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THE NEW EXODUS IN HEBREWS

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THE NEW EXODUS IN HEBREWS

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To Nicoline Ndzi

The love of my life and fellow pilgrim of the new exodus

To our sons Nethanel, Mishael, and Eliezer

In time may you each know and follow the ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	The Anchor Bible
<i>AJT</i>	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Walter Bauer, F. W. Danker, W.F. Arndt, and F.W. Gingrich. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Revised and edited by F. W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>Bsac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BTCP	Biblical Theology for Christian Proclamation
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
EDNT	Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
GNC	Good News Commentary
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IB	The Interpreter's Bible
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NAC	The New American Commentary
NDBT	<i>New Dictionary of Biblical Theology</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDNTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTL	The New Testament Library
NTS	New Testament Studies
PCNT	Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament
PNTC	The Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studia Biblica et Theologica</i>
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SWJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VE</i>	<i>Vox Evangelica</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>

ZECNT Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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PREFACE

At the completion of this dissertation I am astounded at the mercy of God in causing my path to intersect with specific individuals who have helped to make this dissertation see the light of day. My supervisor, Dr. Thomas R. Schreiner, embodies a rare blend of outstanding scholarship, pastoral wisdom, and steadfast devotion to the majesty of the Lord Jesus Christ. Without his patient and insightful help throughout this whole journey, this research would have been unsuccessful. I pray to live and minister after the example I have seen in Dr. Schreiner. I also owe great gratitude to other professors at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, including Dr. Peter Gentry, from whom I learned to love studying the Bible in the original languages; Dr. Jim Hamilton, whose example of a thoughtful reading of the Bible inspires me greatly; and Dr. Rob Plummer, who represents exemplary Christian scholarship and gentleness. I am thankful for all the help I received from the staff of James P. Boyce Library, at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. In this vein I want to register my thanks for Mr. Joseph Baumstarck, who was especially helpful in obtaining relevant resources from other institutions for me.

Philemon Yong is an unforgettable teacher and friend who took interest in helping me grow in knowing God's word even before I realized it. Having taught me several classes in Cameroon, he was instrumental in helping me transition to the US for further education. He also helped by reading some chapters of this dissertation and made helpful suggestions. Dr. Randy Stinson, the provost of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, made investments in me and my family during my time of studies here that surpass everything I have ever known in terms of financial and moral support. Words fail me to express how thankful I feel for his generosity. Other people also invested love, wise counsel, and finances to help us. Among these are Steve Krogh, a dear friend and

godly example; Jordan Smith; Wayne and Rebecca Luna; Mathew Henry and his church; Missio Dei Fellowship in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Our church family at Immanuel Baptist Church in Louisville is one of the most important blessings God gave us during our time studying at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. We were welcomed and loved far more than we could ask for. The shepherding ministry of pastors at the church like Ryan Fullerton, Jeff King, Ben Hedrick, and Andy Morris among others and the love of the brothers and sisters at this local body defy anything words can describe.

Tamfu Dieudonné, my bosom friend of nearly two decades now, rejoiced even more than I did when God granted me and my wife to travel to the US for doctoral studies. That distinctly gospel camaraderie was a great succor for me during the whole season of writing. I am so thankful for his friendship. I am also very thankful for Aubrey Sequeira, whose example of hard work and love for the Lord and the church have continued to stir me unto love and good works. He conversed with me over the initial dissertation ideas I had and gave helpful feedback in developing what has now grown into this dissertation.

My parents and parents-in-law also deserve a word of thanks for their support and encouragement throughout my time in school. More than anyone else, my wife, Nicoline Ndzi, has borne the brunt of the sacrifice for completing this work. Even more, hers was always an ungrudging and joyful sacrifice and encouragement. On top of loving a husband who was very busy with school work, she did the good work of bearing three of our children into the world between my starting the Th.M. and completing a doctorate. I can never thank her enough for her unrelenting kindness and love. Our three sons got used to hearing that I was leaving to go to the library and in time learned from their mother to bless my going out to work. I am deeply thankful for that as well.

Finally, I owe ultimate and infinite gratitude to God, who “gives power to the faint” and increases strength for “him who has no might” (Isa 40:29). He redeemed me in

Christ, gave me a love for his word, and brought all the aforementioned people (and countless others I am unable to name here) into my life. I am eternally and joyfully indebted to this God. May it be the case that whoever reads these pages comes to know and delight in this God who has perfected the pioneer of salvation through suffering in order to bring many sons (and daughters) to glory.

Jones Ngeh Ndzi

Louisville, Kentucky

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The use of the OT in the Epistle to the Hebrews is sophisticated and diverse.¹ The author of the letter weaves together christological (Heb 1:5, 6, 8-13; 10:5-8, etc.), eschatological (Heb 3-4), typological (Heb 7) and prophecy/fulfillment (8:7-13; 10:15-18) readings of various OT texts as he forges his “word of exhortation” (Heb 13:24). Affirming this rich and multifaceted use of the OT in Hebrews, Guthrie has suggested that, “No NT book, with perhaps the exception of Revelation, presents a discourse so permeated, so crafted, both at the macro- and microlevels, by various uses to which the older covenant texts are put and his appropriation of the text is radically different from the book’s apocalyptic cousin.”² The truthfulness of Guthrie’s assessment is borne out by scholarly efforts that have been deployed, both prior and subsequent to his assessment,

¹This is attested to by the scholarly energy that has been expended on the study of this subject. A sample of works on Hebrews’ use of the Old Testament will include George H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 919–95; G. J. Steyn, “An Overview of the Extent and Diversity of Methods Utilised by the Author of Hebrews When Using the Old Testament,” *Neot* 42, no. 2 (2008): 327–52; David M. Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: A Study in Narrative Re-Presentation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); George E. Howard, “Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations,” *NovT* 10, no. 2/3 (April 1968): 208–16; G. H. Guthrie, “Hebrews’ Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research,” *CurBR* 1, no. 2 (2003): 271–94; Richard Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Albert Vanhoye, “Longue Marche Ou Accès Tout Proche: Le Contexte Biblique de Hébreux 3:7-4:11,” *Bib* 49, no. 1 (1968): 9–26; Albert Vanhoye, “L’*οἰκουμένη* Dans l’*épître Aux Hébreux*,” *Bib* 45, no. 2 (1964): 248–53; Mary Rose D’Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979); Peter Katz, “Quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews,” *ZNW* 49, no. 3/4 (1958): 213–23; P. C. B. Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” *NovT* 18, no. 4 (October 1976): 293–313; Peter Rhea Jones, “The Figure of Moses as a Heuristic Device for Understanding the Pastoral Intent of Hebrews,” *RevExp* 76, no. 1 (1979): 95–107; Radu Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews: An Investigation of Its Influence with Special Consideration to the Use of Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); King L. She, *The Use of Exodus in Hebrews* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011); Ronald E. Clements, “The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews,” *SWJT* 28, no. 1 (September 1985): 36–45; Susan E. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Richard Thomas France, “The Writer of Hebrews as a Biblical Expositor,” *TynBul* 47, no. 2 (November 1996): 245–76.

²Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 919.

with a view to understanding Hebrews' use of the OT.³

Some studies on the use of the OT in Hebrews focus on the influence of particular OT books on the epistle.⁴ Another strand of scholarship on the same subject addresses the question of the text form that lies behind the book's citations.⁵ Others probe the way the author threads certain OT themes throughout the letter (or through major portions of it).⁶ Still others focus attention on explicit quotations and/or allusions to the OT throughout the epistle usually with a view to understanding the hermeneutical underpinnings of the author's use of the OT.⁷ Efforts have also been invested in the quest to understand the author's use of the OT by key texts and how that could serve as a window into the author's logic throughout the letter.⁸

Even though the above-mentioned works should be taken as evidence that Hebrews' use of the OT has attracted substantial scholarly attention, recent works on this question affirm that the pervasive presence and function of the OT in the letter still affords an avenue for fresh scholarship.⁹ One pointer to the fact that there is yet room for

³Gheorghita has a helpful discussion that summarizes the various scholarly efforts that have sought to plumb the depths of Hebrews' use of the Old Testament. See Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews*, 7–25.

⁴Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*; She, *The Use of Exodus in Hebrews*.

⁵Georg Walser, *Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews: Studies in Their Textual and Contextual Background* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); G. J. Steyn, "A Quest for the Vorlage of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut 32) Quotations in Hebrews," *Neot* 34, no. 2 (2000): 263–72; Gareth Lee Cockerill, "Hebrews 1:6: Source and Significance," *BBR* 9 (1999): 51–64.

⁶Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1990); David R. Anderson, *The King-Priest of Psalm 110 in Hebrews* (New York: P. Lang, 2001); Craig R. Koester, "The New Covenant in Hebrews," *JBL* 110, no. 4 (1991): 744–46; Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*; Jones, "The Figure of Moses as a Heuristic Device."

⁷Clements, "The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews"; Guthrie, "Hebrews."

⁸Jared Compton, *Psalm 110 and the Logic of Hebrews* (London: T&T Clark, 2018); P. E. Enns, "Creation and Re-Creation: Psalm 95 and Its Interpretation in Hebrews 3:1-4:13," *WTJ* 55, no. 2 (1993): 255–80; James Kurianal, *Jesus Our High Priest: Ps. 110,4 as the Substructure of Heb 5,1-7,28* (New York: P. Lang, 2000).

⁹Ounsworth contends that studies of the NT's use of the OT have often focused more attention on Paul and the gospels to the neglect of the rest of the NT including Hebrews. See Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 28.

more work to be done on Hebrews' use of the OT is the paucity of monographs on the new exodus motif in this letter. Interestingly, the fact that the author of the epistle evinces a significant reliance on the exodus tradition is not in dispute among scholars.¹⁰ Nevertheless, most scholars who have dealt with this subject have sought to deal only with specific portions of the letter where the volume of the motif is unmistakably loud. Two authors have attempted a monograph-length treatment of the motif across the entire epistle but have not exhausted the possibility of a scholarly project on the new exodus in Hebrews.¹¹ There is at least one significant lacuna which is yet to be filled up in Hebrews' scholarship as far as the use of the OT in the epistle is concerned and specifically in relationship to the new exodus motif.¹²

This lacuna has to do with the fact that there remains the need for a monograph that explores, with careful attention to inner biblical allusions, the manner in which the author of Hebrews threads the new exodus motif throughout his letter.¹³ Such a study will

¹⁰For commentaries on Hebrews that make significant references to the new exodus, see Peter Thomas O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 104–5, 106, 117, 131, 132, 139–55, 159–72, 409–46, 477–91, 533–35; Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 104, 122, 137, 149, 153, 154–55, 177, 178, 183, 194, 195; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 96, 108, 109, 311–12, 354; William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 27, 56, 85–86, 100–101; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, BTCP (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 2015), 67, 95, 96, 107–8, 123, 130–31, 143, 145, 407, 428; William L. Lane, *Hebrews. 9-13*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 561–62. Nevertheless, a good number of important commentaries on Hebrews make little to no references to the new exodus. See Ben Witherington, *Letters and Homilies for Jewish Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Hebrews, James and Jude* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007); Donald Alfred Hagner, *Hebrews*, GNC (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983); George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1972); Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989); Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006).

¹¹James Ellis Reynolds, "A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974); Bong Chur Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews* (London: Apostolos Publishing, 2016). See the history of research section below for a review of these works.

¹²For a competent, monograph-length treatment of the exodus motif in the OT, see Friedbert Ninow, *Indicators of Typology within the Old Testament: The Exodus Motif* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001). For a study of the exodus motif that focuses on Isa 40-55, see Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962), 177–95.

¹³Beale has convincingly argued that when it comes to the NT's use of the OT the phrase "inner biblical allusions" is a better label than the term "intertextuality," which carries philosophical connotations that are potentially problematic for biblical studies. See G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New*

seek not only to demonstrate from the textual data a substantial presence of this motif in the letter but also probe the question of what hermeneutical dividends could be achieved from unearthing this theme throughout the letter. While scholars, who have made substantial reference to the new exodus motif in Hebrews, have generally enjoyed a consensus on the fact that the author of the book significantly integrates this motif in the development of his argument, that consensus is not reflected in the discussion on how exactly the exodus motif is employed by the author.¹⁴ At the heart of the dissension lies the question of whether the author of Hebrews teaches a new exodus or whether he “renarrates Israel’s history as an extended exodus which comes to an end as a result of Christ’s high priesthood.”¹⁵ One helpful way to contribute to this discussion is to bring together the allusions that others have already pointed out (and, in some cases convincingly demonstrated) and build upon them by examining other linguistic and thematic connections between the argument of Hebrews and the exodus tradition. Such is the aim and approach of this project.

Thesis

The aforementioned dearth of research on the new exodus in Hebrews, coupled with the deadlock in the discussion on how the epistle’s employment of this motif should be deciphered, is the fuel for this project. I give sustained attention to Hebrews’ use of the exodus motif with a view to demonstrating the manner in which the motif contributes to shaping the message of the letter. The thesis of this dissertation is that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews uses the categories of “entry,” “forerunner or

Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 40.

¹⁴A decade ago, Matthew Thiessen published an article in which he vigorously challenged the notion of a new exodus in Hebrews. See Matthew Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” *NovT* 49, no. 4 (2007): 353–69.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 353.

pioneer,” “deliverance,” and “pilgrimage” to present Christ’s work and its application to believers as the fulfillment of the promised new exodus. This thesis statement makes no claim that the new exodus is the only or even the chief mold into which the message of Hebrews is cast. It rather affirms that the author’s use of the above-mentioned categories smacks of a broad new exodus subflooring to his thought.¹⁶

Personal Interest

The new exodus motif made a memorable impression on me for the first time in the spring semester of 2013. I was auditing Peter Gentry’s OT Introduction 2 class. He argued that OT prophets used the language of God’s great acts of deliverance in the past to describe future salvation. On this premise he asserted that the prophets in the OT believed in and proclaimed a new exodus which was going to encompass more than just deliverance from slavery.¹⁷ In Gentry’s view, the latter prophets prophesied about a new exodus that included re-entry into the land. He then showed that when in Colossians 1:12 Paul speaks of “the Father, who has qualified us unto the portion of the inheritance (κλήρου) of the saints” he is speaking in new exodus language. This language, Gentry said, reveals that Paul thought of Jesus as the new and better Joshua. Gentry’s comments, unbeknownst to him, kindled an unrelenting curiosity in me regarding the concept of the new exodus. A seminar on Hebrews with Thomas Schreiner in the Fall semester of 2014

¹⁶The words, Πίστει Ἰωσήφ . . . περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐμνημόνευσεν “By faith Joseph, . . . made mention of the exodus of the sons of Israel” (Heb 11:22 cf. Gen 50:24) represent a succinct restatement of the promise to Abraham in Gen 15:13-16. Gentry has identified this promise as an exodus category which he calls “the promise to the fathers.” See note 17 below. It could therefore be argued that “the promise to the fathers” as an exodus category is present in the epistle to the Hebrews but the comment is too brief to warrant extensive treatment. Suffice it to note that, albeit indirectly, the author of Hebrews evokes the exodus category of “the promise to the fathers” by his reference to Joseph.

¹⁷The four main exodus categories identified by Gentry are “the promises to the fathers,” “the deliverance from Egypt,” “the journey through the wilderness,” and “the reentry into the promised land.” See Peter J. Gentry, *How to Read and Understand the Biblical Prophets* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017), 75-85. See also Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” 177-95. From the way the latter prophets pick up the exodus motif it becomes clear that the four main categories listed above have subcategories embedded in them. As such, the category of “deliverance from Egypt” will encompass subcategories like “judgments upon the gods of Egypt,” “exit from Egypt,” and “the crossing of the Red Sea.” See Gentry, *How to Read and Understand the Biblical Prophets*, 77-78.

helped to focus my thinking about the new exodus on the epistle to the Hebrews. As I explored the subject, I was struck by the fact that major scholarly publications on the new exodus in Hebrews tend to ignore the rich allusive exodus language that the author employs in his epistle. After my prospectus was approved, Shin published his doctoral dissertation with essentially the same title as this study.¹⁸ However, his work did not take the approach envisioned in this research and I am unaware of any treatment of the new exodus motif in Hebrews that seeks to comprehensively address exodus-related allusions in the letter.

History of Research

This section reviews the major scholarly works that have alluded to the new exodus in Hebrews in a significant manner. I begin with a presentation of the works of scholars, who while focusing on some other interest (sometimes broader or narrower than the new exodus in Hebrews), do make considerable reference to the new exodus in Hebrews. I close this history of research section with a review of the four main works that are entirely devoted to the new exodus in Hebrews.

Works with Substantial Allusions to the New Exodus in Hebrews

The works under this subhead overarch a variety of publications. Most of them are monographs initially written as doctoral dissertations and in several cases later published. But some of the works are articles or chapters in edited works. I also review part of a major textbook in NT biblical theology and a journal article. The fact that such a wide variety of publications has alluded to the new exodus motif in Hebrews lends additional credence to the suggestion that the theme is a significant part of the epistle's message.

¹⁸Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews*.

Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*. Beale argues that the new exodus is a major theme in portions of the NT (esp. the gospels, Pauline Epistles and Revelation). He adds that the designation, new exodus, is simply another metaphor for the new-creational kingdom.¹⁹ In regard to Hebrews in particular, Beale makes a brief but significant reference to the new exodus. He observes that the last mention of the resurrection in Hebrews comes in 13:20 and is an allusion to Isaiah 63:11 LXX.²⁰ In Beale's reading, "Jesus is the greater Moses whom God has delivered from death at the greater exodus, along with his people."²¹ In a footnote he notes that the phrase "the eternal covenant" at the end of Hebrews 13:20 is used about six times in the OT as a reference to the new eternal relationship that God will have with his end time people at the end-time exodus and final restoration out of sin's captivity (so Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60; 37:26). He then posits that the reference to the eternal covenant in Isaiah 61:8 might have been prominent in the mind of the author of Hebrews because both Isaiah 61:8 and 63:11 are part of a second-exodus prophecy (see Isa 61:1-3). Beale believes that as the first exodus was meant to lead to the establishment of the temporary temple (e.g., Exod 15:17; Isa 63:18), so Isaiah 63:15 and 64:1 predict that the second, end-time exodus (Isa 63:11) will equally lead to God's heavenly sanctuary descending to earth and residing permanently.²² To Beale, Hebrews captures something of the exodus when in the earlier chapters it recounts that Jesus has led his people to that heavenly mountain-tabernacle (6:19-20; 9:11-12, 23-24; 10:19-22; 12:22-24).²³

¹⁹G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 172.

²⁰Ibid., 321.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., 322.

Casey, “Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation.” Casey organizes what he says about the exodus in Hebrews into two main categories, namely, Christology and ecclesiology.²⁴ On the christological front, Casey claims that the figure of the exodus tradition who appears most conspicuously in Hebrews is Moses. Working from four passages (Heb 3:1-6; 11:23-29; 12:18-24; and 13:20-21), Casey avers that the comparison between Moses and Jesus runs throughout the letter and focuses on their roles as mediators of both a covenant and a cult for their people, with the cultic comparison receiving the greatest emphasis (chaps. 5-10).²⁵ From an ecclesiological vantage point, Casey draws on Hebrews 3:7-4:11 and 11:23-29 to make the case that the fundamental analogy for the portrayal of the exodus motif in Hebrews is the typological relationship between the wilderness generation of Israel and the experience of the church.²⁶ In an effort to show how the heavily cultic portion of Hebrews 5-10 relates to the exodus motif, Casey suggests that as the Moses figure serves the writer’s Christology and as Israel’s experience serves his ecclesiology, so also the presentation of the cult and its institutions provide the framework within which the writer's christological and ecclesiological interests are shown to be intimately related.²⁷

Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*. Moffitt’s prime interest in this book is the relationship between atonement and the resurrection in Hebrews.²⁸ Nevertheless, he discusses aspects of the exodus motif in

²⁴Jay Smith Casey, “Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981), 124. Casey’s work is a dissertation on exodus typology in Revelation but he has an entire chapter devoted to a quick survey of that theme in all of the NT corpora. *Ibid.*, 56-134.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 128.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 129.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 130–31. It is important to note that Casey’s work focuses only on the uses of the exodus that he deems to be typological. *Ibid.*, ix.

²⁸A major part of Moffitt’s argument is that it is the presentation of Jesus’ resurrected flesh and blood in heaven that achieves atonement. Several reviewers have considered this part of Moffitt’s work questionable. Examples of thoughtful reviews of this volume include Nicholas J. Moore, review of *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by David M. Moffitt, *JTS* 64, no. 2

some parts of his work. Moffitt observes that in Hebrews 2:10 Jesus is described as the ἀρχηγός responsible for leading many sons (υἱοί) into glory.²⁹ In Moffitt's reading, Hebrews' inheritance language, its use of the term οἰκουμένη (and parallels present in other eschatological texts of roughly the same time period), draws heavily upon the exodus and conquest narratives. The author, Moffitt believes, is interested in the motif of God's people entering (or failing to enter) their inheritance (cf. Heb 3:7-4:11; 11:8-10, 13-16). When Hebrews depicts Jesus as an ἀρχηγός, therein lies the hint that the larger narrative of Israel being led in the conquest of the promised land by Joshua (Ἰησοῦς in Greek) is around the corner. Moffitt further observes that in the Greek of Numbers 13:2-3, Joshua and the others who first crossed over into Canaan to reconnoiter the land are called ἀρχηγοί. God commanded Moses to choose twelve people, each of them a leader or an ἀρχηγός among the people (see Num 13:2 MT and LXX). To Moffitt, the import of sending twelve leaders into Canaan is evident: the ἀρχηγοί are representative of the entire people. Their entry into the land anticipates and symbolizes the entry of those whom they represent. The writer of Hebrews refers to the provisional conquest of the land as being led by Joshua.³⁰ Here the author appears to pick up on the representative relationship emphasized in Numbers 13:2-3 between the ἀρχηγοί and the people. Moffitt then sees an activation of the exodus motif in Hebrews in that just as the ἀρχηγοί represented and stood in solidarity with the people entering the land, so also the Son represents and stands

(October 1, 2013): 673–75; Joshua W. Jipp, review of *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by David M. Moffitt, *BBR* 22, no. 2 (2012): 298–99; Aubrey Sequeira, review of *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by David M. Moffitt, *Credo Magazine*, January 16, 2014, accessed March 25, 2016, <http://www.credomag.com/2014/01/16/atonement-and-the-logic-of-resurrection-in-the-epistle-to-the-hebrews-review/>; Jared Compton, review of *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by David M. Moffitt, *Detroit Baptist Theological Seminary*, July 30 2014, accessed March 25, 2016, <http://www.dbts.edu/2014/07/30/a-new-and-legitimate-way-david-moffitts-reading-of-hebrews/>.

²⁹David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 129.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 130.

in solidarity with the many sons whom he leads into the glory they are about to possess (Heb 2:10). The Son enters the οἰκουμένη as one of the many whom he represents.

Watts, “Exodus” in *NDBT*. In this article, Watts notes that, by presenting Jesus as greater than both angels who gave the first commandment (Heb 2:1-4) and Moses (Heb 3:1-6; 13:20 cf. 8:5-6) who mediated it, the author of Hebrews is evoking the new exodus theme.³¹ He hears new exodus chords struck through such themes as the warnings drawn from the example of the wilderness generation that failed to enter rest because of unbelief (Heb 3:7-19, cf. Jude 5), the reference to Joshua (Heb 4:8) and the new creational rest that still remains for us (Heb 4:1-11; Ps 95; 7-11).³² He also argues that as the ἀρχηγός and τελειωτής of the faith of his people (Heb 12:2; 8:1; 10:19-20; 4:16; 10:12; see also 11:13-14; 13:14; 6:4-13; 10:26-31) Jesus has made the journey for and before his people through the blood of the new covenant; a journey that has culminated in his session at the right hand of the throne of God.³³ Watts equally sees an evocation of the exodus tradition in the fact that the recipients of Hebrews (and we) are told that they have come, not to Sinai but to mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem and that means joy and not terror for them—and for us (Heb 12:18-24; Deut 9:19; Exod 19:16-19). According to Watts, the punishment of those who disobeyed the voice that shook the earth indicates that those who disregard the heavenly voice that will shake both the heavens and the earth will face a far more severe punishment. Furthermore, Watts sees the parallel between the great shepherd of the sheep coming through death and Moses coming through the Red Sea (Heb 13:20-21; Isa 63:11) as an appeal to the exodus to provide comfort for the people of the new exodus.³⁴

³¹R. E. Watts, “Exodus,” in *NDBT*, ed. Brian S. Rosner et al. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2004), 486.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Watts, “Exodus,” 486. Watts prefers the name Reed Sea for what is generally referred to as

Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo – Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2.”

Arguing from Hebrews 1:6, Andriessen claims that the verse is best understood as a second introduction of the firstborn into the promised the land.³⁵ He contends that the first, which was itself a prefiguration of the second, received its fulfillment in the exaltation of Christ.³⁶ He then avers,

Cette interprétation de He 1 :6 est entièrement dans la ligne caractéristique de l’Épître qui confronte constamment les deux phases de l’histoire du salut pour présenter le mystère du Christ à la fois comme prolongeant et comme dépassant les grands événements de l’histoire d’Israël au temps de Moïse. Celui-ci, de même qu’il a prévu un nouvel Exode, une seconde et définitive libération, de même, il a prédit une seconde entrée dans la terre promise: (Deut. 33 :3, 5).³⁷

Andriessen moves on to argue from a verse-by-verse exegesis that in Hebrews 2:14b-3:2 the author compares Christ’s salvific work with the deliverance from Egypt under Moses. He believes that uncovering this comparison will “donner ainsi une explication de l’entrée en scène, apparemment brusque, de Moïse en He iii 2.”³⁸

Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*. Allen’s monograph is a significant contribution to scholarship on Hebrews’ use of the OT. He does not directly address the question of the Exodus motif in the whole book of Hebrews, but he refers to the motif at a number of points. He argues, following Andriessen and Lane,³⁹ that Hebrews 1:6 pictures Israel’s entry into the promised land as typology for the son’s re-entry into the heavenlies.⁴⁰ He also maintains that ὅταν . . . εἰσαγάγῃ reinforces this new exodus reading because the phrase occurs twice in Deuteronomy (Deut 6:10; 11:29) and

the Red Sea.

³⁵Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 300.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 27.

⁴⁰Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 55–56.

both occurrences are set in the context of entry into Canaan.⁴¹ Allen equally points out that albeit weak, the use of *οἰκουμένη* as a reference to the promised land fortifies a new exodus reading of this text: just as YHWH brought the original *πρωτότοκος* (Israel; cf. Exod 4:22) into Canaan, so he has now brought the true *πρωτότοκος* (the Son) into heaven.⁴²

In his treatment of the land imagery in Hebrews 3:7-4:11, Allen contends that this imagery seems intertwined with an overarching ‘exodus’ theme operative throughout the letter. He argues that in addition to “the opening declaration of 1:6, the paradigmatic use of the wilderness generation (3:7-19) and the pilgrimage imagery of ch. 11, the overtones of the leaders’ *ἔκβασις* (13:7 – cf. 1 Cor 10:13), the exhortation to go outside the camp (13:13 – *ἐξέρχομαι*), and, most notably the climax at Zion (12:22-24) – the new Sinai (12:18-21) – all contribute to an exodus/journey ideology.”⁴³ Highlighting other new exodus tones in Hebrews, Allen contends that in actuality *eisodus* rather than *exodus* is actually the core motif for Hebrews: where the new covenant community is headed is more significant than where they left.⁴⁴

Filtvedt, *The Identity of God’s People and the Paradox of Hebrews.*

Commenting on Hebrews 1:6, Filtvedt, suggests that when the messianic term *πρωτότοκος* is related to the verb *εἰσάγειν* and with reference to the *οἰκουμένη*, the term “first-born” could also be used of Israel, and her entrance into the promised land.⁴⁵ If this is the case and if Hebrews draws on it, then, Filtvedt infers, Jesus is presented both as the

⁴¹Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 55–56.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ole Jakob Filtvedt, *The Identity of God’s People and the Paradox of Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 58.

Messianic King who receives universal worship, and as the ideal representative of God's people.⁴⁶ In Filtvedt's estimation, the idea of Jesus functioning as a prototype—an ideal in-group member—is a very helpful device for understanding the rhetorical function of the portrayal of Jesus as a leader in Hebrews (Heb 1:6; 2:10; 6:20; 12:2).⁴⁷ Filtvedt further contends for an undercurrent of the exodus motif in Hebrews 2 by saying that “If it is granted that the story about how God would fulfill his promise to Abraham and his family is part of the implicit narrative of 2:5-18, it seems that we are also right to detect a subtle exodus typology at work, according to which Jesus is pictured as the heroic leader, who *liberates* death's captives (2:15) and leads them towards their inheritance.”⁴⁸ To Filtvedt, depicting God's redemptive actions in terms of being led into a given realm (see Heb 1:6; 2:10) is a typical way of depicting the exodus and the subsequent entrance into the land (Exod 3:8; Num 14:3; Deut 6:10; Jer 2:7). Similar to Andriessen⁴⁹ Filtvedt makes the case that if “we assume an exodus typology, this would also explain why immediately after Hebrews 2:5-18 Jesus is compared with Moses (3:1-6) whereupon the story about the failure of the wilderness generation to enter Canaan is retold (3:7-18).”⁵⁰ He concludes, “The question of how Abraham's descendants, God's people, would reach the land promised them as an inheritance, seems in other words to be a major part of the narrative context within which Jesus is presented, and within which his exaltation is understood.”⁵¹

⁴⁶Filtvedt, *The Identity of God's People and the Paradox of Hebrews*, 58.

⁴⁷Ibid., 63.

⁴⁸Ibid. Italics original.

⁴⁹See the discussion above on Andriessen's contribution to the subject of the new exodus in Hebrews in Andriessen, “Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1.”

⁵⁰Filtvedt, *The Identity of God's People and the Paradox of Hebrews*, 68.

⁵¹Ibid., 68.

Nixon, *The Exodus in the New Testament*. Nixon premises his short treatment of the new exodus in Hebrews on the hypothesis that Hebrews is written to a Jewish Christian group at a time of growing nationalism when pressure was exerted on this group to adhere to the tangible objects of Judaism.⁵² “The author . . .,” Nixon suggests, “calls on [his addressees] to march on to the Promised Land of *spiritual* inheritance and not to go back into a material Judaism which is just about to be destroyed.”⁵³ To Nixon, the fact that the exodus has much relevance is irrefutable.⁵⁴ From considering the juxtaposition of the two revelations of the two eras (2:1 ff), Christ and Moses (3:1 ff.), the two generations (3:7-4:13), and others, Nixon argues that the author of Hebrews sees the situation of his readers to be parallel to that of the people of the first exodus.⁵⁵

Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*. In this famous work, Käsemann makes the case that the sojourner status of the people of the OT as variously portrayed in Hebrews captures the situation of the letter’s audience. He contends that, by seeking to show the Christian community the greatness of the promise given it and the seriousness of the temptation threatening it, Hebrews sets before the community’s eyes the picture of Israel wandering through the wilderness. “From such a type,” Käsemann argues, “the possibilities of Christian existence can be perceived. This assumes that type and antitype share a basic posture.”⁵⁶ He further contends that what is necessary for this basic posture

⁵²Robin Ernest Nixon, *The Exodus in the New Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1963), 25.

⁵³Ibid. Italics original.

⁵⁴In an interesting move, Nixon claims that the destruction of the temple in AD 70 was on the mind of the author of Hebrews as he wrote. Nixon states, “The cross and the resurrection are the second Exodus; the forty years are running out as AD 70 approaches; the people of Israel are to bring upon themselves the curses threatened in an Exodus context in the book of Deuteronomy and they will be dispossessed of their inheritance as the heathen were; the new people of God will then be led by the new Joshua, Jesus, into their true spiritual inheritance.” Ibid., 27. If a pre-AD 70 date of composition for Hebrews is allowed, then Nixon’s suggestion seems to align well with Jesus’ words to the chief priests and scribes when he said, “the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people, producing the fruit of it” (Matt 21:43).

⁵⁵Ibid., 25.

⁵⁶Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the*

to be present is “a λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς which summons to wandering, and both must hold fast this Logos precisely in their wandering (4:1f).”⁵⁷ In fact the motif of the wandering people of God is so central in Käsemann’s estimation that he concludes, “all the utterances in Hebrews culminate in the description of Christ’s high priestly office, but take their basis, which supports and purposefully articulates the individual parts, from the motif of the wandering people of God.”⁵⁸ Even though Käsemann’s contribution could be a helpful starting point for considering Hebrews’ use of the new exodus motif, (especially his argument regarding a constant theme in Hebrews of a people on the way behind their ἀρχηγός),⁵⁹ his key presupposition is defective. His view that the new exodus theme has gnostic origins ought to be rejected.⁶⁰ His assumption that the plot of Hebrews 2:10-18 (along with Phil 2:6-11 and Col 1:15-20) came from a gnostic redeemer myth according to which a supernatural being descended to earth to rescue humanity from its imprisonment in the fallen world is antithetical to a biblical theological consideration of the new exodus current running through this portion of the letter. Furthermore, his ground for this assumption, namely affinities between Hebrews 2 and similar NT passages, is highly tenuous.⁶¹

Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*. Ounsworth makes clear that he is not arguing that the author of Hebrews intended to evoke a Joshua typology but rather that the Epistle invites its audience to infer one.⁶² He also points out that he does

Hebrews, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Irving L. Sandberg (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 17.

⁵⁷Ibid., 18.

⁵⁸Ibid., 240.

⁵⁹Ibid., 127–32.

⁶⁰So Attridge, *Hebrews*, 74–75; Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 145.

⁶¹James Thompson, *Hebrews*, PCNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 64.

⁶²Ounsworth makes the interesting case that Hebrews should be read more along the lines of what the audience would have understood rather than what the author intended. See Ounsworth, *Joshua*

not believe that Joshua typology is “the key” that will unlock the mystery of Hebrews but that it is a helpful supplement to the fruitful readings that have resulted from centuries of scholarship on this book; a supplement which Ounsworth believes will highlight certain aspects of the theology of Hebrews that might have been more strongly emphasized, and as a result shed more light on some particular exegetical difficulties.⁶³ In one sense, Ounsworth’s interest in this book is a cord of the larger rope called the motif of the exodus. As a result, the larger exodus motif bubbles to the surface of Ounsworth’s work at a number of points.

Most crucially he makes the argument that “Hebrews invites its audience to draw the inference that they stand in a typological relationship to the Israel of the wilderness wanderings, as Jesus their ἀρχηγός stands in a typological relationship to Joshua, who completed the mission of Moses by his steadfast faithfulness, leading the people of God into the Promised Land.”⁶⁴ He submits that this motif is an aspect of Hebrews 3-4 and Hebrews 11. Perhaps the most stimulating contribution of Ounsworth’s work is his effort to relate the Joshua/Jesus typology to Hebrews 5-10, which deals with the theme of Christ’s high priesthood and his sacrificial death. In this regard, Ounsworth avers that in chapters 5-10, “Hebrews presents Christ’s entry into the heavenly sanctuary as the fulfillment of the type presented by the entry of the Aaronic High Priest into the Holy of holies. This carries overtones not only of Yom Kippur but also of the inauguration of the Mosaic covenant.”⁶⁵ He argues that “Christ by his death made it possible to pass from earth to heaven, from old covenant to new—to gain access to God; indeed in his death he becomes the place of access.” Ounsworth then poses the question,

Typology in the New Testament, 21ff. This is interesting but seems arbitrary. Furthermore, his categorization of the audience into three categories cannot be definitively vindicated from the text.

⁶³Ibid., 2ff.

⁶⁴Ibid., 131.

⁶⁵Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 165.

“What achievement of Joshua for those he led is theologically parallel to Christ’s achievement in making himself the locus of access to the true tent that lies beyond the veil between heaven and earth?”⁶⁶ He sees the answer to this in the crossing of the Jordan. To Ounsworth,

[the] crossing [of the Jordan] can be seen as a second hinge of a salvation-historical triptych, making the move from the place of pilgrimage to the place of rest and the fulfillment of promise and covenant. As well as a geographical shift, the crossing of the Jordan also represents a historical one, from the wilderness generation marked by faithlessness, doubt and disobedience to the new generation that lives in the time of fulfillment. The veil represents both a geographical and a historical distinction, and therefore passing through the veil is a *παραβολή* of both a cosmic translation and an eschatological fulfillment; so the crossing of the Jordan is a type both of entry into God’s (place of) rest and of the inauguration of the new and eternal covenant.⁶⁷

Ounsworth’s work commends itself to all readers of Hebrews for keen and careful consideration. However, the hermeneutical starting point for his work is significantly different from what I will be about in this project since he allows (indeed argues) for discerning a typological connection that was not necessarily intended by the author of the epistle.

Summary and assessment. As noted earlier, most agree that there is a substantial presence of the new exodus motif in the epistle to the Hebrews. All of the works surveyed above certify this assertion. However, these works together leave us with an understanding of the presence and function of the new exodus in Hebrews that is fragmentary. Also, some authors attend to the allusions that have a bearing on this subject but (because of their particular interests) they do not give as much heed to the thematic dimension of the issue under consideration here.⁶⁸ On the other hand others think carefully about the thematic evocations of the new exodus, but because they are

⁶⁶Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 165.

⁶⁷Ibid., 165–66.

⁶⁸See for example Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection*, 129–30; Andriessen, “Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2.”

interested in a thematic survey, they (understandably) skip over the allusions.⁶⁹ But these two facets of the theme of the new exodus in Hebrews should be pursued together because they are interconnected and together they promise readers of the letter a more full-orbed vista of the presence and function of this subject in the epistle. This is why a comprehensive study of the theme throughout the whole epistle seems promising.⁷⁰

Works Focused on the New Exodus

In what ensues I deal with the works of scholars who have not only made reference to the new exodus in Hebrews but have dedicated an entire work (article or book) to it. For this section I found a journal article, a chapter in a book, one unpublished doctoral dissertation and one recently published doctoral dissertation. I begin here with the unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Reynolds, “A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews.” Reynolds set out on the premise that the exodus motif is one of the means by which the epistle to the Hebrews shows the superiority of Christ’s work over the old religious system.⁷¹ He sought to examine this use of the exodus theme in Hebrews and to compare it with the way other NT authors employ it.⁷² Reynolds argues that to gain an understanding of the use of the exodus motif in Hebrews it is critical to grasp the experience of the exodus “as Israel, its prophets and historians saw it.”⁷³ To Reynolds, no

⁶⁹Examples of such works will include Nixon, *The Exodus in the New Testament*, 25–27; Watts, “Exodus,” 478–87.

⁷⁰Another scholar who refers to the new exodus in Hebrews but is too brief in his comments to be given a broader representation in this prospectus is Balentine. He makes passing reference to Heb 2:10–4:10. Balentine notes that the parallelism between the old salvation pilgrimage of Israel in leaving Egypt and journeying to the Promised Land and the life of the church is frequently alluded to in the NT. He notes among other texts that do this, Heb 3:1–4:11 and 11:1–12:2. See George L. Balentine, “Death of Jesus as a New Exodus,” *RevExp* 59, no. 1 (January 1, 1962): 27–41.

⁷¹Reynolds, “A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 1.

⁷²Reynolds, “A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 1.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 2.

event shaped Hebrew thought or theology as did the exodus. Going from this introduction, he structures his work into five chapters. In the first chapter he basically takes his readers through the way the exodus motif is picked up throughout the Old Testament and second temple literature. Reynolds's engagement with Hebrews happens in chapters 2 and 3 of his work. In chapter 2, he deals with the exodus motif in the exposition sections (which he refers to as the thematic and warning sections) of Hebrews, saving the exhortation sections for the following chapter. He argues that Hebrews' employment of the exodus motif is seen in the letter's treatment of the themes of revelation, warning, covenant, sacrifice, the high priest, and rest. He then concludes that while they do not exhaustively capture exodus typology, these six concepts are readily identified in the Old Testament material and their use in Hebrews indicates that the author is drawing on the exodus motif.⁷⁴ In the next chapter Reynolds walks through the exhortation sections of the letter seeking to show that the author still discusses the exodus (though not as prominently, he says) as under the previously mentioned six themes. He observes that the exodus experience of Israel constantly served as an analogy for the writer of Hebrews who determined that his readers would recognize that the true goal of the exodus was not Canaan but the heavenly rest where Jesus had already entered.⁷⁵ From comparing Hebrews' use of the exodus to the way the same concept is picked up by the other NT writers, Reynolds concludes that while NT authors emphasize different aspects of the motif they all resonate with each other on the fact that "Jesus Christ was the fulfillment of the Exodus."⁷⁶ In regard to Hebrews in particular he settles on the conclusion that the author's use of the exodus motif emphasizes the notion of the

⁷⁴Reynolds, "A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 141.

⁷⁵Ibid., 171–72.

⁷⁶Ibid., 239.

wandering people of God.⁷⁷ Reynolds's work is a helpful introduction to the discussion regarding the new exodus in Hebrews because it paints in broad strokes a picture of the new exodus and how it is integrated into the argument of Hebrews. It helpfully shows thematic cues to watch for when reading with an eye toward this motif. However, the work is largely lacking in thorough exegetical analysis as well as careful considerations of inner biblical allusions, which should together supply the moorings for appreciating Hebrews' use of the OT in general and of the new exodus motif in particular. Furthermore, Reynolds's use of terms like "typology" (especially as considered against the backdrop of the scholarly conversation in the last two decades on the subject⁷⁸) is not as precise as could be. So, while his work, unlike those mentioned above, covered the entire epistle, it still allows room for a biblical theological study of the new exodus in Hebrews.

Oudersluys, "Exodus in the Letter to the Hebrews." Oudersluys has suggested that the author of Hebrews reads the exodus typologically and that his reading extends to the entire Old Testament cultus.⁷⁹ He contends that the impressive contrasts in the book, which exalt the new above the old, "must be seen in the perspective of the journey that Jesus, as a greater than Moses (3:1-6), made for and before his people as the pioneer and perfecter of their faith; a journey that culminated with his session at the right hand of the throne of God (10:12; 12:2)."⁸⁰ Oudersluys does not deny that these contrasts are aimed at exalting the new with a view to helping the addressees forget the old. Rather, he says that this is not their only or even their most important function.

⁷⁷Reynolds, "A Comparative Study of the Exodus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 243.

⁷⁸Ninow provides a helpful summary of this discussion. See Ninow, *Indicators of Typology within the Old Testament*, 22–97.

⁷⁹Richard C. Oudersluys, "Exodus in the Letter to the Hebrews," in *Grace Upon Grace: Essays in Honor of Lester J. Kuypers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 147.

⁸⁰Oudersluys, "Exodus in the Letter to the Hebrews," 147.

