text. However, there are a number of problems with this view. First, the dating of Tg. Pss. appears to be much later than Matthew. It is not possible to be absolutely certain, but early dates suggested for this targum range from the second to fifth centuries C.E., and it may even date from the post-Talmudic age. More specifically, a date before the fifth century for the text is said to be very unlikely. Although it is true that a late date for the targum does not necessarily preclude the inclusion of earlier materials, this is difficult to determine in practice. A second reason for the difficulty with this view is Tg. Pss. was not widely used, and most likely not widely known, in antiquity. Thirdly, and even more devastating for this theory, is the observation that Tg. Pss. 2.7 was actually a reaction against christological claims of the church; it was a “clear attempt to play down the divine sonship of the Messiah.” It is therefore unlikely that the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός finds support in Tg. Pss. 2.7.

Moreover, given Matthew’s clear penchant for correlating the sonship of Jesus to the sonship of Israel, it is anything but self-evident that Matthew has in view an allusion to Psa 2 in 3.17. Indeed, it is much more likely that Matthew intends in his modified version of the heavenly voice to emphasize the role of Jesus as Son in recapitulating the role of Israel as son. Put differently, the imagery Matthew here

31 Although it is true that D a sy; Ir read ὃ υἱός εἶ, the support for this reading is not impressive.
32 Gundry, Use, 30, 112; Lidija Novakovic, Messiah, the Healer of the Sick: A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew (WUNT II/170; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 147.
33 Timothy Edwards, Exegesis in the Targum of the Psalms: The Old, the New, and the Rewritten (GD 28/BibSt 1; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2007), 12.
34 Ibid., 221.
36 Stec, Targum of Psalms, 1–2.
draws upon is more *corporate/national* than *kingly/Davidic.* The discussion that follows will support this position.

Thus, the verbal and thematic links between Psa 2.7 and Matt 3.17 are weak at best. This has led a number of scholars to suggest other possible OT references may serve as background for the first part of the heavenly voice in Matt 3.17. One possibility is to view Matthew’s phrase ὁ νιός μου ἐν ἡγαμητῶς ἐν ὕ εἰδοκησα as a reference to the binding of Isaac in Gen 22. This view has recently been argued thoroughly by Leroy Huizenga, who bases his theory in large part on the widespread significance of the Akedah in the “encyclopedia” of early Judaism around the time Matthew was written. Huizenga further notes that the use of εἰδοκησα in Matt 3.17 may be explained by the traditions associated with Isaac, who was not only a passive sacrificial victim, but was often portrayed as being fully compliant with his father’s wishes. Huizenga has certainly amassed a sufficient array of references to the Akedah in the “cultural encyclopedia” of Judaism to demonstrate its prominence in general, but it is less clear how important Gen 22 is for Matthew. Indeed, Huizenga in his survey of the texts of Matthew’s “cultural encyclopedia” forthrightly admits that he is not making any claims whether or not Matthew knew the documents he includes in his survey, but is simply proposing that these writings demonstrate the pervasiveness of the Akedah in Matthew’s world.

However, for Huizenga’s thesis to be persuasive, more evidence would need to be brought forth in support of Isaac and/or Gen 22 material in Matthew. The only real indication of a possible Isaac typology thus far in Matthew’s narrative is the phrase “νιόν Ἁβραάμ” in 1.1, but the associations with Isaac do not appear to be exploited throughout the gospel, and Gen 22 is nowhere cited. It is questionable

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40 “Akedah,” 102.

41 Huizenga’s second chapter (102–78) includes references to the MT, LXX, *Jubilees*, Judith, 4Q225, Pseudo-Philo’s L.A.B., *Barnabas*, 4 Maccabees, Josephus, I Clement, Martyrdom of Polycarp. These texts are granted, but do not speak directly to Matthew’s use or non-use of the image.

42 Isaac is also mentioned in the genealogy (1.2), and John declares he is able to raise up children from Abraham from stones (3.9). However, the first reference is simply one of many in the genealogy,
whether Huizenga's "model reader" would have any indication in Matthew that a reference to the Akedah was intended in Matt 3, if indeed it was. In contrast, the role of Jesus as national Israel has been evident throughout the first three chapters. Admittedly, Huizenga recognizes the role of national Israel in the divine voice in 3.17, but suggests that the voice reflects an interest in both national Israel and Isaac typology. In light of the numerous similarities between Israel and Jesus in these chapters of Matthew, the following discussion will propose that it is more likely that the entire heavenly declaration is best explained as referring to national Israel. Therefore a supposed Isaac typology, though certainly a possibility, is not the best way to explain the passage.

In light of this focus on national Israel, two other texts are worthy of consideration. One is Exod 4.22–23, which is the first passage to refer to Israel as God's son in the OT. Like Matt 3.17, Exod 4.22 includes a third person reference to God's son (υἱὸς πρωτότοκος μου Ἰσραήλ), and an allusion to Exod 4 would be fitting in light of Jesus' recapitulation of the exodus experience of Israel as God's son. Moreover, P. Bretscher argued in 1968 that the term ἀγαπητός also derives from Exod 4.22, and is virtually equivalent to πρωτότοκος. However, his argument for the influence of Exod 4 is not decisive since his suggestion that one Hebrew term (יְהוָה=πρωτότοκος) underlies the usage of three NT terms—ἐκλεκτός, ἀγαπητός, μονογενής—may be too inclusive, and may also give too much weight to Exod 4.22–23 in general. Nevertheless, Bretscher's line of thought does appear to be moving in the right direction, and the proposal that Exod 4.22–23 may be in view in the heavenly voice remains a possibility. A reference to Exod 4 would also tie in well with Matthew's concern with Deuteronomic sonship, since, as the survey of texts in previous chapters has indicated, Exod 4 was often viewed in conjunction with similar language in Deuteronomy.

A second alternative, which also entails a reference to the national sonship of Israel in the divine voice, has recently been argued admirably by J. A. Gibbs. Gibbs offers a sensitive reading of the Matthean baptismal narrative, and suggests that Jer

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43 Huizenga, "Akedah," 221.
44 So Nolland, Matthew, 157 and n.17.
38.20 (LXX; 31.20 MT) is a primary source for the heavenly voice. A reference to Jer 38.20[31.20], which speaks of Israel’s (Ephraim’s) sonship, would also fit the context of Matt 1–4, a section in which Jesus is compared to national Israel. It is also significant for Gibbs that this passage is one of only two places in the entire LXX where ἀγαπητός modifies ὄλος. Its feasibility is further enhanced because Jer 38.15[31.15] has already been cited in Matt 2.18, and Jer 38[31] may also be in view later in Matthew in the covenant mentioned in Matt 26.28. It must be admitted that Gibbs’s position, even more than Bretscher’s, has much to commend it, given Matthew’s citation of a verse in close proximity to Jer 38.20[31.20]. However, it will be suggested below that Matthew may have been aware of (an)other textual tradition(s) that applied beloved to Israel as sons in association with Deuteronomy.

Although none of these alternative proposals has become a new consensus, they nevertheless represent a significant contingent of scholars who are open to considering the influence of other OT texts in the heavenly voice, since a conflation of Psa 2.7 and Isa 42.1 may not best account for the textual features of Matt 3.17. It is the contention of the present study, much like the proposals of Bretscher and Gibbs, that the sonship in view in the divine voice is most closely associated with the sonship of Israel, and not with the messianic king of Psa 2. But, before this claim can be adequately defended, it must also account for the second portion of the heavenly voice. It is when the first part and the second part of the voice are taken together that the focus on Israel is clearest. Once this has been established, a new hypothesis for the first part of the voice will be suggested.

The second part of the heavenly voice conveys the divine good pleasure with Jesus. It is common to understand the second half of this phrase (ἐν φίλον), and sometimes also ἀγαπητός, as a reference to Isa 42.1, which reads in part: ὁ παῖς μου ἄντιλήψεως αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς μου προσεδέξατο αὐτόν ἡ φυλή μου ἑδοκα τὸ πνευμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν. As this excerpt from Isa 42.1 suggests, on an initial reading of Matt 3.17 there do not seem to be any significant parallels to Isa 42.1. Indeed many scholars doubt that Matthew intends a reference to Isaiah in the heavenly voice. Morna Hooker, for example, is skeptical that Matthew intended a reference to Isa 42.1 in 3.17 based specifically on the lack of agreement between

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Matt 3.17 and 12.18, the latter of which clearly does cite Isa 42.1. Instead of a reference to Isaiah's servant in the heavenly voice, Hooker observes that three key words in the account (υἱός, ἄγαπητός, εὐδόκησα) are all different from the normal translations of Isa 42.1, but taken together, form a concept that is applied exclusively to Israel in the OT.48

On the other hand, those who do posit a reference to Isa 42.1 in Matt 3.17 do so in part because ἄγαπητός in 3.17 has a parallel in the citation from Isa 42.1 in Matt 12.18.49 Other options for the origin of ἄγαπητός abound. This term may have been inserted as a natural change from ἐκλεκτός from Isa 42.1 to connect the first and second parts of the voice.50 Similarly, it is suggested that ἄγαπητός might be a translation of רָחֲבוּ reflected in the MT of Isa 42.1,51 although ἄγαπητός more often translates דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרי, or דְּבָרִים.52 Yet another view is that the use of ἄγαπητός comes from Isa 42.1 as influence by Isa 41.8–9; 44.2, both of which apply a form of ἀγαπᾶω (though not ἄγαπητός!) to the servant (however nebulous the concept servant may be).53 This might further be supported by Tg. Isa. 42.1, which includes “beloved” (רָחֲב).54 A related explanation for the presence of ἄγαπητός in Matt 3.17 is that it is has been influenced by the version of Isa 42.1 found in Matt 12.18.55 However, it is not clear that Matt 3.17 has been influenced by Matt 12.18; the influence is more likely to run in the opposite direction: Matt 3.17 (and 17.5, on which see below) probably influence the form of Matt 12.18 rather than vice versa.56

48 Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959), 71–73. This is especially true for υἱός and εὐδόκησα, on which see Psa 43.4 [44.3 EV; 44.4 MT]; 146.11; Isa 62.4; Mal 2.17; Jer 14.10.

49 Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:337–38.

50 Nolland, Matthew, 157.

51 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:337.

52 Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, 70–71.


54 Gundry, Use, 30–31; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:337.


Jeremias proposed an even more extensive influence of Isa 42.1 in this account, and suggested that ἀγαπητός in the first part of the voice was a clarification of the ambiguous παῖς (i.e., servant or son) from Isa 42.1. However, this explanation must assume a two-stage Greek development of the tradition, which is an unnecessary conclusion given the dearth of evidence that ἀγαπητός often replaces an original παῖς. Moreover, the close connection between this pericope with the Temptation narrative makes it all the more likely that a reference to sonship is intended in the baptismal voice. It is thus best not to view the entirety of the heavenly voice as an extended reference to Isa 42.1.

In sum, it must be admitted that ἰν οὐ κατάρα in the first half of Matt 3.17 may be influenced by Isa 42.1. But it is perhaps more certain that Isaianic influence is to be found in the phrase ἐν ὃ ἐδόκησε, the second half of the heavenly voice. It is true that this phrase is not found in Isa 42.1 LXX, but the later translations of Symmachus and Theodotion do include ἐδόκησεν. Moreover the phrase in Matthew closely (though not precisely) reflects the wording of Isa 42.1 MT (ἅγητος). Hooker again doubts that Isa 42.1 is in view because ἐν ὃ ἐδόκησε does not conform with the explicit citation of Isa 42.1 in Matt 12.18 (ἐῖς ὃν ἐδόκησεν), but this deviation can be explained if Matthew was also working with Markan material. Moreover, the thematic link of the Spirit’s resting on Jesus in Matt 3.16 further links Matthew with Isa 42.1, and Matthew’s wording ἐν ἀυτῷ likely indicates that he was aware of the same wording in reference to the Spirit in Isa 42.1.

A slightly different question than the origin of the phrase ἐν ὃ ἐδόκησε is what the last term conveys. It has been observed that ἐδόκησεν with ἐν is used in the LXX in reference to God’s taking pleasure in a person or people, and this is most

57 Zimmerli and Jeremias, Servant, 81–83.
58 Lindars, Apologetic, 140; Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, 69–70.
59 Gundry, Use, 30.
60 Another option for the origin of this term will be proposed below.
61 Although see the objections in Huizenga, “Akedah,” 206–7.
62 So Beaton, Isaiah’s Christ, 124n.5.
63 France, Matthew, 123.
64 Gundry, Use, 31.
65 Ibid. Matthew (and Luke) differ here from Mark 1.10, which reads εἰς αὐτόν.
often stated with respect to the nation of Israel.\textsuperscript{66} Another perspective focuses more on the NT data and suggests that εὐδοκέω is frequently used of God in the NT to indicate his sovereign, inscrutable decree. Used in the aorist with reference to Christ in Matt 3.17, εὐδοκέω is said to indicate God’s (past) pleasure in electing Jesus the Messiah.\textsuperscript{67}

These options are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but if there is a pretemporal approval of Jesus revealed here, the impetus for the declaration of that pleasure comes from the \textit{obedience} of Jesus. It is in the actions of Jesus in his baptism that the divine approbation is first pronounced. And, as noted above, Jesus’ baptism is but one aspect of his all-encompassing, programmatic obedience. Moreover, this obedience in the context of Matt 1–4 (and especially Matt 3–4) is the obedience of \textit{a son}. This is clear from the main thrust of the divine declaration in 3.17, and in the Temptation account that follows, which are both focused on Jesus’ sonship.\textsuperscript{68}

Thus, the divine pleasure declared in the heavenly voice is a response to Jesus’ obedience. It has already been argued that Jesus, the obedient Son, is portrayed in Matt 3–4 as one who fulfills the role of national Israel. This corporate focus comports with Hooker’s observation that the three key terms of the baptism (νίκος, ἀγαπητός, εὐδοκέω), and especially God’s pleasure as conveyed with εὐδοκέω + ἐν, refer most often to the nation of Israel.\textsuperscript{69} In the baptism Jesus is portrayed as God’s truly obedient Son in a way that corresponds to the role of Israel \textit{as son}.\textsuperscript{70}

Thus, it makes best sense of both the context of Matt 1–4 in general, and the two halves of the divine voice in particular, to understand Jesus in corporate terms in Matt 3.17.\textsuperscript{71} Although a reference to Psa 2.7 might be able to convey this by means

\textsuperscript{66} Hooker, \textit{Jesus and the Servant}, 71.


\textsuperscript{68} Gundry, \textit{Use}, 30.


\textsuperscript{71} Hooker (\textit{Jesus and the Servant}, 73) suggests that Isa 42.1 points to this conclusion since it was a song that seems to refer to Israel as a whole.
of a representative, kingly figure, it has already been argued that the verbal links between Matt 3.17 and Psa 2.7 are unimpressive. The answer is more likely to be found elsewhere. Indeed, the option should also be left open that Matthew does not intend a precise quotation, but conveys a number of Scriptural texts and images via the divine voice.\textsuperscript{72} In addition, given the unity of the two halves of the heavenly voice (i.e., the two halves may come from different sources, but are united into a single statement in Matthew), the \textit{beloved son} is known as such primarily because of his \textit{obedience}.\textsuperscript{73} This supports the observation that Jesus is known as the "beloved Son" in contexts where he is completely obedient to his Father's will.\textsuperscript{74} The reference to Isa 42.1 in the second half of the verse is not the main focus of the heavenly voice, but is grammatically and thematically subordinate to the main declaration of Jesus' sonship. As such, Isa 42 elucidates the sonship of Jesus, so that Jesus' sonship is defined by \textit{servanthood}; \textit{Son} is a title for Matthew, while \textit{servant} describes Jesus' sonship.\textsuperscript{75}

6.1.4.4 The Heavenly Voice: Sonship, Obedience, and Deut 32

So, the divine voice is proclaimed in the midst of a section of Matthew in which Jesus is portrayed as national Israel, and in the midst of two more specific chapters where Jesus is portrayed as the obedient Son. It is the contention of this chapter that several elements—Jesus' \textit{obedience} as \textit{Son of God} who is also portrayed in the light of \textit{servant} imagery—are joined together in the heavenly voice. To this end, a new hypothesis will now be suggested that attempts to account for the evidence and hold these themes together.

To state the hypothesis succinctly, it is suggested here that the phrase \(\text{υἱός μου ὅ ἄγαπητός} \) is based on an interpretive tradition drawn from Deuteronomy, particularly Deut 32.5 and/or 32.19–20 as reflected in Tg. \textit{Neofiti}, Tg. \textit{Pseudo-Jonathan}. Before arguing for the specific influence, the general Deuteronomic influence on the heavenly voice should be noted as a possibility. Building on the


\textsuperscript{73} De Kruijf, \textit{Der Sohn}, 54.

\textsuperscript{74} Charles B. Puskas and David Crump, \textit{An Introduction to the Gospels and Acts} (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 95.

\textsuperscript{75} Birger Gerhardsson, \textit{The Mighty Acts of Jesus according to Matthew} (SMRSHLL 5; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1979), 89; Beaton, \textit{Isaiah's Christ}, 176.
observation that Jesus is portrayed in terms of national Israel in Matt 3, G. Thompson has observed a number of features of this text that may derive from Deuteronomy. In Deut 4.36–37 God’s voice addresses Israel from heaven, reminding Israel of their divine election. Moreover, it is stressed that Israel is a privileged people to hear God’s voice, since this distinguished them from all other peoples.76 Thompson also observes that the purpose of the heavenly voice in Deuteronomy was to urge Israel to obedience and warn them against disobedience, but the unfortunate reality of Israel’s history is that they were persistently disobedient. To support this suggestion, Thompson notes the close relationship between Matt 3–4 and the typological link between Israel’s calling and the beginning of Jesus’ ministry. Thus, in Deuteronomy the divine voice is closely associated with the call of Israel to be God’s people, and the divine voice at Jesus’ baptism calls Jesus to be God’s true son, like Israel.77

Thompson’s thesis has much to commend it, especially in his focus on the correlation between national Israel and Jesus and the role Deuteronomy may play in this correlation. Another feature that might support Thompson’s position (which he does not note) is the role of Israel’s discipline in Deut 4 in relation to their sonship, since discipline is an important aspect of Israel’s sonship. God’s discipline is mentioned in both Deut 4.36 (which Thompson sees as background for the heavenly voice in Matt 3.17) and in Deut 8.5. If Deut 4.36–37 is (at least part of) the background for Matt 3.17 it would link the sonship of Jesus to Israel via Deuteronomy and the heavenly voice, and would likely also mean that Matthew was aware of God’s fatherly discipline in Deut 8.5, which serves as the background for Jesus’ filial testing in Matt 4.1–11. Thus the concept of God’s discipline might be a way to connect Matt 3–4 with the Deuteronomic notion of sonship.

But an even more intriguing aspect of Thompson’s argument states that there is a contrast drawn in this passage between Israel’s disobedience and Jesus’ obedience.78 This is plausible because Jesus is contrasted to Israel as a Son. But, although Deut 4.36–37 may be the background, or part of a matrix of background imagery, for the heavenly voice, the obedient sonship of Jesus may better be contrasted with the disobedient sonship of Israel via another passage: Deut 32.

78 Ibid.
Indeed, it is the present contention that a reference to Deut 32 in the heavenly voice accounts for the textual features of the passage quite well. First, Deut 32 is addressed to national Israel and refers to the nation of Israel as sons (and daughters) in several verses, including 32.5, 19–20. Although 32.5 LXX reads τέκνα, the MT reads בנוים. It is therefore quite possible that Matthew’s OT Vorlage either reflects the MT at this point, Matthew has brought a proto-LXX reading into greater conformity with the Hebrew, or Matthew understands τέκνα to be focused in the representative sonship of Jesus.79 The connection with sonship is even more explicit in Deut 32.19–20 LXX, as God’s sons (υἱῶν) (and daughters [θυγατέρων]) are mentioned in 32.19, and 32.20 refers to Israel as sons in whom is no faithfulness, which is set in parallel to a perverted generation (γενέα ξεστραμμένη).

Another possibility is revealed in the second reason why a reference to Deut 32.5 and/or 32.20 may be in view: Tg. Neof. and Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 32.5 read “beloved sons” (Tg. Neof.: בנים יבשנים; Tg. Ps.-J.: בנים יבשנים...lastic). In fact, the term beloved (בחן) occurs about eight times in Tg. Neof. Deuteronomy, and at least three of these refer to Israel beloved sons or children (Deut 14.1; 32.5, 19), with additional references to Israel in general as beloved (Deut 7.6; 26.18) and to literal children (Deut 13.7).82 It is also found similarly in, e.g., Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 7.6; 14.2; 26.18.

These occurrences of beloved in the targums noted above, however, do not prove anything in themselves. As implied above in conjunction with the proposal that beloved (才干) son was derived from Tg. Pss. 2.7, an appeal to targums to demonstrate the background for NT texts can be highly problematic.83 Bruce Chilton has suggested eight theses regarding the use of targums for NT studies, which help to

79 See also Matthew’s understanding of Hos 11.1 (MT: ז; LXX τέκνα) in reference to Jesus as υἱός in 2.15.
80 This phrase is also found in Tg. Neof. in Deut 33.3 and likely (originally) in Deut 14.1. Cf. Alejandro Diez Macho, Neophyti I. Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana 5: Deuteronomio (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1978), 131, 496
81 Not all the occurrences are certain.
83 For a discussion of possible Hebrew/Aramaic words underlying ἄγαπης, see Marcus, Way of the Lord, 51n.12; Gundry, Use, 30–31n.7.
provide parameters for the use of targumic literature for NT research. Chilton observes that most of the targums were composed after, and with little reference to the chief concerns of, the NT.\textsuperscript{84} He further points out that there is no Palestinian, pre-Christian targum. At best some elements in the targums may antedate or be contemporaneous with NT documents, but the case for these must be made and not assumed. So, the best use of targums may be in finding analogous material to the NT.\textsuperscript{85}

This study basically follows the approach of Chilton for dealing with targumic evidence, which almost certainly postdates Matthew. It should also be noted, however, that the Palestinian Targums (including Tg. Neof., Tg. Ps-J.) were much more widely known and used than some other targums, such as Tg. Pss.\textsuperscript{86} In addition, a comparatively early date (circa third–fourth century) is likely at least for Tg. Neof,\textsuperscript{87} and Robert Hayward is an example of one who has challenged the notion that Tg. Ps-J. represents a late, Islamic date.\textsuperscript{88} None of these factors, of course, means that Matthew knew or used Tg. Neof. or Tg. Ps.-J. Targums were certainly in existence at the time of the early church, but this is different than saying that the targums known today date from the same time.\textsuperscript{89} The key point, then, is that the targumic literature, especially those with a Palestinian provenance, may well reflect interpretative traditions available around the time of Matthew. This is far from certain, but the possibility remains.

Moreover, the concept of beloved sonship in Deuteronomy is not completely dependent upon explicit targumic renderings to this effect. As argued in chapter 3,
the concept of beloved sonship (in conjunction with obedience) is present in Deuteronomy even if the precise phrase “beloved son” does not occur. Given the difficulty in establishing precise biblical language in Matthew’s heavenly voice and the possibility that the heavenly voice might reflect scriptural language in general, the background of Israel as a “beloved son” in the vein of Deuteronomy should be considered in Matt 3.17.

Admittedly the above reconstruction is a bit tenuous, but it is strengthened when four additional factors are considered. First, Matthew likely alludes to Deut 32.5, 20 in Matt 17.17, and probably also in 12.39, 45; 16.4, so he must have known at least portions of Deut 32 in some form. Although Matthew’s main impetus for his reference to Deut 32 may have come from Mark and/or Q, it is highly unlikely that his knowledge of Deut 32 would have been limited to his sources. As one who was undoubtedly steeped in Israel’s Scriptures (not least of which was the Torah!) and perhaps even knew them by heart, Matthew almost certainly would have been familiar with the Song of Moses. Additionally, if Matthew were responsible for reworking 12.18 to make it closer to 3.17 and 17.5 (which Beaton and others recognize) then it is not out of the realm of possibility that, if Deut 32 is in view in any of these other passages, it is also in view in 3.17. Indeed, the similar phrasing in Matt 17.5 is closely followed by a reference to Deut 32.5, 20 in 17.17. Moreover—and this is the second additional factor to consider—the Song of Moses was particularly well-known and widely used among Pentateuchal literature, as the surveys in chapters 2, 4 have indicated. Given the widespread knowledge of Deut 32, it would not be surprising if interpretive traditions surrounding this text (such as those later included in Tg. Neof., Tg. Ps.-J.) were also rather widely known. Thus, Matthew’s allusions to Deut 32, his knowledge of the Torah in general, and the widespread circulation of the Song of Moses make it plausible that Matthew knew this text and alluded to it elsewhere in his gospel, perhaps even in Matt 3.17.