Oudersluys makes two important observations: (1) in Hebrews' reading Jesus is so superior to the levitical priests (7:1-10) that the best available analogy for his priesthood is Melchizedek (4:14-5:10; 7:11-28). (2) "Jesus offers the perfect sacrifice of a new and better covenant (8:13) in a new and better sanctuary (9:1-10) with a new and better ministry (9:11-14) which provide and eternal inheritance (9:15-22) of final, ultimate efficacy (10:1-18)." Oudersluys then submits that these facts are best understood in light of the author's typological reading of the exodus.⁸¹ He further substantiates this argument by observing that Christ's journey accomplished for his people that which the covenant and journey of the old exodus never provided, namely, immediate access to God and the freedom to draw near to God (4:14; 7:19, 25; 9:8-12, 24; 10:1, 22).⁸² As a result of Christ's journey, his people are in a new and eschatological situation of inaugurated fulfillment and are nonetheless a pilgrim people who journey on to the promised future of God (11:1-13:24).⁸³

Oudersluys's suggestions regarding the presence and function of the exodus motif in Hebrews are sharper and more compelling than Reynolds's. He affords a more promising attempt to relate the densely priestly chapters of the letter to the exodus motif from a thematic standpoint. Oudersluys's work, though spanning the whole epistle, also calls for more detailed research on the new exodus in Hebrews for the simple reason that Oudersluys engages the text primarily at the macro level. As a result of this wide-angle approach much of the exegetical and biblical theological underpinnings that should buttress his proposals are not clearly demonstrated. Thus, Oudersluys's work will be more beneficial to students of Hebrews if it is supplemented by other works that afford biblical theological data to uphold his suggestions.

⁸¹Oudersluys, "Exodus in the Letter to the Hebrews," 147.

⁸²Ibid., 147-48.

⁸³Ibid., 148.

Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus.” Thiessen begins with the hypothesis that the author of Hebrews believed that the promises of God concerning the return from exile had not yet been fully obtained.⁸⁴ Thiessen believes that rather than place himself and his readers at the time of the exile the author of Hebrews places himself (and his readers) at a time antecedent to the exile, namely, the time of the exodus and the wilderness wanderings.⁸⁵ Thiessen argues that Hebrews presents an outlook of Israel’s history whereby “Israel has been brought out of Egypt but has never, even up until [the author’s] day, entered into the land that God had promised them.”⁸⁶ Thiessen brings the difference between his proposal and that of other readers of Hebrews into sharp focus when he says,

This is significantly different than the suggestion of some commentators that the exodus generation serves *merely* as a rhetorical or typological example for the readers of the letter. Throughout the letter the author demonstrates that the land of promise was never actually possessed but only ever sojourned in and thus all of Israel’s history subsequent to the exodus belongs to the period of the wilderness wanderings. Such a radical re-reading and reconfiguration of Israel’s history is demonstrated by the explication of Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3-4, the retelling of Israel’s history in Heb. 11:1-12:3 and the envisioned end of Israel’s continuing exodus and wilderness wanderings as portrayed in God’s people drawing near to the heavenly Jerusalem (12:22-29).⁸⁷

Thiessen admits that his reading of the exodus motif in Hebrews appears to set the author of Hebrews against explicit and positive summary statements from Israel’s history that say Israel actually entered the land (cf. Josh 21:43-45; 1 Kgs 8:56).⁸⁸ He claims, however, that the resolution to this seeming incongruity lies in the author’s understanding of the significance of Psalm 95 (LXX 94).⁸⁹ Granting a Davidic

⁸⁴Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” 354.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., 355.

⁸⁸Ibid., 355.

⁸⁹Ibid., 356.

composition of Psalm 95, Thiessen avers that in the mind of the author of Hebrews, David's reference to another day when rest could be obtained must mean that Joshua did not actually lead Israel into the rest that was promised them. On this ground Thiessen concludes that "the author [of Hebrews] uses Psalm 95 to show that Israel never entered into God's promised rest and that the exodus continued at least until the days of David."⁹⁰ He adds that because the author of Hebrews contemporizes Psalm 95 by his emphasis on *σήμερον*, in which the community members must exhort one another so that no one falls away from the living God, it follows "that the exodus never ended and that rest can still be obtained."⁹¹ Thiessen also believes that by speaking of "my rest," Psalm 95 is not talking about a general rest but God's rest specifically. Such an emphasis on God's rest sets the author up to show that the promise was never really fulfilled in Israel's history. In Thiessen's reading, Hebrews 3-4 sets the scriptural foundation for a retelling of Israel's history in Hebrews 11 where the notion of a continuing exodus is further demonstrated.⁹²

On Hebrews 11, Thiessen claims that this chapter "recounts Israel's history in such a way that the people of God never receive the land of promise."⁹³ The theme of the continuing exodus of Israel in Hebrews better explains the way the list ends and the puzzling absence of Joshua from the list. Nonetheless, the letter encourages its readers by narrating them into this period at the doorstep of the land of rest because Hebrews ends with imagery that again situates the readers in the wilderness, "placing them beyond Sinai (vv. 18-22) and at the border of the land of promise (vv. 22-24)."⁹⁴

Thiessen highlights Hebrews' use of the wilderness imagery, which serves to

⁹⁰Thiessen, "Hebrews and the End of the Exodus," 357.

⁹¹Ibid., 358.

⁹²Ibid., 360.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid., 367.

show that the addressees are on the verge of entering the promised land just as Israel was at Kadesh Barnea. Unfortunately, however, Thiessen completely misses the fact that in Hebrews the spotlight is on a new exodus.⁹⁵ The realities of the entry of the true and ultimate πρωτότοκος into the eternal οἰκουμένη (1:6) as well as the fact that Jesus is the ultimate ἀρχηγός of many sons that God is bringing to glory (2:10) should set the tone for how one understands the exodus motif in Hebrews. Because Thiessen is unwilling to accept the typological and redemptive-historical understanding that the author of Hebrews employs as he describes the situation of his recipients in light of the first exodus, he has to insist that the author is presenting a continuing exodus which he then narrates the audience into as a way of encouraging them. Thiessen's attempt to fit together the claims of Hebrews with the unequivocal assertions of the OT that Joshua had given the people rest is unpersuasive. Furthermore, Thiessen's explanation of the inattention to chronology towards the end of the list in Hebrews 11 fails to convince. Also, his understanding of the role of Psalm 95 in Hebrews is questionable. In light of these I am convinced that Thiessen's proposal should be substantially scrutinized with a view to providing a thorough rejoinder to his claims.

Shin, *New Exodus in Hebrews*. Shin's work is a published version of his doctoral dissertation completed under professor Tom Holland at Wales. In this book, Shin argues that Hebrews is built around the theme of deliverance, as foretold in the prophets. He suggests that the exodus event provides an illustration of what deliverance means. According to Shin, deliverance under the new exodus encompasses two themes, namely, the forgiveness of sins and restoration.⁹⁶ He explains that the former component of deliverance means that believers are to be holy and the latter signify that they become

⁹⁵In a footnote Thiessen states, "It is inaccurate. . . in light of the author's assertion that none has actually entered God's promised rest to speak of a new exodus in Hebrews." *Ibid.*, 355.

⁹⁶Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews*, 86.

brothers of Jesus.⁹⁷ So, Shin's argument proceeds by providing evidence to show that forgiveness of sins as taught in Hebrews is cast in new exodus terms and restoration is set in the same frame as well. To do this he surveys the theme of the new exodus in biblical and extra-biblical literature. He then spends the bulk of his time attending to the deliverance theme and pilgrimage in Hebrews. He also makes an effort to show how Hebrews' discussion of the priestly king theme and the Holy Spirit relate to the deliverance theme in Hebrews.

Shin's work has much to commend. His extensive research into the OT and second temple material helps provide context for understanding the concept of the new exodus in the NT in general and in Hebrews in particular.⁹⁸ Furthermore, zooming in on the importance of deliverance and restoration in the discussion of Hebrews' teaching on the new exodus affords Shin the opportunity to explore the relationship between the heavily cultic portions of the letter and the more exhortational ones. It should however be noted that Shin's work proceeds with very little to no attention to the inner biblical allusions that the present research intends to capitalize on as the warrant for tracing out the way Hebrews employs the notion of the new exodus. So, the present work, while in broad agreement with Shin, will aim to contribute some textual warrant for some of Shin's arguments from the standpoint of Hebrews' use of the OT. The works reviewed above represent the major publications on the subject of the new exodus in Hebrews. As I mentioned earlier, these works indicate that scholars have demonstrated interest in the new exodus as it is employed in the epistle to the Hebrews. However, the above review has equally highlighted a need for a robust biblical theological study of the exodus motif in Hebrews which is what this research will seek to do. The following section gives a brief description of the methodology employed in this project.

⁹⁷Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews*, 86

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 63–84, 119–25.

Methodology

This dissertation undertakes a thorough exegetical analysis of the relevant portions of the book of Hebrews.⁹⁹ In light of the main thrust of the dissertation, I formulate conclusions from my exegesis that demonstrate that the main contention of the project is premised on data that is integral to the epistle. I also utilize typological interpretation when dealing with portions of the book of Hebrews where such an approach is fitting.¹⁰⁰ In regard to typology, I follow Gentry and Wellum, who argue that typology refers to “the study of Old Testament salvation historical realities or ‘types’ (persons, events, institutions) which prefigure their antitypical fulfillment aspects (inaugurated and consummated) in New Testament salvation history.”¹⁰¹

In regard to the organization of this work, the first chapter introduces readers to the general question of the use of the OT in Hebrews and moves on to show the needfulness of the project on the new exodus in Hebrews. It also surveys the history of research on the question of the new exodus in Hebrews as well as briefly states the methodology employed in this dissertation.

In chapter 2, I explore the new exodus theme as communicated by the inner-biblical allusions in Hebrews 1:6. I also explore the new exodus significance of the rest motif in Hebrews 3-4. In chapter 3 I carefully consider the contribution that the concept of the forerunner or pioneer (*ἀρχηγός*) makes to the motif of the new exodus in Hebrews. My main texts for this chapter are Hebrews 2:10 and 12:2.

My aim in chapter 4 is to come to grips with the notion of deliverance as it relates to the new exodus in Hebrews. I consider how the explicit Jesus/Moses

⁹⁹By this I am referring to what Gentry and Wellum call the three horizons of biblical interpretation, namely, textual, epochal and canonical horizons. See Peter John Gentry and Stephen J. Wellum, *Kingdom through Covenant: A Biblical-Theological Understanding of the Covenants* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 92–108.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 103.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

comparison in Hebrews 3:1-6 and the more allusive comparison of these two in Hebrews 13:20 evoke the exodus motif and serve the pastoral thrust of Hebrews. Other texts that I will attend to in chapter 4 include Hebrews 2:1-4, 2:14-16 and 8:9. Chapter 5 is on a slightly different wavelength, as it focuses more on how the author uses a new exodus category to speak of the application of Christ's work to believers. The chapter explores the concept of "pilgrimage" as is germane to the new exodus motif in Hebrews. This exploration includes a study on the question of persevering faith as a critical need for the exodus journey as well as the final destination of believers as cast in new exodus light. In chapter 6, I summarize the conclusions of my research and briefly discuss its hermeneutical dividends for reading the book of Hebrews.

CHAPTER 2

JESUS THE TRUE ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΟΣ WHO HAS ENTERED THE TRUE ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ

I am arguing that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews uses exodus categories to present the work of Christ and its application to believers as the fulfillment of the promised new exodus.¹ Undergirding this argument is an affirmation of the analysis of such writers as Bernhard Anderson who contend that the biblical portrayal of the exodus motif is richer and more multifaceted than just deliverance from Egyptian slavery.² In fact the initial promise to Abraham regarding the exodus clearly included more than just deliverance. God said to Abraham, “Know for certain that your descendants will be strangers in a land that is not theirs, where they will be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years. But I will also judge the nation whom they will serve and afterward they will come out with many possessions. . . . Then in the fourth generation they will return here” (Gen 15:12-14, 16). The promise of the exodus as stated here to Abraham captures God’s pledge to deliver Abraham’s descendants from slavery. But God also stated his intention to bring his delivered people to the land he promised to Abraham.

¹As indicated in the previous chapter, Shin has made a profitable contribution to scholarship on the book of Hebrews with regards to the exodus motif. However, Shin’s approach does not allow him the opportunity to give adequate attention to the kind of discussion on inner biblical allusions envisioned in this and the subsequent chapters in this research. See Bong Chur Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews* (London: Apostolos Publishing, 2016). I hope that my work will contribute exegetical and biblical-theological moorings to Shin’s.

²Bernhard W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962), 177–95. Anderson focuses on Isa 40-55 (which he refers to as Second Isaiah), but makes several references to the historical event of the exodus as reported in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Gentry, who employs Anderson’s categories, has rightly criticized the title “second Isaiah” stating that such a label stems from a mistaken belief that Isa 40-66 was written after the time of the eight-century prophet known as Isaiah. See Peter J. Gentry *How to Read and Understand the Biblical Prophets* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017), 75.

Evidently God intended not only to deliver the descendants of Abraham but also to settle them in the land he had shown to Abraham. So even in this seminal statement on the exodus motif the categories of deliverance and entry (into the promised land) emerge as important components of the motif.

The importance of entry into the land as an exodus category is further highlighted by Moses' intercession for the Israelites after the golden calf incident (Exod 32:9-14). One of Moses' main contentions in his intercession for Israel is God's promise to the patriarchs that "all this land of which I have spoken I will give to your descendants, and they shall inherit it forever" (Exod 32:13). So, Moses' petition to God hinges on not only God's deliverance of his people from Egypt but also on the need for Israel to enter the promised land. The question then is "What role does the exodus category of "entry" play in the epistle to the Hebrews?" "How does Hebrews' use of the exodus motif employ the exodus category of entry (into the land) to describe Christ's work and its application to new covenant believers?"

My argument in this chapter is that the author of Hebrews uses the exodus category of "entry" to speak of the work of Christ and its benefits for believers in two distinct but related ways. First, he employs the category of "entry" by portraying God's bringing of Jesus into his heavenly glory as the fulfillment of that which was foreshadowed in God's bringing of Israel into the promised land. This claim assumes a typological relationship between Israel as the *πρωτότοκος* of God in the OT and Jesus as the fulfillment of that for which Israel was a type. Second, the author of Hebrews speaks of "entry" from the standpoint of Israel marching into the promised land. From this point of view, the author draws upon Israel's failure to enter the promised rest to charge his addressees to be diligent to enter the promised eternal rest.³ Similarly, the author's view

³I discuss the relationship between land and rest in light of Hebrews' argument in 3:7-4:11 below under "Entry into God's Rest and the Exodus Category of 'Entry:' Hebrews 3:7-4:11."

of Israel marching into the land shapes the layout of Hebrews 11 whose structure highlights the importance of entry (into the land) as a historical analogue of the eschatological perfection provided by God for new covenant believers in Christ.

This chapter will unfold under three main sections. First, I will give close attention to Hebrews 1:6 to demonstrate how Hebrews uses the exodus category of “entry” to speak of God bringing Christ into his heavenly glory. Second, I will explore Hebrews 3:7-4:11 to show how the exodus category of “entry” gives shape and profundity to the author’s discussion of Israel’s failure to enter the promised rest and the obligation of his addressees to be diligent to enter the eternal rest. I will then close the chapter by suggesting that Hebrews’ use of the exodus category of entry can provide a plausible explanation for both the shift away from content details after the mention of the fall of Jericho in Hebrews 11:30 and for the omission of Joshua from the hall of faith.

The Literary Context of Hebrews 1:6

The epistle to the Hebrews opens with an exordium (Heb 1:1-4) that sets the stage for the first expositional unit of the letter as well as for the whole epistle.⁴ The author begins with the all-important truth that the God of the Bible is one who makes himself known (Heb 1:1-2a). He moves on to open a window into the contrast between the superiority of the person and prerogatives of the Son (Heb 1:2c-3ab) and his incarnation and self-sacrifice (Heb 1:2a, 3c). This incarnation is shown to be followed by the Son’s exaltation (Heb 1:3d, 4). These truths echo the themes of the expositional blocks of material spanning Hebrews 1:5-14 and 2:5-18. According to the author, the Son is the ultimate self-disclosure of God (Heb 1:2a) and the one appointed by God as the heir

⁴It is a well-recognized feature of the epistle to the Hebrews that hortatory sections are sandwiched between blocks of expositional material. So George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-Linguistic Analysis* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), 61–75; Andrew H. Trotter, *Interpreting the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1997), 92–94; David A. deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 72.

of all things (Heb 1:2b). He is the creative agent of God (Heb 1:2c), the radiance of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's nature (Heb 1:3a). This Son is the one sustaining all things by the word of His power (Heb 1:3b). It is in this Son that God has spoken in these last days. Furthermore, it is the Son who made purification for sin and sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high, having been exalted as far above the angels as the name He has inherited is superior to theirs (Heb 1:3c-4). Evidently, the claim that Christ made purification for sins and sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high is a way of speaking about the Son's incarnation and his subsequent exaltation. Additionally, the declaration that God has "spoken to us in his Son" stands on the foundation of the Son's coming in the flesh.

In the exposition on the transcendent dignity of the Son that follows the exordium the author marshals evidence from the OT to establish his case for the supremacy of the Son over angels. He queries, "For to which of the angels did [God] ever say, 'You are my Son, today I have begotten you?'" (Heb 1:5). Moreover, he insists, it is exclusively to the Son that the Father ever said, "I will be a father to him and he shall be a son to me." In Hebrews 1:6 the author asserts, "And when he again brings his firstborn into the world, he says 'And let all the angels of God worship him'" (Heb 1:6).⁵ I will attempt to show below that this verse is the locus of a significant allusion to the exodus tradition and particularly to the exodus category of "entry."⁶ Beginning at verse 7 the author advances his argument by going from what God has said to angels on the one hand

⁵O'Brien makes repeated references to the exodus theme in his discussion of this verse. See Peter Thomas O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 67–71. For a more sustained discussion of the new exodus teaching of Heb 1:6, see P. C. B. Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," *NovT* 18, no. 4 (October 1976): 293–313. While my work in this chapter builds on Andriessen's it is different in that it explores the new exodus notion of Hebrews 1:6 in the broader context of the whole book of Hebrews.

⁶I am using "allusion" here as defined by Guthrie: "An allusion . . . involves an overt weaving of at least a phrase from the antecedent text into the author's own language, without a formal marking of that language as set apart from the author's own words, and at times with morphological changes to words in the original quotation." G. H. Guthrie, "Hebrews' Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research," *CurBR* 1, no. 2 (2003): 273.

to what he has said to the Son on the other. He does this by employing a μέν . . . δέ construction in the Greek. Essentially, he says, “On the one hand, in reference to angels he says. . . But referring to the Son he says. . . .” It is worth noting that the citations from Psalm 104:4 (in Heb 1:7) and 102:22-27 (in Heb 1:10-12) were addressed to God in their OT contexts but are now given a christological reading. Psalm 104 praises God for His divine mastery over nature. The emphasis of Psalm 104 is not on angels but on God’s power to turn the wind into messengers and the flames of fire into servants. Similarly, Psalm 102:25-27 is part of a larger hymn extolling God’s power over nature. The author focuses on the likeness of the Son to God as he makes the Son the recipient of praise when he quotes OT passages where God was the original recipient of praise. Thus, the Son is superior to angels because he is inseparable from God. For the author of Hebrews, what the OT says of God is as true of Christ as it is of God.

At verse 13 the author comes full circle and returns to the introductory formula with which he started at verse 5.⁷ His explicit quotation of Psalm 110:1 restates the claim made at the outset of the letter (Heb 1:3-4) where the author alludes to the same Psalm to argue that the exalted Son stands above creation. The remark in Hebrews 1:14, which concludes the catena of OT citations, contrasts the subordinate function of angels as servants of those who will inherit salvation to the Son’s role as the author of salvation.⁸ The survey of the literary context of Hebrews 1:6 set forth above has uncovered one main point: the exalted Son of God is superior to angels. I have also alleged that Hebrews 1:6 alludes to exodus language from the OT and specifically to the exodus category of

⁷The author uses a prepositional phrase here (πρὸς τίνα . . . τῶν ἀγγέλων) instead of the dative form of the interrogative pronoun, τίς, at verse 5 (Τίτι γὰρ . . . τῶν ἀγγέλων). But he effectively communicates the same thing.

⁸Cockerill has suggested that the point here is about the transitory nature of angels. See Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 108–9. This suggestion is intriguing but difficult to prove decisively.

“entry.”⁹

With the literary context of Hebrews 1:6 portrayed and with this verse pointed out as the main exodus note struck in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, I will now briefly look at three main interpretations that have been proposed by various interpreters of this verse. This survey of various interpretations of Hebrews 1:6 will help to show the scholarly discussion on this verse that has preceded my work.

Three Main Interpretations of Hebrews 1:6

The three interpretations discussed here are not the only interpretations present in the literature.¹⁰ But for the purposes of this research only a discussion of the main interpretive options is necessary. These principal interpretive options for Hebrews 1:6 can be referred to as “the incarnation view,” “the parousia view,” and “the exaltation view.”

The Incarnation View

Attridge points out that the expression *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* in Hebrews 1:6 can be taken in one of three ways, namely, the incarnation, the exaltation, or the parousia.¹¹ The view that *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* in this verse is a reference to the incarnation was held by such early interpreters as John Chrysostom.¹² This interpretation commends itself in that it allows *οἰκουμένην* to retain its typical meaning of “the inhabited earth, the world” (see Matt 24:14; Luke 2:1; 4:5; 21:26;

⁹Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 296.

¹⁰For example, Bateman proposed that *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* is a reference to the baptism of Jesus. See Herbert W. Bateman, *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5-13: The Impact of Early Jewish Exegesis on the Interpretation of a Significant New Testament Passage* (New York: P. Lang, 1997), 222. Bateman’s suggestion has, however, failed to command assent among interpreters and is therefore largely ignored in the literature.

¹¹Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 55.

¹²Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church of the Christian Church.*, vol. 14, First Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 375.

Acts 11:28; 17:6, 31; 19:27; 24:5; Rom 10:18; Rev 3:10; 12:9; 16:14).¹³ This is significant because, except for the two instances in Hebrews (1:6 and 2:5), thirteen of the fifteen occurrences of *οἰκουμένη* in the NT clearly convey the meaning “the inhabited earth.” Another important argument for the incarnation view came through Spicq who led the way to argue that *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* is the Greek rendering of a common Hebrew idiom for giving birth.¹⁴ Other proponents of this view have argued that *εἰσαγάγειν* is employed in Greek literature to speak of childbirth and that usage can afford support for the incarnation view.¹⁵ Furthermore, Attridge has defended this view by saying,

This [the view that *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* is a reference to the incarnation] would imply, of course, that in introducing his scriptural text, our author has reinterpreted the primitive Christian belief as the only decisive christological moment. More precisely, he would have reinterpreted a traditional collection of proof texts relating exclusively to the exaltation in terms of the “three-stage” Christology (pre-existence, incarnation, exaltation) implicit in the exordium. A reinterpretation in this stage in the catena would also lend credence to the possibility that the author has reinterpreted the begetting of the Son described in Ps. 2:7.¹⁶

Even though the incarnation reading has attractive lexical support it quickly suffers significant setbacks. First, the greatest strength of the incarnation position on Hebrews 1:6 is its greatest weakness: while this view allows *οἰκουμένη* to retain its typical NT meaning, it fails to adequately attend to the fact that the author of Hebrews employs

¹³Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, and William F. Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 699. For interpreters of Hebrews who make this lexical argument, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56; Ceslas Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux II* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1952), 17; Hugh Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), 45–46.

¹⁴Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux II*, 17. So Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56.

¹⁵So James Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: T & T Clark, 1924), 10; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56. Barnard offers a gentle critique of this argument when he says, “Although the verb *εἰσάγω* probably could be used to refer to birth, this is, at best a rare usage and is unlikely to have been the most obvious sense.” Jody A. Barnard, *The Mysticism of Hebrews: Exploring the Role of Jewish Apocalyptic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 241.

¹⁶Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56.

the same term in an explicitly eschatological sense in Hebrews 2:5. Attridge acknowledges this (eschatological sense) but unpersuasively states that the word *οἰκουμένη* in Hebrews 2:5 is marked by eschatological qualifiers and should be understood differently in Hebrews 2:5 than in 1:6. However, in employing *οἰκουμένη* in Hebrews 2:5 the author says that “the *οἰκουμένη*. . . concerning which we are speaking” is the one “to come.” What he talks about in 2:5 is what he has been talking about. Therefore, there is no compelling reason to think that something other than the eschatological sense is in view in 1:6.¹⁷ Second, not only does the NT not speak of any time when Jesus was worshipped by angels during the time of his incarnation, Hebrews even states that Jesus was made lower than angels in the incarnation (Heb 2:6-9). To take Hebrews 1:6 as a reference to the incarnation leads to saying that God commanded the angels to worship the Son at a time when he assumed a rank lower than theirs. This is highly unlikely. The incongruity between the incarnation reading of Hebrews 1:6 and Hebrews 2:6-9 makes that interpretation unconvincing. The proposal that *εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* is a Greek translation of a Hebrew idiom for giving birth fails to assuage the incongruity between this position and Hebrews 2:6-9. Furthermore, the attempt to explain the angelic worship of Hebrews 1:6 in terms of the angelic praise of Luke 2:13 is highly tenuous because in Luke 2:13 the angels direct their worship to God and not to the incarnate Son laying in the manger in Bethlehem.¹⁸ Thus, while the choice to read Hebrews 1:6 as a reference to the incarnation is not terribly far-fetched, it fails to dovetail with germane data in Hebrews 1 and 2.

¹⁷In a lucid discussion on the meaning of *οἰκουμένη* in the Greek Psalter, Moffitt concludes, “The uses of *οἰκουμένη* in LXX Pss 92, 95, and 96, especially if read through the lens of eschatological expectation, accord well with several themes that center on the enduring hope that the author of Hebrews encourages his readers to pursue. Specifically, the writer portrays Jesus as having entered both the enduring inheritance and the heavenly tabernacle, and as having sat down upon the eternal throne at God’s right hand in heaven.” David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 78. For a discussion on *οἰκουμένη* in second temple literature, see *ibid.*, 81-118.

¹⁸Contra Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 46.

The Parousia View

The second significant proposal regarding the meaning of Hebrews 1:6 states that the verse is speaking of the parousia. The appeal of this view comes from the fact that it (like the incarnation view) preserves the meaning of οἰκουμένη most commonly found in the NT, namely, “the inhabited earth.” Most importantly the parousia view draws upon the ambiguity surrounding the author’s use of the adverb πάλιν in verse 6. Proponents of this view contend that the best way to understand πάλιν as used here is to connect it with the verb εἰσαγάγη.¹⁹ On this reading the author is here talking about God bringing again the Son into the inhabited earth at the Son’s second coming. In other words, this view urges a temporal understanding of the adverb πάλιν (as it is used here) over against a citational understanding. The word order is a potential source of support for a temporal reading of πάλιν. Some have noted that a citational understanding would require πάλιν δὲ ὅταν as the word at the beginning of 1:6 instead of ὅταν δὲ πάλιν as we have it in the verse.²⁰

Other instances of Hebrews’ use of the adverb πάλιν divide up almost evenly between the temporal and the citational uses (cf. Heb 4:7; 5:12; 6:1, 6 and 1:5; 2:13; 4:5; 10:30).²¹ Therefore usage of the adverb throughout the rest of the letter does not afford any help to clear the ambiguity. Nevertheless, the parousia interpretation does not fit the

¹⁹Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 22; deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*, 96; Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 112–13; Jean Héring, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: Epworth Press, 1970), 9.

²⁰Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 296–97. It is worth noting that even though Andriessen makes this argument for a temporal understanding of πάλιν he rejects the view that this verse teaches the parousia. Allen on his part, argues, “In our view, word order and the otherwise potentially superfluous δὲ make the temporal rendering the more likely option.” David M. Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: A Study in Narrative Re-Presentation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 54. While Allen draws a convincing conclusion for a temporal meaning of πάλιν in Heb 1:6 his suggestion that δὲ is superfluous misses the author’s intention to highlight the supremacy of the Son over angels by contrasting what God has said to the Son with what he has said to angels.

²¹So Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 156–57; Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 21–24; Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 98–101.

context of Hebrews 1. As Moffitt has observed, the quotation of 1:6 enunciates what God has said to angels (note the δὲ) in contrast to what he has said to the Son (see Heb 1:5).²² The verse aims to exalt the supremacy of the Son over angels by showing the relationship of angels to the Son. Therefore, God's command to angels to worship the Son seems best taken as concurrent with the current status of the Son who has "become as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs" (Heb 1:4 ESV).²³ Interpreting εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην as a reference to a future reality sits oddly with the author's aim to highlight the current supremacy of the Son over angels.

Furthermore, there is no compelling reason in the context to understand Hebrews 1:6 in future terms. While ὅταν with the subjunctive typically communicates a future meaning,²⁴ the construction can also describe past action (see 1 Cor 15:27).²⁵ Therefore, taking εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην as a reference to that which has already happened is not without attestation in the NT. Although the parousia reading is grammatically possible, it remains questionable because it does not accord with the main thrust of Hebrews 1, namely, the Son's current position as one who after "making purification for sins [has] sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high" (Heb 1:3 ESV). Moreover, construing πάλιν as an adverbial modifier of the verb εἰσαγάγη does not have to necessarily lead to the conclusion that the parousia is in view in Hebrews 1:6a.²⁶ I

²²Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 56.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 193.

²⁵Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 54.

²⁶Moffitt, who opposes a temporal understanding of πάλιν in Heb 1:6, states, "It must be noted that even if πάλιν is taken as modifying εἰσάγω, the adverb need not connote the Son's parousia. If . . . the referent of οἰκουμένη [is] . . . the heavenly realm, then the mention of the Son's entering again into the οἰκουμένη would more likely indicate his ascension back into heaven rather than his future return to earth." Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 57. I follow the lead of Andriessen to propose a temporal understanding of πάλιν that is informed by the exodus motif. Andriessen,

show below that both the immediate context of Hebrews 1:6 and the motif of the new exodus make exaltation a more compelling option than the two discussed above.

The Exaltation View

If the first two possible options of the meaning of Hebrews 1:6 fail to convince, then the third and last option is most likely the right way to understand what this verse teaches. However, demonstrating this requires a careful look at not only the data in the text in question and its immediate literary context but also the inner biblical allusions reverberating throughout the text. It is hoped that attending to these inner biblical allusions will add precision to the arguments that have been put forth to contend for the exaltation of Christ as the point of Hebrews 1:6.²⁷

Typical Arguments for the Exaltation in Hebrews 1:6. Interpreters who contend that Hebrews 1:6 is best taken as a reference to the exaltation of the Son of God typically set forth the following arguments and rebuttals. First, they note that the NT does not speak of any moment of the worship of Christ by angels other than the moment of his enthronement at the right hand of God (Phil 2:10; Eph 1:20-21; Col 2:15; 1 Tim 3:16; 1 Pet 3:22; Rev 5:8-14).²⁸ Second, the author of Hebrews makes clear in 2:5 what he means in 1:6 by the term *οἰκουμένη* into which God brings his firstborn: this *οἰκουμένη* is the world to come. Therefore, *οἰκουμένη* (as employed in Hebrews) designates the eschatological and unshakable reality which we must neither conflate with nor mistake for the present perishable world which is destined to be destroyed when the Lord returns (Heb 1:11, 12; 12:26, 27).²⁹ Third, Hebrews 2:9 clearly states that in the incarnation the

“La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 296–98.

²⁷Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 295.

²⁸Ibid., 294.

²⁹Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 63; Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 294. Moffitt, who espouses the view that Heb 1:6 teaches the ascension and exaltation of Christ, argues that the real point at issue in the verse is

Son was made lower than angels. It would therefore be inexplicable for the author to have claimed a few verses prior that at the occasion of this humiliation the angels (and they alone) are invited to worship the firstborn.³⁰ Fourth, Hebrews presents both the incarnation and the parousia as acts of the Son (Heb 2:14; 9:28; 10:5, 7, 9). But virtually all interpreters agree that in Hebrews 1:6 it is the Father who brings the *πρωτότοκος* into the *οἰκουμένη*.³¹ Therefore, the “bringing” being talked about in Hebrews 1:6 coheres neither with Hebrews’ view of the incarnation nor the parousia judging from the point of view of who does it.

Having sketched out the three major views on the meaning of Hebrews 1:6 it is important at this point to make some exegetical comments on two key terms in Hebrews 1:6a because these words carry great significance for the meaning of the text. The exegetical comments to be made on these key terms will help prepare the way for an investigation into the inner biblical allusion to the exodus category of “entry” that I am suggesting is present in Hebrews 1:6.

Πρωτότοκος, Οἰκουμένη and their New Exodus Import in Hebrews 1:6

The terms *πρωτότοκος* and *οἰκουμένη* are without doubt key terms in Hebrews 1:6 and so deserve closer attention here. I will begin here with considering the term

the referent of *οἰκουμένη* and claims that in contexts where the author of Hebrews frequently employs *πάλιν* to string together related OT citations the adverb modifies “a prior usage of a form of *λέγω*.” However, even Moffitt himself concedes that the word order of the phrase in Hebrews 1:6a is unlike that of the other instances in the letter. He attempts to resolve the difficulty of the word order by saying that “The somewhat puzzling placement of *πάλιν* results simply from the adverb’s close association with the conjunction, which happens in this instance to be the postpositive *δέ*.” While Moffitt’s suggestion is possible it is unconvincing because (1) it lacks parallels elsewhere in the letter to corroborate his claim. In fact, evidence from elsewhere in the NT seems to uphold the opposite of Moffitt’s claim (see Gal 5:3; 2 Pet 2:20). (2) It fails to draw interpretive help from the storyline of the Bible with regards to the exodus motif.

³⁰Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” 294.

³¹As Andriessen has pointed out, other acts specifically attributed to the Father in the epistle to the Hebrews include the Father bringing many sons to glory after Christ (Heb 2:10), the Father hearing, perfecting and designating the Son (Heb 5:7-10), and the Father bringing the Son back from death (Heb 13:20). Ibid., 294–95.

πρωτότοκος and subsequently give attention to *οίκουμένη*. The aim of this section is to see if the author of Hebrews might have picked up these terms from OT contexts that may indicate that the author was harkening back to the exodus tradition as he developed his point in Hebrews 1:6.

Πρωτότοκος

Most interpreters who have sought to address the question of the OT background of the term *πρωτότοκος* as used in Hebrews 1:6 have concluded that the term is an allusion to Psalm 88:28 (LXX) and recalls the davidic prophecy in that verse.³² There is a good reason for this argument. The contention that *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 alludes to Psalm 88:28 (LXX) accords well with the messianic promises of 1:5.³³ The reasoning behind this conclusion is that the citation of 2 Samuel 7:14 at 1:5b brought Psalm 89:27-28 (88:28 LXX) to the author's mind since this portion of Psalm 89 is a later commentary on Nathan's word in 2 Samuel 7:14.³⁴ If this is the case, then it follows that the author's use of *πρωτότοκος* harkens back to this Psalm. Helyer maintains that *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 is to be linked with Colossians 1:18 and Revelation 1:5 where we likewise have the term applied to the risen and exalted Lord.³⁵ He further claims that

³²Brian C. Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 181; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 192–93; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, BCP (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 2015), 69; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 56; Richard Bauckham, "Monotheism and Christology in Hebrews 1," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 178. It is worth noting here that the NT uses *πρωτότοκος* in two main ways to speak of Jesus: (1) to describe Jesus as a literal firstborn (Luke 2:7) and (2) to refer to Jesus as a firstborn figuratively (Rom 8:29; Col 1:15; Rev 1:5). As pointed out in my rejoinder to the incarnation view above, the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Heb 1:6 does not have anything to do with the use in Luke 2:7. Furthermore, of all the symbolic uses of *πρωτότοκος* as a designation for Jesus in the NT, only Heb 1:6 employs the term in an absolute sense. Colossians speaks of Jesus as *πρωτότοκος* in relationship to creation (Col 1:15) and the resurrection (Col 1:18, see also Rev 1:5). Romans speaks of Jesus as *πρωτότοκος* in relation to his brothers (Rom 8:29). So, every NT use of *πρωτότοκος* communicates a particular nuance that must be determined from context. See J. P. Meier, "Symmetry and Theology in the Old Testament Citations of Heb 1:5-14," *Bib* 66, no. 4 (1985): 509 for a similar discussion on the use of *πρωτότοκος* in the NT.

³³Similarly, Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, 181–82.

³⁴William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 26.

³⁵Larry R. Helyer, "The Prototokos Title in Hebrews," *SBT* 62, no. 2 (1976): 10. Helyer fails to

the title itself recalls the davidic prophecy (Ps 89:27) and stresses the special relationship which obtains between God and the Son.³⁶

However, other considerations seem to show that the background of Hebrews' use of *πρωτότοκος* has more than one layer to it. In fact, in his discussion of the second significant occurrence of the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews (cf. Heb 12:23) Helyer contends as follows:

In addition, the Ex. 4:22 passage may well have played a leading role in the New Exodus motif which was prevalent in pre-Christian Judaism and the Dead Sea Sect as well as among the New Testament Writers. Certainly our author utilizes the motif in the discourse constructed around Ps. 95. It is quite possible, then, that our author is drawing upon a tradition indebted to the New Exodus motif by designating Christians as first-born.³⁷

Thus, even though Helyer's conclusion about the background of *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 points only to Psalm 88:28 LXX, his argument about the background of the term in Hebrews 12:23 opens the possibility that the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 could well be an allusion both to the Davidic king (Ps 88:28 LXX) and to Israel as son (Exod 4:22-23).³⁸ This is so because those referred to in 12:23 as *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* can only be thus designated because of their relationship with the *πρωτότοκος* of Hebrews 1:6.³⁹ In the words of Koester, "Jesus is Son of God in a singular sense, but his followers are sons of God in an extended sense (Heb 2:10). He is firstborn but others who are raised from the dead are also among the firstborn (12:23). Cf. Exod. 4:22; Jer. 31:9 (38:9 LXX) where 'firstborn' is used for Israel."⁴⁰ Ellingworth echoes a similar understanding when

observe the qualifications associated with the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Colossians, Romans and Revelation. See my note 32 on page 40.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Helyer, "The Prototokos Title in Hebrews," 16.

³⁸Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 57.

³⁹The precise referent of *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* is debated. For a brief introduction to the debate, see Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, 309n143.

⁴⁰Koester, *Hebrews*, 193.

he states, “the plural firstborn of 12:23, the redeemed in heaven, are the typological counterparts of the firstborn of Israel at the time of the exodus (Heb 11:28).”⁴¹

Read in light of each other, the use of the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 12:23 and the earlier occurrence in 1:6 seem to highlight the relationship between the Firstborn (Jesus) and firstborns (believers).⁴² If, as Ellingworth, Koester, and Helyer say, a typological relationship can be drawn between the *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* of Hebrews 12:23 and the *πρωτότοκος* who is Israel as she was designated at the outset of God’s work to deliver her from Egypt (Exod 4:22-23), it must be inquired how Christ fits into such a relationship. Beyond question, all typological relationships in Hebrews center on Christ.⁴³ So, the only basis for discerning a typological relationship between the church of the firstborn (Heb 12:23) and Israel (Exod 4:22) is that the *πρωτότοκος* who was brought into the *οἰκουμένην* is the fulfillment of what Israel foreshadowed. Moreover, Jesus is not ashamed to call those sanctified in him his brothers (cf. Heb 2:11). So, the relationship between the *πρωτότοκος* (Heb 1:6) and the *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* (Heb 12:23) makes Israel’s special relationship with God part of the possible background to the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6.

Andriessen has argued that it is unnecessary to find an allusion to Psalm 89:27 in Hebrews’ use of *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6. While Andriessen’s conclusion is overstated, his arguments to show that the designation of Israel as *πρωτότοκος* informed Hebrews’ use of *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 are worthy of note. Drawing attention to the verbal similarity between Hebrews 1:6a and Deuteronomy 6:10 and 11:29, Andriessen urges that Hebrews’ use of *πρωτότοκος* draws upon the fact that Israel is Yahweh’s

⁴¹Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 118.

⁴²Similarly, *ibid.*

⁴³Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 37.

firstborn son (Exod 4:22; cf. Num 11:12; Hos 2:1; 11:1, 3-4; Jer 31:9; Sir 17:17).⁴⁴ Also, the fact that the author of Hebrews seems to have mined all the component parts of Hebrews 1:6 from Deuteronomy gives increased credence to the suggestion that the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 draws upon the use of same term to designate Israel. Admittedly, Deuteronomy does not refer to Israel as *πρωτότοκος*. However, the idea that God had brought Israel into a special father-son relationship with himself is featured more than just a few times in Deuteronomy (see Deut 1:31; 8:5; 14:1). In Deuteronomy 32, which is commonly referred to as the song of Moses, God's adoption of Israel finds its most concentrated emphasis (see Deut 32:6, 9-11; cf. 32:5, 15, 18, 19-20). Moreover, Deuteronomy 32 (from where Heb 1:6b seems to have been drawn) includes multiple references to Israel as the elect one of the Lord (see Deut 32:9-10; 32:15; 32:19; 32:36; 32:43). It is thus to Israel as his firstborn (Exod 4:22-23) that God gave the promised land as an inheritance (Deut 32:8-14). So, since the author of Hebrews seems heavily dependent on Deuteronomy to formulate Hebrews 1:6 and since Israel is referred to as *πρωτότοκος* in the larger context of the narrative about the exodus (of which Deuteronomy is a part) it is possible to argue that the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 is reminiscent of God's designation of Israel within the context of the exodus from Egypt.

Furthermore, Hebrews alludes to the destruction of the *πρωτότοκα* of the Egyptians (Heb 11:28). This is significant because the destruction of the *πρωτότοκα* of the Egyptians is presented in the exodus narrative of the Pentateuch as an act of God intended to highlight the special status of Israel as God's *πρωτότοκος* for whose sake the *πρωτότοκα* of the Egyptians were struck (Exod 4:22-23; Num 3:12). Therefore, it seems better to affirm that both the exodus tradition and the Davidic prophecy in Psalm 88:28

⁴⁴Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 298. In the same vein, Burch argues that *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 derives from the Song of Moses and not psalm 89. See Vacher Burch, *The Epistle to the Hebrews; Its Sources and Message* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1936), 43-45. However, Burch's argument fails to do justice to the heavy emphasis on the Davidic theme in Heb 1.

LXX lie behind the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews.

Moreover, allowing for a dual background to the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 will help provide explanations for a few other observations: 1) Other words in Hebrews 1:6a are frequently repeated in OT exodus contexts in the Pentateuch, the latter prophets, (see tables 1, 2, and 3 below) and, albeit less frequently, the Psalter.⁴⁵ 2) While an allusion to Deuteronomy in Hebrews 1:6a allows for a more straightforward path from the OT to Hebrews, nothing demands that an allusion to Psalm 88:27-28 LXX be viewed as impossible. The fact that the latter allusion requires a move from 2 Samuel 7:14-15 to Psalm 88:27-28 LXX before to Hebrews is not reason enough to exclude the possibility that the Davidic prophecy could have also been on the author's mind as he penned *πρωτότοκος*. The above considerations invite readers of Hebrews to conceive of the term *πρωτότοκος* in Hebrews 1:6 as an allusion to both the designation of Israel in Exodus 4:22-23 and the Davidic prophecy in Psalm 88:27-28 LXX. If this conclusion is right, then it lends validity to my contention that Hebrews 1:6 is significant for a study on the new exodus in Hebrews.