A third additional factor in support of a possible reference to Deut 32 in Matt 3.17 is the thematic correspondence relating to Jesus’ obedience. Put simply, in Matt

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90 On Matthew’s use of Deut 32, see Brandon D. Crowe, “The Song of Moses and Divine Begetting in Matt 1,20,” Bib 90 (2009): 47–58, especially 51–52. Recall that Matthew’s references to “(this) generation” probably also reflect Deut 32.5, 20.

91 So Dale C. Allison, Jr., The New Moses: A Matthean Typology (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 95.
Jesus' filial obedience is articulated in terms of Israel's national sonship. In Deut 32.5 Israel is portrayed as disobedient sons. And, if an interpretive tradition similar to that which is included in the Palestinian Targums was extant at the time of Matthew's composition, then Israel is portrayed as beloved sons who were disobedient. The reference to Jesus in Matt 3.17 would then be a way of highlighting his status as a beloved Son who was like Israel inasmuch as he was God's Son, but unlike Israel inasmuch as he was obedient as God's beloved Son. Indeed, this thematic correspondence between the two texts may be one of the most significant features to consider. Moreover, this comports with the observation of Gibbs who has suggested that there is a progression of Jesus' portrayal in relation to Israel in Matt 2-4. In Matt 2.13-15 Jesus is very much like Israel in his exodus, and in Matt 4.1-11 Jesus is unlike Israel in his successful overcoming of a temptation similar to that faced by Israel. In Matt 3.13-17 Jesus is both like and unlike Israel: Jesus is like Israel in his identification with Israel through his baptism and the related exodus imagery, but he is unlike Israel in his role as the fulfiller of all righteousness, and therefore, in his obedience.92

A fourth additional factor in support of Deut 32 as (at least part of) the background for Matt 3.17 is the role of the Spirit in Deut 32.11. On the one hand, it is certainly true that one of the most prominent points of contact between Isa 42.1 and Matt 3.17 is the descent of the Spirit,93 on the other hand this thematic parallel does not have to be limited to one text. In fact, if Deut 32 is referenced in conjunction with Isa 42, the heavenly voice would then be evoking two texts which refer to God's Spirit.94 In Deut 32.11 (speaking of Israel's Exodus!) Yahweh is said to hover over Israel as an eagle hovers over its young. This might serve as background for the descent of the dove in Matt 3.16. Significantly the image of a bird in Deut 32.11 is also connected to Gen 1.2 via the rare Piel of הָנַחַת (found only in these two passages in the MT).95 When these two texts are viewed together it is clear

93 So Joachim Gnilka, Das Matthäusevangelium (HTKNT; 2 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1986), 1:79; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:338.
94 Admittedly Deut 32.11 is found between Deut 32.5, 20, but if the argument here holds that Matthew knew the entire Song of Moses (at least vv. 5-20), then there is no reason why he would not have known v. 11. See further on Matt 1.20.
95 This connection is found only in the MT, but given Matthew's knowledge of Hebrew, it is possible that he would have been aware of this tradition.
that the presence of God’s Spirit in Gen 1.2 is likened to ornithological hovering. These connections between Matt 3.16 and Gen 1.2 may suggest new creation imagery in Jesus’ baptism,⁹⁶ and if so this probably also necessitates Matthew’s knowledge of Deut 32.11 in a proto-MT tradition, without which the connection between God’s Spirit and a bird would be much less clear.⁹⁷ Moreover, in further support of Deut 32.11, it has also been noted that there is reference made in the second-century b. Ber. 3a to a divine voice that coos like a dove, and Tg. Cant. 2.12 interprets the voice of the turtledove as the voice of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁸ Thus there are interpretive traditions that relate the descent of God’s Spirit to a bird and to creation, and Deut 32.11 is an important passage that serves as an important text for this matrix of imagery. This suggestion does not disallow the influence of Isa 42 in Matt 3.16, but Deut 32.11 is suggested as a fitting corollary that dovetails nicely with Isa 42.⁹⁹

6.1.4.5 The Heavenly Voice: Summary

Thus, there are at least six reasons that form a cumulative case for why Deut 32 should at least be entertained as a possibility as a background text for Matt 3. The six points can be summarized: (1) both Deut 32 and Matt 3 have a corporate focus on sonship; (2) interpretative traditions surrounding Deut 32 refer to Israel as beloved sons, and it is Jesus who is the beloved son in Matt 3; (3) Matthew clearly references the relevant portions of Deut 32 (vv. 5, 20) elsewhere in his gospel; (4) Deut 32 was a widely known and referenced text in the ancient world; (5) thematically, Deut 32.5, 20 chastises Israel for being God’s disobedient sons, and Matt 3 lauds Jesus for being God’s obedient Son; (6) the descent of the Spirit in Matt 3 may reveal knowledge of similar imagery in Deut 32.11. It is, however, recognized that Deut 32 is by no means the only plausible possibility for the background of Matt 3.17. Genesis 22, Isa 42, Jer 38[31], and even Exod 4 cannot be dismissed as possibilities. But it is

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⁹⁶ So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:334.
⁹⁷ For more on the relationship between Gen 1, Deut 32, and Matthew, see §7.1.
⁹⁸ France, Matthew, 122.
⁹⁹ It is to be recalled that Isaiah and Deuteronomy are the two most frequently cited portions of the OT in Matthew.
suggested that the six features above that derive from Deut 32 may best fit the overall context of Matt 3.100

In the end, it is difficult to state with certainty what texts Matthew intends in his heavenly voice. Certainly the majority view that Psa 2.7 and Isa 42.1 are conflated remains a possibility, but other options must also be considered. It has been argued that there is sufficient warrant that Matthew may have in view OT texts that speak more explicitly of national Israel’s sonship in Matt 3, especially since this is such a prominent aspect of the first four chapters of Matthew specifically, and the entire gospel in general. It has been suggested that a reference to Deut 32, perhaps as reflected in the targumic literature, is at least as likely, and apparently more likely, than the common suggestion of Psa 2.7 and/or Tg. Pss. 2.7. The hypothesis suggested here is by no means a definitive solution to the problem, but does provide a plausible explanation for the data and fits the narrative of Matthew’s gospel. A more certain conclusion, however, could only be reached with additional research.

6.1.5 Summary of Matt 3.15-17

In light of all these connections, it is reasonable to conclude that both Matt 3 and 4 should be viewed against a common background. It is clear in Matt 4 that this background is Deuteronomy and Israel’s sonship; it is therefore also likely that these are in view in Matt 3. The more explicit link to Deuteronomic sonship in Matt 4 affects the way the baptism narrative in Matt 3 is to be viewed.101 This coincides with Kennedy’s view that “[t]he treatment of the baptism and testing narratives together is important because...the testing narrative colors one’s reading of the

100 Since this section has argued for a possible Deuteronomic background for the heavenly voice in Matt 3.17 that is based in part on targumic evidence, some other suggestions appealing to targumic renderings should also be considered. Huizenga (“Akedah,” 212), in conjunction with his overall thesis that an Isaac typology pervades Matthew, has pointed out some other targumic renderings that may support his thesis. In particular, he has noted that the terms וָרוּץ, וָגֵר are both used of Isaac in the targums of Gen 22, and specifically in Tg. Neof. Lev 22.27, and these terms may further be associated with Matthew’s use of el‘ooke‘a. However, the question remains how important these texts were for Matthew. The hypothesis of Deut 32 argued here has the advantage of being an additional reference to a text Matthew cites at least once elsewhere in his gospel (17.17), and probably more (12.39, 45; 16.4; 17.17).

There is also evidence that “beloved” (יִשְׁרָאֵל) is used in Tg. Isa. 42.1, and may therefore serve as background for beloved son in Matt 3.17. Given the likelihood that Isa 42.1 is in view in the second half of the heavenly voice, this is an option that cannot be dismissed. Nevertheless, it is proposed here that the confluence of the six features in favor of Deut 32 noted above better fit the textual evidence.

101 This statement assumes that Matthew was a document to be read/heard more than once (so Luz, Matthew, 1:6).
baptism narrative when these two sections are rightly viewed together within an overall narrative framework."\(^{102}\)

### 6.2 Matt 17.1–21

Matthew's Transfiguration account includes a divine voice that declares Jesus' sonship (17.5), which is almost identical to 3.17. Matthew 17 is therefore best considered in light of the precedent of Matt 3 and the close relationship evident between Matt 3–4. The only difference in the divine voice is the addition of the phrase ἀκοὸ́σε ἀύτοῦ in 17.5. The chart below compares the two passages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matt 3.17</th>
<th>Matt 17.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν οὐ δόκησα</td>
<td>Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν οὐ δόκησα: ἀκοὸ́σε ἀύτοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant aspect of Matt 17.5 for the present study is, as in Matt 3.17, the first part of the voice from the cloud. This is an appropriate focal point because the divine voice is the high point of the pericope.\(^{103}\) It has already been argued in the discussion of Matt 3 that there are at least six reasons why a reference to Deut 32 in the heavenly voice fits well with the elements of Matthew's narrative. These six factors cited in Matt 3 remain relevant for the present passage, but Matt 17 also provides additional support for this hypothesis.

#### 6.2.1 Relationship to Matt 3–4

Before the divine voice of Matt 17 is considered in more detail, additional connections with Matt 3–4 should be noted. The most apparent point of contact is the recurrence of the divine voice almost precisely as found in 3.17.\(^{104}\) Furthermore, Matthew, by adding ἐν οὐ δόκησα to the voice from the cloud in 17.5 (contra Mark, Luke), appears to have brought 17.5 and 3.17 in close correspondence with one

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\(^{102}\) Kennedy, "Recapitulation," 230.

\(^{103}\) Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:96.

\(^{104}\) One other variation in the Matt 17 account is the voice speaks not from heaven but from a cloud (ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης).
another. It should also be noted that Jesus’ Transfiguration takes place on a high mountain (ὄρος ψηλόν; 17.1), which may echo the similar location from Jesus’ Temptation (Matt 4.8). The divine voice, however, is the most explicit connection with Matt 3–4. The precise verbal correspondence between the voices, excepting only an additional phrase, renders it highly likely that 17.5 should be understood similarly to 3.17. Thus it is suggested here that the voice from the cloud in 17.5 is, like 3.17, a combination of scriptural language deriving mainly from Deut 32, Isa 42, with the addition of a probable allusion to Deut 18. And these texts are again associated with Jesus’ obedience.

6.2.2 Obedient Sonship and Suffering

Jesus’ programmatic obedience is first declared in Matt 3 as he is said to fulfill all righteousness in association with his baptism. In Matt 16 the obedience of Jesus has begun to take on a new shape, the shape of suffering, though this was already anticipated in his baptism, as Jesus identified with Israel’s baptism of repentance. Jesus’ identification with his people is an indication that he intends to save his people from their sins (1.21), which he will do by pouring out his blood for the forgiveness of sins (26.28). Moreover (although this is debated), it is likely that Jesus is portrayed as Isaiah’s (suffering) servant in Matt 3, given the likely allusion to Isa 42.1.

Although Jesus’ suffering is anticipated in Matt 3, it is declared more explicitly beginning at Caesarea Philippi where Jesus declares in 16.21 that it was necessary for him to suffer, die, and rise again. Thus Jesus’ task becomes more clearly one of suffering from Matt 16 onward, and the obedience of Jesus from this point is therefore bound up more obviously with his suffering, which culminates in

105 Moses, Matthew’s Transfiguration, 138; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:693; Gundry, Commentary, 344.
107 It is worth noting that, as in 3.17, a number of scholars also doubt that Matthew intended any reference to Psa 2.7, or to Davidic Christology, in the first part of 17.5. Indeed, the verbal correspondences between Psa 2.7 and 17.5 are weak. Cf. Moses, Matthew’s Transfiguration, 140, 145. Those who see a reference to Psa 2.7 here often see this as an enthronization scene (so Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:96; Luz, Matthew, 2:397).
108 Carson, “Matthew,” 108; Turner, Matthew, 120. Note also the likely anointing of Jesus in 3.16, which may reflect a messianic understanding of Isa 61.1 (so France, Matthew, 472; cf., e.g., 4Q521).
his obedience unto death on a cross. This is significant because of the close connection of Matt 17.1–8 not only with 3.15–17, but also with 16.13–28. In Matt 16.16, which is the nadir of the first half of the gospel and one of the most significant pericopes in the entire book,¹⁰⁹ Peter confesses that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Living God. This confession, which is not a verbatim citation of any OT passage, combines the concepts of the Davidic Messiah (χριστός)¹¹⁰ and divine sonship, with particular emphasis on the Jewish understanding of God as “the Living God.”¹¹¹ It is also possible that Matthew intends the two titles in 16.16 to convey both what Jesus does (Messiah) and who Jesus is (God’s Son).¹¹²

Although it is true that Peter’s confession of Jesus as the Christ draws more explicit attention to Jesus’ role as Messiah, it should not be missed that Peter is at the same time confessing Jesus as Son of (the Living) God. Peter’s declaration of Jesus’ sonship in Matt 16 is confirmed in the divine declaration of Jesus’ sonship in Matt 17,¹¹³ but in the new context of his glorious Transfiguration. So, Peter’s declaration of Jesus’ messianic sonship is followed immediately by Jesus’ declaration that his task as Messiah is to suffer, die, and rise again (16.21), and his call for his disciples to follow after him (16.24–28). It was after this (perhaps bewildering) sequence of events (who would expect that God’s Son must suffer?) that Matthew’s audience then encounters Jesus in a transfigured state, and the glorious nature of his sonship is revealed.¹¹⁴ Thus, the Transfiguration account of 17.1–8 is God’s response to the impending suffering of his Son.¹¹⁵ Davies and Allison also suggest, however, that (despite the glorious vision of Jesus in the Transfiguration) Matt 17.1–8 is like Matt 16.13–23 in that Jesus’ sonship is qualified by means of suffering service. This is

¹⁰⁹ So, e.g., Donald A. Hagner, Matthew, 2:474; Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:47; France, Matthew, 612.
¹¹¹ Note especially Deut 5.26; Hos 1.10. Th. De Kruijf (Der Sohn des lebeindigen Gottes: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie des Matthäusevangeliums [AnBib 16; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1962], 87) suggests that “Son of the Living God” is parallel to “Christ” and is bound up with several images, including Servant, Son of Man, New Israel, and New Moses.
¹¹² France, Matthew, 619.
¹¹³ Moses, Matthew’s Transfiguration, 139; cf. Luz, Matthew, 2:394.
¹¹⁴ Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:705–6; France, Matthew, 642.
¹¹⁵ Hagner, Matthew, 2:489; de Kruijf, Der Sohn, 88.
evidenced by the reference to Isa 42.1 in the voice from the cloud.116 Thus, for Matthew, suffering and glory are not antithetical, but in some way complementary.

Jesus’ obedient suffering as God’s Son is not only apparent in Matt 16–17, but also in his crucifixion (Matt 27.32–54). On the cross, much like Matt 4.1–11, Jesus is again tempted three times.117 Significantly, the first temptation on the cross in 27.40 echoes the precise wording of Matt 4.3, 6: εἰ ὑιὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ.118 Similarly, the second temptation on the cross also focuses on Jesus’ sonship (27.43).119 Although the mockers do not understand how Jesus, the supposed Son of God, could undergo such suffering, it is clear from Matthew’s gospel that Jesus’ suffering was an integral part of his filial obedience. Davies and Allison note several other possible correspondences, or contrasts, between Matthew’s Transfiguration and Crucifixion accounts, all of which find coherence in the shared christological claim that Jesus is God’s Son.120

Luz makes another valid observation about Jesus as God’s Son in Matt 17.5: Matthew’s audience has already been introduced to Jesus as the Son of God in the gospel, and the divine declaration in 17.5 directs the audience back to the macrotext of the gospel to discover in more detail who the Son of God is. For Luz, the answer (in part) is that Jesus is the obedient Son.121 It is also not to be missed that, like 3.17, the reference to Isaiah’s servant is focused on the divine good-pleasure in Jesus’ actions. The significant point for the present study of the coalescence of all these texts is the way in which Jesus’ obedience is seen in his suffering, and this is part and parcel of his sonship. Indeed, a momentous confession comes from a Roman centurion who recognizes Jesus’ divine sonship after Jesus’ suffering and death (27.54). Thus: “Once Jesus has died in faithful obedience to the divine will of his

116 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:706.
117 These are (1) passers-by (27.39–40); (2) chief priests, scribes, elders (27.41–43); (3) two thieves (27.44); cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:607.
119 Matt 27.43: πέποιθεν εἰ τὸν θεόν, ἄμακτο καὶ ἐξέδου, ἐξελέγεν γὰρ ὅτι θεόν ἑμί ὑιός, likely echoing Wis 2.13.
120 For a list of these corresponding features, see Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:706–7.
121 Luz, Matthew, 2:399.
Father, then his true, profound identity as God’s Son can be publicly proclaimed, even by the Gentiles.”122

6.2.3 Obedient Sonship vs. Disobedient Sonship

Not only is Jesus’ obedient sonship highlighted by his task of suffering, but Matt 17 also contrasts Jesus’ obedient sonship to the inveterate recalcitrance of Israel via an allusion to Deut 32.5, 20 in 17.17. This provides additional support for the hypothesis that Matthew is drawing upon Deut 32 and/or interpretive traditions surrounding Deut 32 to articulate Jesus’ filial obedience. After Jesus descends from the Mount of Transfiguration with Peter, James, and John he encounters a problem: the father of a boy who had a demon brought his son to Jesus’ disciples, but they were unable to heal him. The father then besought Jesus to heal his son, which he did (17.18). The failure of Jesus’ disciples serves as a stark contrast to the glorious revelation of Jesus on the mountain, and to his divine, obedient sonship.

Before Jesus healed the boy, he registered a specific complaint against his generation, calling it faithless (ἀπιστός) and perverse (διεστραμμένη). This language almost certainly reflects Deut 32, as γενεὰ, διεστραμμένη in 17.17 echo the same vocabulary from Deut 32.5 LXX, and γενεὰ, ἀπιστος echo γενεὰ, οὐκ ἐστιν πίστις from Deut 32.20 LXX.123 Thus the allusions to Deut 32 in Matt 17.17 come from two verses (vv. 5, 20) that not only refer to a wicked generation, but both portions do so in conjunction with Israel’s sonship; in Deut 32.5, Israel as a crooked and perverted generation has sacrificed their position as sons (or children, LXX), and in Deut 32.20 Israel as a perverted generation is equated with Israel as faithless sons. It is therefore significant that the chastisement of Jesus’ generation in 17.17 immediately follows the climactic Transfiguration account in which he is declared to be God’s Son (17.5). A contrast between Jesus and Israel, and co-ordinately between their statuses as sons, is therefore quite likely in Matt 17.124 Jesus, as indicated by

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122 Heil, Transfiguration, 249.
123 Similar links with Deut 32 are noted by, e.g., Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:354; Gninka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:107; Keener, Matthew, 367; Pierre Bonnard, L’Évangile selon Saint Matthieu (2d ed.; CNT 1; Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1963), 260; Fiedler, Matthäusevangelium, 298; Turner, Matthew, 424; France, Matthew, 660–61; Blomberg, “Matthew,” 56; cf. Index 4 in NA27.
124 Ipso facto, this also enhances the plausibility that a reference to Deut 32 in conjunction with the sonship of Jesus may be in view in Matt 3.17.
the voice from the cloud, is God’s well-pleasing Son; the disciples and the crowd, by contrast, are like the infamous generation of Moses’ day: sons who demonstrated a lack of faith despite the wonders God had wrought among them.

It is also significant that “(this) generation” language, deriving from Deut 32, is again used by Matthew in association with Jesus’ sonship. This has already been shown from Matt 11.16–19, and in Matt 17 the pattern emerges again. Indeed, it seems to be the case that Matthew links the “(this) generation” language from Deut 32 with various perspectives of what is required of God’s children. This increases the probability that Matthew was aware of the sonship/child language of Deut 32.5, 20 and may be assuming these images as the background for these portions of his gospel.

An additional piece of evidence that may support the proposed allusions to Deut 32 is the Mosaic influence that pervades the Transfiguration account. This is evident in a number of Matthean features. First, Matthew has changed Mark’s order of the appearance of Elijah and Moses (Mark 9.4) to the appearance of Moses and Elijah (Matt 17.3), which probably emphasizes Moses. Second, in addition to the shining clothes of Jesus Matthew adds that Jesus’ face shone like the sun (17.2), which is an echo of what happens to Moses in Exod 34.29–35. Third, the cloud that appears in Matthew is paradoxically said to be bright (φωτεινή). This is most likely a reference to the Shekinah that filled the wilderness tabernacle and the cloud which Moses entered in Exod 24.18. Fourth, in Exod 24.15–18 Moses ascended a mountain where he stayed for six days. Similarly, in his Transfiguration Jesus ascends a mountain after six days (Matt 17.1).

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125 It is probably best to maintain a distinction between the crowds and the disciples, but in this passage the actions of the disciples had become like that of the crowds which led Jesus to lament them both. Cf. Luz, Matthew, 2:408; J. R. C. Cousland, The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew (NovTSup 102; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 22.

126 Lövestam, “ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη,” 411.

127 Although the resonances with Deut 32 proposed here are also found in Luke 9.41, and therefore probably in Q, it is again to be noted that it would be misguided to assume that Matthew was only aware of Deut 32 from his sources (see above on 3.17). Additionally, it should also be recalled that the present approach is concerned primarily with sources as they are appropriated in Matthew, and not as source in themselves.

128 For the first three points, see Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:685–87.
Fifth, the new addition to the voice not found in Matt 3.17 (ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ) is a Mosaic resonance.¹²⁹ Most understand this phrase to be a reference to the prophet predicted by Moses in Deut 18.15 (LXX: αὐτοῦ ἀκούσοντε).¹³⁰ A reference to Deut 18.15 might also be reflected in the readings of, e.g., C L W Θ f¹³, which attest αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε and therefore stand closer to the LXX. Thus, Matthew has redacted his sources to make the Mosaic imagery more explicit. This in no way proves an allusion to Deut 32 in 17.5 and/or 17.17, but allusions to the Song of Moses in this portion of the gospel would be consistent with Matthew’s sustained interest in Mosaic imagery in Matt 17. It may also be significant that the divine voice instructs Peter, James, and John to listen to Jesus, which is tantamount to instructing them to obey Jesus.¹³¹ The divine voice may therefore anticipate the lack of faith of the disciples and the uniqueness of Jesus as the one in whom the disciples are to place their faith in 17.17–20.¹³²

6.2.4 Summary of Matt 17.1–21

In the end, the OT background for Matthew’s Transfiguration account is probably meant to be polyvalent—the audience is to recognize various elements, but all these fit together.¹³³ Thus, as with Matt 3.17, it is difficult to say with certainty which texts Matt may have understood as the background for the voice from the cloud in 17.5; Matthew may well have intended a number of passages, or scriptural language in general, to account for the voice. Given this difficulty in establishing the precise background for Matthew’s language, it has been suggested above that Deut 32 should be considered a possibility. A reference to Deut 32 in Matt 17.5 would be especially fitting in light of Matthew’s allusion to Deut 32.5, 20 in Matt 17.17, and it and would also comport with his concern to emphasize Jesus as the obedient Son of God in contrast to the disobedience that was characteristic of Israel.

¹²⁹ All these Mosaic resonances correlate well with the allusions to Deut 32 and the (Mosaic) wilderness generation in Matt 17.17.