Οἰκουμένη

The term *οἰκουμένη* occurs 49 times in the LXX. It is mostly employed as a substantive and this usage is especially common in the Psalter (where it occurs 17 times) and Isaiah (where it occurs 16 times).⁴⁶ Although a few different Hebrew words are rendered with *οἰκουμένη* the Hebrew word most commonly translated by *οἰκουμένη* is *תְּבֵל*.⁴⁷ While the overwhelming majority of the LXX occurrences of *οἰκουμένη* refer to

⁴⁵Psalm 77:54 LXX uses *εἰσηγάγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄριον ἀγίασματος αὐτοῦ* "He brought them to a territory of his holy precinct" to speak of God bringing Israel into the land (Ps. 77:54 LXX). Evidently this text is picking up the verbiage from previous exodus context (see Exod 15:17: *εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου, εἰς ἔτοιμον κατοικητήριόν σου*) especially since all of psalm 77 LXX is a salvation historical summary of God's work from the exodus in Egypt to the enthronement of David.

⁴⁶Moisés Silva, ed., *NIDNTE*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 3:476.

⁴⁷Ibid.

the inhabited parts of the earth a few instances in the Psalter seem to convey a meaning that is different from the habitual one. A brief analysis of the two contexts where deviations from the common meaning of *οἰκουμένη* seem apparent promises to shed light on the way the author of Hebrews employs the term in his letter.⁴⁸ Although previous scholarship on the background to Hebrews' use of *οἰκουμένη* has noted the benefit of such an analysis the analysis, has yet to be done in relationship to the new exodus.⁴⁹

In Psalm 92 LXX the psalmist refers to an unshakable *οἰκουμένη*. The end of verse one states that the Lord “ἐστερέωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἣτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται” “established the *οἰκουμένη*, which shall not be shaken.” The superscription of this Psalm gives a hint about the context in which the Psalm should be read: Εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, ὅτε κατώκισται ἡ γῆ, αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ “For the day before the Sabbath, when the land was first inhabited, the praise of a song by David.” It is worth noting here that one of the only two adjectival uses of *οἰκουμένη* in the LXX seems to have significance for the way the term is used here in Psalm 92. In Exodus 16:35 it is said that the children of Israel ate manna ἕως ἧλθον εἰς γῆν οἰκουμένην “until they came to an inhabited land.” Evidently, the inhabited land in Exodus 16:35 is Canaan, the land promised by God to the people of Israel. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Torah, and therefore Exodus 16:35, was available to the Psalmist who penned Psalm 92. If that is the case, then the qualification of *οἰκουμένη* with the future passive οὐ σαλευθήσεται in Psalm 92 nudges readers of the Psalm to draw at least two important conclusions. First,

⁴⁸Moffitt has argued for another use of *οἰκουμένη* with a referent other than inhabited earth in psalm 96:4 LXX. See Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 70–74. This observation is unpersuasive on at least two counts. First, the two strophes of the verse are parallel so that “the earth” and *οἰκουμένη* appear to be the same thing in that verse. Moffitt acknowledges this but seeks to explain it away. Second, other interpreters of same Ps 96 point out that the verbiage of the verse in question describes a theophany which is related in almost identical words in Ps 76:19 LXX (MT 77:18) where *οἰκουμένη* is clearly parallel to γῆ. See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, ed. Erich Zenger, Klaus Baltzer, and Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 474.

⁴⁹See Albert Vanhoye, “L’*οἰκουμένη* dans l’épître Aux Hébreux,” *Bib* 45, no. 2 (1964): 248–53.

there was for the psalmist, an οἰκουμένη into which God's people will enter at a future time. Second, the οἰκουμένη which the psalmist has in mind will surpass the γῆν οἰκουμένην of Exodus 16:35 in glory and durability since it is described as οὐ σαλευθήσεται. In other words, the γῆν οἰκουμένην of Exodus 16:35 was an adumbration of this coming οἰκουμένη. I will argue below that Christ has been brought into this οἰκουμένη in advance of those who are God's people in Christ. This future οἰκουμένη will be characterized by the Lord's reign (Ps 92:2) and by the holiness of the Lords' house going on forever (Ps 92:5).

Another intriguing use of οἰκουμένη is found in Psalm 95. In Psalm 95:9 the Psalmist calls out, "Worship the Lord in his holy court, be shaken (σαλευθήτω) before his presence all the earth." In verse 10 he says: εἶπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ γὰρ κατώρθωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται, κρινεῖ λαοὺς ἐν εὐθύτητι "Say among the heathen, 'The Lord reigns:' for even he has set up the οἰκουμένη which shall not be shaken. He will judge the peoples with uprightness." In verse 11 the Psalm moves on to call the heavens and the earth to rejoice over what is said in verse 10. Verse 11 also summons the sea and its fullness to be shaken (σαλευθήτω). It seems that the Psalmist meant to put the spotlight on the οἰκουμένη that cannot be shaken by sandwiching what he said about it between exhortations addressed to that which he commanded to be shaken (σαλευθήτω). So, verses 9 through 11 of Psalm 95 evince a movement from a discussion on that which can be shaken, and thus has been commanded to do so to that which the Lord has established and which cannot be shaken and back to that which is both shakable and should therefore shake. When this contrast is read in conjunction with the Psalm's title, its new exodus significance is even more plausible if not compelling. The superscription says, "Ὅτε ὁ οἶκος ᾠκοδομεῖτο μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ᾠδὴ τῷ Δαυιδ "When the house was built after the captivity, a song of David." In the mind of the Psalmist, neither the possession of γῆν οἰκουμένην spoken of in Exodus 16:35 nor a return from exile which was marked by the rebuilding of the temple, gave God's people the true

οἰκουμένη. There remains an οἰκουμένη established by God, which cannot be shaken and which I will attempt to show that Hebrews holds up as the place where the forerunner of God's new covenant people has entered ahead of them.

The comments made above on the terms πρωτότοκος and οἰκουμένην bring us to the point of giving close attention to the exodus tenor of Hebrews 1:6. I hope to show that discerning the allusions to the exodus tradition in this verse will demonstrate the author's use of the exodus category of "entry" (into the land) to describe Christ's exaltation to the right hand of the Father. Therefore, if my argument proves convincing, it should fortify rather than call to question the view that Hebrews 1:6 teaches the exaltation of Christ. After attending to the OT allusions in the first half of the verse I will move on to deal with the quotation in the second half.

Exodus Allusions in Hebrews 1:6a

Inner biblical allusions are a highly reliable indicator that a later biblical author was activating a theme taught and discussed in previously existing texts of the scriptures. On that premise this section will set forth the textual data from Hebrews 1:6 and the relevant OT texts which together seem to indicate an evocation of the exodus motif in Hebrews 1:6.

Εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν Γῆν versus Εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν Οἰκουμένην

The first phrase under consideration here is Hebrews' use of the verb εἰσάγω and the εἰς prepositional phrase. This particular construction turns out to be one of unignorable significance in certain OT texts where the exodus theme comes up. I will begin by considering how the said construction is employed in the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy. Subsequently I will look at the exodus significance of the same phrase in the latter prophets.

Εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν Γῆν in Exodus to Deuteronomy. The phrase *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* in Hebrews 1:6a harkens back to the exodus tradition in the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy. In fact, it would be safe to say that the high frequency of that phrase in the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy would have made it unmistakable as an allusion to the exodus tradition for a first century Jewish audience that had any familiarity with the Greek OT. God freely undertook to deliver the Israelites from Egypt and to bring them into the land which he described as a land flowing with milk and honey (see Exod 3:8; Lev 20:24; Deut 31:20). The promise to bring the Israelites into a land flowing with milk and honey is a constant drumbeat throughout the time from deliverance from Egypt to entry into Canaan. God aims by this repetition to assure the Israelites of his commitment to fulfill his promise and purpose to bring Israel into the promised land. In the repetition of this mantra the phrase *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν* appears and is used multiple times in contexts where the promise is mentioned. In fact, this phrase almost becomes a formula to be expected in such contexts. Without question, Hebrews introduces modifications into this phrase. I will argue below that these modifications capture the fact that the author of Hebrews views the bringing of Christ, the ultimate *πρωτότοκος*, into the ultimate *οἰκουμένη*, as a fulfillment of what was adumbrated in God's bringing of Israel into Canaan. Thus, the author of Hebrews seizes on this exodus phrase to talk about the exaltation of Christ. But to make sure that the unsurpassable grandeur of the new reality that he is seeking to express is not compromised, he modifies the language to that end. Therefore, *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν* becomes *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην*. The table below gives a picture of how pervasive the phrase *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν* is in the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy.

Table 1. Pentateuchal texts that speak of God bringing Israel into the land

Hebrews 1:6	Exodus Language
ὅταν δὲ πάλιν <i>εἰσαγάγη</i> τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς	Exod 3:8: . . . καὶ <i>εἰσαγαγεῖν</i> αὐτοὺς εἰς

τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει·

γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλήν, εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Ἀμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων καὶ Εὐαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων

Exod 6:8: καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἐξέτεινα τὴν χεῖρά μου δοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν αὐτὴν ἐν κλήρῳ· ἐγὼ κύριος

Exod 13:5: καὶ ἔσται ἡνίκα ἐὰν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Εὐαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων καὶ Ἀμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων, ἣν ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν σου δοῦναι σοι, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, καὶ ποιήσεις τὴν λατρείαν ταύτην ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ

Exod 13:11: καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν Χαναναίων, ὃν τρόπον ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν σου, καὶ δώσει σοι αὐτήν,

Exod 23:20: Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἠτοίμασά σοι.

Exod 33:3: καὶ εἰσάξω σε εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι· οὐ γὰρ μὴ συναναβῶ μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸ λαὸν σκληροτράχηλόν σε εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαναλώσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Lev 18:3: κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐν ἧ κατωκήσατε ἐπ' αὐτῆς, οὐ ποιήσετε καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Χανααν, εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ, οὐ ποιήσετε καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν οὐ πορεύσεσθε·

Lev 20:22: Καὶ φυλάξασθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά, καὶ οὐ μὴ προσοχθίσῃ ὑμῖν ἡ γῆ, εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς

Num 14:3: καὶ ἵνα τί κύριος εἰσάγει ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην πεσεῖν ἐν πολέμῳ; αἱ

γυναῖκες ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἔσονται εἰς διαρπαγὴν· νῦν οὖν βέλτιον ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀποστραφῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

Num 14:8: εἰ αἰρετίζει ἡμᾶς κύριος, **εἰσάξει** ἡμᾶς **εἰς τὴν γῆν** ταύτην καὶ δώσει αὐτὴν ἡμῖν, γῆ ἣτις ἐστὶν ρέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι.

Num 14:16: Παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κύριον **εἰσαγαγεῖν** τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, ἣν ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς, κατέστρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

Num 14:24: ὁ δὲ παῖς μου Χαλεβ, ὅτι ἐγενήθη πνεῦμα ἕτερον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπηκολούθησέν μοι, **εἰσάξω** αὐτὸν **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, **εἰς ἣν** εἰσῆλθεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ κληρονομήσει αὐτήν.

Num 14:31: καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἃ εἶπατε ἐν διαρπαγῇ ἔσεσθαι, **εἰσάξω** αὐτοὺς **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν **τὴν γῆν**, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἀπέστητε ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

Num 15:18: Λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ὑμᾶς **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, **εἰς ἣν** ἐγὼ **εἰσάγω** ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ,

Num 16:14: εἰ καὶ εἰς γῆν ρέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι **εἰσήγαγες** ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν κλῆρον ἀγροῦ καὶ ἀμπελώνας, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων ἂν ἐξέκοψας. οὐκ ἀναβαίνομεν.

Num 20:12: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν καὶ Ααρων· Ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε ἀγιάσαι με ἐναντίον υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ **εἰσάξετε** ὑμεῖς τὴν συναγωγὴν ταύτην **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, ἣν δέδωκα αὐτοῖς.

Deut 4:38: ἐξολεθρεῦσαι ἔθνη μεγάλα καὶ ἰσχυρότερα σου πρὸ προσώπου σου **εἰσαγαγεῖν** σε δοῦναί σοι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κληρονομεῖν, καθὼς ἔχεις σήμερον.

Deut 6:10: Καὶ ἔσται **ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ** σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου **εἰς τὴν γῆν**, ἣν ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν σου τῷ Αβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ δοῦναί σοι, πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ καλάς, ἃς οὐκ ὠκοδόμησας,

Deut 11:29: καὶ ἔσται **ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ** σε

κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν διαβαίνεις ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν, καὶ δώσεις τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπ' ὄρος Γαριζὶν καὶ τὴν κατάραν ἐπ' ὄρος Γαιβαλ.”

Deut 6:23: καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς δοῦναι ἡμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣν ὤμοσεν δοῦναι τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν.

Deut 7:1: Εὰν δὲ εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν εἰσπορεύῃ ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι, καὶ ἐξαρεῖ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἀπὸ προσώπου σου, τὸν Χετταῖον καὶ

Γεργεσαῖον καὶ Αμορραῖον καὶ Χαναναῖον καὶ Φερεζαῖον καὶ Ευαῖον καὶ Ιεβουσαῖον, ἑπτὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ὑμῶν,

Deut 8:7: ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰσάγει σε εἰς γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλήν, οὗ χεῖμαρροι ὑδάτων καὶ πηγαὶ ἀβύσσων ἐκπορευόμεναι διὰ τῶν πεδίων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων·

Deut 9:4: μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἐν τῷ ἐξαναλῶσαι κύριον τὸν θεόν σου τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα ἀπὸ προσώπου σου λέγων Διὰ τὰς δικαιοσύνας μου εἰσήγαγέν με κύριος κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ταύτην· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων κύριος ἐξολεθρεύσει αὐτοὺς πρὸ προσώπου σου.

Deut 26:9: καὶ εἰσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι·

Deut 31:20-21: εἰσάξω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν δοῦναι αὐτοῖς, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, καὶ φάγονται καὶ ἐμπλησθέντες κορήσουσιν· καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται ἐπὶ θεοὺς ἄλλοτρίους καὶ λατρεύσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παροξυνούσιν με καὶ διασκεδάσουσιν τὴν διαθήκην μου. 21 καὶ ἀντικαταστήσεται ἡ ὥδῃ αὕτη κατὰ πρόσωπον μαρτυροῦσα, οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιλησθῆ ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν, ὅσα ποιοῦσιν ὧδε σήμερον πρὸ τοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν με αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς

A few observations based on the table are in order here. First, Deuteronomy 6:10 and 11:29 are marked by linguistic overlap with Hebrews 1:6 that goes beyond just the verb and the prepositional phrase since both texts share the temporal particle ὅταν with Hebrews 1:6. Second, some verses that do not use ὅταν replace it with other particles (see ἐάν, Exod 13:5; Deut 7:1 and ὡς ἂν, Exod 13:11). Third, a consistent phraseology is used in Exodus through Deuteronomy to express God’s intent to bring the Israelites into the promised land and Hebrews 1:6 glows with a similar choice of words. This third observation bespeaks a deliberate allusion to exodus language by the author of Hebrews. More specifically, this verbal overlap between Hebrews 1:6a and pentateuchal texts expressing God’s intent to bring Israel into the promised land indicate a self-conscious appeal to the exodus category of entry (into the land) to express the exaltation of Christ in Hebrews 1:6.

Εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν Γῆν in the latter prophets: Retrospective uses. The latter prophets also used εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν; in some cases, to recall God’ bringing of Israel into the land after deliverance from Egypt (see table 2 below) and in others to express God’s commitment to bring Israel back into the land after the exile (see the next subhead and table 3 below).⁵⁰ In Jeremiah 2:4ff., God brings an indictment against Israel for her covenant unfaithfulness. He charges Israel for choosing to walk after emptiness and as a result becoming empty herself (Jer 2:5). The indictment goes on to state that Israel’s covenant disloyalty emanated from their failure to remember God’s work in the exodus from Egypt. In Jeremiah 2:6 God rehearses the major components of the exodus (motif) which Israel should have remembered or which they failed to say to themselves.⁵¹ The

⁵⁰I include Ps 77:54 LXX and Neh 9:23 in this section because these are the only two places I could find in books that belong in the last division of the Tanakh (the writings) where the exodus category of “entry” is alluded to in a way that is relevant to the argument being made here.

⁵¹Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 133, 138, 173, 187. The moral lapse which Moses had repeatedly exhorted the Israelites not to fall prey to (Deut

two main parts of the exodus motif mentioned in Jeremiah 2:6 are that God brought Israel up out of the land of the Egypt (deliverance), and that he led Israel through the wilderness (pilgrimage).

Jeremiah 2:7 highlights a third important component of the exodus motif namely, that God brought Israel into the fruitful land. Here Jeremiah uses words signifying “entry” as he looks back on what God did (see table 2 below). Furthermore, in Ezekiel 20, where God recounts many instances of Israel’s unfaithfulness, the threat which God made to destroy Israel in the wilderness and not bring them into the land is expressed with the characteristic phrase *μη εισαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν* (Ezek 20:15). The same is true when God states that he relented and did bring them into the land (Ezek 20:28). In Psalm 77 LXX, the Psalmist undertakes an extensive retelling of God’s faithfulness to Israel from deliverance in Egypt to the emergence of the davidic dynasty. He also talks about God bringing his forebears into the land and expresses this reality with the same verbiage as in the texts mentioned above (Ps 77:54).⁵² Similarly, when the returned exiles recount God’s work from the choosing of Abram up to the return from exile (Neh 9) their statement about God bringing Israel into Canaan from Egypt is expressed using the words *εισαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν* (see Neh 9:23).

Table 2. Prophetic texts that look back on entry into the land

Hebrews 1:6	Exodus Language
ὅταν δὲ πάλιν <i>εισαγάγη</i> τὸν πρωτότοκον <i>εἰς τὴν οἴκουμένην</i> , λέγει·	Jer 2:7: καὶ <i>εισήγαγον</i> ὑμᾶς <i>εἰς τὸν Κάρμηλον</i> ⁵³ τοῦ φαγεῖν ὑμᾶς τοὺς καρπούς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἰσήλθατε καὶ ἐμίνατε τὴν γῆν μου καὶ τὴν

4:9, 23; 6:12; 8:11, 14) had happened and so God’s word through Jeremiah indicts them for their failure.

⁵²Ps 77:54 uses *εἰς ὄριον ἀγιασματος* instead of *εἰς τὴν γῆν*. This change is probably due to the influence of a text like Exod 15:17. See my discussion on Isa 56:7 below.

⁵³*Κάρμηλον* is used at least two times in Jeremiah to render the phrases *לְהַכְרִיחַ אֶת-אֲרָץ* and *לְהַכְרִיחַ* which Jeremiah used to describe the promised land. See Jer 2:7 and 4:26.

	<p>κληρονομίαν μου ἔθεσθε εἰς βδέλυγμα. Ezek. 20:15: καὶ ἐγὼ ἐξῆρα τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸ παράπαν τοῦ μὴ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, κηρίον ἐστὶν παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, Ezek 20:28: καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἤρα τὴν χεῖρά μου τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶδον πᾶν βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ πᾶν ξύλον κατάσκιον καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐκεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἔταξαν ἐκεῖ ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ ἔσπεισαν ἐκεῖ σπονδὰς αὐτῶν. Ezek. 20:42: καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγὼ κύριος ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν με ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἤρα τὴν χεῖρά μου τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτὴν τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν. Ps 77:54: καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄριον ἀγιάσματος αὐτοῦ, ὄρος τοῦτο, ὃ ἐκτέησατο ἡ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ Neh 9:23: καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπλήθυνας ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἰσήγαγες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν εἶπας τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκκληρονόμησαν αὐτήν.</p>
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Εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν Γῆν in the Latter Prophets: Prospective Uses. Isaiah also spoke of God bringing Israel into the land. Strikingly enough, Isaiah’s reference to God bringing Israel into the land was not a retrospective look on what God did after the exodus from Egypt but a prospective look forward to what God was going to do after he rescues the remnant of his people from exile. So, Isaiah 56:8 states, “The Lord God who gathers the dispersed of Israel declares, ‘Yet others I will gather to them, to those already gathered.’” In the verse immediately preceding verse 8 the Lord states “Even those I will bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be acceptable on my altar; for my house will be called a house of prayer for all peoples” (Isa 56:7). In its immediate context, Isaiah 56:7 is

fundamentally promising that God will again bring Israel back into the land after the exile as he did in the first exodus.

Isaiah's reference to the promised land as God's holy mountain bears reminiscences of descriptions of the promised land present in the song which Moses and the people of Israel sang after their deliverance at the Red Sea. They referred to the promised land as God's "holy habitation" (Exod 15:13), "the mountain of [God's] inheritance" (Exod 15:17) "the place [of God's] dwelling" (Exod 15:17), "the sanctuary . . . which your hands have established" (Exod 15:17). David Pao has rightly stated that the emphasis on the condition of eunuchs in Isaiah 56 underlines the concern for the outcasts in the era of the reconstitution of the people of God.⁵⁴ He states, "The reconstituted Israel will not be merely a community that is restored to the previous state of its historic past; this community will be transformed into one in which every member will witness the mighty acts of God."⁵⁵ In the pre-exilic community one outstanding mighty act of God was his bringing of the delivered community into the promised land which is here referred to as God's holy hill. Since Isaiah is speaking of an "entry" into the land which is yet to happen, it is understandable why he used the future tense. Furthermore, since Isaiah seems to borrow references to the promised land from the song which Moses and the Israelites sang after their deliverance at the Red Sea, it is not surprising that he has εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου instead of εἰς τὴν γῆν (see table 3 below). In fact, Jeremiah followed Isaiah's lead, not only to anticipate God bringing his people back into the land after the exile but also to express this future reality with a slight change in the pentateuchal verbiage (see table 3 below). Ezekiel on his part used the very words of Moses (εἰς τὴν γῆν) to express God's promise to bring the remnant back into the land. Ezekiel changed

⁵⁴David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 121.

⁵⁵Ibid.

only the tense of the verb to give what he was saying a future orientation (see table 2.3). In other words, the latter prophets used very similar words (in some cases the exact same words as Moses) to express the bringing of the πρωτότοκος (see Exod 4:22) back into the land after the exile. The table below presents the data more graphically.

Table 3. Table 3. Prophetic texts that look forward to (re)entry into the land

Hebrews 1:6	Exodus Language
<p>ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἴκουμένην, λέγει·</p>	<p>Isa. 56:7: εἰσάξω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ εὐφρανῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῆς προσευχῆς μου, τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ θυσίαι αὐτῶν ἔσονται δεκταὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μου, ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Jer. 3:14: ἐπιστρέφητε, υἱοὶ ἀφεστηκότες, λέγει κύριος, διότι ἐγὼ κατακυριεύσω ὑμῶν καὶ λήμψομαι ὑμᾶς ἓνα ἐκ πόλεως καὶ δύο ἐκ πατριᾶς καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς Σιων Ezek. 34:13: καὶ ἐξάξω αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ συνάξω αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν καὶ εἰσάξω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ βοσκήσω αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐν ταῖς φάραγξιν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ κατοικίᾳ τῆς γῆς· Ezek. 36:24: καὶ λήμψομαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀθροίσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν γαιῶν καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν. Ezek. 37:12: διὰ τοῦτο προφήτευσον καὶ εἰπόν Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἀνοίγω ὑμῶν τὰ μνήματα καὶ ἀνάξω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, Ezek. 37:21: καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς Τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος Ἴδου ἐγὼ λαμβάνω πάντα οἶκον Ἰσραηλ ἐκ μέσου τῶν ἐθνῶν, οὓς εἰσήλθοσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ συνάξω αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν περικύκλω αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσάξω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ</p>

It is interesting to note that what the latter prophets said with regards to God bringing a remnant back into the promised land was not an innovation that was unique to their era. They were picking up on the prophetic promise that Moses had announced would be the sequel to God banishing Israel into captivity for her sin (see Deut 30:1-5). In fact, when Moses spoke of a new entry into the promised land, he simply changed the tense of the verb and maintained the standard phrase he was using to speak of the first entry. The Greek text of Deuteronomy 30:5 which speaks of the new entry reads, *καὶ εἰσάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ πατέρες σου, καὶ κληρονομήσεις αὐτήν, καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσει καὶ πλεοναστόν σε ποιήσει ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας σου.*

Therefore, there emerged in scripture a distinct way to express the exodus hope of God bringing his firstborn into a land of rest and abundance. Once again, the recurrence of the phrase considered above as an expression of the exodus category of “entry” (into the land) makes it very likely that its use in Hebrews 1:6 to express the exaltation of Christ is shaped by the exodus category of “entry.” To say it differently, both the author of Hebrews and his original readers would have understood God’s bringing of the *πρωτότοκος* into the world as the fulfillment of that which was foreshadowed in Israel’s entry into the land whether for first time after the deliverance from Egypt or for the second time after the return from exile.⁵⁶

⁵⁶The presence of this expression in portions of scripture written both with regard to the exodus from Egypt and the exodus from Babylon proves Shin’s point that “the new exodus results from merger of both the exodus from Egypt and the exodus from Babylon. Shin, *The New Exodus Motif in the Letter to the Hebrews*, 20. Shin further argues that the exodus from Egypt focuses on the paschal sacrifice to interpret the death of Jesus for deliverance and the exodus from Babylon introduces the promises of the prophets of a new covenant. I will however, suggest that there is more overlap between these two foreshadowings of the ultimate exodus because a look at the verbal expressions used to speak of this reality makes clear that the writers of Scripture saw a lot more continuity between the exodus from Egypt and the return from Babylon than Shin’s analysis seems to allow.

Additions/Modifications Introduced into the Allusion

The author of Hebrews does not reproduce the OT phrases that speak of entry into the Land for God's old covenant people. Rather he modifies the phrase to fit the purpose for which he alludes to this OT phrase. Such modifications are perfectly in keeping with the dawn of the last days. Here I highlight the modifications introduced by Hebrews and attempt an explanation for them.

The addition of Πάλιν. The adverb, *πάλιν*, is absent in the texts that I am arguing are being alluded to here in Hebrews 1:6. This modification is not insignificant. In fact, Hughes argues that a precise understanding of the texts cited in Hebrews 1 to prove the superiority of the Son over angels hinges to a considerable degree on how we interpret the adverb *πάλιν*.⁵⁷ I have already referred to the fact that some interpreters take this adverb as nothing but a link between the new quotation and the two preceding ones.⁵⁸ Most of those who follow this line of thinking argue that the alternative leads to saying that the author is referring to a second introduction which can be nothing other than the parousia.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, when one attends to the exodus allusions in the text it becomes at least plausible to affirm the former idea while rejecting the latter because the exodus allusions in the text help us to see a first introduction that rolls out the necessity for the parousia to be the second.⁶⁰

⁵⁷Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 57.

⁵⁸For example, Attridge, *Hebrews*, 55.

⁵⁹Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 10–11; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 55.

⁶⁰In Andriessen's contention for the exodus category of entry in Heb 1:6 he states "D'autres, considérant l'adverbe comme un renforcement de la conjonction adversative „ . . . δε πάλιν", traduisent „par contre. "Toutefois pour avoir ce sens, un autre πάλιν (celui du v. 5] ne peut évidemment pas précéder (voir Philon, Leg All 3, 29.31]. Plutôt que d'invoquer des hypothèses aussi controversables, il nous paraît plus opportun de prendre le texte dans son sens obvie et de traduire avec la plupart des commentateurs: "Mais lorsque de nouveau. . . Cette traduction se justifie en outre par l'analyse des deux autres particularités que l'auteur a introduit dans son texte, à savoir: la substitution du pronom σε par πρωτότοκος, et celle du nom „ γῆν par οἰκουμένη." See Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 297. Andriessen at least implies by his comment that just as the replacement of σε by πρωτότοκος and

To argue that *πάλιν* signifies a new introduction of the *πρωτότοκος* into the *οικουμένη* assumes a tighter syntactical relationship between this adverb and the verb immediately following it. One argument in favor of interpreting *πάλιν* as a mere connective between verse 6 and the preceding quotations (which I did not discuss under the three main views on 1:6 above) is that the second quotation of verse 5 is introduced by *καὶ πάλιν* making it parallel to *δὲ πάλιν* which introduces 1:6a. But this argument is quickly overturned by the fact that nothing hinders a single word from conveying different meanings in successive lines. In fact, Hebrews 4:5,7 exemplifies such a swing in the meaning of *πάλιν* in a space of very few lines (see also Matt 4:7, 8).⁶¹

Moffitt grants that *πάλιν* could be taken to modify the verb *εἰσαγάγη* but fails to take advantage of the exodus tenor of the verse to explain how *πάλιν* fits into the verse. Instead, he states, “If. . . the referent to *οἰκουμένη* were shown to be the heavenly realm, then the mention of the son’s entering *again* into the *οἰκουμένην* would more likely indicate his ascension back into heaven rather than his future return to earth.”⁶² Moffitt is right on his conclusion but his failure to take advantage of the new exodus tenor of Hebrews 1:6 weakens his argument.

To say that Hebrews 1:6a is a reference to the introduction, “again,” of the firstborn into the *οἰκουμένην* means that the first happened at a time prior to what is talked about in the text. This first “bringing” or introduction happened in the old covenant when the firstborn in the person of Israel was brought into the promised land. The second “bringing” of the firstborn happened (*πάλιν*) in the exaltation of Christ who was brought

γῆν by *οἰκουμένη* is motivated by the author’s view of Christ’s exaltation in light of the of the exodus so also is his addition of *πάλιν*.

⁶¹Bruce rightly points out that *δὲ* in the phrase *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν* need not be taken to be strongly adversative. Rather the theme of the quotation is the same as the preceding one, namely, the supremacy of Christ, which theme is here furthered in that it is set against the inferiority of angels. See Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 56.

⁶²Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 57. Italics original.

into his heavenly glory. In fact, the second bringing of the firstborn in the person of Christ into his heavenly glory was the fulfillment of what was only foreshadowed in the first. Israel's entry into the land was the shadow; Christ's exaltation into the οἰκουμένην is the reality. The next modification that the author of Hebrews introduces into the phrase seems to uphold the argument above. This is the replacement of σε, ὑμᾶς or αὐτοὺς with πρωτότοκος.

Πρωτότοκος instead of Σε/Υμᾶς/Αὐτοὺς. Taking πάλιν with εἰσαγάγη to say that the author is thinking of a second bringing of the firstborn is further buttressed by two modifications that the author of Hebrews introduces into the clause which he incorporates from the OT. The first is his substitution of πρωτότοκος for σε, ὑμᾶς or αὐτοὺς. By replacing σε, ὑμᾶς or αὐτοὺς, which stood for Israel in the above OT texts with πρωτότοκος, the author of Hebrews continues to show proof of self-consciously alluding to the language of God bringing Israel into the promised land. The view of the author of Hebrews is that Israel's entry into Canaan was not entry into God's οἰκουμένη. Rather it was a prefiguration of Christ's entry into his heavenly glory. In fact, Christ's entry is both antitypical and proleptic. It is antitypical because it fulfills what Israel's entry into the land of Canaan pointed forward to, and it is proleptic because it promises that all those who are in Christ will follow him into his glory. It is therefore not surprising that God has appointed a new today (Heb 3:13) so that as long as it is called today we should make every effort to enter into the divine rest after our pioneer or forerunner Jesus Christ.

Οἰκουμένην instead of Γῆν. The second significant modification is that in Hebrews' use of the phrase εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν γῆν the author replaces γῆν with οἰκουμένην. Lexically οἰκουμένην designates "habited land."⁶³ But the author of Hebrews loads up

⁶³See my discussion above under οἰκουμένην. Also Danker, Bauer, and Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 699; Vanhoye, "L'οἰκουμένην Dans l'ἐπίτορ Aux Hébreux," 248; Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 27; Koester, *Hebrews*, 193; Andriessen, "La Teneur

οἰκουμένη with an eschatological meaning because the finality of the second and ultimate *πρωτότοκος* is to be matched by the finality of the place into which he is brought. Thus, the elucidation drawn from heeding the exodus note struck here does not circumvent the helpful observation that the use of *οἰκουμένη* in 1:6 is to be understood in light of the usage of the term in 2:5. Rather it concurs with that observation and affirms that the author of Hebrews lifts *οἰκουμένη* onto an eschatological plane (see also Heb 2:5) when he uses it in his epistle. The typological connection between the *πρωτότοκος* of the old order and that of the new is matched by a typological connection between the old *οἰκουμένη* and the new.⁶⁴ The author of Hebrews exploits the standard vocabulary of the reality of entry into the land to speak of that which is the definitive reality, namely, the bringing of the eternal Son of God into heaven.

Summary and Conclusion

Up to this point, I have contended that the expression *εἰσαγάγη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* in Hebrews 1:6 refers to the exaltation of the Son into his heavenly world. I have equally argued that the author of Hebrews expresses this reality of the Son's exaltation as he does (Heb 1:6a) because he regards it as antitypical to God bringing Israel into the promised land. Furthermore, I have maintained that heeding the exodus allusions in Hebrews 1:6 helps explain the modifications and/or additions that the author introduces into the constructions from which he is drawing to forge the verse. Additionally, I have tried to show that giving heed to the exodus backdrop of the verse neither ignores nor injures a right understanding of the flow of the argument in Hebrews 1. Rather it adds depth and precision to it. This interpretation of Hebrews 1:6a fits in with

Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 299.

⁶⁴In Exod 16 :35 *οἰκουμένην* is used to qualify the land into which God was bringing the Israelites. The text says in the LXX *οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἔφαγον τὸ μαν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, ἕως ἦλθον εἰς γῆν οἰκουμένην· τὸ μαν ἐφάγασαν, ἕως παρεγένοντο εἰς μέρος τῆς Φοινίκης*. The author of Hebrews substantivizes this adjective and gives it an eschatological significance as he uses it to talk about the ultimate "land."

the general outlook of the Epistle to the Hebrews which constantly portrays the two main epochs of redemptive history in a way that upholds both continuity between the two and escalation that has happened because of the definitive person and work of Christ. Moses foresaw a second and final exodus and entry into the promised land (Deut 30:3, 5). The remnant that returned after the exile did not see what happened to them as the definitive deliverance that Moses and the prophets spoke of (Isa 56:7; Jer 3:14; Ezek 34:12; 36:24; 37:12; cf. Neh 9). So, it is no surprise that the author of Hebrews sees Christ's entry into glory as the fulfillment of what was pictured both in Israel's entry into Canaan under Joshua and her (re)entry after the exile. Having dealt with the new exodus import of the first half of Hebrews 1:6, I will now turn my attention to the second half of the verse.

What Event in Israel's Experience Parallels Hebrews' Call for Angels to Worship the *πρωτότοκος* of God?

Hebrews 1:6 teaches that when again God brought his firstborn into the world, he commanded all his angels to worship the Son. The question we must ask here is if the coincidence of the realities of entry and worship in the exaltation of the ultimate firstborn (as per Heb 1:6) has a parallel in the exodus tradition of the OT. If this question can be answered in the affirmative, then the case for an exodus background to Hebrews 1:6 gains even greater validity.

The citation in Hebrews 1:6b is found at the end of the song of Moses, which spans Deuteronomy 31:30 to 32:43.⁶⁵ What this means is that the two halves of Hebrews

⁶⁵Determining the source of the citation in Heb 1:6b is beset by at least two vexing problems. First, three texts compete as possible sources of the citation. These are Ps 96:7, Odes, 2:43, and Deut 32:43 LXX. Among scholars who land on Ps 96:7 as the source of the citation are Edward Fudge, *Hebrews: Ancient Encouragement for Believers Today* (Abilene, TX: Leafwood Publishers, 2009), 52; Thomas Kem Oberholtzer, "The Warning Passages in Hebrews Part 1: The Eschatological Salvation of Hebrews 1:5-2:5," *BSac* 145, no. 577 (1988): 86-87; G. J. Steyn, "A Quest for the Vorlage of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut 32) Quotations in Hebrews," *Neot* 34, no. 2 (2000): 263-68; deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*, 98; Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 28. Taking Deut 32:43 as the source is more popular in the literature than the other two possibilities. Adherents of this latter option include Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 66; Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 118-19; Donald Guthrie, *Hebrews: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1983), 78; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 57; Koester, *Hebrews*, 193; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 56-57; Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 105; Gareth Lee Cockerill, "Hebrews 1:6: Source and Significance," *BBR* 9 (1999): 51-64; Donald Alfred Hagner, *Hebrews* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1983), 17; Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 295; Allen,

1:6 are drawn from Deuteronomy but they do not occur together in Deuteronomy. The first half of the verse is drawn from the portion of Deuteronomy where Moses is giving some general stipulations to the Israelites (Deut 5-11), whereas the second half is drawn from one of the concluding chapters of the book.⁶⁶ A quick survey of the structure of Deuteronomy 32 to show the context from where the author of Hebrews quotes in Hebrews 1:6b is in order here.

The Structure of Deuteronomy 32

After a prose introduction to the poem (31:30) the song moves on through several sections. In the first section, Moses invokes witnesses (v. 1), expresses the desire for his teaching to be effective (v. 2) and announces his intention to proclaim the greatness of God (v. 3).⁶⁷ The next major move in the song is a praise to God (v. 4). The

Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews, 44–51; R. McL. Wilson, *Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 40; Albert Vanhoye, *The Letter to the Hebrews: A New Commentary*, trans. Leo Arnold (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), 63; Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux II*, 18; Peter Katz, “Quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews,” *ZNW* 49, no. 3/4 (1958): 217–19. Some scholars are agnostic about the question. So John Paul Heil, *Hebrews: Chiastic Structures and Audience Response* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2010), 39. Others have taken different positions in different publications. Guthrie argues for the source to be Ps 96:7 LXX. See George H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, The NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 67. But he chooses Odes as the source later. See George H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 932. Kistemaker on his part contends for Deuteronomy as the source. See Simon Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NTC (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), 39; but he opts for Odes later. See Simon J. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2010), 21. Allen has argued rather convincingly that Deut 32:43 is the source. See Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 44–51. I am assuming his conclusion here. There is yet another outstanding problem that makes a firm conclusion on the *Vorlage* of the citation in Hebrews 1:6b elusive. Deut 32:43 has a very involved text history. The MT omits the lines quoted in Hebrews. In the LXX the verse is expanded and has up to eight lines. Moreover, it is not easy to decide which and how many of these lines came from the pen of the original translator. The Hebrew text of Deut from Qumran (4QDeut 32:43) attests to one of the two lines quoted in Hebrews (line 2). Only three lines (5, 6, 8) are found in all three texts (LXX, 4QDt, MT) and there are even differences in the words used in all three texts. Furthermore, variant readings exist in lines that correspond between the LXX and 4QDeut texts. The complexity of the issue of the parent text represented in the citation in Heb 1:6b makes a firm conclusion difficult to arrive at. Those who have argued that 1) the atonement language of line 8 of the LXX text of Deut 32:43 is consonant with the dominant message of Hebrews and that 2) the broad context of Deut 32:43 dovetails with the christological thrust of Heb 1:6 and so adds weight to the choice of Deuteronomy 32:43 (LXX) as the source of the citation in Hebrews make a good case. See Bauckham, “Monotheism and Christology in Hebrews 1,” 179; Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 50–51.

⁶⁶For a compelling argument in favor of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, see Gleason L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1994), 116–26.

⁶⁷Helpful structural analyses of the song of Moses besides what is available in standard commentaries on Deuteronomy include Solomon A. Nigosian, “The Song of Moses (Dt 32): A Structural

song then charges the Israelites with corruption (vv. 5-6) and commands the listeners to remember the days of old (v. 7). Verses 8-14c recount the mighty acts of the Lord and 14d addresses the people directly in the second person. The people are again indicted in 15a-b and condemned in 15c. As if to contrast God's faithfulness recounted earlier, verses 15d to 17b recount Israel's unfaithfulness. Verses 17c to 18 again bring a condemnation against the people and verses 19 to 20a announce the Lord's punishment. The Lord's judgment will be marked by restraint to keep the adversaries from boasting that they are the ones who have triumphed (vv. 20b-29). In a rhetorical question, God makes the point that the victory of the enemies over his people was only because the Lord had given up his people to the enemies (v. 30). Verses 31-33 affirm the supremacy of the Lord over the god of the enemies of God's people. The next two verses declare that God's prerogative as judge will be executed quickly (vv. 33-34). However, this is a judgment mingled with mercy because the Lord will have compassion on his servants (v. 36). God then exposes the folly of the idolatry of his people (vv. 37-38) and reaffirms his prerogative and competence to judge his enemies (vv. 39-42). The song closes with a summons to praise the Lord (v. 43).

So, broadly speaking, the song rehearses the history of Israel, casts an eye to the future to look at the final victory over the enemy nations, and ends with an invitation to the inhabitants of heaven and earth to celebrate this victory. In the historical context, the Israelites were at the point of crossing the Jordan when Moses taught them this song (Deut 31: 19, 21, 22, 30). It was thus at that moment of the Lord going before Israel (Deut 31:3) to bring them into the land of Canaan that the angels were commanded to worship (Deut 32:43b cf. Heb 1:6b).⁶⁸ But it is not clear who the recipient of this worship

Analysis," *ETL* 72, no. 1 (April 1996): 5–22; Solomon A. Nigosian, "Linguistic Patterns of Deuteronomy 32," *Bib* 78, no. 2 (1997): 206–24; Matthew Thiessen, "The Form and Function of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:1-43)," *JBL* 123, no. 3 (September 2004): 401–24.

⁶⁸Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 302.

is. Determining who receives the worship in Deuteronomy 32:43 will help answer the broader question of whether there is an event in the experience of the *πρωτότοκος* of the old covenant that parallels the command for angels to worship the ultimate *πρωτότοκος*, Jesus Christ. In the following section I briefly consider this question with a view to see if the command to angels in Hebrews 1:6 has an antecedent in the life and experience of Israel.

Who Receives the Worship of Angels in Deuteronomy 32:43?

In attempting to answer the question above, I begin by tabulating the relationship between Hebrews 1:6b and Deuteronomy 32:43 to highlight the phraseological overlap that they share.⁶⁹

Table 4. Deuteronomy 32:43 LXX in hebrews 1:6

Hebrews 1:6b	Deuteronomy 32:43 (LXX)
Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.	1 εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, 2 καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ, 3 εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, 4 καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, 5 ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται, καὶ ἐκδικήσει 6 καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

⁶⁹For helpful and (in some cases) tabulated comparisons of the MT, the LXX and 4QDeut 32:43 witnesses of Deut 32:43, see Nigosian, “The Song of Moses (Dt 32),” 20–22; Steyn, “A Quest for the Vorlage of the ‘Song of Moses’ (Deut 32) Quotations in Hebrews,” 264–66; Cockerill, “Hebrews 1,” 53–60; Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 48.