¹³⁰ So a majority of commentators, including Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:686; Bonnard, Matthieu, 255; Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:96; France, Matthew, 650; Nolland, Matthew, 704; Luz, Matthew, 2:395–96; de Kruijf, Der Sohn, 57; cf. Marcus, Way of the Lord, 81. Another possibility (suggested by my colleague Daniel Johannson) is Exod 23.21.

¹³¹ BDAG s.v.(4).

¹³² Cf. Turner, Matthew, 418.

¹³³ So Luz, Matthew, 2:397.
6.3 Summary: Matt 3, 17

The preceding discussion has set forth a new hypothesis that the influence of Deut 32 may be found in the heavenly voices of Matt 3.17; 17.5. The Song of Moses was clearly known by Matthew, and the thematic parallels contrasting Jesus’ obedient sonship with Israel’s disobedient sonship are especially striking. Moreover, the contexts of Matt 3.15–17 (focusing on sonship and obedience in light of Israel, and its close relationship to Matt 4), and Matt 17.1–8 (followed closely by verbal parallels to Deut 32) further support this hypothesis. Taken together, these texts are significant possibilities, perhaps even probabilities, that may reveal Matthew’s concern in articulating Jesus’ obedient sonship in light of Deuteronomy.

Before concluding this study, three additional possible allusions to Deuteronomic sonship will be considered in the next chapter.
Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew

Part 3: Possible Allusions

Having considered strong and likely allusions to Deuteronomic sonship in Matthew (chapter 5), and some significant possibilities (chapter 6), attention will now be given to several Matthean texts that fit with the present proposal and may also betray the influence of Deuteronomy in association with obedient sonship.

7.1 Matt 1.20

Given the prominence of the Song of Moses in the ancient world, along with the numerous allusions to Deut 32 in Matthew, it is proposed here that Deut 32.18 serves as a scriptural precedent for the unique imagery of Jesus' begetting by the Holy Spirit in Matt 1.20. Matthew 1.18–25 recounts the revelation to and response of Joseph to the angelic message that Mary was with child. The key verse for the present purposes comes in 1.20: τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γέννηθεν ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστιν ἁγίου. It is highly significant that the verb γέννάω is used to describe God's begetting of Israel in Deut 32.18 (θεὸν τὸν γεννησαυτά σε), and the ascription of this activity to God is exceedingly rare in the LXX. Moreover, this term here translates the Hebrew יִּבָּר (Qal), a verb that is attributed to God even more rarely in the MT than γεννάω is in the LXX. Relevant LXX passages include Isa 1.2; 66.9; Psa 2.7; Prov 8.25, and Psa 109.3 LXX attests a slightly different verb (ἐγένναμαι). Texts from the MT to consider include Num 11.12; Psa 2.7 (with 1QSa II, 11 being another

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2 The construction of the last three words is a bit awkward, but similar constructions referring to the Holy Spirit occur in Luke 2.25; Acts 1.5.

3 Roland S. Hendel (“‘Begetting’ and ‘Being Born’ in the Pentateuch: Notes on Historical Linguistics and Source Criticism,” *VT* 50 (2000): 38–46) notes that the Hiphil of יִּבָּר came to replace the Qal by exilic and post-exilic times when speaking particularly of a father's (causal) role in begetting. However, he considers Deut 32.18 to be pre-exilic and therefore predates this practice.
possible parallel). If one were to search for an OT allusion in the reference to Jesus’ begetting by the Holy Spirit in Matt 1.20, any of these texts might be considered a possibility. However, it may be that the language of divine begetting in combination with the prominence of filial language throughout Deut 32 render the associations between Deut 32.18 and Matt 1.20 stronger than these other possibilities. Four reasons support this.

First, allusions to Deut 32.5, 20 throughout Matthew indicate that Matthew almost certainly knew Deut 32, specifically the portions that refer to Israel as God’s son. Second, the thematic link of divine sonship links Deut 32 with Matt 1. The theme of divine sonship has already been expounded from Deut 32, and a similar concept of Jesus as the Son of God is likely in view in Matt 1. This last point, however, is contested. Some have argued instead that Matt 1 primarily concerns Jesus’ Davidic sonship rather than his divine sonship. However, the motif of Jesus’ Davidic sonship, though clearly a concern of Matthew here and throughout the gospel, does not eclipse Jesus’ divine sonship. Instead, both Jesus’ divine sonship and his Davidic sonship are key themes for Matthew and these cannot be ultimately separated. However, if one must distinguish the two it appears that Jesus’ divine sonship is the basis for his Davidic sonship: “Matthew indicates that Jesus is able to function as son of David precisely because he is also the Son of God who has been conceived by the Holy Spirit (1:18, 20).”

A third reason to see an allusion to Deut 32.18 in Matt 1.20 is the way this would anticipate two important themes already noted throughout Matthew. These

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4 A polyvalent textual background for this image should not be disallowed. I am simply suggesting that Matt 1.20 may be a more prominent allusion.
5 See above on Matt 11 (chapter 5), and Matt 3, 17 (chapter 6).
are: (1) Jesus as the obedient Son of God, in contrast to (2) disobedient Israel.\textsuperscript{10} As demonstrated above, Matthew clearly portrays Jesus as the obedient Son of God in contrast to Israel elsewhere in his gospel (especially in chapters 1–4), and this passage may be one more indication of this pattern. Although Matt 1.20 would be only a veiled reference to Jesus’ filial obedience, it would lie squarely in the trajectory that becomes clearer as the first few chapters of Matthew unfold. Jesus’ obedience is also highlighted by the pronouncement in 1.21 that he will save his people from their sins.\textsuperscript{11} Whatever one’s view on who Matthew intends by the phrase τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ in 1.21,\textsuperscript{12} a probable allusion to Psa 129.8 LXX (130.8 MT), which speaks of Israel’s redemption, and the lengths to which Matthew has gone in the genealogy to link Jesus with Israel’s history, suggest 1.21 must refer in some sense to Israel. If it is correct to see in Jesus’ begetting by the Holy Spirit an allusion to Israel’s divine begetting in Deut 32.18, this would link Jesus anaphorically to Israel’s failures in the exile (1.11–12, 17), and cataphorically to Israel’s need of redemption (1.21). Indeed, the sin in view in 1.21 includes Israel’s exile mentioned in the genealogy,\textsuperscript{13} which was a primary curse of Deuteronomy in general (Deut 28.36–38), and the Song of Moses in particular (Deut 32.21). Thus, the application of a text that speaks of Israel’s divine begetting from the Song of Moses to Jesus would both closely identify him with Israel and distinguish him from them as their Deliverer who will be seen to “fulfill all righteousness” (3.15).

A fourth reason that supports a possible reference to Deut 32.18 in Matt 1.20 is the shared imagery of creation.\textsuperscript{14} The understanding of βῆβαλòς γενέσεως has been

\textsuperscript{10} J. R. C. Cousland (The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew [NovTSup 102; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 22) observes that the Jewish people in Matthew are portrayed as both a lost flock who are drawn to Jesus, their true Shepherd, and as the obdurate people of God who have perennially and consistently rejected God’s messengers. Cousland’s study suggests that the paradox of the crowds is the paradox of the Jewish people. The emphasis on obduracy is also a major emphasis in the Song of Moses.


\textsuperscript{14} This portion of the argument continues the discussion of Deut 32 in Matt 3 from chapter 6.
widely debated in Matt 1.1, and one aspect of the debates centers around whether some notion of (new) creation is intended by Matthew. If Deut 32—a chapter which has already been shown to echo language and imagery from Gen 1.2 (cf. Deut 32.11)—has been employed in the account of Jesus' conception, this would support the interpretation that Matt 1 evokes elements of creation from the Book of Genesis. Indeed, this connection with creation would also help to explain how Deut 32.18 could be in view in Matt 1.20 since Matthew, unlike Deut 32, does not attribute the begetting to God, but to the Holy Spirit. However, this is ultimately not a problem when one considers in greater detail the role Matthew attributes to the Spirit.

Among the Synoptics, Matthew most closely associates the Spirit with God the Father. Illustrative of this is Matt 4.1, as the Spirit leads Jesus into the wilderness. The verb used here is ἀναχαίνω, which suggests a more personal agent than Mark's ἐκβάλλω as it recalls Yahweh's personal direction in the wilderness wanderings. Other texts that closely relate the Spirit to God the Father include Matt 3.16; 10.20; 12.18, 31. From the entirety of Matthew's teaching on the Spirit one can conclude that, for Matthew, the Spirit is God's powerful and empowering agent to accomplish God's purposes in the world. Thus, although Matt 1.20 does not explicitly state that God had begotten the child in Mary, in light of the Spirit's close connection with God the Father throughout Matthew, the divine implications are unavoidable: for Mary to be with child by the Holy Spirit is for her to be with child by God himself. This is not to posit a male role for the Spirit, but instead it is best to identify the activity of the Spirit so closely with God that Jesus' conception by the Spirit is virtually equivalent to stating God is the one who wrought this event in Mary. Once this has been established, one can justifiably speak of Jesus' divine sonship in this passage.

It may also be significant that the Spirit was commonly understood to be the agent of creation; the role of the Spirit in Jesus' conception likewise suggests new

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15 For creation imagery in Matt 1, see Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:149–54; France, Matthew, 28; André Paul, L'Évangile de l'Enfance selon Saint Matthieu (LiBi 17; Paris: Cerf, 1968), 48.

16 Jane Schaberg, The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: The Triadic Phrase in Matthew 28.19b (SBLDS 61; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 24. She also notes the close connection with Jesus and the Spirit, especially in the infancy narrative.

creation. The creative role of the Spirit may further explain the use of Deut 32 in Matt 1, since (as noted above) only in Gen 1.2 and Deut 32.11 does one find the Piel of הָעִד, as the Spirit of God hovers over the waters on the one hand, and Yahweh hovers over Israel on the other. In addition, language from Gen 1.2 is apparent in Deut 32.10, where Egypt, like the primordial world, is described as רָאָה. The reference here to the Exodus is significant because this paradigmatic event is portrayed as the creation of the nation of Israel as God’s special people (and therefore as God’s son [Exod 4.22]), and Exodus imagery is clearly important for Matthew. The overlap between Israel’s redemption and creation is especially conveyed by the term רָאָה in Exod 15.16; Deut 32.6, the latter of which is related explicitly to God as Israel’s Father. Thus, in Deut 32 Israel’s deliverance is related to Israel’s sonship by means of creational language. An allusion to Deut 32.18 in Matt 1.20 may evoke this creative imagery and redemptive imagery, further connecting the beginning of the gospel with Deut 32 and Gen 1. It has been argued that there are insufficient grounds for connecting the spirit’s activity in Jesus’ birth with new creation because the latter does not offer an adequate explanation of Jesus’ divine sonship. However, a reference to Deut 32 in Matt 1 is able to link the supernatural begetting of Jesus with (new) creation via Israel, thereby answering this objection. Again it is to be noted that a number of the links between Gen 1 and the Song of Moses are only apparent in the MT, so if Matthew did observe these connections, he probably did so from a Hebrew text.

In sum, these four factors point to the possibility that Matthew may have intended the begetting of Jesus by the Holy Spirit to recall Israel’s national, divine begetting in Deut 32. This would be an additional example of Jesus connecting the sonship of Jesus to that of Israel by means of Deut 32, and might also anticipate the obedience of Jesus as the fulfillment of Israel.

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19 There may also be hints of messianic expectations wrapped up in conception by the Spirit, which was thought to have a recreating and revivifying power in the days of the Messiah. Cf. C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: SPCK, 1966), 21–24.
20 So Novakovic, Messiah, 46–50.
21 Note especially Deut 32.10–11 in relation to Gen 1.2
An additional passage that relates the concepts of sonship and obedience in close conjunction with Deut 32 is found in Matt 12. This passage, however, has more thematic coherence than verbal parallels with Deuteronomy. In response to a bystander who told Jesus that the physical brothers and mother of Jesus were nearby and wanted to speak to Jesus, Jesus took the opportunity to explain who his true family is, declaring in 12.49 that his disciples are his mother and brothers. He then explains this in 12.50: ὅστις γὰρ ἐν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτός μου ἀδελφός καὶ ἀδελφή καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν. It has already been noted that θέλημα is a favorite Matthean word, and it is used again here.22 As in 7.21, in 12.50 doing the will of Jesus’ Father must characterize Jesus’ disciples, which here are portrayed as his true family.23

It is to be noted that Jesus is portrayed here as “Son” through the reference to his Father. Indeed, the phrase “τοῦ πατρὸς μου” that highlights Jesus’ sonship is a Matthean redaction. More broadly, θέλημα for Matthew is always the θέλημα of the Father (primarily Jesus’ Father, but also the Father of the disciples—but this is the same Father; cf. 6.10; 7.21; 12.50; 18.14; 26.42),24 and thus is indissolubly associated with Jesus’ sonship. The claim that Jesus’ sonship is in view here finds further support when the overall familial context of the pericope is considered. The focus in this passage is certainly on the disciples of Jesus who are to do his Father’s will, but Jesus’ statement also necessarily assumes that he himself accomplishes his Father’s will.25 Indeed, Matthew’s preference for “the will of my Father” highlights not only Jesus’ filial relationship to God, but also the obedient nature of Jesus’ sonship.26 This is similar to the concept of righteousness in Matthew: Jesus

22 Matthew here (and only here) follows Mark’s use of θέλημα (Mark 3.35), but this is Mark’s only use of the term.

23 It is to be noted that Jesus’ family here extends to both male and female (brothers, sisters, mother). Cf. Deut 32.19.

24 The only exception to this is 21.31, The Parable of the Two Sons, which nevertheless refers to the will of a father. See similarly Henry Pattarumadathil, Your Father in Heaven: Discipleship in Matthew as a Process of Becoming Children of God (AnBib 172; Rome Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2008), 76.

25 This goes one step farther than Stephen C. Barton (Discipleship and Family Ties in Mark and Matthew [SNTSMS 80; Cambridge: CUP, 1994], 189) who focuses on Jesus as the ultimate revealer of the Father’s will.

uniquely accomplishes righteousness, but call his disciples to righteous living. Similarly, Jesus is the definitive accomplisher of his Father’s will (26.42), yet instructs his disciples that they too must share in the accomplishment of his will.\(^{27}\) One can even say that Jesus not only proclaims the Father’s will, but is also himself its complete identity.\(^{28}\) Donald Verseput summarizes the significance of Jesus and the will of Jesus’ Father for Matthew well: “The implication of Matthew’s unique introduction of the divine Fatherhood language into the account, plus his explicit equation between being a disciple of Jesus and doing the Father’s will, is obvious: the Father and Son enjoy a complete unity of purpose.”\(^{29}\)

The call to obedient sonship in this passage may further be underscored by a contrast to the sonship of Israel from Deut 32. Matthew 12.46 begins with the genitive absolute\(^{30}\) (and Matthean redactional phrase) “ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰδιομόρφῳ,” which also occurs in 17.5; 26.47. In all three of these occurrences, along with 9.18, the genitive absolute connects the following accounts closely to the words of Jesus that precede them. Significantly, negative references to “(this) generation” are found in 12.39, 41–42, 45, with at least 12.39 (and perhaps also the other three occurrences to a lesser extent) most likely echoing Deut 32.5.\(^{31}\) It should also be noted that 12.45 is an additional reference to “(this) generation” that is likely not found in Matthew’s sources.\(^{32}\) Thus it is clear in 12.39–45 that Jesus—likely drawing from Deut 32—is chastising the generation of his contemporaries for being like the generation of Moses’ day, and this is closely related conceptually and syntactically to the call for Jesus’ disciples to do the Father’s will (after the manner of Jesus) in 12.46–50.


\(^{28}\) Wolfgang Trilling, *Das wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäusevangeliums* (ETS 7; Leipzig, St. Benno, 1959), 163.


\(^{30}\) BDF §423.

\(^{31}\) Admittedly, only γενεά is shared vocabulary with Deut 32.5 LXX in Matt 12.39, but a number of commentators recognize the influence of Deut 32.5 here, including Davies and Allison (Matthew, 2:354), Keener (Matthew, 367), Gnilka (Matthäusevangelium, 465), Donald A. Hagner (Matthew [2 vols.; WBC 33A–B; Waco: Word, 1993–95], 1:354), France (Matthew, 367), Turner (Matthew, 326); cf. Index 4 in NA27.

In sum, the role of 12.46–50 for the present thesis is primarily thematic. Here is another account in which sonship and obedience are linked. The focus is on the disciples, but the assumption of the passage is that Jesus is able to demand obedience to his Father’s will because he himself is the ultimate fulfiller of his Father’s will. Moreover, familial obedience in 12.50 may be contrasted with Israel’s disobedient sonship from the Song of Moses. This is possible because of the four negative references to “(this) generation” in 12.39–45, a concept which has likely been influenced by Deut 32.5 in Matthew.

7.3 Matt 21.28–22.14

Matthew 21.28–22.14 contains what has been called “Matthew’s Trilogy of Parables,” all of which are focused around Israel’s story.33 These parables are significant for the present study because all three address the theme(s) of sonship and obedience, and this thematic link is strong enough to suggest a Deuteronomic understanding of sonship is in view. Moreover, the function of the parables in Matthew may reveal some of Matthew’s christological concerns. It will thus be argued below that a Deuteronomic background sheds light on, and is perhaps the presupposition of, these three parables. These parables thus may provide important corroborative evidence for the present thesis as part of a larger cumulative case.

6.3.1 The Two Sons

The first parable is commonly known as “The Two Sons.”34 Before any investigation of this parable can be made, the text critical problems in this passage must be addressed. The main issue is whether the first son said he would not go and work in the father’s vineyard, but then later repented and did work, or if this was actually the second son. The other son (whether he comes first or second in the parable) in both readings says he will work, but ultimately does not. Two major readings are proposed for this passage.35 The first reading, which is the majority


34 The text actually reads τέκνα, but the subject matter of working in a vineyard would likely have been more naturally assumed to be the task of a son rather than a daughter (cf. Luz, Matthew, 3:30). Although daughters cannot be ruled out altogether, it is not likely that they are in view in this parable (although Nolland [Matthew, 861n.53] leaves this possibility open).

opinion at present, holds that it is the first son who did not respond with alacrity, but then regrets his decision and decides to work.\textsuperscript{36} This reading has the distinction of having probably the best external evidence ((\textk K \textl L \textw W (Z) D f^1 33 M al.). However, the external evidence is not conclusive, as the “C” rating in UBS4 indicates. Moreover, as Foster notes, this reading only became the printed reading in the 26\textsuperscript{th} edition of the Nestle-Aland text; in the 25\textsuperscript{th} edition the editorial committee opted for the present minority position (in which the second son obeyed) attested in B Θ f \textsuperscript{13} 700 al.\textsuperscript{37}

This second reading, though with slightly less external support, best accords with the internal evidence of Matthew, and fits especially well with the other two parables in the trilogy.\textsuperscript{38} Olmstead summarizes six parallel features in this trilogy of parables that favor the second reading:\textsuperscript{39} (1) each parable begins with an invitation issued by an authority; (2) the invitation goes out repeatedly; (3) the invitation is repeatedly spurned (and ambassadors despised); (4) each parable includes characters who accept the invitation; (5) all three pronounce judgment on the unfaithful; (6) all three announce the replacement of the unfaithful with a scandalous cast that yields to the man’s wishes. More broadly, there is a salvation-historical element that favors the second reading. In this parable the first son, who according to the preferred reading here agrees to do the father’s will, represents the Jewish leadership who did not do the will of Jesus’ Father. The second son, who is ultimately obedient, represents the church or church leaders who have come to replace the antagonistic Jewish leadership of Jesus’ generation (!).\textsuperscript{40} Moreover, this is the order in which the


\textsuperscript{37} Foster, “Tale,” 27.

\textsuperscript{38} Scholars who opt for the second reading include Foster; Olmstead (\textit{Triology}, 170–76); D. A. Carson (“Matthew,” in vol. 8 of \textit{The Expositor’s Bible Commentary: Matthew, Mark, Luke} [ed. F. Gaebelein; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984; repr., 1995], 449).

\textsuperscript{39} Olmstead, \textit{Triology}, 172–73.

\textsuperscript{40} So Davies and Allison, \textit{Matthew}, 3:184; Foster, “Tale,” 35–36. It is to be stressed that Matthew’s concern in this salvation-historical scheme is not Jews vs. Gentiles, but may be described
characters of Jesus' parables normally appear: the respectable appearing first, which gives way to the unlikely. In sum, although neither of the two major readings is without difficulties, the second reading best aligns with the internal evidence and has sufficient external evidence to suggest that it is the original Matthean text.

Nevertheless, whichever of the two main readings one chooses, it is clear that it is the son who eventually worked in the vineyard, and not the son who merely said he would, that does the will of the father. The thought articulated in this parable is thus closely akin to the words of Jesus in 7.21; 12.50: participation in the kingdom of God is not a matter of words, but a matter of actions. Matthew's concern here is to emphasize the necessity of obedience to Jesus, and he uses the concept of filial obedience, and the necessity of the disciples’ own filial obedience, to make his point.

The phrase θέλημα τοῦ πατρός has already been noted above in association with 7.21; 12.50, but its presence in this passage is also suggestive. In these other two occurrences of this phrase in association with the verb ποιεῖν, the role of Jesus as the Son—the Son who does the will of his Father—is assumed. It is quite likely that the similar phrasing in the Parable of the Two Sons would recall for Matthew's audience these preceding passages. Indeed, it may even be that this parable has christological overtones that suggests Jesus is the Son who does the will of the Father.

This inevitably leads to a larger question of the christological role of parables in general, a question that is tied up with concepts of allegory. Many early church fathers had an affinity for allegorical interpretations of the parables, such as Augustine’s well-known reading of The Good Samaritan (Luke 10.25–37) in which every portion of the parable correlates to various aspects of Christianity that seemingly have little basis in the text. The prevailing approach of the early 20th century, as represented by Adolf Jülicher, was to reject allegory altogether. This

either as segments within Israel, or alternatively as religious leaders vs. public sinners. Cf. Turner, Matthew, 510; Carson, “Matthew,” 450.

41 So Luz, Matthew, 3:30.
42 See also Trilling, Israel, 161–63; Olmstead, Trilogy, 100.
43 For a summary of Augustine’s reading, see C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (4th ed.; London: Nisbet, 1936), 11–12.
approach was followed in large degree by Dodd and Jeremias, although they were critical of Jülicher’s approach that focused primarily on the generic elements in the parables. However, many scholars today admit that the exegete cannot so easily dismiss all allegorical elements of parables. There is, however, a distinction between Allegorie and Allegorese which is to be maintained. Whereas the latter is an exegetical method that disregards authorial intent and reads correlations into a text arbitrarily and thus should not be followed, the former recognizes authorial intent in which symbolism has been woven into the text and should be heeded.

As Snodgrass correctly notes, most parables are more overtly theocentric than christocentric. It thus behoves the exegete to consider the primary focus of the parable before asking questions of a more christological nature. Nevertheless, the parables must not be read in isolation from the larger gospel narratives. As Olmstead, writing from a narrative-critical perspective, perceptively observes: “Gospels [sic] parables help shape both the characterisation of the story’s leading players and its developing plot. Conversely, the impact of the wider story leaves its mark upon the reader’s reception of these parables.” Therefore, questions of Christology are valid for parables inasmuch as they contribute to the overall narrative of the gospel. Moreover, it is not always easy to distinguish Jesus’ teaching from his self-revelation. Davies and Allison trenchantly note:

It is also not unthinkable that Jesus’ parables, like so much of his other teaching, was intentionally infused with an implicit Christology which would be apparent only to some, and that Jesus purposely composed

46 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:380.
48 Ibid., 20.
49 An intriguing possibility is articulated by J. Ramsey Michaels (Servant and Son: Jesus in Parable and Gospel [Atlanta: John Knox, 1981], especially 103–7), who suggests that Jesus’ parables may have been (visionary) revelations from God to Jesus. Michaels proposes that if Jesus did indeed hear/see such stories from his Father, he may have found himself in the story (particularly as servant or son), and may have asked how he himself related to the parable. Michaels does not consider this to be allegorical interpretation, but labels it “audience identification.” Michaels thus considers parables to be at the very root of Christology since they may have powerfully shaped Jesus’ self-understanding. Michaels’ hypothesis is a fascinating possibility, but this study will not adopt his approach.
50 Olmstead, Trilogy, 15 (emphasis original).
literary units whose depths could be reached only by the protracted pondering of those willing to explore beneath the surface.\footnote{Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:382. See similarly J. J. Vincent, “The Parables as Self-Revelation,” in Studia Evangelica (ed. K. Aland et al.; Berlin: Akademie, 1959), 79–99; Joseph Ratzinger, Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 199.}

Inasmuch as this is the case, christological questions should likely not be disregarded altogether for any parable.