	<p>7 και τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει, 8 και ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.</p>
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Grammatically the question can be asked, “what being does the pronoun αὐτῶ in lines 2 and 4 of Deuteronomy 32:43 in table 4 above point back to?” Does it refer to Yahweh who leads his people into the land or to the people themselves? No interpreter has argued for the latter interpretation. Rather it is commonly argued that Yahweh is the object of this worship. Earlier on in the song we read: ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ, και ἐγενήθη μερίς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακωβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραηλ. “When the Most High was separating nations, as he scattered the sons of Adam, he fixed the boundaries of nations according to the number of the angels of God and his people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, Israel a measured part of his inheritance” (Deut 32:8-9 LXX). According to this text, Yahweh reserved Israel for himself and every nation was put under the protection of a guardian angel, a prince (Deut 7:6; 14:2). Craigie gives voice to this suggestion when he observes,

The exact sense of the phrase [according to the number of the sons of God] is difficult to determine, but the reference seems to be to the divine council of the Lord. His council consisted of the “holy ones” . . . who are called “angels” in the LXX; the poetry indicates that the number of nations is related to the number of these Sons of God. Among all these nations, Israel was God’s particular portion and allotted inheritance (v. 9).⁷⁰

This suggestion allows for the possibility that in Deuteronomy 32:43 the nations with their angels are pictured to be bowing before Yahweh and before Israel at the time of the conquest of the land of Canaan. These nations thus acknowledged the unique status of Israel as God’s covenant people, made victorious by God’s grace (Deut

⁷⁰Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 379–80.

33:29). So, God and his people are not the object of worship one to the exclusion of the other. Rather what belongs to God can also refer here to the elect of God. But in praising Israel, she is only recognized as the instrument of God (see Isa 45:14; 49:23; Rev 3:9). The interpretation of ἀὐτῷ in lines 2 and 4 suggested above neither excludes nor is it antithetical to the view that Hebrews 1:6 applies to Christ a text, which the OT applied to God.⁷¹ On the contrary it helps to make clear that the author of Hebrews perceived more than just the fact that Jesus has the same identity as Yahweh. He also saw Jesus as the ultimate embodiment of that which Israel foreshadowed at the entry into the land. Israel was the *πρωτότοκος* who, nonetheless, completely lacked any innate worth as a recipient of worship but the one who was brought into the heavenly *οἰκουμένη* as the true *πρωτότοκος* qualifies to receive worship from all God's angels because his identity is inseparable from God's.

A Better Entry: Hebrews' Typological Perspective on Israel's Entry into the Land

Thus far, I have argued that, both in the allusion in Hebrews 1:6a and the quotation in 1:6b, the author of Hebrews appeals to the exodus motif and specifically to the exodus category of entry (into the land) to describe the Son's entry into his heavenly glory. Furthermore, the description given in 1:6 of the Son's entry into his heavenly glory reveals that Israel's entry into the promised land is best regarded as a typological forward pointer to the Son's entry into glory. In this regard, at least two typological strands come together in Hebrews 1:6 apropos of Israel's entry into Canaan as foreshadowing the ultimate entry of the ultimate firstborn of God into glory. First, the act of God in bringing the original *πρωτότοκος* into Canaan mirrored his act of bringing the true *πρωτότοκος* (the Son) into heaven. But the true *πρωτότοκος*, unlike the former, belongs with God in the class of beings who deserve to be worshipped. The *πρωτότοκος* of the old covenant,

⁷¹Andriessen, "La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2," 304.

Israel, was to be set free from Egypt so that she might worship Yahweh (see Exod 5:1; 8:1, 8, 20). But the true *πρωτότοκος* whom God has brought into heaven has the prerogative to be worshipped by angels. So here we have not only historical correspondence between the new *πρωτότοκος* and the one who was delivered from Egypt but also escalation or *Steigerung* expressed by the command for all God's angels to worship God's true Son. This makes clear that this ultimate *πρωτότοκος* is not merely human; he is also divine.

The typological correspondence and escalation present in the message of Hebrews 1:6 also involves the *οἰκουμένη* into which the *πρωτότοκος* is brought. Over against the *οἰκουμένη* into which the original *πρωτότοκος* was brought (an *οἰκουμένη* which was no more than part of the present creation) stands the second. The second *οἰκουμένη* is referred to as the world to come (Heb 2:5), the future homeland (Heb 11:14), the city to come (Heb 11:16; 13:14), the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22) and a kingdom that cannot be shaken (Heb 12:28). So, we again see that the fulfillment is greater than the foreshadowing. Escalation is seen not only in the nature of the true and greater *πρωτότοκος* but also in the glory and enduring nature of the *οἰκουμένη* into which he is brought.

The reading suggested here contradicts the view of Matthew Thiessen who claims that “throughout the letter [to the Hebrews], the author demonstrates that the land of promise was never actually possessed but only ever sojourned in, and thus all of Israel's history subsequent to the exodus belongs to the period of the wilderness wandering.”⁷² Thiessen's assessment fails to integrate convincingly all the relevant data regarding Israel's entry into the land from a biblical theological standpoint and therefore is to be rejected.⁷³

⁷²Matthew Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” *NovT* 49, no. 4 (2007): 353–69.

⁷³See my discussion under the “Omission of Joshua from Hebrews 11” for a fuller response to

If my argument up to this point is correct, then the author of Hebrews believed not only that the cultic institution of Israel was a copy and shadow of the heavenly things (Heb 8:5) but also that Israel and her entry into Canaan were a copy and shadow of the Son and his entry into heaven. So, Christ's entry into the *οἰκουμένη* is the climax and fulfillment of what God effected in the entry of Israel into Canaan. In fact, Israel's entry into Canaan is also promissory of the entry of believers into this eternal *οἰκουμένη* after Jesus their trailblazer.⁷⁴ If the above contention rests on firm ground, then it helps to prove that "entry" is one of the key exodus categories that the author of Hebrews employs to demonstrate that Christ's work and its application to believers is the fulfillment of the promised new exodus.

The foregoing part of this chapter has attended to the exodus category of entry in the book of Hebrews from the standpoint of Yahweh's faithfulness to bring Israel into the promised land. The next section will consider entry as an exodus category from the perspective of Israel's responsibility to march into and take possession of the promised land as an act of faith in God's promises.

Entry into God's Rest and the Exodus Category of "Entry": Hebrews 3:7-4:11

My argument in this section is that the exodus category of "entry" is a critical component of the discussion on rest in Hebrews 3:7-4:11. This is the case because the close association between entry into Canaan and entry into rest that is commonplace in the OT makes it plausible that entry into the land as experienced by the exodus generation is the background to what is said here in Hebrews. More importantly, there is at least a spatial component to the rest that is talked about in Hebrews 3-4 so that the result of not being hardened by the deceitfulness of sin is "entry" into a spatial

Thiessen.

⁷⁴Heil makes a similar argument in Heil, *Hebrews*, 39.

eschatological reality called “rest” at the coming of Christ. This rest into which the audience of Hebrews (and all Christians) must strive to *enter* is comparable to but far surpasses the entry of the exodus generation into Canaan. If the above claims are shown to be true, then their validity will help bolster my argument that the author of Hebrews uses the exodus category of “entry” to speak of the application of Christ’s work of redemption to new covenant believers.

A Brief Survey of the Land/Rest Association in the OT

The concept of rest is a prominent feature of the story of God’s deliverance of his people from Egypt to bring them to a land of their own in Canaan. The entry of Israel into the land of their inheritance was repeatedly associated with (or even referred to as) entry into rest (Deut 3:18-20; 12:9-10; 25:19; Josh 1:13, 15; 11:23; 21:43-44; 22:4). As the storyline of the Bible unfolds the concept of entry into God’s rest morphs, gains complexity and profundity and becomes more than entry into the promised land but never less.⁷⁵ It was hardly possible for an Israelite to believe that they were experiencing God’s rest while at the same time living outside of the promised land. It seems that this tight association of entry into God’s rest with entry into the promised land is the background from which the author of Hebrews draws to develop his discussion on rest in Hebrews 3:7-4:11.

God’s promise of rest was particularly significant to Israel especially in the incipient stages of that nation’s development. It was God’s presence leading the exodus generation (Exod 33:14; cf. Isa 63:14) as a vanguard that was going to procure this rest for the Israelites. The two and half tribes that settled east of the Jordan could return to their inheritance only after this rest had been given to the tribes who were crossing over

⁷⁵Erhard H. Gallos, “Katapausis and Sabbatismos in Hebrews 4” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2011), 140.

the Jordan (Deut 3:18-20; Josh 1:15) since the two and half tribes had received their own rest east of the Jordan. Several times, the narrator of Joshua indicates that Joshua's leadership led Israel into rest (see Josh 11:22-23; 21:43-45 [MT vv. 41-43]; 22:4; 23:1).

Evidently, however, Joshua obtained a transient rest (cf. Heb 4:8) and none of the kings in the monarchical period achieved lasting rest. While David is presented as having acquired "rest on every side" (2 Sam 7:1), the narrative makes sure to indicate that David's rest was only proleptic of the rest that God was going to give in the future (2 Sam 7:11). Even though David claimed that God had given him rest (1 Chr 22:18; 23:35), he maintained that the promise was tied to his son Solomon (1 Chr 22:9). This son of David (Solomon) thought that the fulfillment of the promise of rest happened in his day (1 Kgs 5:4 [MT v. 18]). As OT history unfolds, it is said of both Asa (2 Chr 14:6, 7 MT vv. 5, 6; 15:15) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:30) that God gave them rest from their enemies. However, the story of each of their reigns still relates wars that they had to face and cry out to God in desperation (see 2 Chr 14:9-15; 16:1-6; 20). The interludes of peace which they experienced, were ultimately short lived as the nation wound up in exile and never experienced the kind of rest that Deuteronomy 12 seems to have promised.

In Psalm 95:11, the Psalmist is clearly talking about different dimensions of rest: one that was forfeited by a previous generation and another that his generation was at risk of forfeiting. This clarification is important for a correct understanding of what the author of Hebrews is doing when he quotes Psalm 95:11 to warn his readers. At first sight it seems that the background to the Psalmist's mention of מְרִיבָה and מָסָה in Psalm 95 is either Exodus 17 or Numbers 20 or some combination of both texts. But there are significant textual setbacks in attempting to establish the background of Psalm 95:11 from these texts.⁷⁶ It is better to understand these twin terms as a reference to abstract

⁷⁶Dale F. Leschert, *Hermeneutical Foundations of Hebrews: A Study in the Validity of the Epistle's Interpretation of Some Core Citations from the Psalms* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), 154-59.

concepts (see Gen 13:8; Num 27:14). The noun מְסָה is used regarding abstract concepts in its plural form in Deuteronomy 4:34; 7:19 and 29:3 (MT vv 2), and in its construct form in Job 9:23.

The LXX translates מְרִיבָה and מְסָה in Psalm 95:8 as abstract concepts. In the LXX, מְרִיבָה is rendered with the Greek τῷ παραπικρασμῷ (the provocation). Other instances, however, where מְרִיבָה is used as a reference to a proper name receive a distinctive set of vocabulary. The LXX uses λοιδορήσις (reviling), for the name מְרִיבָה in Exodus 17:7, and it uses the related word λοιδορία as an abstract noun to explain the name's meaning. It consistently renders מַי מְרִיבָה (the waters of Meribah) as [το] ὕδωρ Ἀντιλογίας even though it uses the unrelated verb λοιδορέω to explain its meaning (Num 20:13; Deut 33:8). It thus seems that the LXX distinguishes מְרִיבָה in Psalm 95 from its use as a proper name in Exodus 17 and Numbers 20.

Regarding מְסָה in Psalm 95 (94 LXX), the LXX renders as πειρασμός (test, trial, or temptation). Here πειρασμός could be taken either way: either as a proper name or as an abstract noun. But the fact that πειρασμός is articular here strongly suggests that the noun is best taken as a reference to an abstract concept in this context.⁷⁷ This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that the same noun is anarthrous in Exodus 17:7 where it refers to a proper noun and articular in Deuteronomy 6:16 and 9:22 where the reference is to an abstract concept. From the flow of Psalm 95, we can determine that the event, which the Psalmist most likely had in mind, was Israel's refusal to enter the promised land in Numbers 14.⁷⁸ There must be a causal relationship between the people's sin in Psalm 95:8-9 and the oath barring them from entrance into rest in verse 11. This oath is best

⁷⁷Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, ed. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 289.

⁷⁸Without discounting the Num 13-14 background of Ps 95, Allen has argued that there is also a deuteronomic element to the background of this Psalm that must not be ignored. See David M. Allen, "More than Just Numbers: Deuteronomic Influence in Hebrews 3:7-4:11," *TynBul* 58, no. 1 (2007): 129–49.

taken as the one in Numbers 14:21-23 and 28-30, which forbade the Israelites entrance into the promised land (cf. Num 32:10, 12; Deut 1:34-35). The reason this seems more tenable is that one encounters difficulties looking to the two other possible texts that could be the source of Psalm 95's oath. The first is Exodus 17:1-7 but there is no oath in this text. The next is Numbers 20 but the chapter denies entrance into the land only to Moses and Aaron and not to the people. Also, the sin referred to in Psalm 95 is most likely the one in Numbers 14 because we do not have an account of the punishment of the sin in Exodus 17, and to identify the sin with Numbers 20 would be chronologically illogical.

The contention and testing which characterized Israel's refusal to enter the promised land in Numbers 14 makes it quite appropriate that the Psalmist should use the words מְרִיבָה and מִסָּה to describe that event, even though they were never associated with it as a proper name. In other words, Israel's refusal to enter the promised land was the final test that provoked God to pronounce a judgmental oath against Israel. It seems therefore that מְרִיבָה and מִסָּה in Psalm 95 fit their context better if they are taken as a reference to the abstract concepts of contention and testing that took place in Numbers 14 in connection with Israel's refusal to enter the promised land. This refusal then elicited the oath of Psalm 95:11, which should itself be read in terms of Numbers 14, which chronicles God's exclusion of the wilderness generation from the promised land.⁷⁹ It must, however, be observed that the Psalmist's mention of rest is not derived from Numbers 14:21-23 and 28-30.

Rest in Psalm 95:11 is most probably an allusion to Deuteronomy 12:9 which is part of a pericope spanning verses 5 through 14 and anticipating the entrance of the Israelites into the rest that the former generation had forfeited. This text shows that rest

⁷⁹P. E. Enns, "Creation and Re-Creation: Psalm 95 and Its Interpretation in Hebrews 3:1-4:13," *WTJ* 55, no. 2 (1993): 266.

included but was not limited to possession of the promised land (Deut 12:10): this rest was closely associated with worship at the place where Yahweh was going to make His name dwell (Deut 12:5, 6, 11, 13, 14; cf. 1 Kgs 8:56; Ps 132:8; Isa 66:1) and with the rejoicing of his people in his presence (Deut 12:7, 12). By stitching together an allusion to Deuteronomy 12 and the oath from Numbers 14:21-23 and 28-30, where the subject is exclusively about land, the Psalmist helps his hearers to see that entry into the land was a major part of the rest which God promised to the people he redeemed from Egypt. The way Hebrews picks up on the concept of rest seems to show that, for the writer of Hebrews, entry into God's rest for his audience is analogous to entry into the land for the wilderness generation. In other words, Hebrews leaves its readers expecting a final and spatial dimension of rest available for them at the end when all is said and done. I now turn my attention to the significance of the exodus category of entry in Hebrews' treatment of rest.⁸⁰

Land/Rest Association in Hebrews 3:7-4:11

Hebrews 3:7-4:11 draws upon the tight association between entry into the land of Canaan and entry into God's rest (see Deut 12:9-10 for example) and as a result the exodus category of entry gains prominence in this unit of the letter. Hebrews 4:3b-4 hints at the meaning of the rest (*κατάπαυσις*) promised to the addressees of the letter by juxtaposing the quotation from Psalm 95:11 with Genesis 2:2 which the author quotes from the LXX: "And God rested (*κατέπαυσεν*) on the seventh day from all his works" (Heb 4:4). The Hebrew text of Genesis 2:2 employs the word *בַּשְּׁבִיעִת* over against *מְנוּחָה* in Psalm 95.⁸¹ Although the writer of Hebrews, following the LXX, uses the cognates *κατάπαυσις* and *κατέπαύω* in both quotations, his contextual association of the rest

⁸⁰See below under "Land/Rest Association in Hebrews 3:7-4:11" for more on this.

⁸¹Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 73.

promised to his generation with God's rest at creation gives it sabbatical connotations that distinguish it from rest in Canaan.⁸² In verse five the author solidifies this new association by coupling the idea of God's creation rest together with a repeated quotation from Psalm 95:11.⁸³ He further distinguishes the rest of which he speaks from Canaan by specifically claiming that Joshua, who led the people of Israel into the promised land, did not procure that rest (Heb 4:8). Joshua definitely provided rest for the Israelites (see Josh 1:13, 15; 11:23; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1) but that rest did not exhaust the promise of rest that God had given. Joshua led the people into a proleptic fulfillment of the rest promise and that is why the author of Psalm 95 could activate this same promise to those living in the land many generations later (Heb 4:7). From the yet-to-be-fulfilled nature of the promise, the writer of Hebrews infers that there must yet remain a rest for the people of God.

Extending the previous analogy of verses 3 to 5, the author pinpoints the sabbatical character of God's post-creation rest as the distinctive feature of the promised rest; and he uses a new term for rest to incorporate this characteristic into his conclusion in verse 9: "There remains therefore a σαββατισμός (sabbath rest) for the people of God." By combining σαββατισμός with God's Sabbath rest in 4:3b-4, the author of Hebrews distinguishes the term from those uses of κατάπαυσις, which refer directly to rest in the land (Heb 3:11, 18). But the relationship between κατάπαυσις and σαββατισμός is not quite as straightforward. The author employs the verbal form, κατέπαυσεν, with reference to God's Sabbath rest in verse 4:4. In 4:9, where the author uses σαββατισμός, he essentially repeats the idea of verse 6a, where κατάπαυσιν is the antecedent of the pronoun αὐτήν. Verse 10 evinces yet another intriguing shift: the author substitutes the σαββατισμός of verse 9 for the expression κατάπαυσιν αὐτου (his [God's] rest). Evidently,

⁸²Cf. Jon Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest: The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3-4* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 305.

⁸³George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews.*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 71.

there is a calculated movement from *κατάπαυσις* to *σαββατισμός* and back to *κατάπαυσις* in a span of just five verses. The question then is this: does the author use *σαββατισμός* as a synonym of *κατάπαυσις* or is he signaling a change in the meaning of rest each time he uses any one of these words?

Κατάπαυσις and Σαββατισμός. The author of Hebrews uses the noun *κατάπαυσις* eight times (Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 10–11) and the verb *καταπαύω* three times.⁸⁴ Twice the verb is intransitive (Heb 4:4, 10) and once it is transitive (Heb 4:8). In Hebrews 4:9, he slips in the word *σαββατισμός* as another designation for rest. Undoubtedly, the frequency of occurrence of the noun *κατάπαυσις* and its cognate verb show that the meaning of rest in Hebrews hinges on this word more than on any other. Nevertheless, it falls to the reader to determine whether the author uses *σαββατισμός* as a synonym of *κατάπαυσις* or whether he is signaling a change in the meaning of rest by the change in terminology. Laansma has convincingly shown that *σαββατισμός* is not synonymous with *κατάπαυσις*. Rather, *κατάπαυσις* has a spatial reference and *σαββατισμός* explains what takes place in the *κατάπαυσις*, i.e. a sabbath celebration.⁸⁵

Evidently, Hebrews' discussion of rest as it applies to its audience has a very eschatological orientation but it clearly does not lose its spatial nature.⁸⁶ In Hebrews 3:7–19, where the author highlights the failure of the exodus generation to enter rest, the author uses *κατάπαυσις* mainly as a designation for the promised land. But his affirmation that Joshua did not give rest, albeit he possessed the promised land (Heb 4:8), patently

⁸⁴*κατάπαυσις* occurs again only in Acts 7:49 in the whole NT.

⁸⁵Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 276–300.

⁸⁶Thomas Kem Oberholtzer, “The Warning Passages in Hebrews Part 2: The Kingdom Rest in Hebrews 3:1-4:13,” *BSac* 145, no. 578 (1988): 196. Scholars debate whether the rest spoken of in Hebrews is only present, only future or both. See K. K. Yeo, “The Meaning and Usage of the Theology of ‘Rest’ (Katapausis and Sabbatismos in Hebrews 3:7-4:13),” *AJT* 5, no. 1 (1991): 2–33; for a view of rest as exclusively present; George W MacRae, “Heavenly Temple and Eschatology in the Letter to the Hebrews,” *Semeia* 12 (1978): 179–99 for a hybrid view; Stanley D Toussaint, “The Eschatology of the Warning Passages in the Book of Hebrews,” *GTJ* 3, no. 1 (1982): 67–80 for a futuristic view.

shows that the promise of rest had more to it than just the occupation of the land of Canaan. As he applies the promise to his readers, he notes that believers presently enter into rest (Heb 4:3), but he expected the fullest experience of the promise to be realized in the future (Heb 4:6, 9, 10).⁸⁷ It seems that the author's instruction on and command to strive to enter rest are most effective when viewed in terms of *entry* into a future, spatial reality.⁸⁸ In that sense the exodus category of entry is a critical instructional and hortatory tool for the author in Hebrews 3:7-4:11.⁸⁹ If the OT survey on rest and the discourse on rest in Hebrews 3:7-4:11 discussed above have legitimacy then it is warranted to say that the author of Hebrews appealed to the exodus category of "entry" (into the land) to craft this portion of his letter. The next and last section of this chapter will attempt to provide an explanation for the layout of Hebrews 11 from a consideration of the influence of the exodus category of entry on the structure of the chapter.

Hebrews 11 and the Exodus Category of 'Entry'

Most commentators have observed that Hebrews 11 evinces a significant shift in content after verse 30 and that the omission of Joshua from the list of heroes is surprising. Scholars have made a number of attempts to explain these observations but not many have considered these aforementioned features of the chapter in light of the exodus category of "entry." In this section I will attempt to show that the author's use of "entry" into the land as a significant exodus category promises a plausible explanation for both observations.

⁸⁷Leschert, *Hermeneutical Foundations of Hebrews*, 137.

⁸⁸Ounsworth makes repeated references to the fact that entry into Canaan fulfilled the original promise of rest but the ultimate fulfillment was yet future. See Richard Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 55–97.

⁸⁹Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 146–49.

Shift away from Details after 11:30

My argument in this section is that an element of the layout of Hebrews 11 shows that entry into the land for the exodus generation is analogous to being made perfect for the readers of the Epistle to Hebrews. In other words, the author of Hebrews crafts chapter 11 in such a way that the exodus category of “entry” serves as a tool to give instruction on the consummation of salvation for new covenant community members. This is seen in the fact that the hall of faith in Hebrews 11 comes to a “climax” at the capture of Jericho (Heb 11:30) because the exodus goal of entry (into the land) has essentially been reached.⁹⁰ After this point, the heroes of faith are mostly only mentioned by name with little to no commentary. In fact, the author even moves away from the preface *πίσται* (save at Heb 11:33) which he has used all along before and up to this point to introduce new heroes.⁹¹ In an attempt to explain this observation, Eisenbaum has suggested that in Hebrews 11, “God’s promises, which in biblical history are traditionally nationalistic—promises for land, temple and monarchy—are depicted as not having been fulfilled in order that a new ending might be grafted onto the story: the heavenly rest now attainable because of Christ (Heb. 4:6-11).”⁹² On his part Thiessen explains the breakdown of chronology after 11:30 by positing that “chronology ceases to be a matter of concern because time has, in effect, been frozen so that no matter what a hero does, Israel’s story is still stuck in the time of the exodus/wilderness wanderings.”⁹³ The weakness in the arguments of both Eisenbaum and Thiessen is that they read Hebrews 4:8

⁹⁰Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 146–49.

⁹¹Heb 11 is a literary unit that lies inside an *inclusio* marked by the first and the last verse. The chapter opens with a description of the nature of faith (vv. 1-3) and moves into heroes of faith who lived before the flood (vv. 4-7). It then talks about the faith of Abraham and Sarah (vv. 8-12) and speaks of a city built with God’s own hands (vv. 13-16). The chapter then picks up on the faith of the patriarchs (vv. 17-22), talks about the faith of Moses (vv. 23-28), discusses the exodus and entry into the land (vv. 29-31), lists other examples of faith (vv. 32-38) and closes with a promise of perfection purposed by God for all who have walked by faith (vv. 39-40).

⁹²Pamela Michelle Eisenbaum, *The Jewish Heroes of Christian History: Hebrews 11 in Literary Context* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 188.

⁹³Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” 365.

in a very literalistic way and so fail to integrate it with the rest of the storyline of the Bible.⁹⁴ Walker has rightly suggested that Hebrews' argument in chapter 11 regarding land is that "God's people need to look beyond the present."⁹⁵ However, Walker's claim that the list of examples of faith illustrates that faithful living does not depend on residence in the land unhelpfully diminishes the place and function of the land motif in Hebrews and biblical history in general. Allen's analysis seems to rest on firmer ground on this question. He has argued (in response to Walker) that the mention of the fall of Jericho in Hebrews 11:30 can serve to make up for any underemphasis upon the land later in the chapter.⁹⁶ In which case, he reasons, *καὶ τί ἔτι λέγω* would be indicative of the climax of what has gone before in the chapter.⁹⁷ All the heroes named after Hebrews 11:30 are people whose lives of faith happened in the land and because the goal of entry into the land had been achieved there was no need to give explanations about the specific

⁹⁴Ounsworth has stated that he is basically in agreement with Thiessen that Joshua is absent from the list because he failed to lead Israel out of exile—they remained in a state of exile even if not geographically exiled. But even Ounsworth concedes that Joshua's failure is a partial one because "chapters 3-4 clearly show that the geographical possession of the land of Canaan was not of no value, but rather was of value precisely as a type of the possession of the true rest of God." Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 123. It should be noted here also that Ounsworth's view of the New Testament use of the old differs markedly from what I am advocating here. He avers that "discussion of the use of the Old Testament in the New has tended to be dominated by the question of authorial intention. . . . I suggest that our plausible audience is less likely to hear verbal cues pointing to some overarching literary structure and more likely to find itself immersed in a re-telling of the story of Israel's Heilsgeschichte. Thus, less emphasis should be placed on identifying verbal parallels between our text and some book of the OT, leading to the suggestion that this or that allusion evokes, for example, 'a deuteronomic' or an 'Isaian New Exodus' context; rather, we will investigate how Hebrews offers a fresh understanding of the broad sweep of the story of the Old Testament, and of particular significant moments in it." Ibid., 4. However, even if Ounsworth's argument for what the audience could have heard is granted it is also true that an audience which was accustomed to hearing the LXX read to them will hear LXX phrases read out of a letter sent to them and make connections between what they heard in the letter and what they had been hearing from LXX readings. More importantly it seems to me that letting an author's phraseology determine suggestions on specific OT themes that an NT author is evoking provides textual controls and warrant for interpretive decisions. For a carefully written article on this question see G. K. Beale, "Positive Answer to the Question 'Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Text?' An Examination of the Presuppositions of Jesus' and the Apostles' Exegetical Method," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1994), 387-404.

⁹⁵P. W. L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspectives on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 211.

⁹⁶Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 153.

⁹⁷Ibid.

acts of faith that these post-entry heroes undertook. Certainly, Hebrews does not say that entry into the land was the complete fulfillment of God's promise (see Heb 4:8; 11:39-40). Nevertheless, the author highlights the significance of entry into Canaan in a way that gives it pivotal and forward-pointing significance for the new people of God.

Westcott, who has suggested that the fall of Jericho typologically speaks of the triumph of the church,⁹⁸ has been rightly criticized by Allen for overstating his case.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Westcott's suggestion issues from the recognition that entry into the land is climactic in the exodus journey. After entry into the land is achieved and "Israel's pilgrimage to their goal is partially complete, the grounds for appeal to historical precedent are no longer pertinent."¹⁰⁰ In other words, the author of Hebrews structures chapter 11 to teach his readers that just as Yahweh was faithful to help the exodus generation to enter into the land, so also "YHWH/Christ can be . . . trusted to bring them to the culmination of the journey (see Heb 6:17-18; 10:23)."¹⁰¹ Thus, the layout of Hebrews 11 draws upon Israel's entry into the Land in a way that fits in with the exhortations to the addressees to strive to enter the rest of a heavenly *οἰκουμένη* after their *ἀρχηγός*. In fact, the text of Hebrews 11:30 bears features that lend support to the suggestion that entry into the land is viewed by the author as a climax. The verse omits a human subject: contrary to what one would have expected, Joshua who is the most instrumental human in the overthrow of Jericho, is omitted. The text uses *τὰ τεῖχη Ἰεριχῶ* as the subject of the both the main verb and participle. With the use of this inanimate subject "Joshua. . . fades into the background: what matters here is that God's people are

⁹⁸Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 375.

⁹⁹Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 154.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

taking possession of the land which God had promised.”¹⁰² As Allen affirms,

the chapter. . . recognizes the accessibility of the promised goal—with the fall of Jericho and entry into the land, the destination is reached, albeit in a subsequent generation. The historical precedent of the entry is evidence that the pilgrimage of the faith is not in vain and, although Heb. 11:39-40 locates perfection beyond the heroic, earthly life, the goal of Canaan entry prefigures the ultimate perfection that awaits the faithful community.¹⁰³

If the above analysis on the structure of Hebrews 11 is on target, then it serves to add weight to my contention that “entry” into the land as an exodus category is a tool that the author of Hebrews seizes upon (as part of his use of the exodus motif) to explicate the application of the work of Christ to believers. The omission of Joshua from the hall of faith is yet another intriguing feature of Hebrews 11. The following section briefly attends to this matter.

The Omission of Joshua from Hebrews 11

Joshua was a stellar enough figure in Israel’s journey to and entry into the promised land that his being omitted from a list of examples of heroes of faith like Hebrews 11 should awaken interpretive curiosity. Here I suggest that the omission of Joshua from the hall of faith is due to the author’s interest to make clear that the fall of the walls of Jericho (which was essentially entry into the land) was (broadly speaking) the climax of the exodus journey, just as being made perfect will be the climax of the journey for his audience.

My proposal in this section is antithetical to the contention of Matthew Thiessen. He has argued that “The theme of the continuing exodus of Israel in Hebrews also explains the puzzling absence of Joshua from the list of heroes. Since the author has already stated that Joshua did not lead the people into the promised rest, how could he

¹⁰²Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 620.

¹⁰³Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews*, 155.

then use him as an example of faith?”¹⁰⁴ Thiessen comes to this conclusion because he claims that the author of Hebrews uses Psalm 95 to demonstrate that Israel never entered into God’s promised rest and the exodus continued at least until the time of David.¹⁰⁵ He further contends that through the author’s emphasis on *σήμερον* he contemporizes the warning of Psalm 95 for his readers, thereby showing them that they are in danger of hardening their hearts. He then concludes, “The fact that it can still be called ‘today’ means that the exodus never ended, and that rest can still be obtained.”¹⁰⁶ Thiessen’s claim that the author had to omit Joshua from the hall of faith because he had previously stated that Joshua failed to lead Israel into rest assumes that in saying Joshua did not give Israel rest (Heb 4:8), Hebrews charges Joshua with faithlessness. However, the evidence proves the contrary. First, Thiessen’s conclusion that Joshua could not be used as an example of faith because he failed to give Israel rest overlooks a critical detail in Hebrews 3:7-4:11. This detail concerns the author’s reason(s) as to why the exodus generation failed to enter God’s rest. The author unequivocally states that God referred to the exodus generation as one that was always going astray in their hearts (Heb 3:10) and one that did not know God’s ways (Heb 3:10). This generation, the author says, was a generation of those who were disobedient (Heb 3:18) and who finally failed to enter God’s rest *δι’ ἀπιστίαν* (Heb 3:19).¹⁰⁷ However, the author doesn’t give even a hint of such a critique against Joshua. He simply states that Joshua did not give Israel rest (Heb 4:9). Comparing the statement about Joshua and the repeated indictment against the

¹⁰⁴Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” 365.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 358.

¹⁰⁶Thiessen, “Hebrews and the End of the Exodus,” 358. In this section, I develop my argument by framing it as a rejoinder to Thiessen.

¹⁰⁷Randall C. Gleason, “The Old Testament Background of Rest in Hebrews 3:7-4:11,” *BSac* 157, no. 627 (July 2000): 288–89 vigorously argues that the exodus generation was a redeemed people who had exercised faith. Most interpreters, however, believe the contrary. See, for example, O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 152–55.

wilderness generation for their faithlessness should lead to the conclusion that if Joshua was a bad example of faith, as Thiessen claims, the author should have made that explicit. However, since he doesn't charge Joshua with unbelief, it is better to conclude that "Joshua did not give them rest" is not an indictment against Joshua for lack of faith. Rather, it is a statement about the inability of the physical promised land to furnish the full rest that God purposed for his people. Second, Thiessen's interpretation pits the author of Hebrews against the rest of OT witness in a way that is unpersuasive.¹⁰⁸ Moses portrays Joshua as one of the only two of the spies whose espionage report was shaped by faith in Yahweh (Num 14:29-30; 27:18; 32:10-13) and who as a result did not die in the wilderness with the generation that left Egypt (Num 26:64-65; 32:12). Joshua is even given the favor of entering the land rather than Moses (Deut 1:37-38). He was the one chosen to lead Israel to inherit the land that Moses was shown (Deut 3:28) and so Moses encouraged him to that end. Furthermore, Moses laid his hands on Joshua so that he was filled with the spirit of wisdom (Deut 34:9).

Apart from Moses' portrayal of Joshua, the rest of biblical witness consistently holds Joshua up as a man of faith. Joshua received the promise that he would be exalted in the eyes of the people so that the people would know that as God was with Moses so he was with Joshua (Josh 3:7) and God made good on that promise (Josh 4:14; 6:27). Joshua also instituted the rite of circumcision for the new generation (Josh 5:1-8) and received a blessing from the Lord for it (Josh 5:9). He also experienced a theophany like Moses' (Josh 5:14; cf. Exod 3:1-6). Additionally, he pronounced an imprecatory oath against Jericho (Josh 6:26) which came to fulfillment later in Israel's history (2 Kgs 23:8). He was deeply zealous for the Lord's Name (Josh 7:9; cf. 1 Kgs 19:10). As was the

¹⁰⁸Thiessen claims that the author of Hebrews provides an alternative reading of Joshua's life that appears to be in opposition to the biblical account of Israel's history. Thiessen, "Hebrews and the End of the Exodus," 356. The following section rehearses that history to show that reinterpreting the biblical witness as Thiessen claims would have turned off the audience of Hebrews and defeated the very purpose of the epistle.

pattern of his life, he approached the Achan episode with great faith (Josh 7). A miracle as extraordinary as the sun delaying to set so Israel could avenge herself on her enemies was done by the hand of Joshua (Josh 10:12-13). In fact, this miracle stands out as an incident in which the Lord obeyed the voice of a man (Josh 10:14).

In addition, there are many brilliant summary statements about Joshua (Josh 10:28, 30, 33, 40-42; 11:15, 16, 21, 23; 19:49, 51). As he was commanded (Josh 1:8) so Joshua clung to the law of the Lord (Josh 8:30, 34-35; 24:1-2, 19, 21-26, 28-29, 31). Except in the act of entering into a covenant with the Gibeonites (Josh 9, see especially 9:14-15), the OT witness about Joshua consistently portrays him as an outstanding example of faith. So, to suggest that the author of Hebrews (who by his use of the OT in his letter proves himself as an excellent student of the OT) did not consider Joshua a good example of faith flies in the face of significant OT data. Such a radical rereading of the OT on the part of the author of Hebrews would have turned off the original audience of the letter. Furthermore, such an approach to OT Scriptures would jeopardize the very aim of the letter: to show that the events and institutions of the OT pointed forward to and came to fulfillment in Jesus and so the addressees must not fall away from Jesus.

Third, the only other mention of Joshua in the NT (Acts 7:45) concurs with the account of the book of Joshua that Israel under Joshua did enter into the land and entry into the land is regarded as entry into rest in the OT (Deut 12:9-10, Josh 1:13, 15). Therefore, data from both the letter to the Hebrews and rest of scripture contradict the claim that “Joshua did not give Israel rest” means Joshua was unqualified as an example of faith.

It is more likely, then, that the switch to an inanimate subject (namely τὰ τεῖχη Ἰεριχῶ) at verse 30 of Hebrews 11, where Joshua’s name would have been most suited as the subject (see Heb 11:30), is because the fall of the walls of Jericho represents entry into the land. In other words, the switch from the expected Joshua to τὰ τεῖχη Ἰεριχῶ reflects the author’s keen interest in highlighting the climactic significance of entry into

the land which to the author is a picture of the future perfection that God has prepared for the audience of the letter. If the explanation for the omission of Joshua in Hebrews 11 proposed above is valid, then it helps to highlight the important role of the exodus category of “entry” in the epistle to the Hebrews. It helps to show that just as entry into the land was climactic for the exodus generation so will perfection be for the recipients of the letter and they must therefore not fall away.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to show that the author of Hebrews employs the exodus category of “entry” to an extent that is significant enough to warrant careful attention. I have argued that in Hebrews, the exodus category of “entry” has significance both for the explication of what Christ has accomplished for believers and for showing how that accomplishment applies to the said believers. I have pointed out that the exaltation view represents the best reading of Hebrews 1:6 not only because it more convincingly accounts for all the data that is germane to the verse, but also because its particular phraseology captures an exodus tenor that excludes the incarnation and parousia as possible meanings of the verse. I have also contended that the close association of entry into rest and entry into the land in the OT most probably served as the background to the author’s thought and teaching on rest in Hebrews chapters 3-4. More importantly I have suggested that both the author’s argument and OT background of the association of rest and land point to the conclusion that there remains a spatial component of rest that God’s people must strive to enter at the close of the age. Therefore, I have argued, the author uses the exodus category of “entry” to unpack the way in which the redemptive accomplishment of Christ applies to new covenant believers. Finally, I have suggested that by attending to Hebrews’ use of the exodus category of “entry” we can forge a helpful explanation for the structure of Hebrews 11. In this regard, I have maintained that owing to the importance that the author of Hebrews

attaches to entry into the land as an aspect of the exodus motif chapter 11 takes on a significant change in structure after the author mentions the fall of the walls of Jericho at verse 30. After this verse, the names of the heroes of faith are not accompanied by descriptions of each person's act(s) of faith because the prime goal of the exodus, namely entry into the land, had been attained. I have also contended that it is for the same reason of highlighting the importance of entry into the land that the author omits Joshua from the list of heroes of faith in chapter 11, preferring an inanimate subject at verse 30 where Joshua should have been the most fitting human subject. This he does in order to put entry into the land in sharp focus since this was the goal of the exodus. I have posited that by so highlighting the significance of entry into the land the author helps his readers to see that entry into the land for the exodus generation is a historical analogue for the perfection awaiting the recipients of the letter who must hold the confession of their hope firm until the end. In the next chapter, I focus on showing that another exodus category which serves the author's argument in Hebrews is ἀρχηγός.

CHAPTER 3

JESUS THE APXHΓOΣ WHO LEADS MANY SONS TO GLORY

Introduction

Many scholars have studied the ἀρχηγός theme in the epistle to the Hebrews and have produced profitable works on the subject.¹ However, the ἀρχηγός theme has yet to receive sustained attention as an exodus category in the book of Hebrews. I hope that this chapter will contribute a helpful depth to our understanding of the concept of ἀρχηγός as it relates to the exodus motif in the epistle to the Hebrews. Recognizing that the term ἀρχηγός is only sparsely used in the NT (twice in Acts [see 3:15; 5:31] and twice in Hebrews [2:10; 12:2]), I am arguing that the term takes on considerable new exodus significance in the epistle to the Hebrews.

My thesis in this chapter is that the epithets ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας and τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν have their fountainhead in the OT tradition of the exodus and aim to bolster the confidence of the readers of Hebrews by depicting them as God's new people whose leader, Jesus Christ, has accomplished or fulfilled the promised new exodus. In other words, Hebrews' references to Jesus as the ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας and as τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν arise from the OT theme that Israel is a people specially led by God and

¹See Gary E. O'Neal, "Bringing Many Sons to Glory: The Ἀρχηγός Motif in the Letter to Hebrews" (PhD diss., Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013); George Johnston, "Christ as Archegos," *NTS* 27, no. 03 (1981); Julius J. Scott, "Archēgos: The Salvation History of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JETS* 29, no. 1 (March 1986): 47–54; Paul-Gerhard Müller, *Christos Archēgos: Der Religionsgeschichtliche und Theologische Hintergrund einer Neutestamentlichen Christusprädikation* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1973); Christopher A. Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfector of Faith: Jesus' Faith as the Climax of Israel's History in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 95–99; R. J. McKelvey, *Pioneer and Priest: Jesus Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 20–34, 171–86; Jeremy Miselbrook, "A Portrait of Christ the Hero in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (PhD diss., Loyola University, 2012).

these references aim to strengthen the faith of the readers by portraying Jesus as the new leader of God's new exodus people. If this thesis is convincingly substantiated, it will lend validity to the main thrust of this research which is that the author of Hebrews uses exodus categories (including "forerunner" which I argue below is roughly synonymous with ἀρχηγός) to present the work of Christ as the fulfillment of the promised new exodus.

To demonstrate the above claim, I will begin by surveying the LXX background of the concept and term ἀρχηγός. This survey will help to establish the OT meanings and connotations of ἀρχηγός and therefore facilitate a reflection on the exodus significance of the term. I will also briefly consider the uses of ἀρχηγός in the NT outside Hebrews. I will then proceed to study the two instances of the use of the term in Hebrews and will close with a reflection on the new exodus significance of the ἀρχηγός theme as it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Ἀρχηγός in the LXX and NT

The LXX features an intriguing distribution of the frequency of the term ἀρχηγός. Some books make absolutely no reference to the term and yet others use it quite frequently. In the study below, I proceed according to the major divisions of the Hebrew OT in order to paint a picture of the frequency of occurrence of this term. In the NT, however, the term is only used four times in two books as will be shown below.

Ἀρχηγός in the LXX

The original readers of the letter to the Hebrews would not have been baffled by the term ἀρχηγός. Although it does not occur in the Greek translation of such books as Genesis, Leviticus, Joshua, Samuel, Kings and others, it is present in 14 books of the Greek OT (these 14 include 1 Esdras, Judith and 1 Maccabees) where it commonly

designates the leaders of the Jewish nation.² The word occurs some thirty-two times in Rhalf's LXX.³ The Hebrew word most commonly translated ἀρχηγός is שׂר which literally means head. Other Hebrew words less frequently rendered ἀρχηγός are אִשִּׁי, אֶלְוִי, קָצִין, שׂר, פְּרָע, פְּאָה. As indicated above, the following subsections analyze the use of ἀρχηγός in the three main divisions of the Hebrew OT.

Ἀρχηγός in the Law. Ἀρχηγός is used nine times in the law and every single occurrence of the word refers to a human leader, generally a tribal leader of the nation (Exod 6:14; Num 10:4; 13:2-3; 14:4; 16:2; 24:17; 25:4; Deut 33:21). The LXX translator of Numbers renders the phrase לְרֹאשֵׁי אֲלֵפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, which means the “heads of the tribes of Israel,” by the Greek ἀρχηγοί Ἰσραηλ (Num 10:4).⁴ Ἀρχηγός refers to heads of the fathers' houses in Exodus 6:14. In Numbers 13:2 and 13:3 the word denotes the spies whom Moses sent to scout the promised land. In Numbers 14:4 the same word refers to a leader who could lead the Israelites back to Egypt. The 250 men who rose up in rebellion against Moses are designated ἀρχηγοί συναγωγῆς in Numbers 16:2.

Numbers 24 chronicles Balaam's third and fourth oracles. In verse 17 he declares that a star will come from Jacob with a scepter and will crush the ἀρχηγούς of Moab. The royal authority and power of rulers in the ancient near east were often highlighted by them crushing their opponents' skulls with their scepters.⁵ So it is very possible that the LXX translator chose ἀρχηγός to designate the rulers of Moab in order to highlight the supremacy and invincibility of the ruler who will arise from Jacob. Thus, as a warrior king, this ruler from Jacob will use his scepter to crush the skulls the ἀρχηγοί of

²E. K. Simpson, “The Vocabulary of the Epistle to the Hebrews 1,” *EQ* 18, no. 1 (January 1946): 35–36; Moisés Silva, ed., *NIDNTTE*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 414.

³Swete's edition of the LXX evinces nearly identical agreement with Rhalf's. The few disparities in the two will be pointed out in the course of the following word study.

⁴The same phrase is rendered χιλιάρχοι in Numbers 1:16.

⁵R. Dennis Cole, *Numbers*, NAC (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2000), 426–27.

Moab (Num 24:17). After Israel’s sin at Shittim, God gave very stern instructions to Moses (Num 25:4), commanding him to λαβὲ πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγούς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίσον αὐτοὺς κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὀργὴ θυμοῦ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραηλ “Take all the chiefs of the people, and make them an example for the Lord in the face of the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned away from Israel.” The specific group that is here referred to as πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγούς τοῦ λαοῦ is unclear.⁶ It is, however, clear that those on whom this judgment was to be meted out were leaders. The last occurrence of ἀρχηγός in the law is in Deuteronomy 33:21, where it once again refers to human leaders of the people of Israel.

Ἀρχηγός in the Former and Latter Prophets. In Judges 5 Deborah hails the people for giving themselves unreservedly to fight and win the victory against Sisera. The poem opens in Judges 5:2 with the words Ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς ἐν Ἰσραηλ “when chiefs take the lead in Israel.” The sense of this opening phrase is that the leaders of Israel spearheaded the fight against Sisera. This interpretation fits with the next phrase in Judges 5:2b where the people are said to have offered themselves willingly [to fight].⁷ Isaiah 3 announces a future judgment that God was going to bring upon Judah; a judgment that was going to strip the nation of all qualified national leaders. The scarcity of qualified and competent leaders is envisioned to be acute enough that just possessing a cloak would be sufficient qualification for someone to become a leader. Verse 6 of the LXX refers to this potential leader as ἀρχηγός. However, this “prospective candidate for leadership” declines the position protesting that he will not be their ἀρχηγός (Isa 3:7). In

⁶Cole, *Numbers*, 438–39.

⁷Swete’s edition of the LXX differs from Rhalf’s with regards to the term ἀρχηγός in that Swete’s edition uses ἀρχηγός in Judges 5:15; 9:44; 11:6, 11 but Rhalf’s edition only uses ἀρχηγός once (in 5:2) and in this verse Swete does not use ἀρχηγός. For more on the textual questions of Judges see Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 73–129. It is important to note here that this difference between Swete and Rhalf does not alter the observation I make in the conclusion of this study, namely that, there is a preponderance of the instances where ἀρχηγός is used to designate leaders.

Isaiah 30 God chides Judah for contracting an evil alliance with Pharaoh. In verse four God avers that Judah’s alliance with Pharaoh will become their shame “because there are leaders in Tanis, evil messengers” “ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελοι πονηροί.” In this text ἀρχηγοί clearly speaks of leadership. Through Jeremiah, God, sharply rebukes the people of Judah, describing their covenant disloyalty as spiritual adultery. He notes that in their self-deception, they still claim God to be πατέρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς παρθενίας σου “the father and friend of [their] youth” (Jer 3:4). The exact significance of ἀρχηγός in this text is a little ambiguous. This ambiguity is reflected in the fact that ἀρχηγός in this text is rendered “originator” by the translator of Jeremiah in the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) but it is rendered “guide” by the translators of an older English translation of the LXX called The Septuagint Bible. Given that the translator of Jeremiah uses ἀρχηγός to render the Hebrew מְנַחֵם in this text and that ἀρχηγός is parallel to πατήρ in the verse, the meaning “leader” seems preferable. In Micah, the prophet enjoins the nation to lament because of an impending judgment (Mic 1:8-16). Micah chastises the city of Lachish because the transgression found in the northern kingdom started in Lachish and then infected the whole nation. The LXX rendering of what the prophet says about Lachish in Micah 1:13 is ἀρχηγὸς ἁμαρτίας αὐτὴ ἐστὶν τῆ θυγατρὶ Σιων “she is the originator of sin for the daughter of Zion.” We see then that while the meaning ‘leader’ is well attested in the prophets, there are a few instances where ἀρχηγός clearly means founder or originator. It is equally worth noting that in Micah 1:13 where the best meaning for ἀρχηγός seems to be “founder” or “originator” the sense “leader” doesn’t seem to be in view. This is because Micah 1:13 is the only place in the OT where ἀρχηγός is used to render the Hebrew תְּחִלָּתָא whose primary meaning is “beginning.”⁸

⁸W. Edward. Glenny, *Micah: A Commentary Based on Micah in Codex Vaticanus*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 58.

Ἄρχηγός in the Writings. In the writings, ἀρχηγός occurs in just three books, namely, Lamentations, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The only occurrence of the word in Lamentations (see Lam 2:10) is quite an intriguing one. The calamity that befell Jerusalem left everyone in sorrow not excluding the young virgins who were sitting in sackcloth with dust upon their heads, and κατήγαγον εἰς γῆν ἀρχηγούς, “bringing down their heads to the ground.” What is remarkable here is that the same Hebrew word (פָּסַח) is first translated κεφαλὴ in the middle portion of the verse but the second occurrence of פָּסַח in the last portion of the verse is rendered ἀρχηγός. The translator of Lamentations clearly judged that פָּסַח has a different significance in the middle of the verse than it does in the latter portion hence the switch from κεφαλὴ to ἀρχηγός. Ἄρχηγός is used to denote officers of the army in Nehemiah (Neh 2:9) and it is equally employed to speak of “heads of fathers houses” (Neh 7:70, 71). Leaders of the Levites and Asaph—himself a leader—are both referred to as ἀρχηγός (Neh 11:16, 17). In Chronicles the designation ἀρχηγοὶ may have been chosen as part of the chronicler’s efforts to help assure the returned exiles that they were heirs to God’s great promises of the past. In this post-exilic period of the nation’s history, the people need a sense of belonging and continuity with their fathers who had been sent into exile. So, the use of the title ἀρχηγος with tribal or clan leadership associations could well be part of the chronicler’s strategy to indicate that his readers were the posterity of the nation that had tribal heads and scouts called ἀρχηγοί (see Num 13:2-3). First Chronicles 5:24 seems to hint at this as the ἀρχηγοὶ are chiefs of families; individuals described as skilled warriors, men of reputation. 1 Chronicles 12:21 lists seven leaders of Manasseh and designates them ἀρχηγοὶ. Also, in 1 Chronicles 26:26 military leaders are called ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς δυνάμεως.

In 2 Chronicles 23 the nation experiences something of a counter *coup d’etat* orchestrated by Jehoiada, the high priest. He plotted to overthrow Athaliah’s usurpation of royal power in Judah and reinstate the Davidic dynasty on the throne. According to verse one, Jehoiada made a covenant with commanders of hundreds. The word used here

for these commanders is τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους. When the plan is accomplished, Jehoiada ordered the same commanders to seize and kill Athaliah. Interestingly, these commanders are now described as “leaders of the army,” τοῖς ἀρχηγοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως (2 Chr 23:14).

We can thus say that the OT regularly uses the term ἀρχηγός to denote people in leadership positions of some sort. Such individuals could be leaders in the military or political sphere. However, this is not the only meaning associated with ἀρχηγός in the OT. Very occasionally the term is used to designate an individual who originates or begins something. The usage of ἀρχηγός in the OT as described above helps to form an initial impression of what this term might have communicated to the first readers of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Ἀρχηγός in the Apocrypha. There are four instances of ἀρχηγός in the apocrypha books of the LXX. In 1 Maccabees 9:54-61 the Greek general, Bacchides, returns to Rome after a failed military campaign against the Jewish army leader, Jonathan. Some Jews who sided with Rome invited Bacchides to return, because they thought he would be able to capture Jonathan and his army. The plan was leaked to Jonathan’s army which captured and killed fifty of these men. These supporters of Bacchides are called τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τῆς κακίας, “the leaders of the evil.” First Maccabees 10:47 describes Alexandar as preferred by the Jews over Demetrius ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἀρχηγὸς λόγων εἰρηνικῶν, “because he was the source of peaceful words to them.” In Judith 14:2, the ἀρχηγός is a leader in a battle against the Assyrian army. Finally, 1 Esdras 5:1 calls heads of the fathers' households, ἀρχηγοί.

Summary. To summarize the data above I will say that in the LXX, the term ἀρχηγός is most commonly used to designate leaders.⁹ These are usually individuals

⁹Gerhard Delling, “Ἀρχω, Ἀρχή, Ἀπαρχή, Ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρχηγός, Ἀρχων,” in *TDNT*, ed. Geoffrey Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 487.

wielding leadership authority either in the political or military arena. So, if an author's use and understanding of the term ἀρχηγός is significantly shaped by the way the term is used in the LXX, we should expect that leadership will be the dominant category in their minds when they use or hear the word. We must, however, note the remarkable deviation from this meaning that is represented by Micah 1:13 where the sense "founder" or "originator" is more fitting. As mentioned above, the Hebrew word translated ἀρχηγός in Micah 1:13 generally means "beginning" and not "leader." It would therefore be safe to assume that the latter sense is not what the translator of Micah intended to communicate when he used ἀρχηγός. First Maccabees 9:61 seems to take advantage of both meanings of ἀρχηγός when it says the conspirators led the attempt to do evil and yet clearly shows that these individuals masterminded and originated the plot (vv. 58-60).

In light of the above, we can draw three main conclusions: first, the LXX occasionally uses the word ἀρχηγός to mean "founder" or "originator." Second, the LXX also infrequently uses ἀρχηγός with a double meaning. This is true only for the use of the term in an apocrypha LXX book. Third, basic to the use of the word ἀρχηγός in the LXX is the idea of leadership. This basic sense of ἀρχηγός is important to bear in mind as we explore the new exodus significance of this term in the epistle to the Hebrews because the case for ἀρχηγός as a new exodus category in Hebrews stands or falls by the primary sense of the word in the letter.

Having finished a survey of the OT background to the key word ἀρχηγός, I will now proceed to a quick consideration of the way the term is used in the NT outside the book of Hebrews. This is important to do because it will help show if another NT author had an understanding of the term that compares to the way the author of Hebrews seems to employ it. This brief study of the use of ἀρχηγός in the NT outside the book of Hebrews will be the final preliminary consideration before an exegetical analysis of the two texts in the epistle to the Hebrews (Heb 2:10; 12:2) where ἀρχηγός is employed.

NT uses of ἀρχηγός outside Hebrews

Ἀρχηγός is a very uncommon word in the NT. Other than the two times it occurs in Hebrews (see Heb 2:10 and 12:2) its only other uses are in the book of Acts where it occurs only twice and both in Peter's sermons. In Acts 3, Peter heals a lame man who was asking for alms at the gate of the temple (Acts 3:2). The healing occasioned no small amazement from the crowds that were gathered (Acts 3:10, 11). Peter quickly took advantage of the crowd's astonishment to explain that the lame man was not made to walk by their power and piety (Acts 3:12). Rather, Peter pointed out that, this miracle happened on the basis of faith in Jesus' name (Acts 3:16). To further elucidate who this Jesus is, Peter said he (Jesus) is "the Holy and Righteous One . . . the ἀρχηγός of life, the one whom God raised from the dead" (Acts 3:14-15). Many interpreters take ἀρχηγός in Acts 3:15 to mean "originator" or "author."¹⁰ Johnston's observation that "source" or "originator" is preferred by commentators remains true.¹¹ Others, however, opt for the sense "leader."¹² Still others argue that both meanings of "originator" and "leader" are present here.¹³ It seems that the unique significance of the resurrection which Peter emphasizes in the second half of the verse makes "source" or "originator" more preferable as the meaning of ἀρχηγός in this verse. Nevertheless, there may still be connotations of leadership included here as well.

The second occurrence of ἀρχηγός shows up in Peter's address to the Sanhedrin in Acts 5. On this occasion Peter declared that God "exalted [Jesus] to His right hand as ἀρχηγός and a Savior, to grant repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins"

¹⁰Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 171; Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), 210; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, ICCHSNT (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 1:198; I. Howard Marshall, *Acts: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 98; David Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 175–76.

¹¹Johnston, "Christ as Archegos," 382.

¹²Paul G. Müller, "Ἀρχηγός," in *EDNT*, ed. Horst Robert Balz and Gerhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 163–64.

¹³John B. Polhill, *Acts*, NAC (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1992), 132.

(Acts 5:31). The context of Acts 5:31-32, especially the emphasis on the resurrection and the exaltation of Christ (see my explanation above for Acts 3:15), suggests that ἀρχηγός has the meaning of ‘founder’/‘originator.’ This coincides with the sense of ἀρχηγός of life in Acts 3:15. Therefore, the sense of ἀρχηγός, as we have the word in Acts, seems to follow in the same vein as the usage in Micah 1:13 where the sense is ‘originator.’ In other words, Luke’s usage of ἀρχηγός deviates from an emphasis on leadership (even though this does not necessarily imply that he completely excludes the idea of leadership in his use of the word). With the word study exercise finished, I will now move on into the exegetical analysis of Hebrews 2:10 and 12:2 which each employ our key term ἀρχηγός.

Exegetical Survey of Hebrews 2:10

In this exegetical survey I begin by laying out the immediate literary context of Hebrews 2:10 and then proceed into making observations that bear on the meaning of the term ἀρχηγός. This will be followed by a critique of two alternative interpretations of the term put forward by other interpreters of Hebrews.

Literary Context

The literary context immediately preceding Hebrews 2:10 lays out an extensive argument for the superiority of the Son of God over angels (Heb 1). This is followed in the first four verses of chapter two by an exhortation to the readers. The writer urges that because God has spoken in this new age of salvation by his Son, who is superior to angels, the readers must pay much closer attention to the Son’s message (Heb 2:1). He warns that failure to attend carefully to the Son’s message will result in drifting away from this message into a peril much worse than what was faced by transgressors of the word that was spoken through angels (Heb 2:2-4).

Hebrews 2:10, where ἀρχηγός occurs for the first time in the epistle, is part of a unit that deals with the incarnate Son of God and his suffering (Heb 2:5-18). Verses five

through nine of this chapter teach that Jesus is exalted above angels because of his death. These verses consider the Son in light of Psalm 8. This psalm is itself an extensive commentary on Genesis 1:26-28 which reports the creation of man in the image of God as male and female. The dominion that was entrusted to man over the created order was greatly hindered and undermined by the fall. However, the portrait of man in Psalm 8 is marked by glory, splendor and authority. The author of Hebrews draws upon this Psalm to show that man's forfeiture of his God-given dominion over creation as a result of the fall was not the end of the story. Through his solidarity with humanity and his work of redemption, the Son of God has secured this dominion. The humiliation of Jesus, whereby he was made lower than angels, and died as a man, procured the glory and honor with which he is crowned (Heb 2:7-9). The exaltation of Jesus inaugurated the restoration of the lost dominion of Genesis 1:26-28 whose restoration is envisioned in Psalm 8. This is made clear by the fact that the latter part of Hebrews 2:8 says, "now we do not yet see all things subjected to him" (Heb 2:8c). As Psalm 8 anticipated a future fulfillment of the vision of man's glory and dominion, even so Hebrews 2:8 anticipates a future consummation of the fulfillment. The full and complete restoration of the dominion that Adam lost at the fall is yet future and will be fulfilled when Christ's redemptive work is complete.

The second segment of Hebrews 2:5-18 spans verses 10 to 18. It is in this unit that the phrase ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας occurs. The emphasis on the solidarity of the Son with the sons in this section is hard to miss. The author states that in "bringing many sons to glory" God saw fit to perfect the ἀρχηγός of their salvation through suffering (Heb 2:10).¹⁴ He further maintains that "he who sanctifies and those who are sanctified are all

¹⁴To the author, leading many sons to glory is another way of talking about the salvation of these sons since the author uses the concept of salvation and glory interchangeably in context: Jesus who is ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας of the many sons fulfills God's purpose of leading these sons to glory. So Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (NY: Doubleday, 2001), 228.

from one, for which reason he is not ashamed to call them brothers” (Heb 2:11). To the author, Christ “himself likewise also partook of [blood and flesh]” because that is the nature of the children (Heb 2:14). Indeed, the Son “had to be made like his brethren in all things” (Heb 2:17). The author’s emphasis on solidarity between the Son and the sons is loud and clear.

Another main idea that is threaded throughout 2:10-18 is the fact that Jesus is the faithful high priest who made propitiation for the sins of his followers (Heb 2:17-18). The Son’s complete identification with his brothers made it possible for him to, by his suffering and death, become the merciful and faithful high priest who made propitiation for the sins of his brothers.¹⁵ Because of his suffering the Son is able to help his brothers when they are tempted.

After setting the literary context of Hebrews 2:10, the next thing is to inquire how the idea that Jesus is the *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας* fits into and functions in this unit. In the next subsection, I will attempt to answer that question by giving exegetical attention to Hebrews 2:10 as well as interact with views on the designation of Jesus as the *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας* which differ from what I am affirming.

Perfecting the *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας* through suffering

In Hebrews 2:10 the author states, “Ἐπρεπεὶν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι “For it was fitting for him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory, to perfect the *ἀρχηγός* of their salvation through sufferings.” Evidently the claim that “it was fitting for him” further elucidates the preceding assertion that Jesus tasted death for all. In fact, this verse defines who the ‘all’ in verse 9 refers to. The ‘all’ in verse 9 refers to the many sons of verse

¹⁵I am using “brothers” generically.

10.¹⁶

Ἔπρεπεν carries the sense of something that is fitting, seemly or suitable.¹⁷ The suffering and death of Jesus as the means by which God brings many sons to glory harmonize with the nature and character of God. In the words of Westcott, this act of God “corresponds with the truest conception which man can form of the divine nature.”¹⁸ The fittingness of the means by which God chose to perfect the ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας of his many sons is highlighted by the qualifier that God is the one δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα.¹⁹ Up until this point in the epistle the author has emphasized the unique status of Jesus as the Son of God (Heb 1:2, 4-5, 6). But here in 2:10 he clearly makes the point that God does not only exalt his unique Son, he also aims to bring many sons to glory.²⁰ God’s intent to bring many sons to glory is achieved by perfecting the Son through suffering. Here the author introduces the ἀρχηγός theme by saying that this Son, who is perfected through suffering is the ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας for the many sons whom God is bringing (ἀγαγόντα) to glory. Two things are worthy of a commentary here. The first is the term ἀρχηγός and the second is the syntactical function of the participle ἀγαγόντα.

From the word study presented above, it has been shown that, except when there are compelling contextual indicators to the contrary, the noun ἀρχηγός primarily evokes notions associated with leadership. So, it is safe to assume that there is at least an emphasis on the leadership role that Jesus plays as the ἀρχηγός of the many sons and daughters whom God is bringing to glory. Now, it is true that ἀρχηγός is derived from the

¹⁶William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 55.

¹⁷Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, and William F. Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 861.

¹⁸Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 49.

¹⁹Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, BTCP (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 2015), 95.

²⁰O’Neal, “Bringing Many Sons to Glory,” 75–76.

noun ἀρχή meaning beginning or origin.²¹ Based on this etymological fact and the fact that in a few instances in the LXX ἀρχηγός means founder or originator, it can be argued that the meaning “originator/founder” is equally legitimate here. That is not to be discounted. However, the presence of the participle, ἀγαγόντα seems to intimate that the idea of origin is not dominant here.²² Regarding the participle ἀγαγόντα it is worth observing that its ‘subject’ is not immediately obvious. This ambiguity has occasioned a dissent in opinion among interpreters. Some construe the participle as an adjectival modifier of ἀρχηγός since it accords with ἀρχηγός in case, gender and number.²³ If this is correct, then God perfects Christ, the ἀρχηγός, who then brings many sons to glory.²⁴ However, the more natural reading seems to be to connect the participle, ἀγαγόντα, with God since he is the implied subject of the infinitive τελειῶσαι “to perfect, complete.” As Lane argues, “The participle. . . agrees with the unexpressed subject of the infinitive τελειῶσαι, “to make perfect,” i. e., God.”²⁵ In bringing many sons to glory God made their ἀρχηγός perfect through suffering. Peterson makes the same point when he says, “the accusative participle ἀγαγόντα is best explained as agreeing with the unexpressed subject of the infinitive.”²⁶ This latter view further commends itself by the fact that it convincingly explains how αὐτῶν fits into the construction over against the former one

²¹Silva, *NIDNTTE*, 1:412–18.

²²McKelvey, *Pioneer and Priest*, 21. Also Koester, *Hebrews*, 228.

²³Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Irving L. Sandberg (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 143–144.

²⁴Koester analyzes this reading in a similar way and rejects it. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 227.

²⁵Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 56.

²⁶David Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: An Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the “Epistle to the Hebrews”* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 56. Vanhoye concurs with this when he states, “En fait, le contexte ne suggère nullement ici d’établir un rapport d’antériorité temporelle entre l’action de ‘conduire’ les fils et celle de ‘rendre parfait’ le Christ. Les deux verbes sont à l’aoriste. Rien n’empêche de le considérer comme simultanés. C’est en menant le Christ à travers les souffrances que Dieu ouvre à ses fils un chemin vers la gloire. Ce sens est rendu nécessaire par le titre donné ici au Christ: il est l’archègos, c’est-à-dire le chef qui passe le premier, le pionnier qui trace la voie.” See Albert Vanhoye, *Situation Du Christ: Hébreux 1-2*. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1969), 309.

which makes *αὐτῶν* pleonastic.²⁷ So, by aligning *ἀρχηγός* with the aorist participle of ἄγω the author highlights leadership.²⁸ The outcome of this grammatical arrangement is that the term *ἀρχηγός* portrays Jesus as the leader through whom God is bringing or leading, *ἀγαγόντα*, many sons to glory.

One other indicator that the term *ἀρχηγός* emphasizes leadership in Hebrews 2:10 is that that understanding is preferred by the majority of interpreters. Most scholars render *ἀρχηγός* in this passage with words that connote leadership such as “leader” or “pioneer.” In fact, the extended definition of Ellingworth and Nida bears this out. They define *ἀρχηγός* as “one who goes ahead of others to show them the way.”²⁹ Westcott echoes the same understanding by saying that “the work of God and the work of Christ are set side by side. God ‘brings’ (*ἀγαγεῖν*) the many sons and Christ is their ‘leader’ (*ἀρχηγόν*).”³⁰ In his commentary Ellingworth still sets forth leadership as the primary meaning of *ἀρχηγός* in Hebrews 2:10 stating that *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας* can be justifiably rendered as “the leader who delivers them” or “the pioneer of their salvation.”³¹ The most substantial work on the *ἀρχηγός* theme in Hebrews is Gerhard Müller’s. Müller contends that *ἀρχηγός* captures the idea of *Führung*, a term that underlines leadership.³² O’Neal has criticized Müller for failing to take into account the idea that when *ἀρχηγός* is modified by an abstract noun it carries the idea of source.³³ However, such constructions are not

²⁷Peter Thomas O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 104.

²⁸Koester, *Hebrews*, 228.

²⁹Paul Ellingworth and Eugene A. Nida, *Translators Handbook on the Letter to the Hebrews* (London: United Bible Societies, 1984), 40–41.

³⁰Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 49.

³¹Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 161.

³²Müller, *Christos Archēgos*, 111–13.

³³O’Neal, “Bringing Many Sons to Glory,” 88. I affirm that the idea of source is secondarily present in the meaning of *ἀρχηγός* in Hebrews 2:10 but unlike O’Neal I come to that conclusion from the larger context of Hebrews where a phrase like *αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου* (Heb 5:9) is used to describe Jesus.

widely attested in the literature, a fact which O’Neal himself affirms.³⁴ The absence of substantial evidence for O’Neal’s point makes his argument unconvincing.

With the point made that ἀρχηγός accentuates leadership in Hebrews 2:10 it is important to point out that the idea of leadership does not seem to exhaust the meaning of ἀρχηγός in this text. Read in the broader context of Hebrews, the idea of origin or source also seems to be present in the meaning of ἀρχηγός. Jesus is portrayed as the one who tasted death for all and is described as the αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου (Heb 5: 9), a description that seems to intimate that the idea of origin is secondarily present in ἀρχηγός.³⁵ Therefore, in Hebrews 2:10 we encounter two overlapping and complementary ideas. The primary idea is that as the leader of salvation, Jesus is bringing his people to the goal of glory.³⁶ But secondarily, Jesus is also the founder of salvation, who proclaimed and secured σωτηρία for the saints and lives forever to apply this salvation to their lives in the present and future (Heb 7:25).³⁷ In the words of Richardson, “Both [leader and source] are included; for Jesus is leading many to eschatological salvation (1:14; 9:28) but he also inaugurated a better covenant (8:6-13; 10:15-22; 13:20) by conveying the message of salvation (2:3) and tasting death on behalf of all (2:9; cf. 9:14-15).”³⁸

God leading many sons to glory with Jesus as their ἀρχηγός means that God was bringing them to salvation through the redemptive accomplishment of Jesus. If the emphasis on leadership in the term ἀρχηγός (Heb. 2:10) for which I have argued is

³⁴O’Neal, “Bringing Many Sons to Glory,” 88.

³⁵Interpreters of Hebrews have pointed out that 2:10 and 5:9 share overlapping themes such as Jesus being perfected to become ἀρχηγός (2:10) and αἴτιος (5:9) to the heirs of salvation. So, while the correspondence between 2:10 and 5:9 is not literalistic it is significant enough to warrant interpreting ἀρχηγόν τῆς σωτηρίας in light of αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου. For an elaborate treatment of the parallelism between 2:10 and 5:9. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 193–95.

³⁶Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfecter of Faith*, 98.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

correct, then it sets the stage for the last section of this chapter where I will attempt to show that Hebrews' reference to Jesus as the ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας emerges from the OT theme of God's leadership of Israel and portrays the readers as the new exodus generation of whom Christ is the ἀρχηγός. Before moving away from Hebrews 2:10, it is important to interact a little more with two scholars whose proposal about the meaning of ἀρχηγός differ either markedly or modestly from the view presented above.

A Critique of Alternative Interpretations of the Term ἀρχηγός. The first view I will consider here is Käsemann's. His understanding of the ἀρχηγός motif in Hebrews is set within the framework of two main presuppositions. The first is that the main message pulsating through the whole book of Hebrews is that of a people journeying towards the promised rest, a rest which Käsemann argued was entirely future.³⁹ The second is that the Christology of Hebrews is built on the gnostic myth of a heavenly man. On this second presupposition, Käsemann contends that Hebrews presents a heavenly Son who takes on human form, suffers and dies for the purpose of releasing his followers from evil powers and death.⁴⁰ Thereafter the Son ascends back to the world from where he came and is crowned with glory and honor.⁴¹ To Käsemann, the ἀρχηγός motif in Hebrews is further evidence of the author's reliance on gnostic redeemer myths.⁴² Following this theory Käsemann asserts that in Hebrews Jesus is presented in light of a gnostic redeemer who himself was made perfect to the end that he might lead

³⁹Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, 17–20.

⁴⁰Ibid., 228.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., 115–121. Käsemann further argued that Jesus's status as the υἱός of Hebrews 1 and therefore his relationship to the υἱοὶ of Hebrews 2:10ff can only be fully understood from gnostic analogies and the gnostic myth is to be regarded as the source of the ἄνθρωπος scheme in Hebrews 1. By ἄνθρωπος scheme, Käsemann is referring to his claim that "Hebrews 1 falls within the context of a broadly pervasive scheme, also expressed in Phil. 2:5ff., Col. 1:15ff., and 1 Tim. 3:16, . . . which in respect of its content is to be described as the scheme of the Gnostic Anthropos doctrine (115)."

his sons to perfection.⁴³ He avers that it is only where the “mystical framework [of gnostic redeemer myths] is recognized [that] the title of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews now take [sic] on full color.”⁴⁴ He thus concludes:

Though Hellenistic sacral language may have coined the title, it does not derive its sense in Hebrews 2 primarily from that language, but just as in *II Clement* 20:5, from Gnostic tradition. Hence we must not construe ἀρχηγός after the terminology of the Hellenistic hero cults as “author,” but simply as “leader,” corresponding to the term πρόδρομος in 6:20.⁴⁵

Käsemann draws attention to a number of important facts about the term ἀρχηγός. First, he points out that ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2 primarily (or exclusively?) means leader. Second, he notes that ἀρχηγός and πρόδρομος as used of Jesus in Hebrews are roughly synonymous. Third, he observes that there is agreement between the use of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10 and Hebrews 12:2.⁴⁶ Finally, he affirms that ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας is parallel to αἴτιος σωτηρίας.⁴⁷ He, however, cautions that this relationship between ἀρχηγός and αἴτιος should not be the first thing interpreters jump to in their quest for understanding the meaning of ἀρχηγός because “under his αἴτιος-title Christ performs priestly functions which are not immediately identical with his saving work in chapter 2.”⁴⁸ It is important to state here that Käsemann had no intention to make a case for Gnosticism. Rather he was arguing that the author of Hebrews sought to take advantage of the common thought pattern of his day to present the work of Jesus in a way that will be most accessible to his readers. Käsemann and I are not radically different from each other regarding the meaning of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews. However, if his claim of gnostic

⁴³Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, 127–28.

⁴⁴Ibid., 132.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 132–33. Italics mine. Attridge echoes Käsemann’s view in his comments on ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10. See Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 88.

⁴⁶Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, 130, 133.

⁴⁷Ibid., 129.

⁴⁸Ibid.

influence on Hebrews is true as he states it and if the ἀρχηγός motif in Hebrews can only be understood against the backdrop of gnostic redeemer myths, then the main contention of this chapter, that ἀρχηγός has its fountainhead in the OT tradition of the exodus, collapses.

Most scholars have, however, rejected Käsemann's theory for a number of cogent reasons.⁴⁹ First, Käsemann's proposal requires a much earlier and pervasive presence of gnostic thinking than has been borne out by further studies on Gnosticism.⁵⁰ Second, as demonstrated in the word study above, the use of the word ἀρχηγός as a reference to leaders at various levels and spheres of society was commonplace in the LXX and indeed in the ancient world.⁵¹ So, Käsemann's appeals to parallels with late Jewish and gnostic literature ignores important and relevant data. Third, Käsemann's understanding of the sufferings by which the ἀρχηγός is perfected is deeply flawed. This flawed understanding of the sufferings of the ἀρχηγός seems to control his construal of the background of the reference to Jesus as ἀρχηγός. Käsemann understood the sufferings and death of Jesus as part of his perfection that was requisite for him to attain his promised glory. In Käsemann's view, the destruction of Christ's flesh "completes the work of redemption on earth, frees Christ for his return to the father, and as breaking the ban of the material world also effects the ἐγκαινίζειν of the ὁδὸς πρόσφατος καὶ ζῶσα for his own."⁵² Käsemann conceives of the flesh of Christ as something of a hindrance to access to the Father. However, Hebrews repeatedly portrays the flesh or body of Jesus as a sacrifice for sin (Heb 1:3; 2:9, 17; 8:12; 9:26; 10:12). It might thus be said that

⁴⁹The only notable adherent of this view besides Käsemann is Erich Grässer, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief*. (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1965), 95–97.

⁵⁰O'Neal, "Bringing Many Sons to Glory," 84.

⁵¹L. D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72.

⁵²Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, 226.

Käsemann undertakes an interpretation of Jesus' sufferings, his perfection and his ἀρχηγός title that does more to argue for a gnostic background to the term than comprehensively explain the data in the letter. His argument for a gnostic background is therefore to be rejected.

The second view I want to critique is Wilfred Knox's. Knox set the trajectory for interpreting the concept of Jesus as the ἀρχηγός of believers in terms of the divine hero of Greek culture.⁵³ He argued that the Christology of Hebrews features two aspects: 1) the Son who is the pre-existent Wisdom of God and 2) one who is made perfect through suffering. Knox asserts, "Hellenistic Judaism was always receiving from its surroundings a coloring of popular religious language, and contributing to the general amalgam from the Septuagint and the prayers of the hellenistic synagogue."⁵⁴ He then concluded that "all that we have is the use of a common stock of ideas ultimately religious, but adopted by rhetoric and popular philosophy and carried over into the liturgical and homiletical language of the hellenistic world, including that of the church."⁵⁵ Knox's argument appealed to Lane who argued that

Hearers familiar with the common stock of ideas in the hellenistic world knew that the legendary hero Hercules was designated ἀρχηγός, "champion," and σωτήρ "savior." . . . They would almost certainly interpret the term ἀρχηγός in v 10 in the light of the allusion to Jesus as the protagonist who came to the aid of the oppressed people of God in vv 14-16. . . . The designation of Jesus as ἀρχηγός in a context depicting him as protagonist suggests that the writer intended to present Jesus to his hearers in language that drew freely upon the Hercules tradition in popular Hellenism.⁵⁶

It is more likely than not that the author of Hebrews used ideas that were common currency in his days. However, even Knox himself grants that while there are

⁵³Wilfred Lawrence Knox, "The 'Divine Hero' Christology in the New Testament," *HTR* 41, no. 4 (October 1948): 229–249.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 239.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 242.

⁵⁶Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 56–57. For a more extensive defense of this view see Miselbrook, "A Portrait of Christ the Hero in the Epistle to the Hebrews."

verbal similarities between Hebrews and pagan mythology, there is never enough to prove a connection.⁵⁷ He concedes that whether the resemblance between pagan mythology and NT Christology is pure coincidence or the result of unconscious reminiscence or deliberate borrowing must be judged on a case-by-case basis.⁵⁸ Knox is even willing to maintain that the notion of perfection in a context like Hebrews 2:10 derives from the Jewish conception of the martyr as one who is made perfect by his sufferings in 4 Maccabees.⁵⁹ The observation of Johnston on this question is particularly apt and helpful. He notes that “The basic diversity in the treatment of the NT cases of ἀρχηγός would depend on whether its Hellenistic or biblical meaning should be determinative.”⁶⁰ Johnston points out that when the former is emphasized interpreters tend to opt for the meaning *hero, author, founder*.⁶¹ On the other hand when the biblical meaning is accentuated, the term almost always denotes leadership.⁶² It seems that the missing element in the analysis of Knox, Lane and others of similar persuasion regarding the portrait of Jesus by the term ἀρχηγός is a failure to attend carefully to the new exodus significance of this term in the epistle to the Hebrews. So, there is something to be gained from the argument that cultural ideas contemporaneous with the composition of Hebrews played a role in the way the author and his first readers would have understood the term ἀρχηγός. Nevertheless, I maintain that the writer’s emphasis in using ἀρχηγός aligns more with the usage of the word in the LXX because there is manifest evidence in the letter that the author had an interest in expressing the work of Christ in exodus terminology. I

⁵⁷Knox, “The ‘Divine Hero’ Christology in the New Testament,” 247.

⁵⁸Ibid., 233.

⁵⁹Ibid., 245–46.

⁶⁰Johnston, “Christ as Archegos,” 383.

⁶¹Ibid. Italics original.

⁶²Ibid.

attend to this suggestion at greater length below.

In this section, I have done an exegetical survey of Hebrews 2:10. This survey has led me to the conclusion that the primary significance of the term ἀρχηγός in that verse is that Jesus is the leader of God's new people. I have also pointed out from parallel phraseology in the broader context of Hebrews that the idea of originator or founder is also secondarily present in the meaning of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10. With the exegetical survey of Hebrews 2:10 brought to a close I will now move on to consider Hebrews 12:2 after which I will analyze the new exodus significance of the term ἀρχηγός.

Exegetical Survey of Hebrews 12:2

Hebrews 12:2 is part of the last major subunit of the epistle to the Hebrews and spans 10:19 to 12:29. The first subsection which has been labeled a transitional section marks a turning point because it wraps up the preceding unit and introduces the final one (Heb 10:19-25).⁶³ The thrust of this section is a call for believers to draw near to God. The author grounds his argument by reasoning that if those who transgressed the law of Moses received a just punishment, then it is all the more fitting for those who disobey Jesus to be punished with utmost severity (Heb 10:26-31).

The subsection beginning at 10:32 provides an invaluable clue regarding the circumstances of the addressees and is thus very helpful for interpreting the epistle.⁶⁴ The author commends his addressees for their past endurance in the face of severe trials and persecution. However, it seems that their steadfastness and hope had begun to wane.⁶⁵ Therefore, the author exhorts his readers with such words as, “do not throw away your

⁶³So George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-Linguistic Analysis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 141; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 283.

⁶⁴F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 267–71; Ben Witherington, *Letters and Homilies for Jewish Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Hebrews, James and Jude* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 290–91.

⁶⁵Simon Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NTC (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), 301.

confidence, which has a great reward” (Heb 10:35). He is urgent in his warning about the danger of falling away (Heb 10:37-39). In order to add weight to his exhortation he sets forth a catalog of OT saints who endured by faith even without receiving the full reward which had been promised them (Heb 11).

Hebrews 12 opens with the conjunction *τοιγαροῦν* whose only other occurrence in the NT is in 1 Thessalonians 4:8. This conjunction draws an inference from the faith stories told in chapter 11 to exhort the readers to run the Christian race with perseverance.⁶⁶ The author then moves on to the supreme exemplar of faith, Jesus. He makes sure to set Jesus apart from the other examples of faith listed in the previous chapter by designating him as the *τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν*.

The main exhortation in 12:1-11 is *δι’ ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα* “let us run with endurance the race that is set before us.” The hortatory subjunctive *τρέχωμεν* captures the command. The author employs an athletic metaphor to present the Christian life as a race which believers must complete. The author’s description of the manner in which the race is to be ran is commensurate with the metaphor: the race is to be ran *δι’ ὑπομονῆς* “with endurance.”⁶⁷ He also points out that the OT saints listed are a testimony of how those people pleased God by enduring through faith (see Heb 11:6). The author’s logic is that the fact that these witnesses ran well, though they did not obtain the fulfillment of the promise in their lifetime, should be a spur to the readers who should likewise run with endurance.

Running this race means believers must lay aside every weight and the sin that so easily entangles them, *ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπεριστατον ἁμαρτίαν*.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 376.

⁶⁷*Διὰ* in *δι’ ὑπομονῆς* describes attendant or prevailing circumstance. Similar uses of *διὰ* can be found (for example) in Rom. 8:25 and 2 Cor. 2:4. Given what *διὰ* communicates in these contexts it can be rendered by the English preposition “with.” See Danker, Bauer, and Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 224.

⁶⁸*ἀποθέμενοι* from *ἀποτίθημι* and *ὄγκος* fit well with the athletic imagery that the author

Furthermore, the readers must run the race ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν . . . Ἰησοῦν “looking to Jesus.” Ἀφοράω carries the idea of focusing one’s attention without distraction.⁶⁹ The readers are to direct their attention to Jesus in much the same way as a runner fixes his attention on the finish line. Jesus’ endurance of the cross is set forth as the ultimate example to stir up these believers to run with endurance. Jesus endured the cross, despising its shame because of the joy that was set before him. Most relevant to us here is the fact that this Jesus on whom believers must immovably fix their attention is πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν. To say that Jesus is the πίστεως . . . τελειωτὴν means that Jesus alone is the perfect example of faith but also that he is the one who consummates the faith of believers.⁷⁰ The term ἀρχηγός (Heb 12:2) activates the earlier idea that Jesus is the principal agent through whom God is leading many sons to glory (Heb 2:10).⁷¹ The race metaphor in 12:2, τρέχω, accentuates leadership and is consistent with identifying Jesus as the community’s “forerunner” πρόδρομος (Heb 6:20). Jesus is the ἀρχηγός or πρόδρομος of faith, whose steadfastness ultimately brings him behind the veil to sit at God’s right hand. So here (as in Heb 2:10) the term highlights leadership.⁷² In the words of Müller, “Jesus führt die Glaubenden an ihr Ziel, weil er den Glauben in seiner Auferstehung ans Ziel gebracht hat.”⁷³

Equally, however, the idea that Jesus is the originator of salvation is not absent in the way ἀρχηγός is used here in 12:2. The “juxtaposition with τελειωτής. . . suggests

employs. For more on this see William L. Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 409.

⁶⁹Danker, Bauer, and Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 158.

⁷⁰O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 454–55.

⁷¹Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfecter of Faith*, 98.

⁷²Koester, *Hebrews*, 228–29.

⁷³Müller, *Christos Archēgos*, 310.

that ἀρχηγός also carries connotations of “founder” or “initiator.”⁷⁴ Furthermore (and as mentioned above), the origin (ἀρχή) of this salvation came by Jesus’ preaching and teaching (Heb 2:3 cf. 3:1) and sacrificial death (2:9). He also became, after death, the “source,” αἴτιος (Heb 5:9) of eternal salvation for all who obey him.⁷⁵ These concepts from the broader context of the letter prop up the suggestion that the term ἀρχηγός in this text also communicates the idea of Jesus being the originator of salvation.⁷⁶ But the athletic metaphor in this chapter stresses the leadership component of the sense of ἀρχηγός.

O’Neal (as he does for Hebrews 2:10) has argued that the emphasis of ἀρχηγός here is on source. The main argument that he sets forth for that conclusion is that ἀρχηγός is modified by an abstract noun and that when such is the case ἀρχηγός takes on the meaning “source.”⁷⁷ While not denying that the idea of “source” is present in the term ἀρχηγός as used in Hebrews 12:2, to say that “source” is the main meaning misses the significance of the athletic metaphor that the author uses. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the use of the term outside the NT carries the meaning “leader.” This means that ἀρχηγός as a word would usually conjure up the concept of leadership to a first century audience before anything else. In fact, O’Neal concedes that the instances where ἀρχηγός is modified by an abstract noun and as a result warrants the meaning “source” are limited.⁷⁸ So not only is the basis of his conclusion slender, the conclusion fails to dovetail with the thrust of the immediate context of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 12:2. So,

⁷⁴Attridge, *Hebrews*, 356.

⁷⁵Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfector of Faith*, 98.

⁷⁶Ellingworth has observed that to drive a hard wedge between “beginner” or “leader” as the meaning of ἀρχηγός in this text is create a false antithesis. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 640.