However, there is nothing in this particular parable that necessitates an allegorical or christological interpretation.\footnote{So Snodgrass, Stories, 274.} In fact, Davies and Allison suggest that the reason τέκνα is used instead of υἱὸς is to distinguish these parabolic sons from Jesus himself.\footnote{Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:166.} Nevertheless, although it is probably going too far for this parable to suggest an overtly christological interpretation, it is clear that the obedient son in this parable does the \textit{will of his father}. In the overall narrative this is exactly what Jesus himself does, and what his disciples are called to do. And, although this passage does not contain any perceptible references to Deuteronomy, the concurrence of this parable with other Matthean passages (especially 7.21; 12.50) suggests that this may be another way for Matthew to emphasize the necessity of filial obedience, even as it relates to Jesus. Thus a conceptual correspondence with Deuteronomic sonship—which Matthew shows awareness for elsewhere—is possible in this parable from Matthew’s \textit{Sondergut}.

\subsection*{7.3.2 The Tenants}

The second parable in this trilogy, The Parable of the (Wicked) Tenants (21.33–46) is more explicitly allegorical, and therefore christological. Indeed, although allegorical interpretations of Jesus’ parables are often eschewed, a striking number of commentators recognize allegorical elements in this highly significant parable, which therefore gives it a christological focus.\footnote{Jeremias, \textit{Parables}, 55; Matthew Black, “The Parables as Allegory,” BJRL 42 (1960): 273–87; Arland J. Hultgren, \textit{The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary} (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 362; Snodgrass, \textit{Stories}, 276. Herm. Sim. V.2.1–11 seems to be an early christological understanding of the Tenants.} In this parable a landowner plants a vineyard, hires tenants to work it, and then departs. When the harvest came,
the tenants beat, killed, and stoned the successive servants who came to collect the harvest. A second wave of servants was sent, but they were abused to a greater extent. Finally—and this is the key to the parable—the landowner sends his son, but the tenants treat him worst of all and seek his inheritance for their own. The tenants threw the son out of the vineyard and killed him. The account concludes with an accusation made by Jesus against the religious leaders indicating that their desire to kill Jesus correlated to the tenants in the vineyard, and he then applied Psa 118.22–23 (117 LXX) to himself.

Several points should be noted about this parable. First, and perhaps most obviously, Jesus is portrayed as the son of the landowner (=God) in this passage. He thus comes as God’s final envoy, following in the footsteps of the servants (=prophets).56 Interestingly, Matthew refers to the son simply as τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (21.37), whereas Mark and Luke read “beloved son” (Mark 12.6: υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν; Luke 20.13: τὸν υἱὸν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν).57 One wonders why Matthew would omit “beloved” if it were extant in his sources, but it may be that he wanted to reserve it for the Baptism and Transfiguration.58 Regardless of the origin of Matthew’s text at this point, it is clear that the death of the son at the hands of the tenants mirrors the desires of the religious leaders whom Jesus was addressing, who would actually succeed in killing Jesus the Son (21.43–46).

Second, since most recognize that this parable is about Israel, the OT background to this passage is significant. Four texts will be noted here. The primary text is surely Isaiah’s Song of the Vineyard (Isa 5.1–7), which likens Israel to a vineyard who produces bad fruit, even though the LORD cared for it.59 A second key text is Psa 118.22–23 [117 LXX] (cited in 21.42)—a psalm that was likely

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55 In Mark and Luke the son is killed inside the vineyard.

56 Luz, Matthew, 3:40. This term adapted from Marinus de Jonge, God’s Final Envoy: Early Christology and Jesus’ Own View of His Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

57 The textual tradition for Matthew is remarkably stable at this point. The Nestle-Aland apparatus lists no witnesses in which ἀγαπητός is found in Matt 21.37.

58 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:182n.48. Ivor Jones (The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary [NovTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 382) thinks the omission is pre-Matthean.

59 Although in Isaiah the vineyard is destroyed, whereas in Matthew the wicked tenants are replaced with new tenants. Cf. Turner, Matthew, 514. Additionally, the link with the landowner in this passage with Isa 5.2 confirms that God is the landowner (Nolland, Matthew, 869). Moreover, Snodgrass (Stories, 288) observes that Isa 5 was often connected with the Temple, and there is most likely a Temple polemic implicit in this parable.
understood messianically by Matthew. France notes an interesting correlation between Isa 5 and Psa 118: if the rejected stone of Psa 118 refers to Israel’s triumph over the other nations, and if it was Jesus himself who linked this psalm with Isaiah’s vineyard account, then this would help explain the preponderance of “new Israel” typology for Jesus among the early Christians. Thus, there may be in this passage a typology that links Jesus to Israel as the quintessential Son—being what Israel was called to be—which is exactly what has been seen in previous passages. A third possible textual background for the Tenants is the phrase “δεῦτε ἄποκτενωμέν αὐτόν” found in both 21.38 and Gen 37.20 (spoken by Joseph’s brothers).

Before considering a fourth possible OT background, it should be observed that the three passages noted above (Isa 5; Psa 118; Gen 37) indicate that there is not simply one passage that serves as the background for this parable. Thus it is possible that another collage of texts should be considered here—Deuteronomy’s teaching on inheritance—since inheritance is a key element in the Tenants. In Deut 21.15–17 the inheritance rights of the firstborn son are set forth, and this may be the legal presupposition of inheritance in this passage. But an even more intriguing possibility, and one that meshes best with the focus on Israel in this parable, is if the inheritance refers in some way to Israel’s national inheritance. As God’s son in Deuteronomy, Israel was entitled to the inheritance of the Promised Land (e.g., Deut 1.38; 3.28; 4.21, 38; 12.9; 15.4; 26.1; 31.7), but this inheritance was contingent upon their obedience. In this parable, the tenants are eager to receive an inheritance for their own benefit, but their contumacy is evident in their rejection of the servants and

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61 *Matthew*, 815.
64 Additionally, although it is omitted by some witnesses (D 33 it Or al.), 21.44 likely alludes to Dan 2.34–35. So G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church’s Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (NSBT 17; Leicester: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004), 185–86.
65 See §3.3.3.
66 Another possibility should be noted as well. J. C. De Moor (“The Targumic Background of Mark 12:1–12: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants,” *JSJ* 29 [1998]: 63–80), picking up on the term “beloved” in Mark’s account, has observed that all Israelites are referred to as “beloved sons” in the targumic renderings of Hos 11.4; Amos 9.7, provided they keep God’s commandments, and that Tg. *Isa*. 5.1 refers to Israel as “my people, my beloved one Israel.” Matthew’s version does not read “beloved,” but nevertheless it is significant that de Moor recognizes the importance of Israel as God’s son(s) for this parable.
murder of the landowner’s son. Thus, as representatives of Israel, the tenants deny their inheritance (and therefore their sonship)—and indeed even their collective status as an inheritance (Deut 4.20; 9.26–29; 32.9)—by rejecting the son who, fittingly, was due the inheritance.67 Thus, it is possible to see an interaction between the themes of Israel, sonship, and inheritance on a number of levels.

The sum of the matter is the inheritance in this parable must come through the son (Jesus) who has the rights of inheritance as the true Son and true Israel. The tenants are those who seek the inheritance for their own account, but can never achieve it by disobeying the landowner (God) and rejecting his Son. Although he does not recognize the possibility of Deuteronomic influence, the comments of Jones are apropos: “Those to whom the promise of the inheritance was originally made have been deprived of their hope. Now God’s representative and theirs has come to claim it. The leaders of the people receive the blame and the Son opens up a way for the promise to be recovered.”68 If such connections are to be found in the concept of inheritance, the testimony of Deuteronomy as the pre-eminent exposition of Israel’s inheritance (and of Israel as an inheritance!) would be of key importance.69

A final factor to note of this parable is the climactic role of the Tenants in Matthew’s narrative.70 Jesus is not only portrayed here as the landowner’s son, but as the final messenger among many who were rejected before him. The application of this parable and citation of Psa 118.22–23 sounds a note of finality to the forthcoming death of Jesus, but also to his vindication in his subsequent resurrection. Jesus’ filial obedience—particularly his obedience unto death—is again seen here. In the parable of the Tenants the focus is on the wickedness of those who reject Jesus. But it remains that their obduracy contrasts sharply with the parabolic son (and therefore to Jesus as Son) who obeys his father, despite what dangers might be involved.

67 The tenants would presumably have had some sort of participation in the inheritance had they been faithful to their task. See again Herm. Sim. V.2.1–11.

68 Jones, Parables, 384.

69 A similar point is recognized by de Moor (“Targumic Background,” 77). Given the close parallels between Matt 21.33–46; Mark 12.1–12; Luke 20.9–19, this claim would likely also apply to these latter two accounts.

70 So Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:177–78.
The final parable of Matthew’s trilogy (22.1–14) is of more limited relevance, but should nevertheless be considered. This parable, often known as the Wedding Banquet, tells the story of a king who hosts a feast for his son, the bridegroom, but the first two waves of guests reject the invitation. The invitation then goes out to the highways and hedges to bring in unlikely guests for the feast. This parable is different from the first two because the son is passive in the story—he simply has a feast in his honor.71 But, this parable is very much like the Tenants in that the son represents Jesus as the Son. Davies and Allison note four reasons why this is the best interpretation: (1) the son of the previous parable is clearly Jesus; (2) Matt 9.15; 25.1 refer to Jesus as the bridegroom; (3) God is portrayed as a king in Matthew; (4) other early Christian texts speak of an eschatological wedding feast of Jesus the Messiah.72 Thus, the Wedding Banquet is the third of a cluster of three Matthean parables that focus on (1) sonship and obedience (especially Two Sons, Wicked Tenants), and (2) the sonship of Jesus.73

7.4 Deuteronomic Sonship in Matthew: Comprehensive Summary and Conclusions

In chapters 5–7 three main degrees of Matthean references to Deuteronomic sonship have been considered. The clearest allusion to this concept is found in Matt 4.1–11. Here Jesus is the obedient Son of God who is portrayed as the new Israel and Deuteronomy three times in the course of his testing. The parallels with Israel’s sonship from Deuteronomy are clear, as is the contrast in Jesus’ obedience in distinction from Israel’s disobedience.

The second group of texts considered likely allusions to the relationship of sonship and obedience in accordance with Deuteronomy. These were Matt 5–7; 11.16–19. The SM combines an interest in Deuteronomy with the call for Israel to be obedient children, and this was based on the authority and example of Jesus himself.

71 So Snodgrass, Stories, 283.


Matthew 11.16–19 likely reflects the accusation raised against Jesus from Deut 21.18–21—that he was rebellious son who threatened the covenant community. Ironically, however, Jesus was fully obedient in contrast to “this generation” of his accusers.

Beyond these foundational texts, five additional passages were suggested as possible allusions to Deuteronomic sonship. Chief among these are Matt 3, 17, which are considered significant possibilities. In the Baptism and Transfiguration, Jesus is declared to be God’s beloved Son, and his obedience is a primary factor in the divine approbation of Jesus. There may be influence of interpretive traditions surrounding Israel as God’s beloved son in these passages, as Jesus is filial obedient in contrast to the filial disobedience of Israel (Deut 32.5, 20).