⁷⁷O’Neal, “Bringing Many Sons to Glory,” 119.

⁷⁸Ibid.

factoring in both the main meaning of ἀρχηγός, its immediate and broader contexts in Hebrews 12:2 and the use of the term outside the NT should lead to the conclusion that 1) both leadership and source are communicated in Hebrews 12:2 but 2) source is secondary and leadership is primary.⁷⁹ As the ἀρχηγός of salvation (Heb 2:10) Jesus inaugurated the salvation of God's people and is leading many to their eschatological glory. As the ἀρχηγός of faith (Heb 12:2), he is the exemplary leader/model of confidence, who also elicits the faith that is required of his people.

Thus far in this chapter, I have sought to establish that the term ἀρχηγός as it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews predominantly highlights the leadership role of Jesus Christ *vis-à-vis* the sons that God is leading to glory through Christ's redemptive accomplishments. I have done this through a word study of the word ἀρχηγός as well as an exegetical analysis of the relevant passages in the epistle to the Hebrews. But the main goal of this chapter goes beyond the claim that the term ἀρχηγός is employed in Hebrews to highlight Jesus's leadership role. The primary contention (of this chapter) is that in Hebrews, the term ἀρχηγός makes a substantial contribution to the writer's overall purpose which (simply put) is to exhort the readers, "Do not fall away from Jesus." I am proposing that the term ἀρχηγός serves this authorial purpose because it (ἀρχηγός) arises from the OT tradition of the exodus and so portrays Jesus as the leader of God's new exodus people whose work has accomplished the promised new exodus. The term is therefore employed to bolster the confidence of the readers and so keep them from falling away. The question then is, "what is the connection between the term ἀρχηγός, as it is employed in the epistle to the Hebrews, and the exodus motif?" I will devote the final major section of this chapter to answering this question.

⁷⁹On this reasoning, I agree with those who have argued for translating ἀρχηγός with "pioneer" as that term seems to better capture the two senses. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 161.

The New Exodus Significance of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews

In this section, I will attend to different ways in which the term ἀρχηγός as it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews can help deepen our appreciation of the author's use of the exodus motif in the letter. There are at least four aspects to the new exodus significance of the way the term ἀρχηγός is used by the author of Hebrews. The first of these is that as the ἀρχηγός of God's new people the Son sets himself apart as the one who succeeds where the ἀρχηγοί of the old order failed.

Jesus the ἀρχηγός Who Succeeds Where the ἀρχηγοί Failed

Cockerill has a simple but helpful definition for the term ἀρχηγός. He states, “[An ἀρχηγός] is one who, by entering a new land, enables others to follow.”⁸⁰ Cockerill's definition is valuable in thinking through the new exodus significance of the word ἀρχηγός as it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews. In the LXX text of Numbers 13:2-3, (see word study above) the term ἀρχηγοί is used to refer to Joshua and the other spies who first crossed into Canaan to assay the land.⁸¹ At God's bidding Moses selected twelve people each of whom was to be a leader (ἀρχηγός) among the people (see Num 13:2). The import of sending 12 leaders into Canaan is not difficult to appreciate: the “ἀρχηγοί are representative of the entire people.”⁸² Therefore, “Their entry into the land proleptically symbolizes the entry of those whom they represent.”⁸³ It is worthy of note that in the historical account, not all the ἀρχηγοί perished in the wilderness; Joshua did lead the people into the land (Josh 21:43-45; 22:1-4). In fact, the author of Hebrews acknowledges this fact interpreting it eschatologically to say that Joshua did not give the

⁸⁰Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 138.

⁸¹David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 129.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

people of his time the ultimate rest (Heb 4:8). Caleb the only other ἀρχηγοί, who along with Joshua, reported the findings of the spy mission out of faith in Yahweh also made it into the promised land (Josh 14:6-15). Therefore, that which was symbolized in the spy mission of the ἀρχηγοί was indeed fulfilled in Israel's entry into the promised land under the leadership of Joshua.

In referring to Jesus as the ἀρχηγός the author of Hebrews appears to harken back to the representative relationship between the ἀρχηγοί and the people that is portrayed in Numbers 13:2-3. Just as the ἀρχηγοί stood for and in solidarity with the people entering the land, so the Son stands for and in solidarity with the many sons and daughters whom he leads into the glory that is their final and ultimate destiny (Heb 2:10). As the ἀρχηγός, Jesus has entered into glory in advance of those he leads. In the words of Cockerill, "By his incarnation, death, entrance into God's presence, and session at God's right hand the Son has opened the way for God's 'sons and daughters' to enter the glory of the heavenly homeland prepared for them."⁸⁴ In a sense, therefore, the term ἀρχηγός is roughly synonymous with πρόδρομος (Heb 6:20).⁸⁵ Jesus is the ἀρχηγός or πρόδρομος of faith, whose steadfastness ultimately brings him behind the veil to sit at God's right hand.

Thiessen has pointed out that the use of ἀρχηγός as a reference to Jesus shows that Jesus succeeded where the original ἀρχηγοί of the OT failed.⁸⁶ These failed ἀρχηγοί of the OT show up in a number of places. In Numbers 13:2-3 (as I have already mentioned) the Bible records that ten of the twelve spies returned with a bad report that incited the people to rebel by talking of choosing a new ἀρχηγός and returning to Egypt (Num 14:4). This move depicted a final and complete rejection of God's leadership.

⁸⁴Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 138.

⁸⁵Ibid.; Koester, *Hebrews*, 228. Also Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God*, 133.

⁸⁶Matthew Thiessen, "Hebrews and the End of the Exodus," *NovT* 49, no. 4 (2007): 366. Thiessen includes (I believe erroneously) Joshua in the group of OT ἀρχηγοί whom he considers failures. This error is based on his very literalistic reading of Hebrews 4:8. See my discussion of that in chapter 2 above.

Furthermore, during the forty-year wilderness wandering, some ἀρχηγοί also arose in the company of Korah in opposition to Moses and most importantly God (Num 16:1-3). Also, ἀρχηγοί are blamed for leading the people into sin at Shittim (Num 25:1-5). So, Thiessen is right to say that the original ἀρχηγοί (save Joshua and Caleb) failed. But Jesus the true ἀρχηγός sets himself apart from these failed ἀρχηγοί who not only rebelled but incited and promoted rebellion against Yahweh. Unlike these ἀρχηγοί of the past, Jesus our ἀρχηγός “endured the cross despising its shame and sat down at the right hand of the throne of God” (Heb 12:2). So, the author of Hebrews is calling his addressees to persevere to the end and not fall away because they, who are God’s new exodus people, have and are following the perfect ἀρχηγός.

Before leaving this discussion on the relationship between the ἀρχηγοί of the old era and Jesus the ἀρχηγός of the new era it is fitting to affirm the suggestion that the reference to Jesus as ἀρχηγός anticipates the comparison with Moses in Hebrews 3:1-6.⁸⁷ That the LXX never uses ἀρχηγός as a direct reference to Moses is beyond dispute. But it can be argued that Moses is referred to as such in a roundabout way. Three considerations are clarifying in this regard: first, Moses was clearly the main human leader of the exodus generation. Second, when at Kadesh Barnea the people decided to go back to Egypt they needed an ἀρχηγός who would lead them in the opposite direction than Moses was did. Third, Korah and his company, who rose up against Moses, are referred to as ἀρχηγοί. So, it is not farfetched to say that in embarking on a Moses/Christ comparison on the heels of referring to Jesus as ἀρχηγός, the author of Hebrews implies that Jesus is the true and greater Moses. This new and greater Moses, in the person of Jesus, leads God’s new people in the new and eschatological exodus to the eternal promised land of the coming οἰκουμένη. Therefore, the Moses/Christ comparison that comes on the heels of Jesus being called ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας adds weight to the contention that ἀρχηγός, as used in

⁸⁷Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 138; Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 96.

Hebrews, is an exodus category.

Ἀρχηγός and other Exodus-Related Notes in 2:14-3:6

The presence of an allusion to exodus deliverance in Hebrews 2:14-16 and Moses leadership typology in Hebrews 3:1-6 makes understanding ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10 against the background of the exodus all the more appealing. By using ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10 the author, among other things, makes the point that Jesus' journey accomplished a deliverance that far surpasses the one procured by the historical exodus.⁸⁸ The imagery aroused by the use of ἀρχηγός links Jesus to the larger OT motif that Israel is a people uniquely led by God. Jesus, who is the new leader of God's new people, is the trailblazer for the eschatological exodus that leads to the ultimate rest which the historical exodus merely adumbrated. Read this way, the ἀρχηγός theme also helps to prepare the way for the author's extensive allusion to the wilderness imagery (a patently exodus theme) as he exhorts his readers to strive to enter the rest that remains for the people of God (Heb 3:7-4:11). Thus, the term ἀρχηγός is an important connection between the story of the addressees of the epistle and that of the Israelites delivered from Egypt; both are a people following a leader to their ultimate destination.⁸⁹ The difference between the two groups is that the latter foreshadowed the former.

The Exodus Significance of the Complementarity of Jesus as ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερέυς

To enter the tabernacle, Jesus had to be qualified as the ἀρχιερέυς through suffering (Heb 2:17-18; 5:6-10; 9:24-26). Similarly, the same sufferings he endured to be ἀρχιερέυς qualified him as the ἀρχηγός of the sons who are being brought to glory (Heb

⁸⁸Scott affirms that those associated with Jesus partake of his glory. This speaks to the intensification of the deliverance that has happened. See Scott, "Archēgos," 50.

⁸⁹McKelvey, *Pioneer and Priest*, 20–21.

2:10; cf. 12:12). So, we see that Jesus' roles as ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερέυς are not unrelated. As the ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερέυς, Jesus has entered into the eschatological tabernacle (the heavenly tent) from where he imparts help to those he is presently leading through their struggle to finish the journey through the same "wilderness" of suffering and temptation he experienced (see Heb 4:15-16; 6:20). It can thus be said that Jesus' roles as ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερέυς portray the experience of the addressees of Hebrews in terms of an eschatological exodus, whereby their end-time ἀρχηγός is leading them. But this ἀρχηγός leads as one who is also the ἀρχιερέυς who supplies the help his people need from the end-time tabernacle into which he has entered. In this wise, Jesus' role as ἀρχηγός complements the tabernacle motif in Hebrews by reminding the readers that the journey of Jesus qualified him to enable them to succeed in persevering to the end of their journey.⁹⁰

Keene's proposal regarding the author's choice of tabernacle over temple supports for the proposal above.⁹¹ In Keene's estimation, the author prefers tabernacle over temple in his discussion of Jesus' high priesthood because he is seeking to help his addressees see their experience as antitypical to the experience of those whom Moses led out of Egypt.⁹² In other words, the concept of the temple would sit oddly with the author's exodus tenor since it was erected only after Israel had already experienced the exodus (see Deut 12:14; 1 Kgs 7:40-8:64). If Keene is right then it can be said that in the same way as the historical exodus generation had the presence of God with them in the tabernacle, that accompanied them, so the eschatological exodus generation has present access to their perfect high priest and are thereby equipped to persevere to the promised

⁹⁰Jeffrey J. Monk, "Christ as Champion: Hebrews 12:1-3 as an Appeal through Which the Writer Instills Narrative Vision in Order to Reorient Readers" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2015), 76.

⁹¹I deal more fully with the author's preference for tabernacle over temple in chapter 5.

⁹²Thomas Keene, "Heaven Is a Tent: The Tabernacle as an Eschatological Metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2010), 253-54.

rest.

Understanding the ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερεύς themes in Hebrews as proposed above allows readers the opportunity to more easily connect Hebrews 3-4 and 11, which are more explicitly related to the exodus, with the central section of Hebrews (chapters 5 to 10) which deals with the theme of Christ the ἀρχιερεύς. The connection is that Jesus' roles as the ἀρχηγός and as the ἀρχιερεύς complement each other. As such the epistle stands out more clearly as a literary whole rather than as a document with disparate themes. Ounsworth has attempted to establish such a link by suggesting that what these sections have in common is the concept of entry: "Joshua led the people into the Promised Land, Jesus entered into the heavenly sanctuary."⁹³ Ounsworth works from what he refers to as "the spatial schemes that Hebrews offers or appears to presume and the ways in which Jesus' soteriological career is portrayed in those schemes."⁹⁴ He then makes the connection by suggesting that

the veil represents both a geographical and a historical distinction, and therefore passing through the veil is a παραβολή of both a cosmic translation and an eschatological fulfillment; so the crossing of the Jordan is a type both of entry into God's (place of) rest and of the inauguration of the new and eternal covenant.⁹⁵

While this is a stimulating proposal to carefully engage with, working from the fact that suffering is the pathway that leads to and qualifies Jesus both as the ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερεύς (which is what I propose above) seems to have more explicit textual grounding (Heb 2:17-18; 5:6-10; 9:24-26; Heb. 2:10; cf. 12:12). Therefore, such an approach may offer a more textually verifiable way of connecting the deeply cultic chapters of Hebrews (chapters 5 to 10) with the more explicitly exodus-related ones (chapters 3 to 4 and 11). Furthermore, if Ounsworth is right, his proposal does not invalidate the one I propose

⁹³Richard Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 131.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid., 166.

above.

Bringing the Firstborn into the οἰκουμένη and Bringing Many Sons to Glory

There is a noticeable verbal similarity between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10. Both verses make use of a combination of God as the subject of an ἄγω verbal form, an entity expressed in the accusative and the preposition εἰς with its object (as expected) in the accusative. Given the exodus significance of the ἄγω verb family in the epistle to the Hebrews, this verbal overlap between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10 is worth investigating further. The table below presents this similarity more clearly.

Table 5. Verbal overlap between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10

Hebrews 1:6	Hebrews 2:10
ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει	Ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.

Could it be the case that the similarity between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10 is more than a mere syntactical and semantic coincidence? Could it be that 1:6 conceptually or thematically anticipates Hebrews 2:10? The πρωτότοκος who is brought into the οἰκουμένη (which as I argued in chap. 2 is the eschatological glory into which he has been exalted) is the same person referred to as the ἀρχηγός who stands in complete solidarity with the πολλοὺς υἱοὺς whom the father is bringing into glory.⁹⁶ I argued in the previous chapter that the reality of the exaltation of Christ into the οἰκουμένη is a significant

⁹⁶Caneday has observed this verbal overlap between 1:6 and 2:10 but has not exploited it in light of the exodus motif. See Ardel B. Caneday, "The Eschatological World Already Subjected to the Son: The οἰκουμένη of Hebrews 1:6 and the Son's Enthronement" in *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Theology of Hebrews in its Ancient Contexts* eds. Richard Bauckham, Daniel Driver, Trevor Hart and Nathan MacDonald (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 36 n35.

allusion to God bringing Israel into the promised land because it is expressed in words reminiscent of the reality of Israel's entry into the land. Since the *πρωτότοκος* stands in complete solidarity with the *πολλοὺς υἱοὺς* it may well be the case that Christ's exaltation in which God leads the Firstborn into the world, *εἰσάγω . . . εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην*, seems purposefully placed in the epistle to anticipate its corollary: God leads many sons to glory, *εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα*, by perfecting the *ἀρχηγός* of their salvation through suffering. In other words, Hebrews 1:6 describes the antitype of what was foreshadowed in the first exodus and Hebrews 2:10 shows how the fulfillment of the shadow in the true Son is appropriated or applied in the bringing of the *πολλοὺς υἱοὺς* to glory. The net effect of this on the point of the whole epistle is that the new leader of God's new people who has himself been brought into glory now leads his people to an eternal promised land and therefore his people must persevere to the end and not fall away. If this is the case, then the exodus notes struck at both Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10 echo back and forth and lend further credence to the suggestion that "entry" and "forerunner" are exodus categories employed by the author to portray Christ's redemptive accomplishment as the fulfillment of the promised new exodus.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to demonstrate that "forerunner or pioneer" is another exodus category that the author of Hebrews uses to teach that the redemptive accomplishment of Christ fulfills the promised new exodus. I have done this by carrying out a word study of the word *ἀρχηγός* as it is used in the LXX and the rest of the NT outside Hebrews. This study showed that the main meaning of the term in the LXX is "leader" with very few instances of the sense "originator" or "source." I proceeded to do an exegetical analysis of Hebrews 2:10 and 12:2 which are the only two texts in Hebrews that employ the term *ἀρχηγός*. From the analysis I have established that while not being the only sense of the term *ἀρχηγός* in both 2:10 and 12:2, the role of Jesus as the leader of

God's new people is emphasized in both instances. I have, on the basis of the word study and exegetical analysis, proposed four ways in which the term ἀρχηγός, as used in Hebrews, bears new exodus significance. These are 1) Jesus the ἀρχηγός who succeeds where the ἀρχηγοί failed 2) exodus deliverance in Hebrews 2:14-16 and Moses leadership typology in Hebrews 3:1-6 as reasons for reading ἀρχηγός against the background of the exodus 3) the exodus significance of the complementarity of Jesus as ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερεύς and 4) the exodus significance of the verbal similarity between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10. The cumulative force of these suggestions substantiate the contention that “forerunner or pioneer” is (among others) an exodus category employed by the author of Hebrews to show that Christ's redemptive accomplishment fulfills the promised new exodus. In the next chapter I will consider the exodus category of “deliverance.”

CHAPTER 4
DELIVERANCE AND THE NEW EXODUS IN
HEBREWS

Introduction

Deliverance is perhaps the most immediately decipherable of the exodus categories. It is no exaggeration to say that the idea of deliverance is what immediately jumps to mind when the term “exodus” is pronounced. As I stated in chapter two, the first explicit reference to the exodus (see Gen 15:7-21) highlights deliverance. In Genesis 15:7-21 God promises that Abram’s descendants will be in servitude for three generations but in the fourth generation, when the sin of the Amorite is complete, they will go free with great wealth (vv. 13-14). Joseph was so assured of this coming deliverance that “when he was dying, made mention of the exodus of the sons of Israel, and gave orders concerning his bones” (Heb 11:22; cf. Gen 50:25). So, the context for understanding the historical event of the exodus is the promise to the patriarch Abraham. As can be clearly perceived, in this promise the things emphasized are slavery for a period and then deliverance. Deliverance, therefore, is something of a mainstay of the exodus motif.

This chapter does not seek to argue that deliverance is an exodus category. That is a foregone conclusion.¹ Rather the point of this chapter is to attempt to show that, while not being pervasive, there is enough exodus-type deliverance language in the epistle to the Hebrews to justify my claim that the author uses the exodus category of deliverance (among others) to portray the work of Christ as the fulfillment of the promised new exodus. A significant portion of this chapter will be devoted to showing

¹R. E. Watts, “Exodus,” in *NDBT*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2004), 479.

that Hebrews presents Moses at a few key junctures of the letter as a foreshadowing of the new and greater Moses, Jesus Christ. Thinking about Moses and the way Hebrews presents him with respect to Jesus promises to be helpful because Moses is the leading human actor in the historical event of the exodus. I will also consider other specific exodus-deliverance concepts and language in the epistle.

Jesus the New and Greater Moses

Much of Moses' prominence in Scripture is directly tied to various roles he played before, during and after the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (see Exod 3:10; 7:1-2; 11:3; Ps 77:20; Acts 7:35). Without naming him, Hosea speaks of Moses as the prophet through whom the deliverance from Egypt happened: "By a prophet the Lord brought Israel up from Egypt, and by a prophet he was guarded" (Hos 12:13; cf. Deut 18:15). With regards to the epistle to the Hebrews, Moses is the only OT figure explicitly mentioned eleven times in the epistle (see Heb 3:2-3, 5, 16; 7:14; 8:5; 9:19; 10:28; 11:23-24; 12:21). Given Moses's prominence in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt one should expect that at least a few of the references to Moses in Hebrews should directly relate to exodus deliverance. Beyond all question, several references to Moses in Hebrews are not directly linked to the subject of exodus deliverance (see Heb 7:14; 8:5; 9:19; 10:28). This is because in the grand scheme of the exodus Moses had more than one role. So, I will not discuss every mention of Moses in the epistle. Rather, I will deal with instances of both explicit and implicit references to Moses that bear directly on exodus deliverance and show that these references communicate the fact that Christ's redemption fulfills and transcends Moses' deliverance.

Hebrews 3:1-6

Moses is first mentioned by name in Hebrews in 3:2. It may be helpful then to start with what the author says about Moses in this portion of the letter to see how he deals with the relationship between Moses as a key deliverance figure in the OT and

Jesus the deliverer *par excellence*.

Christ the New and Greater Apostle. Hebrews 3:1-6 refers to Jesus as the “apostle of our confession.” This designation is unique and should arouse our curiosity. Among the questions that this designation evokes is the inquiry as to whether there is any OT shadow(s) that points to Christ as the ultimate apostle. In this section I contend that the designation of Jesus as “apostle” harks back to Moses the deliverer of God’s people from Egypt and portrays Jesus as the deliverer of God’s new exodus people. Setting Hebrews 3 in its context will prove helpful to substantiating my contention.

Hebrews 3:1-6 is part of a larger unit (Heb 1:1-4:16) whose thrust is that God has spoken definitively in his Son. These chapters communicate a cogent exhortation to the readers but only after first establishing the preeminence of the revelation of God in Christ, a preeminence that is premised upon Christ’s sonship.² From a bird’s eye view it can be said that the first two chapters declare that Christ’s message is superior to the one spoken through angels and therefore holds its recipients to a higher standard (Heb 1:1-2:18). In this vein, the author says to his readers, “if the word spoken through angels proved unalterable, and every transgression and disobedience received a just penalty, how will we escape if we neglect so great a salvation? After it was at the first spoken through the Lord, it was confirmed to us by those who heard” (Heb 2:2-3). The superiority of Christ’s message is rooted in the facts that, as the Son, Christ is superior to angels (Heb 1:4-2:4) and that he will have all things subjected to him as the Son of Man in the age to come (Heb 2:5-16).

Chapters 3 and 4 continue the theme of the primacy of Christ’s message but the standard of comparison shifts away from angels. The author begins in 3:1-6 by discussing the superiority of Christ over Moses who (like the angels) was a mediator

²Mary Rose D’Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 66.

when the law was given (see Gal 3:19).³ The author sets out by explicating the continuities between Moses and Jesus and then goes on to highlight the discontinuities between the two.⁴ At the start of the chapter the author invites his readers to consider Jesus (Heb 3:1). This Jesus, the author argues, “was faithful to him who appointed him, as Moses also was in all his house” (Heb 3:2). The author qualifies Jesus by describing him as “the apostle . . . of our confession.”⁵ The reference to Jesus as “apostle” stands out because Moses, to whom Jesus is compared in this context, is never referred to in the Scriptures by the title apostle. However, this seems to be a case where the absence of the word does not imply the absence of the concept. The book of Exodus repeatedly states that God sent Moses to deliver the people of Israel: “Therefore, come now, and I will send you [ἀποστείλω σε] to Pharaoh, so that you may bring my people, the sons of Israel, out of Egypt” (Exod 3:10; cf. 3:12-13, 14, 15; 5:22; 7:16). The account of the exodus narrative in the Pentateuch shows that Moses was regarded as Yahweh’s sent one, Yahweh’s apostle even though he is never designated ἀπόστολος. Liermann speaks for this when he says, “when the author calls on his readers to ‘consider Jesus’ as ‘apostle and high priest,’ and then draws their attention to Moses, the implication is that Moses

³The comparison between Christ and the angels (Heb 1:4-2:2) proceeds by a series of citations which exalt Christ above the angels. The comparison between Moses and Christ, on the other hand, focuses mainly on a single verse in the LXX (Num. 12:7) to draw out Christ’s superiority over Moses. So, *ibid.*, 67.

⁴P. C. B. Andriessen, “La Teneur Judéo-Chrétienne de He 1:6 et 2:14b-3:2,” *NovT* 18, no. 4 (October 1976): 312.

⁵Andriessen has proposed a curious connection between the titles pioneer and perfecter (12:2) and apostle and high priest (3:1). He argues, “‘De cette manière [Heb. 3 : 1 et 12 : 2] se correspondent de manière étonnante le nom de Jésus suit dans les deux passages emphatiquement les deux titres qui lui sont attribués et en raison desquels nous devons fixer nos yeux sur lui il est apôtre et grand-prêtre d’une part, il est initiateur et consommateur d’autre part. Dans les deux textes une même qualification s’ajoute “de notre profession de foi” — “de la foi.” De ce fait les deux phrases s’interprètent l’une l’autre de même que nous devons considérer Jésus, dont nous confessons dans la foi qu’il est notre apôtre et grand-prêtre [Heb. 3 : 1], de même nous devons lever les yeux vers lui, que nous croyons être l’initiateur et le consommateur (Heb. 12 : 2). Pouvons-nous pousser plus loin et ajouter “de notre salut ?” En effet, comme premier apôtre du salut — cf *σωτηρίας αρχήν* — [Heb. 2 : 3] il mérite à bon droit le titre d’initiateur du salut — *αρχηγός της σωτηρίας* — [Heb. 2 : 10] et en tant que grand-prêtre, dont la tâche est d’amener les hommes à la perfection du salut (Heb. 7 : 2, 19 ; 10 : 1, 14), il mérite aussi le titre de consommateur de notre salut.” See *ibid.*, 312n23. Andriessen’s proposal is stimulating but difficult to prove definitively.

was apostle and high priest as well [cf. Ps 99:6].”⁶ If it is true that Moses was (at least) conceptually regarded as God’s ἀπόστολος then we must ask how that should inform our understanding of Christ’s designation as ἀπόστολος in Hebrews 3.

The first thing to note here is that Moses’ status as God’s “apostle” is set in the context of his role as the one who was to deliver Israel out of Egypt. The author of Hebrews intimates this when he says later in Hebrews 3:16 that the people who came out from Egypt did so διὰ Μωϋσέως. Furthermore, the author’s vocabulary later in chapter three betrays a self-conscious meditation on exodus deliverance in relationship to Christ’s work. Also, by choosing to refer to the exodus generation as πάντες οἱ ἐξεληθόντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωϋσέως (Heb 3:16) the author of Hebrews shows that his thinking in this paragraph is informed by OT references to the exodus account outside the Pentateuch. We know this because of the significant verbal and linguistic correspondence between Hebrews 3:16 and (for example) Psalm 113:1 (LXX). Psalm 113:1 says Ἐν ἐξόδῳ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οἴκου Ἰακωβ ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου “At Israel’s exodus from Egypt, of Jacob’s house from a barbarian people.”⁷ The observations above underscore that the only OT saint who supplies the most helpful context for understanding the reference to Christ as ἀπόστολος is Moses in his role as the one who was sent by God to deliver Israel out of Egypt.

With regards to the discontinuities between Jesus and Moses the author of Hebrews asserts that Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession, is worthy of greater honor than Moses in the same way that the builder of a house is worthy of greater honor than the house itself. Jesus is the Son who governs the house and so is worthy of

⁶John Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 74; Robert F. O’Toole, “The Parallels between Jesus and Moses,” *BTB* 20, no. 1 (1990): 25.

⁷Other LXX texts with close verbal and linguistic parallels to Hebrews 3:16 include Exod 13:3; 16:1; 23:15; 34:18; Num 1:1; 9:1; 11:20; 22:5, 11; 26:4; 33:1; Deut 4:45; 6:4; 9:7; 16:1, 3, 6; Josh 5:4, 6; 24:6; 2 Chr 20:10; Jer 7:25; 44:5.

more honor than Moses who is only a servant in the house.⁸ Moses, the spokesman for God was only a “μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων, a testimony of those things which were to be spoken later” (Heb 3:5).⁹ This implies that when Moses repudiated the honor of being called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter and chose rather to suffer ill-treatment with the people of God (Heb 11:24-25) and when he left Egypt refusing to fear the king’s wrath (Heb 11:27) he did so as the one sent to bring God’s people out of Egypt (Exod 3:10). However, in all these great feats of faith, Moses was no more than “μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων, a testimony of those things which were to be spoken later” (Heb 3:5). These τῶν λαληθησομένων have been spoken in the new and greater apostle of our confession, Jesus Christ. This greater apostle was made lower than angels (Heb 2:6, 9) and partook of flesh and blood like his brothers in order to deliver them (2:14-15) and to make purification for their sins (1:3-4).¹⁰

The verses following Hebrews 3:1 afford more support for the suggestion that Jesus is the new and greater apostle who delivers in a greater and better way than Moses.

⁸Lierman has argued that if the suggestion that the author here alludes not only to Numbers 12:7 but also to 1 Chronicles 17:4-14 is granted this will open the way for discerning a wave of double entendres in Hebrews involving a “house,” the kingdom-temple where God is served by a prophet-priest-king. See Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 120.

⁹This is one of only twelve occurrences of future participles in the NT and the only occurrence of a future passive participle in the NT. See Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament: With Scripture, Subject, and Greek Word Indexes* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 636. Ellingworth has argued that the passive voice of the future participle here probably implies divine action. See Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 208.

¹⁰The logic of Hebrews 3:5 is that the goal of Moses’s faithfulness as a servant in God’s house was εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων. So, the significance of Moses’s faithful service transcends his epoch because he functioned as a reliable witness of things yet to be spoken. God spoke to him “mouth to mouth” (Num. 12:8) and his ministry to Israel was prophetic and forward pointing (see Deut 18:15–19). Hebrews affirms that Moses’s ministry was a witness of what was expected in the future. Furthermore, the verb, λαλέω, “to speak” is particularly important to the author’s argument. He has already noted that God spoke in piecemeal and forward pointing ways in the past but has now spoken fully and finally in his Son (Heb 1:1–2a). The Son himself was the first “to speak” the message of salvation (2:2–3). In 3:5, λαλέω is employed again to indicate that Moses bore witness to the things to be spoken by God (note the passive voice). So, Moses was a witness of the things that God was to utter in the future (relative to Moses’s place in redemptive history). According to the author of Hebrews, these things have now been revealed in the Son. Thus, O’Brien is right to affirm, “From an eschatological perspective, Moses stood with those through whom God spoke in the past, and yet in some senses he anticipated what was to come (note 1 Pet. 1:10–12).” See Peter Thomas O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 134.

First, the main exhortation flowing from the comparison between Moses and Jesus is set in the context of the wilderness experience of those who came out of Egypt *διὰ Μωϋσέως*. The author urgently enjoins his addressees, “Today if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts *as when they provoked me, as in the day of trial in the wilderness, where your fathers tried by testing and saw my works for forty years*” (Heb 3:7-9).¹¹ This command shows that the deliverance of *πάντες οἱ ἐξελθόντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωϋσέως* adumbrated the experience of the readers who are here viewed as the eschatological exodus generation.¹² Second, the connecting *διό* at the beginning of Hebrews 3:7 helps to show the tight connection between the point of the Jesus/Moses comparison in Hebrews 3:1-6 and the command in 3:7-9. Since the comparison precedes and leads into an extensive discussion of the wilderness wandering of the exodus generation, it shows that the author does not randomly think of Moses but that his discussion is set in an exodus context and specifically with regards to Moses’ role as the one who was sent to deliver Israel from Egypt.

In light of the cumulative force of the observations made above, I suggest that the reference to Jesus as “the apostle. . . of our confession” is best understood against the backdrop of Moses as God’s “sent one” who was commissioned to deliver Israel out of Egypt. This reading takes seriously the fact that the author of Hebrews applies the title “apostle” to Jesus in the context of a Jesus/Moses comparison. Just as Moses’ commission (see Exod 3:10) had the historical exodus deliverance for its end, so Christ’s designation as apostle points to the fact that Jesus has effected an eschatological exodus-deliverance for God’s new covenant people. Read this way, the designation of Jesus as apostle ceases to be as surprising as it feels at first sight.

¹¹I deal more fully with this text in chapter five of this project where I give attention to “pilgrimage” as an exodus category in Hebrews. Italics mine.

¹²Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 174.

Exodus Deliverance and Revelation in Hebrews 1-3. The whole point of the great act of deliverance from slavery at the exodus is that Yahweh, the one and only true God, was making himself known (Exod 7:5; 14:4). So, the “apostle” whom Yahweh sent out for this work of deliverance is not only a leader in the deliverance, he also mediates God’s self-revelation to his people and to the world.¹³ Thus, closely associated with Moses’ role as the one by whom God delivered Israel from Egypt is his role as the one through whom God spoke and enacted the old covenant on the heels of the exodus deliverance (Heb 2:2; 10:28). The author of Hebrews seems to be exploiting this close relationship between revelation and exodus deliverance as he compares Moses with Jesus. Early on in the book he clearly stated that God has spoken to us in these last days in his Son (Heb 1:1-2, cf. 2:3-4 etc). This full and definitive speech of God that has come in the Son is the culmination of that which God had been speaking *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπῳς. . . ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* (Heb 1:1).

Beyond all question, Moses is foremost among these prophets of the old era (Deut 33:10-12; 18:18; Acts 3:22ff). God himself stated, “If there is a prophet among you, I, the Lord, shall make myself known to him in a vision. I shall speak with him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses, he is faithful in all my household; with him I speak mouth to mouth, even openly and not in dark sayings, and he beholds the form of the Lord” (Num 12:6-8). In Hebrews 3:5, the author quotes from Numbers 12:7, and interestingly enough, he does not bring up the issue of the priesthood which is included in the introduction of Jesus at verse one. This may be because he was aware of the fact that in the context of Numbers 12:7 the issue at stake was whether God had given a revelation uniquely to Moses. Since he has already made the point that Jesus fulfills and transcends all of what God said before Jesus’ coming, the author’s quotation of Numbers 12:7 in

¹³Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 160; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, BTCF (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 2015), 114, 115.

Hebrews 3:5 also implicitly says that the revelation of God in the Son fulfills and surpasses the revelation of God in Moses. Therefore, the “apostle” in the OT through whom the word came is worthy of less honor than the apostle in the NT through whom God has spoken finally and definitively. All this leads to the conclusion that just as the revelation in the OT came alongside of (Exod 7:1-5; 14:1-4) and on the heels of exodus deliverance (Exod 19-24), so also God’s speech in the Son is to be understood as accompanying a new and greater exodus which has happened in these last days (Heb 1:2). In this sense Moses is, once again, “μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων, a testimony of those things which were to be spoken later” (Heb 3:5), which things have been spoken in the Son who has accomplished the eschatological exodus.

Rengstorf has suggested that the only possible significance of ἀπόστολος in the expression τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν (Heb 3:1) is that in Jesus the definitive self-disclosure of God has taken place.¹⁴ He posits that the anarthrous character of ἀρχιερεύς shows that τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα constitutes a unity. According to Rengstorf, the phrase sums up what has been said about Jesus from the standpoint of the decision of the readers (ὁμολογία), namely that Jesus is the Son (υἱός) in whom God has finally spoken (Heb 1:1-4), and that he is the high priest who has finally expiated the sins of his people (Heb 2:5-18).¹⁵ Rengstorf contends that if a different view is taken, then the only possibility is that in ἀπόστολος, Jesus “as the one uniquely sent by God, is contrasted with Moses the greatest bearer of revelation in the OT” and in ἀρχιερεύς “with Aaron, the leading representative of the priesthood under the law.”¹⁶ This, in Rengstorf’s view, faces two difficulties. First, it gives us a usage never found elsewhere in the NT and found only in Justin throughout the whole range of early

¹⁴Karl H. Rengstorf, “Ἀπόστολος,” in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 423.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

Christian literature.¹⁷ Second, this view entails an inevitable disruption in the description of Jesus since it involves the isolation of *ἀπόστολος* from *ἀρχιερεύς*, whereas the author is concerned to bring out their indivisibility.¹⁸ So Rengstorf argues that the designation of Jesus as *ἀπόστολος* in Hebrews 3:1 signifies that God has definitively revealed himself in the Son but rejects any understanding of *ἀπόστολος* in relationship to the Jesus/Moses comparison.

Rengstorf’s emphasis on God’s self-revelation in his discussion of the meaning of *ἀπόστολος* is persuasive. Nevertheless, his conclusion ignores important evidence in the immediate context of the term *ἀπόστολος* in Hebrews 3 and as a result is flawed on at least three counts. Firstly, the participial phrase *πιστὸν ὄντα* in Hebrews 3:2 both modifies the preceding expression *τὸν ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν* (v.1) and introduces the Jesus/Moses comparison in the following verses.¹⁹ So, any attempt to decipher the meaning of *ἀπόστολος* that disregards the comparison of Jesus with Moses is bound to be defective. Secondly, while the phrase *τὸν ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερέα* is bound together by a single article the phrase describes two related but distinct aspects of the one designated.²⁰ As such the author can pick up and deal with each aspect at a time.²¹ As Small has suggested, “Jesus’ title as ‘apostle’ may also help to set up the comparison with Moses, while the title ‘high priest’ anticipates the comparison with Aaron and Levi later in the discourse.”²² Small’s suggestion is supported by the fact that from verse two and

¹⁷Rengstorf, “*Ἀπόστολος*,” 423.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Brian C. Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 278.

²⁰Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 160.

²¹See Christopher A. Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfecter of Faith: Jesus’ Faith as the Climax of Israel’s History in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 61–63 for more on the context of the term “apostle” in Hebrews 3:1.

²²Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, 278–79.

beyond the author does not explicitly pick up the theme of the priesthood again until later in chapter 4:14.²³ Thirdly, Rengstorf's interpretation of *ἀπόστολος* ignores the fact that even in Hebrews the concept of Jesus as God's *ἀπόστολος* is subtly communicated through Jesus being contrasted with angels who are *ἀποστελλόμενα* to serve heirs of salvation.²⁴ Jesus is the messenger of God's word (Heb 1:2; 2:3; 2:12) and the one who accomplishes the mission of redemption (Heb 1:3; 2:14-18). So, the designation of Jesus as *ἀπόστολος* only makes explicit what has been implied in several verses.²⁵ It is thus safe to conclude that in referring to Jesus by the title *ἀπόστολος* the author of Hebrews intends to communicate something of the fact that Jesus is both the ultimate word of God (Heb 1:1-2) and the ultimate deliverer of God's eschatological people (Heb 2:10-18). To put it differently, the term *ἀπόστολος* in Hebrews 3:1 harks back to Moses' roles as both the mediator of the Sinai revelation and deliverer at the exodus from Egypt. In so doing, the term portrays Jesus as the mediator of the definitive eschatological revelation (Heb 1:1-2) and deliverer of the eschatological exodus generation (Heb 2:10ff).²⁶

Signs, Wonders, and Miracles; Gifts of the Spirit; and Exodus Deliverance (Heb 2:1-4)

In Hebrews 2:1-4, the author turns from exposition to the first of many exhortations to come later in the letter. In this first warning one reason for the author's emphasis on the Son's superiority over angels begins to be evident. In verse one, the author warns the readers not to drift away from the message they received. Verses two to four provide explanations for the warning. The first reason the author gives is presented in the form of an argument from the lesser to the greater: if the word spoken by angels

²³So Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, 179.

²⁴Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfecter of Faith*, 62.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 114.

was sure and those who violated it were punished, the author argues, then those who neglect the greater revelation given through the Son will certainly not escape punishment (Heb 2:2-3). The second reason for the urgent warning is that the word that has come through the Son was confirmed to the readers by eyewitnesses who heard and saw Jesus. The author's third reason for why his readers should not neglect the great salvation is that God testified to this salvation *σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς* "by signs and wonders and by various miracles" (Heb 2:4). The fact that God *συνεπιμαρτυρέω* (testified) about salvation speaks to God confirming or accrediting the revelation that came by the Son. In this sense, one could say that the idea here is like the instances in Acts where the preaching of the apostles is authenticated by the *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* that accompanied the preaching.²⁷

While it is true that the signs and wonders and miracles served to authenticate the message that came through the Son, this reading does not seem to exhaust the whole

²⁷The expression *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* or *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* occurs once in Matthew, once in Mark, and once in the Gospel of John. In Matthew 24:24 as in Mark 13:22 (cf. Deut 13:2), the doing of *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* is presented as part of the characteristics of apocalyptic pseudo-messiahs (see also 2 Thess 2:9). In Acts *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* or *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* occurs twice in Peter's address at Pentecost (Acts 2:19, 22) then in the continuation of the story with reference to the apostles (2:43). Acts 2:22, like Hebrews 2:3-4, speaks of *δυνάμεις καὶ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* thus adding a third element to the expression. In Acts 6:8 we read that Stephen was full of grace and *δυνάμεις* and was performing great *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* among the people. In his speech, Stephen refers to the *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* of Moses (Acts 7:36). Two things are worthy of note here. First, the expression *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* in Acts 2:19 is part of a quotation from Joel 3:3 (LXX and MT, 2:30 ET). Strikingly enough, the LXX of Joel 3:3 has only *τέρατα* (wonders) but the citation in Acts adds the noun *σημεῖα* (signs). Since *σημεῖα* was often paired with *τέρατα* in the OT (e.g., Exod 7:3; Deut 4:34; 6:22) and the reference is almost always to the extraordinary acts of God associated with exodus redemption, it could well be that Luke is seeking to communicate here that the redemption at the exodus was a shadow of the redemption that has come in Jesus. This is probably the case because in Jesus the promise of a prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15, 18) had been eschatologically fulfilled (Acts 7:37). Second, in reporting Stephen's point about Moses' deliverance of Israel from Egypt in Acts 7:36, Luke clearly alludes to such exodus texts as Exodus 7:3 and Psalm 105:27 where *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* are said to have accompanied Moses' deliverance of Israel from Egypt. Other references to *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* in Acts speak of these *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* accompanying the ministry of the apostles. Jesus' hand is at work in the ministry of the apostles working *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* to give divine authentication of the apostles' ministry (Acts 4:30; 14:3; 15:12; cf. 4:24ff.; 5:12ff.). It thus seems that in Acts *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* is mentioned in two different ways: on the one hand *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* is used to portray Christ's redemption as the antitype of the historical exodus and on the other the phrase describes phenomena that authenticated the apostolic message (cf. Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12). So Karl H. Rengstorff, "Σημεῖον," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 240-43. The new age of eschatological redemption in Christ is accompanied by *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* as was the redemption from Egypt. So, there is clearly a use of *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* in the NT that portrays Christ's redemption as the antitype of the historical exodus.

point of the verse especially because of the distinctive exodus character of the author's phraseology. During the exodus, the Lord performed many "signs and wonders" to the end that both Egypt and Israel would know that he is the Lord of history, the only true God, and that he was fulfilling his covenant in liberating Israel from Egypt (Exod 7:3; Deut 6:22; 26:8; 29:3; 34:11; Ps 135:9; Jer 32:20, 21). In fact, "signs and wonders" became a standard way of describing the judgments that God repeatedly unleashed on Egypt to demonstrate his greatness and compel Egypt to let Israel go (Exod 7:3, 9; 11:9–10; Deut 4:34; 6:22). We must therefore inquire why the author would pull in a distinctly exodus phrase to make the point that God confirmed the message through the Son by miracles. The answer to this question seems to be that the author views the salvation proclaimed in the word through the Son as an eschatological exodus which, like the historical exodus, was accompanied by *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*.