Finally, three other possible allusions were considered in chapter 7. It is argued that Jesus’ conception in Matt 1.20 is a subtle echo of Israel’s divine begetting from the Song of Moses, and this may further contrast Jesus with Israel. Matthew 12.50 closely mirrors the statement of Jesus in 7.21 and is another indication that the disciples’ sonship (like that of Jesus) must be characterized by doing the Father’s will. Lastly, Matthew’s climactic trilogy of parables also combines the elements of sonship and filial obedience, and when taken in conjunction with the other passages covered, these parables may be further indications that Matthew’s understanding of obedient sonship is deeply entrenched in his thinking, and demonstrates remarkable consistency with Deuteronomy.

The presupposition of chapters 5–7 has been threefold:

1) Jesus as the Son of God is of central importance for Matthew, and this sonship is perhaps most often portrayed in terms of national Israel.

2) Matthew portrays Jesus as the obedient Son of God.

3) Matthew has a strong interest in Deuteronomy, as his numerous citations and allusions indicate.

Thus, it has been prudent to ask if Matthew may have gleaned from the Deuteronomic perspective of sonship—that Israel must be obedient as God’s son—in his portrayal of Jesus as the obedient Son of God. To this end, a cumulative case has been mounted based on these clusters of ideas that Matthew has invoked Deuteronomy for his evangelistic purposes of portraying Jesus as the obedient Son
and calling his disciples to their filial obedience as well. The precedent for other authors articulating a similar perspective has been mounted in chapter 4, and it is proposed in chapters 5–7 that Matthew should be viewed in this interpretive context. In this light, it is striking that Matthew seems to apply the concept of Deuteronomic sonship messianically: Jesus is the one who fulfills what Israel was called to do. This messianic application accords with the appeal to these themes by some authors who preceded Matthew, but is also unique in its focus on one obedient Israelite who calls others to follow after his manner of sonship. Thus, for Matthew Jesus’ obedience as God’s true Son does not negate his disciples’ need to be obedient themselves. Instead, Jesus’ sonship enables his disciples sonship and calls for their own filial obedience.
8.1 Summary and Implications: Chapters 1–4

It has been argued in this study that the best backdrop for understanding the obedient sonship of Jesus in Matthew is the call for Israel to be filially obedient as it is foundationally set forth in Deuteronomy. This argument is cumulative in nature. Thus, the Matthean texts surveyed in chapters 5–7 must not be viewed in abstraction from the evidence found in chapters 1–4.

In chapter 1 it was argued that the OT is centrally important for Matthew, and that these Scriptures are formative for the author’s thought even in places where no textual citation is present. Therefore, if one is to understand the theology of Matthew most fully, one must consider all forms of OT influence. Although this approach might theoretically lead to baseless and fanciful interpretations, the present study has recognized the preponderance of citations to Deuteronomy in Matthew as a legitimate foundation to ask whether other portions of Matthew may bear marks of Deuteronomic influence beyond those texts where citations are present. In addition, an historical case was mounted in chapter 2 that Deuteronomy was very widely circulated and utilized in ancient Jewish and Christian circles. Indeed, the evidence indicates that Deuteronomy was one of the most important Jewish texts in the Second Temple period at the dawn of the NT era. Chapter 2 thus has provided a considerable boost to the argument by establishing the historical plausibility of Deuteronomic intertextual interpretations. When this evidence is combined with the high frequency of citations to Deuteronomy in Matthew, it appears to be very likely that Deuteronomy may have served as a key text that illumines for the present day reader the background of Matthew’s thought.

Another important aspect to the argument was introduced in chapter 3, where it was argued that the sonship of Israel to Yahweh is a key theme of Deuteronomy (1.31; 8.5; 14.1; especially Deut 32; cf. 21.18–21), and this relationship was one of
both benevolence and obligation: Israel’s sonship was a gift, but also necessitated obedience. Further supporting this conclusion are the texts included in chapter 4, a striking number of which correlate sonship and obedience (both Jewish and Christian). Indeed, a most remarkable pattern has been detected in which the sonship of Israel is almost always invoked either to (a) summon Israel to obedience, or (b) chastise Israel for disobedience. It is thus assumed in the key texts of chapter 4 that sonship is predicated on obedience. Moreover, a surprising number of these texts also echo Deuteronomic language, themes, and imagery. Thus, the argument in chapter 3 that sonship and obedience are key themes in Deuteronomy finds additional support in chapter 4, in which later authors (from Matthew’s perspective) seem to have consistently re-appropriated the Deuteronomic teaching on obedient sonship. It was also shown in chapter 4 how—in an observation that further corroborates the survey of chapter 2 and the exegetical argument from chapter 3—Deut 32 was frequently appealed to in this regard.

A few key implications from chapters 1–4 as they relate to the present argument should be underscored. First, the claim that Deuteronomy was important for Matthew has significant support. This is evident not only from his numerous citations to Deuteronomy, but also from the widespread circulation and use of Deuteronomy detailed in chapter 2. Deuteronomy greatly influenced several early Jewish and Christian authors on a number of levels, and the purported use of Deuteronomy by Matthew, an early Christian who argued from the OT, is entirely consistent with this picture.

Second is the prominence of Deut 32. Not only was this text especially widely used and echoed in ancient literature (chapter 2), but it was also discovered that this chapter serves as a climactic summary to the theology of Deuteronomy, and prominent in this Song of Moses is the chastisement of Israel for being disobedient sons of Yahweh (chapter 3). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that one finds echoes of Deut 32 in numerous texts that call Israel to filial obedience (chapter 4).

A third related point that arises from chapters 1–4 is the historical precedent for other authors who apparently gleaned a concept of obedient sonship from Deuteronomy (chapter 4). Just as the survey in chapter 2 enhances the plausibility that Matthew may have used Deuteronomy in general, the conclusions of chapter 4 (in association with chapters 2–3) strongly suggest that Matthew would by no means have been the first Jewish or Christian author to recognize Israel’s need for filial
obedience as it is stated in Deuteronomy. Instead, a steady stream of interpretive tradition that wrestled with the disobedience of Israel of sons in light of their summons to covenantal obedience appears to have preceded (and followed) the writing of Matthew’s gospel.

8.2 Summary and Implications: Chapters 5–7

Chapters 1–4 thus form an integral part of this study. Once it has been established that Deuteronomy was important for Matthew; that the union of sonship and obedience is central to Deuteronomy; and that intertextual interpretations to Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic sonship have historical warrant in Matthew’s interpretive milieu, it is quite reasonable to consider whether similar themes may have influenced Matthew, for whom Jesus as the obedient Son of God is clearly an important perspective.

In chapter 5 several texts were considered in which Deuteronomy is cited or alluded to rather explicitly. Chief among these is the temptation narrative, especially the first temptation in which Jesus explicitly quotes from Deut 8 in order to demonstrate his obedient sonship. This citation, along with several other texts, especially in Matt 1–4, indicates that Jesus as the Son of God for Matthew is often seen in light of Israel, particularly when referring to Jesus as the Son of God. Other strong allusions considered include the Sermon on the Mount, where one finds a strong concentration of fatherhood language, citations to Deuteronomy, and the call for the disciples to be obedient children. Another strong allusion is Matt 11.16–19, a text in which Jesus is ironically viewed as the disobedient son of Deut 21 by those in the covenant community who actually fulfill this role in Matthew’s narrative.

Chapters 6–7 pick up on a key text for Matthew, which was Deut 32.5, 20. This text is cited in Matt 17, and is likely in view in other texts that speak of a crooked/evil generation, or even “this” generation. These suggestions have exceptionally high probability given the widespread usage of Deut 32 in general (chapter 2), and the appeal to Deut 32 in relation to Israel’s sonship (chapters 3–4). It was further suggested that Deut 32, as a key text in the ancient world, may even be in view in the heavenly voices in Matt 3.17; 17.5. Certainly this conclusion is not definitive, but a number of lines of textual and historical evidence converge to render this possibility quite feasible and contextually appropriate. The Song of Moses has also been suggested as possible background for the divine begetting of Jesus in Matt
1.20. Beyond these texts, one must wrestle with the additional texts that unite sonship and obedience in Matthew, especially in relation to Jesus as Son of God. It has been suggested in this study that the best explanation for the sum of these texts is the interpretive background—particularly from Deuteronomy—of Israel’s sonship and their perennial disobedience in light of their call to filial obedience.

8.3 Suggestions for Further Study

Before offering a few final thoughts on this study, some suggestions for further study should be noted. First, the background for the obedience of Israel in Deuteronomy is clearly covenant. Although this concept has been studied quite extensively in Pauline literature (especially since E. P. Sanders’s seminal work), surprisingly little has been done by way of covenantal studies in the Gospels. Thus, it would be fruitful to study how covenant might be an operative category for Matthew, in particular, and how this might relate to the filial obedience of Jesus in light of Deuteronomy.

A second topic that could be addressed is whether Matthew also recognizes the organic link between sonship and obedience in other OT texts he references that seem in context to echo the perspective of Deuteronomy. Thus, in its larger context, Hos 11.1 (cited in Matt 2.15) is found in a context in which Israel as Son of God is being rebuked for disobedience and looks ahead in eschatological hope for God’s children. Likewise, Jer 31.15 (cited in Matt 2.18) is found wedged between two texts that speak of Israel’s failures as God’s son and their hopes for future restoration as God’s beloved son (Jer 31.9, 20). Thus one could argue that Matthew has a penchant for citing OT passages in which Israel is referred to as son of God. Since these texts also demonstrate the need for Israel’s filial obedience (see chapter 4), pursuing these texts might provide further support for the present thesis.

A third question that could be pursued is the ways in which obedience and sonship are united in other NT texts, and whether these may also have a background in Deuteronomy. Hints of this have already been found in Rom 9.4–5; Phil 2.15; and may also be seen in texts such as 1 Peter 1.14–19, and in the other three gospels. Thus, Matthew may not have been the only author to contribute a perspective to the

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1 So Scott W. Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant: A Covenantal Approach to the Fulfillment of God’s Saving Promises* (AYBRL; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), who notes this lacuna and seeks to start filling this gap.
stream of interpretive traditions surrounding these themes. Indeed, the prominence of the union between sonship and the need for obedience in chapter 4 strongly suggests that sonship and obedience were prominently related, and were in many ways a prevalent paradigm for understanding the relational obligations of God’s covenant people. It may also be that the background for obedient sonship in Matthew provides the proper foundation for the common sentiment that Jesus’ sonship inherently entails his obedience.²

A fourth possibility for further study is how the early church may have read Deuteronomy in association with the sonship of Jesus. It has already been considered in chapter 4 how Athanasius engaged in theological debates with the Arians regarding the details of Jesus’ sonship from Deuteronomy. It has not been possible to pursue this trajectory in any detail in this study, but it is quite possible that more research would uncover other early Fathers who also engaged texts from Deuteronomy as a part of early Christian theological and christological reflection in association with NT texts.

8.4 Concluding Synthesis

The conclusions can be summarized thus: since Jesus as Son of God (for Matthew) must to some degree be bound up with Jesus as Israel; and since Israel’s sonship is to be defined by obedience in Deuteronomy and related literature; and since Deuteronomy is clearly a key text for Matthew; therefore, it is quite likely that Matthew derived his understanding of and need for obedient sonship (both for Jesus and his disciples) in large measure from Deuteronomy. It is thus proposed that the evidence from chapters 1–4 coheres well with the argument of chapters 5–7, and even explains to a large degree why Matthew may have seen the need to articulate Jesus’ obedience the way he did. Once one comes to grips with the reality that sonship necessitated obedience for God’s people, the need to articulate Jesus’ obedience as Son of God becomes clear for Matthew. The covenantal obedience required of God’s people was a standard to which they never attained in the OT storyline. Matthew recognizes this and thus articulates the story of Jesus in contrast to Israel, using Son of God as a primary means for conveying this asymmetrical

correspondence. It was thus necessary for Matthew to demonstrate that Jesus fulfills God’s design for Israel, and in so doing is able to mediate his sonship to his disciples and enable their own obedience. Hence Jesus, as the obedient Son of God, is able to grant the privilege of sonship also to his disciples, who are therefore called to follow in his path of filial obedience. The obedience of Jesus as the fulfillment of God’s requirements for Israel thereby enables those who are unable themselves to “fulfill all righteousness” to be part of God’s family through the Son who has proven obedient on their behalf.
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