Furthermore, in advancing the reasons for this warning in Hebrews 2, the author resorts to an argument from the lesser revelation mediated by angels on the heels of exodus deliverance to the greater revelation that has come in the Son. Evidently, "the word given through angels" is a reference to the law of Moses which is used as the basis of a very similar warning later in Hebrews 10:28-29 and 12:25-29. The author reasons that if those who violated the word given through angels were punished with earthly punishments, it follows that those who neglect this great salvation will experience even more terrible consequences. So, one reason the readers must not drift away from the word they have received is that this word is greater than what came through Moses shortly after the exodus deliverance from Egypt. Thus, two things here indicate that the author conceives of our salvation as the new exodus deliverance. The first one is the distinctly exodus phrase used to describe God's attestation to the revelation in the Son. The second is the appeal to the superiority of the revelation in the Son over the revelation given in the wake of the exodus from Egypt. As O'Brien puts it, "By mentioning that God had corroborated the message of salvation through 'signs and wonders', our author is assuring

his friends that what had been done in their midst was *part and parcel of God's gracious redemptive activity*, an activity that has been effected through Moses at the exodus.²⁸ So, just as God gave signs to show that he appeared to Moses to deliver Israel by him (Exod 4:1ff), so also, he gave *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καὶ ποικίλαι δυνάμεις* to show that he has appeared in the Son and worked the new and final exodus deliverance in the Son.²⁹

Another reality that the author presents as an attestation to the veracity of the word that came through the Son is that *πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς* “apportionments of the Holy Spirit” accompanied this word. Apportionments here most likely refer to the gifts of the Holy Spirit.³⁰ In addition to the fact that “apportionments of the Holy Spirit” serve to validate the word that came by the Son, the author’s use of the expression here could well be a tacit reference to the fact that what has happened in the Son is an eschatological exodus. We know this because in the OT the gift of the Holy Spirit is given to Moses and those who were to lead with him right after the exodus from Egypt (Num 11:25-29). Later writers of scripture also tie the gift of the Spirit to the exodus from Egypt (Neh 9:19-20; Isa 63:11-14; Hag 2:4-5).³¹ In fact, Isaiah states that the Spirit-anointed Messiah who will spring from the stem and root of Jesse will restore a new creation and in that day the Lord will restore the tribes of Israel in a way that mirrors the exodus from Egypt (Isa 11:1-16).³² Remarkably enough, the author of Hebrews explicitly presents the Son through whom God has spoken in these last days as the shoot and branch from Jesse’s

²⁸O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 90. Italics original.

²⁹Edgar Leonard Allen, “Jesus and Moses in the New Testament,” *ExpT* 67, no. 4 (January 1956): 104.

³⁰Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, and William F. Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 633.

³¹See William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: P. Lang, 2001), 124–48 for a helpful exegetical discussion of these texts in relation to the gift of the Holy Spirit and the exodus motif.

³²James M. Hamilton, *God’s Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 197.

stem (Heb 1:5; cf. Ps 2:7; 2 Sam 7:14; 1 Chr 17:13) who offers himself “through the eternal Spirit” (Heb 9:14). Against this backdrop and the reference to the mosaic revelation in Hebrews 2:1-4, it is safe to say that while the “apportionments of the Holy Spirit” bear out the truth of the word that came by Son, they also (at least secondarily) point to the fact that the Son’s work fulfills the promised and long-awaited new exodus deliverance.

Hebrews 13:20

Hebrews 13:20-21 summarizes some of the major arguments of the whole epistle.³³ The reference to covenant and doing what is pleasing to God certainly harks back to things previously taught at various points in the letter (Heb 8; 13:15-25). In fact, this thematic connection between this closing benediction and the rest of the letter is the first proof that the prayer is organically bound together with the rest of the letter. The second indicator that this closing prayer is integrally bound up with the rest of the letter is the theme of prayer. The author has asked his addressees to pray for him (Heb 13:18-19) and now he prays for them and concludes with a doxology (Heb 13:20-21). The author’s strategy of asking for prayers for himself and praying for his addressees fits with all the “let us” exhortations he has enunciated throughout the letter (see for example Heb 1:2; 2:1, 3:6, 14; 4:1, 11, 14, 16; 6:1, 3; 10:22–24; 12:1, 28; 13:13, 15). All along the author has shown that he is in the race of faith with his addressees and what better way to conclude that than to talk about mutual prayer support between himself and his audience? So, though brief, this concluding reference to mutual prayer support also helps to show that the epistle is a unity. Less significant but still worthy of note is the fact that the closing prayer is attached to its setting by the connective $\delta\epsilon$ and so could also be an indicator that the closing prayer is not unconnected to the rest of the letter.

³³William L. Lane, “Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews,” in *Life in the Face of Death*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 266.

It is also the case, however, that the closing prayer explicitly brings up concepts that (if previously mentioned) have only been implied. Designations such as “the God of peace,” “the Lord Jesus,” and “the great shepherd” have not been previously talked about in the letter.³⁴ The resurrection, which is only implicit elsewhere, (e.g., in Heb 1:3; 7:16, 24) is here made explicit.³⁵ The fact that Hebrews 13:20 is the only explicit mention of the resurrection in Hebrews makes the verse very significant for the argument in this chapter. This is the case because, if it can be shown that the author of Hebrews cast Christ’s resurrection in an exodus light (and given the centrality of the resurrection to Christ’s redemptive work), significant credence will be afforded for the contention in this chapter.

The prayer begins with an invocation of the God of peace. This invocation of “the God of peace” is further expounded through the use of a participial clause that describes God’s saving action.³⁶ The theme and verbiage of Hebrews 13:20 points to a self-conscious reliance on Isaiah 63:11-14 as the table below makes more explicit.

Table 6. Verbal parallels between isaiah 63:11-14 and hebrews 13:20

Isaiah 63:11-14	Hebrews 13:20
63:11 καὶ ἐμνήσθη ἡμερῶν αἰωνίων ὁ ἀναβιβάσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων· ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; 63:12 ὁ ἀγαγὼν τῇ δεξιᾷ Μωυσῆν, ὁ	Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν,

³⁴Cranfield has pointed out that the phrase “the God of peace” also occurs in Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 5:23; and the parallel expression “the Lord of peace” is used in 2 Thess 3:16. See Charles E. B. Cranfield, “Hebrews 13:20-21,” *SJT* 20, no. 4 (December 1967): 437. Attridge has gone further by saying that there seems to be a literary tradition at work and that both the form and the content of the conclusion of Hebrews “support the associations of Hebrews with Pauline circles and with Roman Christianity.” See Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 405.

³⁵Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (NY: Doubleday, 2001), 579.

³⁶Lane, “Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews,” 267.

Before addressing some of the details concerning the linguistic and thematic correspondence between Isaiah 63:11-14 and Hebrews 13:20 represented in the table above, we should first of all note that the author does not employ standard NT resurrection terminology like ἀνάστασις and ἐγείρω. This choice seems to be deliberate.³⁷ We know this because he uses ἀνάστασις to speak of the resurrection of the dead three times in two previous verses (Heb 6:2; 11:35) and he uses ἐγείρω in Hebrews 11:19 to speak of the motivation behind Abraham’s obedience to sacrifice Isaac when he was asked: Abraham considered that καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν δυνατὸς ὁ θεός “God is able to raise even from the dead.”

If as Runge has argued, “choice implies meaning,” then we must attend carefully to what the author is seeking to communicate by choosing not to use traditional NT resurrection terminology.³⁸ This absence of standard NT resurrection language in Hebrews 13:20 has prompted from Attridge the suggestion that the author’s avoidance of standard resurrection vocabulary in Hebrews 13:20 is reflective of his tendency to consistently describe the act by which Christ was perfected using language of exaltation not resurrection.³⁹ He further notes that the author’s use of ἀναγαγών “recalls the description of God’s salvific action as ‘leading (ἀγαγόντα) many sons to glory.’”⁴⁰ While Attridge’s suggestion is helpful, it stops short of an important reason for the author’s

³⁷Attridge, *Hebrews*, 406.

³⁸Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers Marketing, 2010), 5. Runge argues that “All of us make choices as we communicate: what to include, how to prioritize and order events, how to represent what we want to say. The choices we make are directed by the goals and objectives of our communication. The implication is that if a choice is made, then there is meaning associated with the choice.” See *ibid.*, 5-6.

³⁹Attridge, *Hebrews*, 406.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

word choice. The fact that the author has a penchant for using the verb ἄγω and its cognates to describe Christ's work as an antitype of the exodus affords a fuller explanation (Heb 1:6; 2:10; 8:9; 13:20). It is better to say that the author's avoidance of standard NT resurrection terminology dovetails with his repeated evocations of the exodus motif at key points of the epistle and constitutes an important reason why the author will prefer a verb of the ἄγω word group over ἐγείρω in Hebrews 13:20.

The following details on the linguistic and thematic relationship between Isaiah 63 and Hebrews 13:20 further prop up the above suggestion. The reference in Isaiah 63:11-14 (LXX) is to God's appointment of Moses as the leader of Israel at the deliverance from Egypt. According to Isaiah 63:11-14, Moses was "led forth as the shepherd of the flock." Hebrews' choice of a word of the ἄγω word group in 13:20 is consistent with the use of the cognate verb "to lead" in Isaiah 63:12-14 (LXX). But more than that it communicates the idea that God's redemptive work is viewed as a "leading out" under both the old and new covenants.⁴¹ In other words the verbal correspondence between Isaiah 63:12-14 and Hebrews 13:20 in terms of their use of a verb of the ἄγω word group highlights continuities between God's saving activity in the old and new eras of redemptive history. These linguistic and thematic continuities between the two texts are further enhanced by Aubrey Sequeira's observation that "the phrase τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων 'the great shepherd of the sheep' is distinct and appears only in Isaiah 63:11."⁴²

But there is more: the grandeur of the "leading out" that happened in the OT is exceeded by the grandeur of its NT counterpart (Heb 2:10; 8:6). The finality of the "leading out" that has happened in Christ reveals that Yahweh's "leading out" in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 6:7; 20:1-2; Lev 19:36; 25:38; 26:13; Num 5:31; Deut 5:6) and in

⁴¹Lane, "Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews," 267.

⁴² Aubrey Sequeira, "Echoes of Scripture in the Letter to the Hebrews" (Seminar Paper, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY, May 4, 2016).

the prophets (e.g., Isa 64:11-14) was only a prefiguration of God’s decisive action in raising Jesus from the dead.⁴³ As such, the author of Hebrews sees Moses the shepherd of Midian (Exod 3:1), as a shadow of “the great shepherd,” *par excellence*, Jesus. Therefore, Jeremias is to be judged right when he affirms that the “predicate ‘chief shepherd’ in Hb. 13:20 is used to denote the uniqueness of Christ who surpasses all previous examples, *especially Moses*.”⁴⁴ It follows then that in leading Moses up out of the Red Sea God was painting a faint picture of the bigger and better “leading out” that has happened in Jesus being led forth from the realm of the dead.⁴⁵ In the context of the epistle to the Hebrews, the leading out of Jesus from the realm of the dead should stoke the faith of the addressees and guard them against the allure to fall away. As Lane helpfully states,

The appointment of Jesus to the office of “shepherd” is the goal of the leading forth of Jesus from among the dead. Through Jesus, God has begun to lead his flock in order to make a glorious name for himself. That action will be completed when the flock of God is brought to an experience of celebratory rest (cf. Isa. 63:14 LXX; Heb. 2:10; 4:9). The resurrection of Jesus, therefore, demonstrates God’s decisive intervention by which he acknowledged and ratified Jesus’ death on the cross as the means of redemption of the human family.⁴⁶

Additionally, the fact that Jesus’ designation as τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων is set in an explicitly new covenant context is significant. Jeremiah prophesied that the old formula that spoke of “leading out” from Egypt was going to be eclipsed and replaced at a future time by a formula that will speak of “leading out” from the land of the North (Jer 16:14-15; 23:7-8). Furthermore, this new “leading out” will be accompanied by the new covenant (Jer 31:31-34 MT; 38:31-34 LXX). Hebrews pulls these realities together when 13:20 is considered in the broader context of the whole letter. The significance of the Bible’s *locus classicus* on the subject of the new covenant, namely Jeremiah 31:31-34, in

⁴³Lane, “Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews,” 267.

⁴⁴Joachim Jeremias, “Ποιμήν,” ed. Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 494. Italics mine.

⁴⁵Cranfield, “Hebrews 13:20-21,” 438.

⁴⁶Lane, “Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews,” 267.

the book of Hebrews is simply unmissable. The text is commented on in Hebrews 10:15-17 and cited in full in Hebrews 8:6-13. So, when the author speaks of “the eternal covenant” in 13:20 there is little doubt that he is referring to the new covenant spoken of in Jeremiah 31:31-34 (see Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60; 37:26).⁴⁷ But how do we understand the logic behind the author’s decision to bring together the two seemingly disparate themes of “great shepherd of the sheep” and “blood of the eternal covenant”?

Jewett has pointed out that one of the concepts that appear in the letter only in the concluding summary is the idea expressed by the phrase *ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου*.⁴⁸ He posits that while Kosmala’s suggestion that the author is describing Jesus as the prototype of the local shepherds⁴⁹ sounds appealing, it sits oddly with the reference to *αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου*.⁵⁰ Referencing Michel, he claims that exegetes of Hebrews have been unable to find a coherent relationship between the shepherd and the covenant blood themes.⁵¹ On this premise he follows the lead of Purdy and Cotton⁵² to argue that “the shepherd figure was drawn from “liturgical usage” while the covenant-blood motif was added by the author to bring the benediction within the framework of ideas already developed in the epistle.”⁵³ Jewett’s reasoning fails to integrate Hebrews 13:20-21 with the author’s several and varied allusions to the exodus motif and how those are to be

⁴⁷Lane, “Living a Life of Faith in the Face of Death: The Witness of Hebrews,” 268.

⁴⁸Robert Jewett, “Form and Function of the Homiletic Benediction,” *ATR* 51, no. 1 (January 1969): 28.

⁴⁹Hans Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen; Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), 415–16.

⁵⁰Jewett, “Form and Function of the Homiletic Benediction,” 28.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 28–29.

⁵²Alexander C. Purdy and J. Harry Cotton, “The Epistle to the Hebrews,” in *IB*, ed. George A. Buttrick, vol. 11 (New York: Abingdon, 1955), 761.

⁵³Jewett, “Form and Function of the Homiletic Benediction,” 29.

understood from a biblical theological standpoint. Aubrey Sequeira's proposal that Hebrews 13:20 incorporates Isaiah 63:11 with Zechariah 9:11 to heighten the new exodus tenor of the verse seems rather convincing. He underscores that the phrase *αἵματι διαθήκης* appears only once in the entire LXX and that in Zechariah 9:11.⁵⁴ He also points out that the shepherd/sheep motif is widespread throughout Zechariah 9-11 and in this portion of scripture Yahweh promises to rescue his sheep from bad shepherds and shepherd them himself through a faithful Davidic shepherd/king (Zech 9:16; 10:3; 11:3-17; 12:8-10; 13:7-9).⁵⁵ If Sequeira is right, it can be said that the formulation in 13:20 is grounded in the conviction that God has established a new covenant with his people through the "leading out" of Jesus from the realm of the dead. This "leading out" or exodus of Jesus (see Luke 9:30-31) is, for the new and eternal covenant, the fundamental action of God, which has replaced the foundational acts of salvation under the old covenant.

This new exodus reading makes good sense in the immediate context of Hebrews 13:20-21. The fact that God has "led out" Jesus from the realm of the dead provides the ground of the obligation for the readers to obey God in a manner "pleasing to him" (Heb 13:21). Furthermore, this new "leading out" undergirds the writer's confidence that God will hear and respond favorably to his prayer for the community. So, the author desires for his readers to see the resurrection of Jesus as the foundation for Christian faith and hope. In the broader context of the whole letter, the author wants the readers to understand that God's decisive "leading out" of Jesus from the realm of the dead as the great shepherd of the flock, obligates them to stay the course of the race to the end (Heb 12:1-4). They are called to run to the finish line and not be like the generation

⁵⁴Sequeira, "Echoes of Scripture in the Letter to the Hebrews." A variant form with both nouns being articular and *αἵματι* in the nominative is found in Exod. 24:8.

⁵⁵Ibid.

that sinfully craved the delicacies of Egypt and as a result failed to enter God's rest because of unbelief.

Exodus Deliverance in Hebrews 2:10-18

Hebrews 2:10-18 is a unit of the epistle to the Hebrews where the notion of deliverance is most explicitly stated. The text follows the typical NT logic of Christ's humiliation resulting in redemption (see for example Phil 2:5-18). The text sets forth the reason for Christ's humiliation to death on behalf of the many sons that God brings to glory (Heb 2:9-10). The author helps his readers to see how Christ has accomplished the salvation which they must not neglect (Heb 2:1-4). He also points out the relationship between the Savior and those he saves. In this unit, the author's interest to frame his argument in terms of the exodus emerges again. This exodus backdrop of Hebrews 2:10-18 is borne out by the remarkable verbal overlap that the text shares with texts from the Pentateuch and the latter prophets which look back on the historical exodus and forward to a new deliverance.

My aim in this section is to show that Hebrews 2:10-18 bears significant linguistic and thematic correspondences with OT texts dealing with exodus deliverance. As a result, it (Heb. 2:10-18) affords evidence for my claim that the author of Hebrews uses the exodus category of deliverance (among others) to articulate the work of Christ and its application to believers. I will demonstrate this suggestion by showing that in 2:10-18 the author alludes to the story of exodus deliverance in the Pentateuch and promises of a similar future deliverance in the writings of the latter prophets.⁵⁶

The table below captures the verbal and linguistic correspondences between

⁵⁶Even if the interpreters who claim that this paragraph presents the classic Greco-Roman way of talking about the resurrection [see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 76; William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 55–56] are right, most agree that the author's dominant matrix for developing his argument is the OT and specifically the exodus motif. So Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 96; O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 104–105; Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 137–38.

Hebrews 2:10-18 and texts from the Pentateuch and the latter prophets. As will be seen from the table, the many different verbal and thematic similarities between Hebrews 2:10-18 and the exodus category of deliverance point to a deliberate allusion to this category by the author.

Table 7. Exodus language in hebrews 2:10-18

Hebrews 2:14-18	Exodus Language
<p>2:10 Ἐπρεπεὶν γὰρ αὐτῶ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.</p>	<p>Ex 6:6 βιάδιζε εἰπὸν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων Ἐγὼ κύριος καὶ ἐξάξω ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς δυναστείας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ῥύσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς δουλείας</p>
<p>2:14 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχεν τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον,</p>	<p>Ex 12:51 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξήγαγεν κύριος τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν δυνάμει αὐτῶν.</p>
<p>2:15 καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.</p>	<p>Ex 13:14 Ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς κύριος ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας. Ex 20:2 Ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, ὅστις ἐξήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας.⁵⁷</p>
<p>2:16 οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.</p>	<p>Lev 26:13 ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄντων ὑμῶν δούλων καὶ συνέτριψα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρρησίας.</p>
<p>2:18 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεὶς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι.</p>	<p>Num 13:2–3 Ἀπόστειλον σεαυτῶ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατασκεψάσθωσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν Χαναναίων...πάντα ἀρχηγὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν... πάντες ἄνδρες ἀρχηγοὶ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ οὗτοι... Num 14:4 καὶ εἶπαν ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ Δῶμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Deut 5:6 Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας.</p>

⁵⁷Cf. also Exodus 6:26; 7:4.

	<p>Deut 6:12 πρόσεχε σεαυτῶ, μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας</p> <p>Deut 8:2 καὶ μνησθήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἤγαγεν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ...</p> <p>Deut 8:14–15 ...κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας, τοῦ ἀγαγόντος σε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου...</p> <p>Deut 13:6 ἐλάλησεν γὰρ πλανῆσαι σε ἀπὸ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ λυτρωσαμένου σε ἐκ τῆς δουλείας ἐξῴσαι σε ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ,</p> <p>Deut 13:11 ἐζήτησεν ἀποστῆσαι σε ἀπὸ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας.</p> <p>Isa. 41:8 Σὺ δέ, Ἰσραηλ, παῖς μου Ἰακωβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα,</p> <p>Isa. 41:9 οὐ ἄντελαβόμην ἀπ’ ἄκρων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκοπιῶν αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσά σε καὶ εἶπά σοι Παῖς μου εἶ, ἐξελεξάμην σε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπόν σε,</p> <p>Isa. 41:10 μὴ φοβοῦ, μετὰ σοῦ γάρ εἰμι, μὴ πλανῶ, ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε καὶ ἐβοήθησά σοι καὶ ἠσφαλισάμην σε τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς δικαίας μου.</p> <p>Jer. 38:32 (MT 31:32) οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶν κύριος,</p>
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Hebrews 2:10 strikes a significant exodus note. Jesus brings his brothers to glory as the τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν. As I argued in the previous chapter, the primary significance of ἀρχηγός in Hebrews 2:10 is that Jesus is the leader of God’s new people. Several texts in the Pentateuch speak of this act of deliverance by referring to Yahweh as the “one who brought out” ἐξάγω the sons of Israel from their slavery (see the

table above). So, from Hebrews 2:10 the author begins to use language which would remind his readers of the important period of the exodus in the life of Israel as a nation. This strategy sets the stage for the entrance of Moses, the wilderness wanderings and the entry into Canaan through Joshua (Heb 3:1- 4:12). The following briefly discusses specific verbal and linguistic evidences of an allusion to the exodus in Hebrews 2:10-18.⁵⁸

The new Exodus theme, already introduced in verse 10, is to be seen again here in the deliverance of men from lifelong bondage to fear of death. The word δουλεία in verse 15 helps bring this out. In the exodus, Yahweh revealed himself to the “sons of Israel” as the one who brought them out of δουλεία and who would lead them into the promised land (Exod 6:6; 13:3, 14; 20:2; Lev 26: 45; Deut 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6, 11; cf. Judg 6:8; 1 Kings 9:9; Ps 103:14).⁵⁹

Another remarkable feature of this unit is the author’s decision to use ἐπιλαμβάνομαι in 2:16 instead of ἀντιλαμβάνομαι when he is evidently harkening back to Isaiah 41:9 where the verb is ἀντιλαμβάνομαι.⁶⁰ This is especially significant in light of the fact that another NT verse that clearly alludes to Isaiah 41:9 retains ἀντιλαμβάνομαι (see Luke 1:54). Several interpreters believe that ἐπιλαμβάνομαι should be understood as meaning “to take hold.” This is its consistent meaning elsewhere in the New Testament,

⁵⁸In Hebrews 2:14, the author introduces the devil into his argument. He has had much to say about the supremacy of Christ over angels but has thus far made no explicit reference to evil angelic beings. But without doubt, the devil was regarded as an angelic being, and so the thought here is congruent with the doctrine of the subjection of angels to Christ. Moreover, the discussion of Psalm 8 earlier in the chapter calls to mind Genesis 1-3, which sets forth the entry of sin and death through the serpent. So O’Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 114–115.

⁵⁹The verb that is typically used to talk about the exodus is ἐξάγω and it usually renders the hiphil of מִצְרָיִם to emphasize the fact that God caused the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. When Israel is the subject, ἐξέρχομαι is generally used (and less frequently πορεύομαι and ἐκπορεύομαι) to translate the qal of מִצְרָיִם. Another less frequently used Hebrew word for the exodus is הִלְכָה which is rendered ἀνάγω. So B. Johnson, “מִצְרָיִם,” in *TDOT*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. John T. Willis, Douglas W. Stott, and David E. Green, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 233–35, 238–40.

⁶⁰Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 175–78.

including its only other occurrence in this epistle (Heb 8: 9).⁶¹ The occurrence of this same verb in Hebrews 8:9 is itself significant for my argument in this chapter because it concerns the exodus from Egypt through the power of God. In fact, a reference to the deliverance from Egypt in verse 16 would fit naturally with the reference to deliverance talked about in the previous verse. Hence Christ is not only pictured as the new Moses and the New Joshua but also as the full revelation of Yahweh who took Israel by the hand to deliver her from Egypt. Christ now works this deliverance not for a single ethnicity but for all who are offspring of Abraham through faith.

But what explains the switch from ἀντιλαμβάνομαι to ἐπιλαμβάνομαι? Broadly speaking it could be argued that the author is following the lead of the latter prophets of the OT who usually wove together the key eschatological themes of a new exodus, a new covenant, a new creation, and a new David (for example in Isaiah 40-55). If this is the case, then it may well be that in Hebrews 2:16 the author draws not only on Isaiah 41:9 where the emphasis is on the exodus but also on the text of Jeremiah 31:31-32 where the emphasis is on the new covenant. Not surprisingly he will later cite this same Jeremiah text in Hebrews 8:9 and uses ἐπιλαμβάνομαι. The author of Hebrews decides against slavishly following Isaiah 41:9 so that he might create verbal parallels between Hebrews 2:16 and 8:9. This verbal overlap would help his readers to better discern the exodus tenor of Hebrews 2:16 as they read it in conjunction with Hebrews 8:9 which refers to the exodus as that which happened ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου “on the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt.” As Yahweh took the historical exodus generation out of bondage in Egypt so Jesus, the Son, frees those who were held in life-long slavery through fear of death (Heb 2:15). This would be totally in keeping with the OT pattern where deliverance

⁶¹Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 107; Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 177; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 87; Ceslas Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux II* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1952), 45–56.

and covenant hang together.

Furthermore, the idea of Jesus' complete ability to help, βοηθέω, echoes the promise of Yahweh through Isaiah (Isa 41:10) in the context of the promise of a new exodus. Read this way, the transition into Hebrews 3 becomes even smoother. The discussion of the new Moses (apostle), the lessons drawn from the failure of the Israelites who left Egypt under Moses to enter into rest (Heb 3:7-19), and the proleptic character of Canaan into which Joshua led Israel (Heb 4:1-11) follow naturally from the exodus undercurrent running through Hebrews 2:10-18.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the epistle to the Hebrews bears sufficient features of exodus deliverance to warrant the claim that its author uses the exodus category of deliverance (among others) to explicate the redemptive accomplishment of Christ. I have shown that the author does this in several ways. One of these is that he presents the work of Christ, the deliverer of God's new exodus people, against the foil of Moses' work as the deliverer of God's people under the old order. This has included discussing the designation of Jesus as the apostle of our confession and the relationship between the revelation that has come in Jesus compared with what came through Moses in the context of the historical exodus deliverance. I have also attended to what in my view is the exodus-shaped discussion of Jesus' resurrection in Hebrews 13:20 where the author harks back to Isaiah 63:11 which discusses how Moses was led up from the Red Sea. The effect of this is that Jesus' deliverance shines forth as the antitype of Moses'. The deliverance that Jesus has accomplished fulfills and transcends that which Moses brought about in leading Israel out of Egypt. I have also attempted to bring out the new exodus significance of the "signs and wonders" language in Hebrews 2:1-4 as well the deliverance theme of Hebrews 2:10-18. My investigation on the deliverance theme in Hebrews leads to the conclusion that deliverance as an exodus category is not pervasive

in the epistle to the Hebrews. However, it appears significantly enough to warrant the claim that the author employs it as an exodus category in his discussion of the redemption that has come in Jesus Christ. In the next chapter, I will give attention to the pilgrimage motif and argue that it functions as part of the broader theme of the new exodus which the author uses to explicate Christ's work.

CHAPTER 5

PILGRIMAGE: THE NEW EXODUS JOURNEY AND THE NEW EXODUS DESTINATION

Introduction

Hebrews devotes almost two whole chapters of the epistle to addressing the notion of “journey through the wilderness” (Heb 3-4). So, pilgrimage or “journey through the wilderness” stands out as the most prominent of the exodus categories employed by the author of the epistle.¹ This extensive treatment of the concept of pilgrimage is neither superfluous nor accidental.² Rather it serves to sharpen the author’s main exhortation which is to warn his readers not to fall away: he sees in the wilderness experience of the historical exodus generation a fitting analogy for the salvation historical circumstances of his readers. The author is intent on having his letter be a safeguard for his readers. In the words of Käsemann, “Hebrews intends to show the Christian community the greatness of

¹Johnsson has argued that the idea of a journey or movement of some kind is the irreducible minimum of the concept of pilgrimage. He follows a model of pilgrimage proposed by H. B. Partin [see H. B. Partin, “The Muslim Pilgrimage: Journey to the Center” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1967)] on the basis of the Muslim *Hajj*. See William G. Johnsson, “Pilgrimage Motif in the Book of Hebrews,” *JBL* 97, no. 2 (June 1978): 239–251. Johnsson’s emphasis that “journey or movement” is fundamental to the concept of pilgrimage makes for a better understanding of the notion of pilgrimage in Hebrews. However, his approach is fundamentally problematic because he employs criteria that is derived from a different religious setting (Islam) and applies such to Hebrews. Such an approach runs the risk of forcing Hebrews’ ideas into an alien mold with the result that certain important aspects of pilgrimage in Hebrews become skewed. For example, Johnsson affirms Partin’s claim that a pilgrimage must necessarily involve leaving home. He then applies this to Hebrews by suggesting that being washed (Heb 6:2; 10:22) and enduring a hard struggle after joining the believing community was “leaving home” for the readers of Hebrews. However, from a redemptive historical perspective home for God’s people has always been fundamentally defined in terms of where they are headed not where they came from. For the exodus generation home was never Egypt (though they lived there for four hundred and thirty years) but Canaan (cf. Gen 15:14-16). For the audience of Hebrews (and certainly for all believers in Jesus) the present world is not their home. Rather, they seek their true home (Heb 2:5-10; 10:34; 11:14-16; 12:22-24, 28; 13:14). In light of such redemptive historical realities I am using pilgrimage in a way that is roughly synonymous to “journey through the wilderness.” For a similar use of pilgrimage see Raymond Brown, “Pilgrimage in Faith: The Christian Life in Hebrews,” *SWJT* 28, no. 1 (September 1985): 28–35.

²Luke Timothy Johnson, “The Scriptural World of Hebrews,” *Interpretation* 57, no. 3 (July 2003): 244–45.

the promise given it and the seriousness of the temptation threatening it.”³ To this end the author trumpets the fact that his readers are in an eschatological journey through the wilderness on their way to the eschatological promised land. This means that they (the addressees) must “not throw away [their] confidence, which has a great reward” (Heb 10:35).

As with the case of deliverance in the last chapter, I will not belabor the fact that “pilgrimage” is an exodus category. That is a self-evident point (Exod 12:37; 13:17-22; 14:1-4; 15:22-27; Num 33; Isa 11:16; 35:8-10; 40:3-5; 42:16; 43:19; 49:9-11). I will rather devote my attention to explicating the manner in which the author of Hebrews employs the concept of “pilgrimage” to show his readers the application of Christ’s redemptive accomplishments to their lives.⁴ This chapter divides into two main sections. The first section deals with the author’s treatment of the new exodus journey and the second main section addresses the new exodus destination.

The New Exodus Journey

In this section I argue that the wilderness motif introduced and expounded in Hebrews 3:7-4:11 presents the experience of the addressees as a new exodus journey in which these addressees must guard against the faithlessness of the Israelites in order to avoid a similar, indeed worst fate, than that which befell the Israelites. The wilderness journey of the audience towards the final rest is depicted to be fraught with allurements to commit apostasy.⁵ This risk of apostasy demands that the audience must persevere in

³ Ernst Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Irving L. Sandberg (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 17. Käsemann assumes a gnostic background for the book of Hebrews but that does not bear up under scrutiny. See my review of his work in the first chapter of this project. See also Thomas Keene, “Heaven Is a Tent: The Tabernacle as an Eschatological Metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews” (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2010), 258.

⁴Brown has argued from Hebrews 3 and 4 that the doctrine of salvation is presented with the aid of the exodus narrative. See Brown, “Pilgrimage in Faith,” 29.

⁵Keene, “Heaven Is a Tent,” 265.

faith until the end, for it is persevering faith that will determine everyone's entry into the final rest. It is hard to miss Hebrews' exhortational strategy of casting the circumstances of the readers in the light of the experience of those who left Egypt under Moses (Heb 3:7-4:11).⁶ In 3:7-19 the author advances his argument by quoting and expositing psalm 95.⁷ In the writer's mind, the situation of the Israelites in the wilderness shares significant overlap with the circumstances of his addressees and psalm 95 is the lens through which those overlaps are most clearly seen. In what follows I will provide exegetical comments on the author's argument in Hebrews 3:7-4:11 and especially his use of psalm 95 and his allusions to Numbers 13 and 14. I will particularly seek to give heed to the manner in which the author draws on these OT texts to portray the experience of the audience as an eschatological wilderness journey that is headed to the eschatological rest.

Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3

The first half of psalm 95 spans verses one through the first half of verse seven and celebrates creation and the creator. At verse 7b, the psalm strikes a strong note of admonition.⁸ It is from this exhortational half of the psalm that the writer to the Hebrews quotes. Two features of the psalm give a subtle initial indication that this psalm promises to be a fitting reference for a discussion involving the exodus motif. First, the psalm's reference to God as a rock recalls similar references to God in the context of the

⁶Jesse B. Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2016), 184; Brown, "Pilgrimage in Faith," 33.

⁷Coyne has pointed out that "The first explicit reference to the wilderness generation is found in the lengthy quotation of Psalm 95 in Heb 3:7-11. However, preceding that reference, the author alluded to Num 12:7 concerning Moses' role as the faithful (πιστός) servant (θεράπων) in all of [God's] house (ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ) in 3:2-5. The allusion. . . draw[s] out the connection between the two passages based on the underlying wilderness story that connects them. With the OT passage in the background, the section provides a perfect bridge between Jesus' role as high priest (first introduced in 2:17 and not picked up again until 4:14) and the exhortation to faithfulness based on the exposition of Psalm 95." See Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 183–84.

⁸Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II, 51-100*, AB (Garden City, NY: Anchor Bible, 1968), 90.

Pentateuch where the exodus motif is extensively discussed (Ps 91:1; cf. Deut 32:15, 18, 30–31, 37). Second, the shepherding language of verse 7a calls to mind other songs of Israel’s song book where the exodus motif is cast in the light of God’s shepherding care for Israel (Ps 77:19-20; 80:1, 8-9).⁹ The psalmist does not, however, leave his meditation on the exodus motif to subtle references. The theme of the exodus is made patently clear in the psalm from the second half of verse 7 through the end of the chapter where there are explicit and specific references to the exodus (Ps 95:7b-11). In fact, the explicit references to the exodus journey in the second part of psalm 95 is proof positive that the author of Hebrews had an interest in framing the circumstances of his readers in terms of the exodus journey. This is the case because in citing the psalm, the author goes only for the part that explicitly talks about the exodus journey of those who left Egypt under Moses.¹⁰

The manner in which the citation of psalm 95 (see Heb 3:7-11) coheres with Hebrews 3:1-6 seems subtle and is thus fitting to briefly mention here. The reference to Yahweh as *κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς* “the Lord our maker” (Ps 94:6 LXX) has significance for Hebrews’ use of the psalm in Hebrews 3. The expression “the Lord our maker” in the psalm is not mainly a reference to God as creator in general. It speaks in this context of Yahweh’s work to form for himself a covenant community.¹¹ It is no surprise then that in the verses leading up to Hebrews’ citation of psalm 95, Jesus is

⁹Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 461.

¹⁰It is worth noting that no other NT author quotes Psalm 95. See Simon J. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Eugene, OR.: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2010), 34.

¹¹Hossfeld and Zenger affirm that “The creator of the world is likewise the creator of Israel. This is developed in 7a through the two-part covenant formula, specifically adapted. The covenant formula is first of all a reciprocal declaration of adherence—here with a softened indication of the obligations that arise from it. It derives from Deuteronomistic–Deuteronomistic phraseology (Deut. 26:17-19; 27:9-10). Here the covenant formula is expanded with the image of the flock (cf. likewise Pss. 74:1; 79:13; 100:3). Deuteronomistically influenced prophecy is also acquainted with the flock imagery [Jer. 23:1-2; Ezek. 34:30-31]. Here however, the image of the flock is deliberately expanded or revised. YHWH is both the creator and owner of his flock.” See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 461.

spoken of in terms of “the builder of a house” (Heb 3:4). The designation of God as “the Lord our maker” in the first half of psalm 95 resonates with the fact that Hebrews 3:1-6 extols the faithfulness of Jesus in the language of “the builder of a house,” which “house we are.”¹²

In regard to the phraseology of the citation, the author of Hebrews closely follows the LXX text of psalm 95 (LXX 94) with only minor variations.¹³ Of these variations, two are significant for our purposes here. The first is that the author is comfortable with using the Septuagint’s rendering of the place names Meribah and Massah by the interpretive τῷ παραπικρασμῷ and τοῦ πειρασμοῦ.¹⁴ The result of this interpretation of “place-names is that the text is less closely tied to what occurred at a particular place in the desert and can be more easily applied to the ongoing contentiousness of the people.”¹⁵ The second significant phraseological change is the insertion of διό at the beginning of verse 10. This move introduces an interpretive difficulty. Is the forty-year period referenced in this verse a description of the time of God’s wrath (as in the psalm, see v. 10) or a description of the time of God’s wondrous works? The psalm text which lacks the διό seems to make the time of God’s wrath and the forty-year period of God’s wondrous activity one and the same. However, the insertion of διό apparently intimates two distinct periods, with the first marked by God’s wondrous activity and the second characterized by God’s wrath because of the people’s

¹²Coyne, “The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 188.

¹³Gert Jacobus Steyn, “The Reception of Psalm 95 (94):7-11 in Hebrews 3-4,” in *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, ed. Dirk J. Human and Gert Jacobus Steyn (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 208–11. See also Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 218–19; Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 35–56, 85–85.

¹⁴I address the question of the word choice in translating the Hebrew words for Meribah and Massah to Greek on pages 70-73 in chapter 2 above.

¹⁵Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (NY: Doubleday, 2001), 254.

refusal to trust even after seeing God's works.¹⁶ So from the standpoint of the Psalmist, there was a single forty-year period marked by both miraculous activity and wrath but for the author of Hebrews it seems that there was a forty-year period of miraculous activity followed by an unspecified period of wrath.

Attridge has followed Hofius to argue that the presence of *διό* in Hebrews 3:10 means that there were two forty-year periods: "one of disobedience and one of punishment."¹⁷ On his part, Enns goes further by claiming that in 3:10 the author is dealing with the church whose journey through the wilderness is marked by wondrous miracles but in 3:17 the point is about Israel whose wilderness wandering was characterized by wrath.¹⁸ Enns's distinction fails to cohere with the author's point that God's people are one house (Heb 3:1-6).¹⁹ It is more probable that the author added *διό* in order to strengthen his inference.²⁰ Such a conclusion is fortified by the fact that Hebrews 3:17 speaks of the forty-year period in basically the same way as it is spoken of in Psalm 95:10 (94 LXX). The author does not bother to draw any distinction between the forty-year period in Hebrews 3:10 and the one in 3:17. For an astute writer like the author of Hebrews, this cannot be a mistake. It can only mean that the author is talking about the same time period and so sees no need to distinguish one from the other.²¹ God's wrath against Israel was aroused by the rebellion of Israel who remained obstinate even after

¹⁶Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 195.

¹⁷Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 115; Otfried Hofius, *Katapausis. Die Vorstellung vom endzeitl. Ruheort im Hebräerbrief*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1970), 129.

¹⁸P. E. Enns, "Creation and Re-Creation: Psalm 95 and Its Interpretation in Hebrews 3:1-4:13," *WTJ* 55, no. 2 (1993): 274-78.

¹⁹Clement agrees that the author of Hebrews teaches that there is one people of God. See Ronald E. Clements, "The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews," *SWJT* 28, no. 1 (1985): 44.

²⁰William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 86. McCullough asserts that the insertion of *διό* is simply stylistic and stems from the author's Greek background. See John C. McCullough, "The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews," *NTS* 26, no. 3 (April 1980): 371-72.

²¹McCullough, "The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews," 372; Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 86.

they saw God's miraculous works.

This irremediable rebellion and condition of the Israelites (note God's oath that "They shall not enter my rest") is precisely what the author of Hebrews warns his readers against when he states "let us be diligent. . . so that no one will fall through the same example of disobedience" (Heb 4:11; cf. 2:1-4). The author regards the time of Israel in the wilderness as a period marked by both provision from God and provocation against God from the people. What the people saw with their eyes did not translate into them perceiving with the eyes of faith and trusting God (Heb 4:2). This understanding of Israel's wilderness period serves Hebrews' emphasis regarding the severity of the judgments to befall anyone who makes light of what God has accomplished in the Son and falls away from the living God. The author underlines this emphasis by bracketing his application of Psalm 95 to the lives of his readers with the warning to avoid unbelief (Heb 3:12, 19).

To the author's mind, however, there is more motivation to persevere than just the need to avoid wrath. The writer makes sure to uphold the future promise of rest as a key motivation as well. So, the exhortation not to fall away draws its strength not only from a threat of judgment but even more importantly from a promise of eternal rest that remains for God's people. The Israelites were disobedient in the face of Yahweh's demonstrations of power (Heb 3:19) and they failed to believe that Yahweh would lead them to their ultimate destination in the face of the giant obstacles that stood on the way. To safeguard his readers from a disastrous end, the author of Hebrews draws upon the example of Israel to formulate an exhortation with a two-pronged motivation, one past and the other future: the readers are not to forget that they have become partakers of Christ (Heb 3:12-14; cf. 2:1-4) and they are also to look forward to the promised inheritance that lies ahead (Heb 4:1, 9).

Hebrews' use of psalm 95 clearly presents the readers' circumstances as the eschatological analogue of the situation of those who left Egypt under Moses. The

author's use of the Psalm helps to put this fact in sharp focus. Hebrews' line of argumentation highlights the fact that the author was familiar with "a primitive and widespread Christian interpretation of the redemptive work of Christ in terms of a new Exodus."²² The author "uses [this interpretation], therefore to warn [his readers] against giving up their faith and hope."²³ Furthermore, the author's use of psalm 95 integrates previous texts on the wilderness rebellion of Israel in a beautifully artistic fashion. He evokes the events described in the book of Numbers where the hardening of heart that psalm 95 warns about came to its climax (Num 13-14). In fact, a consideration of the influence of the book Numbers on the argument in Hebrews 3 promises to help accentuate the cohesion in the author's argument from as far back in the chapter as Hebrews 3:2. So, I now turn to the role of Numbers 12-14 in the argument of Hebrews 3-4.

Numbers 12-14 in Hebrews 3-4

As I have indicated above, the book of Numbers also provides a background that stitches together Hebrews 3:1-6 and the section that begins at verse 7 where Psalm 95 is cited. The narrative in Numbers 12 to 14 progresses from Aaron and Miriam complaining against Moses (Num 12) to the sending out and report of the scouts (Num 13). The report of the spies stirs up the people to murmur against Moses and Aaron to the point of considering to appoint another leader to return to Egypt (Num 14). The attempts of Moses, Aaron, Joshua and Caleb do little to quiet the people who are even threatening to stone Joshua and Caleb (Num 14:10). The shocking lack of faith of the people of Israel provokes Yahweh to threaten to destroy and disinherit the people (Num 14:11-12).²⁴

²²F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 96.

²³*Ibid.*, 97.

²⁴Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 188.

Moses' intercession causes Yahweh to relent, but not without vowing that none of those who left Egypt would enter the promised land. Yahweh declared that all who left Egypt were going to fall in the wilderness and their children were going to wander in the wilderness for forty years corresponding to the number of days it took to spy out the land (Num 14:31-38; cf. Heb 3:17). In the context of these sobering words from Yahweh, Moses warned that the people were doomed to fail if they attempted to go up to take the land without God's help. The people of Israel defied Moses' warning and suffered a crushing defeat before their enemies (Num 14:41-45).²⁵ The cursory survey of Numbers 12-14 set forth above shows something of what God meant when he said of Israel, "They always go astray in their heart" (Heb 3:10). But to have a much fuller picture of the OT music playing in the background of the argument in Hebrews 3 certain specific details about Numbers 13-14 that have a bearing on my discussion here must be attended to.²⁶ I give attention to such details below.

First of all, it is important to note that the hardening of the people's hearts (Heb 3:8, 15) is not mentioned in Numbers 14. However, it does seem that this notion of the hardening of hearts had become part of the way Numbers 14 was understood. This is echoed in Moses' retelling of the incident of Kadesh Barnea as follows:

²⁵Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 189.

²⁶The influence of Numbers 13-14 in the argument of Hebrews 3-4 is no novelty in Hebrews scholarship. Interpreters of Hebrews have rightly observed that albeit it is Psalm 95 that is actually quoted, Numbers 13-14 has a considerable import in the argument of Hebrews 3-4. In addition to this observation made in the various commentaries on Hebrews, there is a considerable volume of literature outside the commentaries that also affirm this. For example Albert Vanhoye, "Longue Marche Ou Accès Tout Proche: Le Contexte Biblique de Hébreux 3:7-4:11," *Bib* 49, no. 1 (1968): 11; Richard Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 56-57; Enns, "Creation and Re-Creation," 255-80; Gert J. Steyn, *A Quest for the Assumed LXX Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 170-204; Harold W. Attridge, "Let Us Strive to Enter That Rest': The Logic of Hebrews 4:1-11," *HTR* 73, no. 1-2 (January 1980): 279-88; Fravel Christian, "Σήμερον—Understanding Psalm 95 within, and without Hebrews," in *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, ed. J. Human Dirk and Steyn (London: T and T Clark, 2010), 165-93. Allen has suggested that in addition to Numbers, Deuteronomy also has an appreciable impact on the argument in Hebrews 3:7-4:11. See David M. Allen, "More than Just Numbers: Deuteronomical Influence in Hebrews 3:7-4:11," *TynBul* 58, no. 1 (2007): 129-49. Coyne has identified a number of other works that address this subject. See Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 193.

Yet you were not willing to go up, but rebelled against the command of the Lord your God; and you grumbled in your tents and said, ‘Because the Lord hates us, he has brought us out of the land of Egypt to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites to destroy us. ‘Where can we go up? Our brethren have made our hearts melt, saying, “The people are bigger and taller than we; the cities are large and fortified to heaven. And besides, we saw the sons of the Anakim there” (Deut 1:26-28; cf. Num 32:9).

Also, the Bible often presents Israel’s rebellion, the mighty works the people had witnessed, God’s anger, and the oath God swore as closely related themes.²⁷ For example, we read in Psalm 106:

Our fathers in Egypt did not understand your wonders; They did not remember Your abundant kindnesses, but rebelled by the sea, at the Red Sea. Nevertheless he saved them for the sake of his name, that he might make his power known. Thus he rebuked the Red Sea and it dried up, and he led them through the deeps, as through the wilderness. So he saved them from the hand of the one who hated them, and redeemed them from the hand of the enemy. The waters covered their adversaries; not one of them was left. Then they believed his words; they sang his praise. They quickly forgot His works; they did not wait for his counsel, but craved intensely in the wilderness, and tempted God in the desert.” . . . “Then they despised the pleasant land; they did not believe in his word, but grumbled in their tents; they did not listen to the voice of the Lord. Therefore He swore to them That He would cast them down in the wilderness,” (Psalms 106:7-14; 24–26; cf. Ps 78:12-22 Num 32:9-11; Deut 1:30-35).

So, as the storyline of the Bible unfolds and progresses the notions of Israel’s rebellion, God’s anger and his oath to bar the exodus generation from the promised land came to be seen as concepts that hang together. Picking up on this interpretive tradition on Numbers 13-14 and reading that through Psalm 95, the author of Hebrews shows that he has no interest in tethering what he is referring to in terms τῷ παραπικρασμῷ and τοῦ πειρασμοῦ to any particular instance of rebellion. Massah and Meribah are undoubtedly outstanding in terms of the rebellion that Israel manifested against God there. But what happened there did not begin there and indeed it did not end there. From a vantage point that looks at the overall orientation of the heart, the author of Hebrews sees Israel’s period of wilderness wandering as a time of patterned provocation against God on the

²⁷Coyne, “The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 193.

part of Israel.²⁸ This becomes even clearer in the author's summation of his argument at the end of chapter 3:

while it is said, 'Today if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts, as when they provoked me.' For who provoked him when they had heard? Indeed, did not all those who came out of Egypt led by Moses? And with whom was He angry for forty years? Was it not with those who sinned, whose bodies fell in the wilderness? And to whom did He swear that they would not enter his rest, but to those who were disobedient? (Heb 3:15-18).

The suggestion that in Hebrews 3 the author is not interested in emphasizing a particular instance of rebellion coheres well with Hebrews' aim. The author of the epistle aims for his readers to conceive of their whole life in the world as a wilderness journey to the final rest. He is not calling his addressees to fight particularly hard against a certain localized temptation and move on to live differently. Rather he wants to give his readers a mind frame that views their whole life in the world as a journey through the wilderness (Heb 6:9-12; 10:36-39; 12:1-3; 13:7). Such a wide-angle view and interpretation of Israel's wilderness journey make the analogy between Israel and the addressees all the more fitting and the exhortations and warnings all the more cogent. Thus, the readers are like the Israelites who were in the wilderness before they came to rest in the land of Canaan. Keene astutely makes this point when he says, "The author of Hebrews views the entirety of the present age as a wilderness wandering, as an eschatological trial, a trial that calls forth persevering faith in the hope of [entry into final rest]."²⁹

The Effect of the Author's Use of Psalm 95 and Numbers 13-14 in Hebrews 3-4

The author of Hebrews does not draw upon Psalm 95 and Numbers 13-14 as a mere intellectual exercise. His purpose is profoundly pastoral (as indeed it is throughout

²⁸Schreiner describes Israel's problem as irremediable in light of God's declaration "They always go astray in their hearts" (Heb 3:10). See Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, BTCP (Nashville, TN: Holman Reference, 2015), 122-23.

²⁹Keene, "Heaven Is a Tent," 256.

the whole letter) and he endeavors to be unambiguous about that purpose. So, he trumpets his goal for the citation as clearly as possible at verse 12 with the imperative βλέπετε. The imperative, βλέπετε, seeks to grab the attention of the audience and so jolt them into a state of alertness that will guard them against the fate of those who left Egypt. Lane has fittingly noted, “The imperative βλέπετε, ‘Be careful,’ followed by the negative particle and the verb in the indicative mood, introduces a sharp warning. The writer is apprehensive that the community may falter in its response to the promise.”³⁰ The author sees his addressees in much the same way as Joshua and Caleb saw their contemporaries when they stood at the critical juncture of deciding whether to trust and obey the Lord or to disbelieve and disobey him. In their time, Joshua and Caleb, in the face of death threats from a community that had broken loose from trust in Yahweh, exhorted the community saying ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ ἀποστάται γίνεσθε “Only do not rebel against the Lord” (Num 14:9). The author of Hebrews presses a similar exhortation on his readers as he calls to mind that wilderness event.³¹

Hebrews’ qualification of the heart as πονηρά “evil” further indicates the gains from alluding to Numbers 14. The word πονηρά is used two times in Numbers (Num 14:27, 35) to refer to Israel as “this evil generation.”³² The author wants his audience to be the opposite of an “evil generation” and that means they must “be watchful” to ensure that no one has καρδιά πονηρά ἀπιστίας “an evil heart of unbelief.” Therefore, the readers must not ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζώντος “fall away from the living God” or σκληρυνθῆ “be hardened” by sin as the Israelites did and were barred on oath from entering God’s rest (Ps 95:7b-11; Num 13-14). For the author, entering or failing to enter God’s rest is at stake in what he is arguing here.

³⁰Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, 84.

³¹Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 126.

³²Vanhoye, “Longue Marche Ou Accès Tout Proche,” 19.

As if to further maximize his gains from alluding to Numbers 14, the author enunciates at least two realities that should mark his addressees. First, the addressees are to encourage one another day after day as long as it is called today (Heb 3:13). In other words, while the journey to the heavenly rest remains to be completed, each of the addressees is to seek to encourage fellow journeyers to continue journeying towards the promised rest. This admonition to exhort one another stands in diametric opposition to the words of the ten spies who went out to reconnoiter the promised land. The spies “discouraged the sons of Israel so that they did not go into the land which the Lord had given them” (Num 32:9; cf. Num 13:31-33; 14:36; 32:7).³³ Second, the addressees have already become partakers of Christ (Heb 3:14) in the same way as they are partakers of the heavenly calling (Heb 3:1), the Holy Spirit (Heb 6:4) and suffering (Heb 12:8).³⁴ This participation in Christ is through faith in his person and his finished work (cf. Heb 10:39; 11:39-40). So, it behooves the readers of the letter to show that they have indeed come to be partakers of Christ by holding their original confidence firm to the end (Heb 3:14). Again, this characteristic of the recipients as those who have experienced participation in Christ through faith distinguishes the recipients from the historical exodus generation. Those who left Egypt were marked by provocation (Heb 3:16) and sin against God so that their bodies fell in the wilderness (Heb 3:17) since they were barred on oath from entering God’s rest (Heb 3:18) because of their unbelief (Heb 3:19). The call to exhort one another every day and the designation of the addressees as “partakers of Christ” help to further sharpen the exhortation by showing that the readers of the letter have experienced covenantal realities that are profoundly unlike their OT counterparts (Heb 8:8-13). What this means is that the audience of the letter must conduct itself in such a

³³Coyne, “The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 198.

³⁴Ibid.

way that leads to an end which is congruent with their covenantal realities and experience: they must “hold fast the beginning of our assurance firm until the end” (Heb 3:14).

Other Pilgrimage Ideas in Hebrews 3-4 and the Rest of the Epistle

There are at least a couple of other pilgrimage notions that the author of Hebrews expresses in the context of Hebrews 3-4 and the rest of the epistle. This subsection seeks to address these notions in order to show that the concept of pilgrimage (as a component of the new exodus motif) in Hebrews is not an incidental occurrence in the book.

Ἰησοῦς the son of Nun and Ἰησοῦς the Son God. One intriguing element of Hebrews 3:7-4:11 is the fact that the name Ἰησοῦς “Joshua” is spelled in Hebrews 4:8 in exactly the same way as “Jesus” is spelled in the NT. Hebrews’ use of the homograph Ἰησοῦς for “Jesus” (Heb 2:9; 3:1; 4:14; 6:20; 7:22; 10:10, 19; 12:2, 24; 13:8, 12, 20-21) and for “Joshua” (Heb. 4:8) seems to call attention to the fact that Jesus is the new and final Joshua. But what that means for the addressees is that the author views them as a people journeying through an eschatological wilderness into the ultimate rest. First of all, it has to be observed that Joshua was a prominent wilderness figure. He led the military campaign against the Amalekites and overwhelmed them with the edge of sword (Exod 17:9-14). He was well recognized as Moses’ personal aide (Exod 24:13; 33:11; Num 11:28; Josh 1:1) who was personally present with Moses in such key moments as when Moses went up to the mountain of God (Exod 24:13). He spent a lot of his time at the tent of meeting even as a young man (Exod 33:11). He impulsively urged Moses to stop leaders who were not with the rest when the Spirit of Yahweh came, and these ones received the Spirit and so prophesied in the camp (Num 11:28). Joshua was also one of the only two of the twelve spies who brought a report that was shaped by faith in Yahweh

(Num 14:6). In fact, he was one of those whose mouths spoke the words that the author of Hebrews draws on to warn the recipients of the letter (Num 14:9; cf. Heb 3:12). Moreover, he is one of the only two who did what the author of Hebrews commands his audience to do with each other as long as it is called today (Num 14:7-8; cf. Heb 3:13). Therefore, not surprisingly, he was one of the only two of those who left Egypt who made it to the promised land (Num 14:30, 38; 26:65) because he and Caleb wholly followed the Lord (Num 32:12). Furthermore, Joshua was a uniquely important witness of all what God had done (Deut 3:21) and therefore he was the most fitting of all to succeed Moses (Num 27:18, 22; Deut 1:28; Deut 31:3, 7, 14, 23; 32:44; 34:9). So, he took over the reins of leadership after Moses' demise (Josh 1:10, 12, 16) and led Israel from the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3), through all the battles they fought from the point of Moses' death (Josh 12:7) to the allotment of the promised land to the various tribes (Num 34:17; Josh 11:23). With this kind of a track record in regard to the wilderness, one should expect that the readers of Hebrews would have had several ideas about the wilderness rushing to their minds when they heard the name "Joshua." The readers probably came through a brief moment of confusion in which they wondered which Ἰησοῦς is being referred to in 4:8.³⁵ But after realizing that the reference in 4:8 is to Ἰησοῦς the son of Nun their minds should have been filling up with thoughts about the journey through the wilderness and the imperfect rest that Joshua led Israel into. So, it is not improbable that the name "Joshua" should have activated thoughts and memories of Israel's exodus journey and helped the readers to more clearly think of their current life and circumstances as a journey through the wilderness.³⁶

³⁵Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 73.

³⁶Ounsworth believes that Moses' failure to lead Israel into the promised land implies "that Joshua's faith in God exceeded Moses' and this was why Joshua was qualified to do what Moses could not, namely, completing the journey begun with the crossing of the Red Sea." See *ibid.*, 76. Ounsworth's suggestion is intriguing but fails to persuade. For one thing, the Bible never goes into any clear comparison on the quality of Moses' faith over against Joshua's. If anything, the Bible consistently presents Moses as an epoch-making leader, prophet and servant of God (see Exod 4:16; 11:3; Num 12:3-8; Deut 34:10; 1 Kgs 8:53, 56; 1 Chr 6:49; Ezra 3:2; Neh 1:7; Ps 103:7; Isa 63:11; Acts 3:22; Jude etc). Moreover, and drawing

Second of all, other details in the argument of Hebrews 4:1-11 support the suggestion that Joshua's name would have evoked memories of Israel's life in the wilderness for the readers, leading them to see their own lives in a similar light. Commentators are divided on the extent to which this identity of names would have struck the audience of Hebrews as significant.³⁷ Ellingworth's observation that the author "chose a word order intended to de-emphasize Ἰησοῦς (in sharp contrast to references Jesus in 2:9 and elsewhere)" is not finally persuasive because even he admits that "word order in Greek is so flexible."³⁸ Just the mention of the name is gripping enough.³⁹ In fact, it was probably easier to have left out the name than mention it.⁴⁰ As Hagner has pointed out, "our author must consciously be thinking of this analogy [the analogy that Jesus accomplished what Joshua did not and could not] when he goes out of his way to refer to Joshua, an otherwise unnecessary reference."⁴¹ Ounsworth has observed that "[the decision to mention Joshua] requires a change from the noun *κατάπαυσις* to the cognate verb."⁴² He thus concludes, "the use of Ἰησοῦς to refer not to Jesus, as would have been assumed at first hearing, but to mention Joshua would inevitably cause a double-take, a moment of mental confusion, even without any syntactical emphasis on

from Elijah and Elisha it is clear that after the great feat on Mount Carmel, Elijah evinced lack of faith in Yahweh by fleeing and asking to die (1 Kgs 18-19). He is told to go back and anoint Elisha to be prophet in his stead. Neither the narrator in Kings nor Paul in Romans 11:2-4 go into value judgments on the quality of Elijah's faith over against Elisha's. It is more helpful to avoid refracting Hebrews' comparison between Joshua's rest and Jesus' through Moses because that move skates on very thin exegetical ice.

³⁷For a summary of the various views see Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 210–13.

³⁸Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 253.

³⁹Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 72.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Donald Alfred Hagner, *Encountering the Book of Hebrews: An Exposition* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 74.

⁴²Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*. 72

the word.”⁴³ All this leads to the inference of Hagner who states:

While Joshua, the “Jesus” of the Old Testament, was unable to bring the Israelites fully into the realisation of the promises made by God, the Jesus of the New Testament did accomplish this. This analogy must have occurred to the minds of the Hellenistic Jewish Christians as they read their Septuagint.⁴⁴

If we grant Hagner’s inference, then a few other points in the author’s argument in chapter 4 put his conception of the audience’s situation as a wilderness journey in sharper focus. First, the author says that Ἰησοῦς “Joshua” did not give Israel rest (Heb 4:8). Second, he affirms that there remains a promise to enter God’s rest (Heb 4:1, 6, 7, 9). And third, he explicitly exhorts his readers to strive to enter that rest. These points together show that what Ἰησοῦς the son of Nun did not give, Ἰησοῦς the Son of God and “high priest of our confession” (Heb 3:1) has accomplished and will lead his followers into it. But the way we enter that new rest is by following Ἰησοῦς the Son of God and striving through the wilderness of the present world. Israel traveled through a “great and terrible wilderness” (Deut 1:19; 8:15) and followed Ἰησοῦς the son of Nun from Shittim to the Jordan (Josh 3:1) which they crossed to enter Canaan. Jesus the new Joshua doubles as the new Moses and more. He leads his new exodus people, with no need of succession in leadership (Heb 1:12; 7:24), through the wilderness of the world into their consummate rest in the τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν “the world to come” (Heb 2:5). Hence the exhortation, “Therefore let us be diligent to enter that rest, so that no one will fall, through the same example of disobedience” (Heb 4:11).

So, entrance into Canaan was, at the end of the day, only a shadow of what awaits those who follow Ἰησοῦς the Son of God and high priest “of our confession” (Heb 3:1) till the end and do not fall away. Schreiner says it well when he says, “Joshua

⁴³Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 72.

⁴⁴Hagner, *Encountering the Book of Hebrews*, 74.

anticipates Jesus Christ. . . . Jesus is the new and final and better ‘Joshua.’”⁴⁵ As Ἰησοῦς the son of Nun brought the first wilderness journey to its fitting culmination in Canaan so Ἰησοῦς the Son of God will bring the final and eschatological wilderness journey to its culmination in τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν “the world to come.” But not without his people obediently following him through the wilderness of “these last days” (1:2). Those who follow Ἰησοῦς the Son of God must be marked by a commitment that surpasses the pledge of the Israelites (Josh 1:16-18) because whoever rebels has no less than “a terrifying expectation of judgment and the fury of a fire that will consume the adversaries” (Heb 10:27).

Possible reason for the author’s use of the tabernacle rather than temple.

The author of Hebrews refers often to the tabernacle and the ritual carried out there (Heb 8-10).⁴⁶ This is at least a bit surprising because the tabernacle ceased to be of any cultic significance in Israel once the temple was built. One would expect that an argument for the finality of Christ’s priesthood and sacrifice should make reference to the temple.⁴⁷ However, in his effort to demonstrate that the old era has become obsolete in light of God’s final revelation in these last days, the author reaches back beyond the temple to a much earlier time in Israel’s history to bring up the tabernacle and its services. This argument undoubtedly means that the temple and its services are equally obsolete. Nevertheless, the authorial decision to allude to the tabernacle and not to the temple is

⁴⁵Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 143.

⁴⁶This subject was addressed in chapter 3 but deserves to be revisited here because of its significance with regards to the notion of pilgrimage.

⁴⁷The author uses the present tense to speak of rituals carried out under the old covenant. His choice of the present tense could be taken as an indication that the temple had not yet been destroyed when he wrote. The tense of verbs is not, however, decisive on this matter because the author of 1 Clement who wrote in AD 96 after the temple had been destroyed also employs present tenses when referring to the temple. Nevertheless, the reference to the tabernacle still bears weight when it comes to estimating the date of the composition of Hebrews. As Schreiner has pointed out, one of the main thrusts of the book is that “Jesus’ sacrifice is definitive and final so that the sacrifices of the old covenant belong to a former era. The destruction of the temple in AD 70 would demonstrate conclusively (in accord with Jesus’ prophecy; cf. Matthew 24) that temple sacrifices were no longer valid.” See Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 5–6.

provocative. Furthermore, if it is granted that Hebrews was written before AD 70 then it would mean that the temple was yet standing at the time when Hebrews was written.⁴⁸ That being the case would have made the lure to revert to temple services all the more compelling for the audience and the necessity for direct reference to the temple to prove its obsolescence all the more pressing for the author. But the author does not directly reference the temple and chooses rather to refer to the tabernacle in his argument for the finality of Jesus' sacrifice and priesthood. Why is that the case?

Schreiner has suggested that the "author probably refers to the rituals of the tabernacle rather than the temple worship of his day because he draws literally from the account on the tabernacle in the Pentateuch."⁴⁹ This is true but there is need to press for more precision in the attempt to explain why the author prefers the tabernacle over the temple. In fact, such an attempt at precision could help to demonstrate how the more cultic chapters of the letter cohere with the main emphasis of the relatively more exhortational chapters (chapters 3-4 and 11-13).⁵⁰ The aforementioned considerations make further exploration into this matter necessary.

In this section I argue that Hebrews prefers to draw on the notion of the tabernacle (rather than the temple) alongside other metaphors from Israel's wilderness experience (Heb 3:7-4:11) because the author desires to portray the addressees as a

⁴⁸Koester has argued that the author of Hebrews preferred to refer to the tabernacle rather than the temple because he was seeking "to foster a distinctly Christian sense of identity among his readers" regardless of whether he wrote before or after AD 70. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 52–53. It is not, however, clear how a reference to the tabernacle instead of the temple fosters a distinctly Christian sense of identity. Koester's proposal does not assuage the surprise provoked by the author's decision to refer to the tabernacle rather than temple. As Schreiner has noted, if Hebrews was written after the destruction of the temple then the author would have had a decisive argument for the obsolescence of temple sacrifices at his disposal in the destruction of the temple. See Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 6. But he is completely silent on the matter. So, even though it is an argument from silence, the author's failure to mention the destruction of the temple is highly suggestive that the temple was still standing when he wrote.

⁴⁹Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 6.

⁵⁰I am not suggesting that chapters 1-4 and 11-13 are completely devoid of cultic language. Rather I am saying that 1-4 and 11-13 clearly lack the sustained emphasis on priesthood, covenant, tabernacle and sacrifice that are so evident in 5-10. So Keene, "Heaven Is a Tent," 331–33, 336–73.

journeying people who seek the heavenly and ultimate rest. The author's choice of "tabernacle" over "temple" flows from his view that believers in these last days are a people journeying through the wilderness of the world (Heb 3:7-4:11). This view about believers makes it so that the tabernacle which was the center of Israel's cultic life in her wilderness days becomes a more fitting allusion to make rather than the temple which was only built after Israel had been given "rest." So, the author's decision to explicate the obsolescence of the old order with reference to the tabernacle rather than the temple (Heb 8-9) "is a function of [his] metaphorical and typological description of the world as a wilderness in which Christians strive for promised rest."⁵¹ The correspondence between Israel's experience in the wilderness and that of the addressees in this eschatological wilderness makes it so that the tabernacle's appearance in Hebrews 8:1-10:25 helps to very effectively reinforce the call to persevere which is the pastoral thrust of the whole book.

The temple was without doubt the center of cultic life for the people of Israel once it was built (1 Kgs 8; 2 Chr 5-7; Ezr 3). However, in the context of the argument of Hebrews, a reference to the temple would have activated more of the realities that characterized the life of a people who had settled down in a land that they counted as theirs. On the other hand, the tabernacle was at the heart of the religious life of Israel during her time in the wilderness and so a reference to the tabernacle was going to be uniquely capable of evoking concepts of what life looked like at that time in Israel's history.⁵² Since the author has already indicated that the experience of his addressees very much overlaps with that of Israel during the wilderness days (see Heb 3-4) the tabernacle becomes the most suited image. Keene says it well when he states:

⁵¹Keene, "Heaven Is a Tent," 234.

⁵²The scriptures of the both the OT and the NT associate the tabernacle with the wilderness (cf. 1 Chr 21:29; 2 Chr 1:3; Acts 7:44).

Hebrews projects the experience of Israel upon last-days believers in an effort to encourage them to hold fast to their confidence in Christ. The payoff of this exploration is that it discloses a world within which the tabernacle has a peculiar function. The tabernacle is particularly suited for a people who wander in the wilderness and therefore the tabernacle image serves the author's exhortational purpose by reinforcing the wilderness motif and by encouraging his audience to draw near to their heavenly high priest.⁵³

Another significant element here is the link between the tabernacle in Hebrews and Jesus's role as the ἀρχηγός who has gone before His people. I argued in chapter 3 of the present project that the term ἀρχηγός is roughly synonymous with πρόδρομος (Heb 6:20). In that sense, Jesus is the ἀρχηγός or πρόδρομος of faith, whose steadfastness ultimately brings him behind the veil in the heavenly tabernacle. So, Jesus has completed a journey. He has pioneered an exodus which is eschatological in character. Jesus' exodus journey is the eschatological anti-type of the exodus journey of those who left Egypt under Moses. It must be remembered that this historical exodus journey failed to lead those involved into the rest for which they were delivered (Heb 4:8).⁵⁴ As the pioneer and high priest of the new exodus journey, Jesus has entered the eschatological tabernacle—the heavenly tent (Heb 8:1-2)—from where he invites those he is leading to draw near with confidence that they “may receive mercy and find grace to help in time of need” (Heb 4:16). Pilgrims who wobble through the present wilderness which is replete with suffering and temptation have a πρόδρομος and high priest who “himself has suffered when tempted” (Heb 2:18). Therefore “he is able to help those who are being tempted” (Heb 2:18) to the end that they might stay the course through the wilderness of the world and inherit “the promise of entering his rest [which] still stands” (Heb 4:1). So, the tabernacle, from which there is readily available help for those in this journey, “travels” with the journeyers as they go through the twists and turns of this present wilderness of

⁵³Keene, “Heaven Is a Tent,” 236.

⁵⁴Jeffrey J. Monk, “Christ as Champion: Hebrews 12:1-3 as an Appeal through Which the Writer Instills Narrative Vision in Order to Reorient Readers” (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2015), 87.

the world. The tabernacle motif, therefore, helps to remind the readers that the journey of Jesus qualified him (Jesus) to enable them to succeed in persevering to the end of their own journey.⁵⁵

If, as suggested above, the relationship between the tabernacle and Jesus' role as the forerunner of God's new exodus people is convincing, then it helps to illuminate the literary and thematic unity of the epistle to the Hebrews. Most interpreters of Hebrews have rightly observed that the wilderness imagery mostly recedes into the background in Hebrews 4:14-10:18 because these chapters lay a heavy emphasis on the high priestly role of Jesus. However, the wilderness imagery does not entirely disappear.⁵⁶ If the author's choice of tabernacle over temple can be explained (at least in part) by the argument above, then it is the case that these heavily cultic chapters of the epistle assume the wilderness context and build on it to explicate the obsolescence of the old order and the finality of the Jesus' sacrifice and priesthood. So, the broader theme of the new exodus is a helpful thread that stitches together the various chapters of Hebrews into a beautifully crafted literary piece.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 230.

⁵⁶Some interpreters have made a case for allusions to the exodus motif in 6:4-6. So Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 236-48; Dave Mathewson, "Reading Heb 6:4-6 in Light of the Old Testament," *WTJ* 61 (1999): 209-225; Martin Emmrich, "Hebrews 6:4-6 -- Again!: (A Pneumatological Inquiry)," *WTJ* 65, no. 1 (2003): 83-95; Peter Thomas O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 221. These suggestions for exodus allusions have been vigorously questioned (and with good reason). Cockerill has pointed out that Mathewson's claim of the presence of OT allusions in 6:4-6 from their presence in other warning passages is a questionable a fortiori argument. He further asserts that Mathewson's interpretation is not backed by the kind of clear examples in Heb 2:1-4; 3:7-4:11; 10:26-31; and 12:14-17. Furthermore, Cockerill argues that neither Heb 4:12-13 nor 12:25-29 invokes OT examples in support of the warning given. Cockerill believes that Mathewson neglects the unique purpose of Hebrews 6:4-6. See Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 271-72. Schreiner has also questioned the plausibility of the claim that the phrase τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας in Hebrews 6:4 alludes to the light that illumined the exodus generation. See Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 183.

⁵⁷Ounsworth has suggested that by mapping Joshua's crossing of the Jordan onto Jesus' passing through the veil we can be able to see how the whole epistle fits together. See Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 165-66. Ounsworth's interpretive move is provocative but is too specific and lacks the kind of broad textual warrant that Hebrews affords for the exodus motif in general.

Conclusion

In the first main section of this chapter, I have focused on the manner in which the author employs the exodus category of “journey through the wilderness” to show the application of Christ’s redemptive accomplishment to the lives of God’s new exodus people. In endeavoring to do that, I have attempted to lay out the author’s discussion in Hebrews 3:7-4:11: his citation of Psalm 95, his allusion to Numbers 12-14, and the significance of his use of Ἰησοῦς as a reference to Joshua when the same term is used several times to speak of Jesus in the letter. I have also proposed a new-exodus-related reason for the author’s preference of tabernacle over temple in his explication of the obsolescence of the old order. These notions make a compelling argument for the presence of “pilgrimage” as an exodus category in the epistle to the Hebrews. But Hebrews equally makes clear that God’s new exodus people are not called to a never-ending journey. God’s people are journeying to a definite destination. I will now briefly attend to the new exodus destination as it relates to the exodus category of pilgrimage in Hebrews.

The New Exodus Destination: Coming to Zion, the Impetus for Completing the Wilderness Journey

This section attends to what could broadly be referred to as the final reward of believers. The final reward of God’s people is referred to in several different ways in Hebrews: rest (Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 8-11), blessing (Heb 6:13-20); eternal inheritance (Heb 9:15), resurrection (Heb 11:35), be made perfect (Heb 11:40), city (Heb 11:10, 16; 13:14).⁵⁸ Of these various descriptions only two are most clearly associated with the exodus motif, namely, “rest” (see my discussion in chapter 3) and the Sinai/Zion contrast in Hebrews 12:18-24. In this section I address the Sinai/Zion contrast with regards to its new exodus significance.

⁵⁸So Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 498–99.

“You Have Come to Mount Zion”

When God sent Moses to deliver Israel out of Egypt he promised, “this shall be the sign to you that it is I who have sent you: when you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall worship God at this mountain” (Exod 3:12). The immediate goal of Yahweh’s offer, to have Moses and the Israelites worship him on Sinai after the deliverance from Egypt, was to alleviate Moses’ sense of paralyzing inadequacy for the task God was assigning him (Exod 3:11). Moses felt overwhelmed both by the immensity of the task (Exod 3:11) and the extreme peril of attempting to deliver a people from a nation where he himself was a fugitive on the run (Exod 2:15). So, God promised to have worship on Sinai after deliverance be a proof to Moses (and Israel) that the deliverance from Egypt was not wrought by Moses or anyone else but Yahweh.

So quite patently, arrival at Sinai was not the goal of the deliverance. Rather, God stated the goal earlier in his encounter with Moses when he said, “I have come down to deliver [Israel] from the power of the Egyptians, *and to bring them up from that land to a good and spacious land, to a land flowing with milk and honey, to the place of the Canaanite and the Hittite and the Amorite and the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite*” (Exod 3:8, italics mine). Sinai was going to be a stopover, and an important one at that; but nothing more than a stopover. The goal was to bring Israel into the promised land. In light of the storyline of the Pentateuch (and of the whole Bible) what God said to Moses in terms of Israel’s destination after deliverance was not in the least surprising. It was in many ways a restatement of the promise to Abram (Gen 15:13-16). This promise undergirded Joseph’s faith on his deathbed so that he said, “God will surely take care of you, and you shall carry my bones up from here” (Gen 50:25 cf. Heb 11:22). So, considering the promises to Abram (Gen 15:13-16), the words of Joseph (Gen 50:25), and the promise to Moses (Exod 3:8, 12) two truths emerge: 1) arrival at Mount Sinai was going to be an outstandingly important juncture in the exodus journey. 2) Arrival at Mount Sinai was going to be a surety to Moses and his generation that God was going to

fulfill the promise to Abram by bringing Israel into the land of the Amorites. In other words, Sinai was meant to show to Moses that the deliverance from Egypt was not a random event but a first stage in God's work to uphold his pledge to Abram. In that sense then, worshipping Yahweh on Sinai was a guarantee that arrival in the promised land was going to happen. The promise given to Abram, echoed in the words of Joseph, and restated to Moses was not going to fall to the ground. Israel only needed to follow in obedience and they would enter into the promised land.

Hebrews seems to leverage the above-mentioned exodus logic but combines it with an "already-not-yet" understanding of the salvation historical circumstances of the readers of the letter.⁵⁹ In this section I suggest that by using the Sinai/Zion contrast (Heb 12:18-24) the author of Hebrews makes the point that the addressees must continue in their eschatological exodus journey until the end because they have come to Mount Zion which is better than Mount Sinai.⁶⁰ One helpful way to attempt to come to grips with the author's argument in Hebrews 12:18-24 is to attend to both the thematic and structural similarities that Hebrews 12:25 shares with the opening of the letter.⁶¹ It is not farfetched to suggest that by noting that God has spoken in Hebrews 1:1 and 12:25, the author

⁵⁹Hebrews 12:18-24 is part of the last major division of the letter which exhorts the readers to hold fast and not to fall away (Heb 10:19-12:29). The addressees are told that keeping faith and running the race to the end demands that they follow the example of OT saints and Jesus (Heb 11:1-12:3). They are also admonished to bear the fatherly discipline they are receiving (Heb 12:4-13) and to pursue holiness and godliness because no one will see God who neglects these (Heb 12:14-17). The verses that actually contrast Sinai with Zion (vv. 18-24) furnish the reason why the readers must persist in holiness. The fundamental reason the believers should endure is that they have not come to Mount Sinai (Heb 12:18-21) but to Mount Zion (Heb 12:22-24). So, strictly speaking, verses 18-24 are not an exhortation. Rather they are a summation of the main points and themes discussed in the expository sections of the epistle. Thus, verses 18-24 sum up such themes as, "angels, 'heaven,' 'first-born,' 'perfection,' 'Jesus the mediator of the new covenant' and 'sprinkled blood.'" So O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, 478. Son's claim that 12:18-24 constitutes a hermeneutical key to the letter [see Kiwoong Son, *Zion Symbolism in Hebrews: Hebrews 12:18-24 as a Hermeneutical Key to the Epistle* (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2005)] seems overstated especially since the author defines the main point of his argument in 8:1. So Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 395.

⁶⁰Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 396.

⁶¹William L. Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 434; Son, *Zion Symbolism in Hebrews*, 84-87; Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 332-34.

creates a large bookend which delineates his exposition and warnings.⁶² The letter opens with an exordium (Heb 1:1-4) that sets the stage for many of the themes which the writer unpacks throughout the letter before summing up his argument in the climactic description of the heavenly Zion.⁶³ It is also worthy of note that the first and last warnings (Heb 2:1-4; 12:25-29) overlap in that they both talk of the certainty of judgment that will befall those who trifle with the message that has come through the Son. Noting this large inclusio helps shed light on the contrast between the message that came through the prophets—including what came through Moses at Sinai (Heb 2:1-4)—and the message spoken through the Son (Heb 1:2) from Zion (Heb 12:22-25).⁶⁴

In the immediate context of Hebrews 12:18-24 the author calls the audience to a holiness which is driven by the hope of seeing God (Heb 12:14). The vision of this God is then expounded upon through a riveting contrast between the terror and trembling of Sinai (vv. 18-21) and the festal joy of Zion (vv. 22-24). The author's use of the perfect of *προσέρχομαι* in Hebrews 12:18 and 12:22 seems to have both a literary and instructional function.⁶⁵ From a literary standpoint, it delineates the unit of text where the contrast between Sinai and Zion is dealt with. From an instructional standpoint it serves to encourage the readers that they have come, not to Sinai (Heb 12:18) but to Zion, the city of the living God (Heb 12:22).⁶⁶ Why is this contrast between Sinai and Zion significant for a discussion on the new exodus destination?

Conceptually the reference to Mount Zion in Hebrews 12:18-24 is often seen

⁶²Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 332.

⁶³Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 395; Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 332.

⁶⁴Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 333.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 331.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

as the final destination for God's new covenant people.⁶⁷ This is exactly right but we have to query if that conclusion captures the full significance of the imagery used here. The main point of the comparison is that God's people living in the last days (Heb 1:2) have received a better mediator who has enacted a better covenant through a better sacrifice in hope of a better resurrection.⁶⁸ But the author's use of Sinai in the comparison seems to have significance for the exodus category of "journey through the wilderness." In the flow of the storyline of the Bible, Sinai was more than just the place and moment of the revelation and the enactment of a covenant (Exod 3:12). It is situated somewhere near the beginning of the "wilderness journey" and so both symbolizes that a journey has begun and guarantees that the end is sure.⁶⁹ So, coming to Sinai was confirmatory (that Yahweh wrought the deliverance from Egypt) and promissory (that he will bring Israel into the promised land). For the author of Hebrews, coming to Zion takes on a unique salvation historical significance. The author shows that his readers have already come to Zion where they are going but they are yet to enter into the full experience of coming to Zion. So, there is an already-not-yet dimension to the experience of the readers.

In other words, there is something of a typological relationship between Sinai and Zion here. Just as coming to Sinai meant that a deliverance had happened, and a journey had been undertaken with yet more journeying left to be completed so also is the case with coming to Zion. But arrival at Zion is a far more glorious reality than arrival at Sinai because Zion is not just a stopover in the journey; it is the destination itself. But again, the readers still await the consummation of their arrival at Zion and so must persevere in their journey to the end. This is the exodus undercurrent running underneath

⁶⁷Son, *Zion Symbolism in Hebrews*, 91.

⁶⁸Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 644.

⁶⁹So Coyne, "The Wandering People of God and the Metaphorical World of Wilderness in the Epistle to the Hebrews," 335.

Hebrews' contrast between coming to Sinai and coming to Zion.⁷⁰ The typological intensification in the relationship between Sinai (type) and Zion (antitype) is also seen in the degree of punishment that awaits those who do not complete the journey. All the terror that characterized Israel's experience at Sinai falls far short of the terror that will come with standing before the God who is judge of all (Heb 12:23). The author shows the preciousness of what lies ahead of his addressees by calling on them not to forsake their birthright (*πρωτοτόκια*) after the manner of Esau who did and was rejected even when he came back seeking the inheritance with tears (Heb 12:16, 23).

So, the readers have come to Zion, the heavenly dwelling of God and not to an earthly one. Access to God's heavenly Jerusalem has been granted them through the accomplishment of the high priest who serves in the heavenly sanctuary built by God and not man (Heb 8:1-2). On the one hand, those who are still alive have come to Zion, but on the other those who have died are presently perfected (Heb 12:23). Nevertheless, they still await the resurrection and the consummate establishment of the kingdom that cannot be shaken (Heb 11:39-40; 12:26-28) where full and final rest will be entered into.⁷¹ For the author, the coming resurrection and the consummation of the kingdom constitute additional impetus for his readers to continue in the exodus journey until the end.

The author further describes Zion as *πόλει θεοῦ ζῶντος Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπουρανίῳ* "the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem" (Heb 12:22-24). Lane has rightly pointed out that the heavenly city is "the goal of the pilgrimage of godly men and women under both covenants."⁷² Zion is here pictured as a place of festal gathering and this calls to mind the scene of pilgrims coming to Jerusalem to take part in the festival gathering of God's people as an ordinance (Ps 122). Hebrews, however, makes sure to state that the

⁷⁰See Son, *Zion Symbolism in Hebrews*, 78 for a summary of the main viewpoints.

⁷¹Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 401.

⁷²Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, 150.

readers still seek the city to come (Heb 13:14). So, the audience of the letter has come to this great gathering around God’s throne, but they cannot yet fully participate in it. So even the other descriptors of Mount Zion are suffused with pilgrimage imagery. This is to reinforce the concept of a remaining new exodus journey left for the audience to finish.⁷³ So Israel’s “wilderness” experience is the context for Hebrews’ Sinai/ Zion contrast which helps to highlight the author’s use of the exodus category of pilgrimage.

Weak Hands and Feeble Knees on the Way to a Consummate Experience of Mount Zion

It is remarkable that a few verses before the Sinai/Zion contrast of Hebrews 12:18-24, the author of Hebrews draws on exodus language from the latter prophet, Isaiah, to exhort his audience. In Hebrews 12:12-13, the author enunciates exhortations that flow from the instructions in verses one through eleven. The logic of his argument is this: since Jesus is the example *par excellence* of endurance in obedience to God and since God’s fatherly discipline affirms the sonship of the readers and prepares them to share in God’s holiness they should be strengthened (Heb 12:12) and fix their eyes on the goal (Heb 12:13). What makes the author’s points in Hebrews 12:12-13 relevant for the current discussion is (as stated above) the author’s use of wording from Isaiah 35 where the prophet is talking about Israel’s post-exilic return to Zion.⁷⁴ The table below shows more clearly that the author borrows language from Isaiah to formulate his exhortations in Hebrews 12:12-13.

Table 8. Verbal parallels between hebrews 12:12 and isaiah 35:3-4

Hebrews 12:12	Exodus Language
Διὸ τὰς <i>παρειμένας χεῖρας</i> καὶ τὰ	Isa 35:3-4: <i>ισχύσατε, χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ</i>

⁷³Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 398–402.

⁷⁴Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 629.

<p>παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε</p>	<p>γόνατα παραλελυμένα· παρακαλέσατε, οἱ ὀλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἰσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κρίσιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν καὶ ἀνταποδώσει, αὐτὸς ἤξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς.</p>
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A few details are worthy of note here: Hebrews replaces ἀνειμέναι of the LXX with the cognate παρειμένας. Furthermore, in the LXX, it is χεῖρες and γόνατα that are addressed whereas in Hebrews it is the owners of these body parts that are addressed. Thus, χεῖρες and γόνατα are in the vocative case in the LXX but they are in the accusative in Hebrews.⁷⁵ Also, χεῖρες and γόνατα are both anarthrous and precede the participles that modify them in the LXX, but in Hebrews the participles are sandwiched between each noun and its modifying article. Nevertheless, these modifications introduced by the author of Hebrews do nothing to diminish the fact that he is harkening back to Isaiah’s vision of the journey of the exiles back to Zion. The author clearly has an interest in casting the circumstances of his addressees in the light of an exodus journey. Anyone in the audience who had heard Isaiah 35 read to them will immediately have a “journey imagery” created in their minds with regards to their circumstances when they hear the words of the exhortation in Hebrews 12:12.

Interestingly enough, although a contrast between the Zion to which the returned exiles came (Isa 35) and the one to which the readers of Hebrews have come might have been a fitting contrast later in the chapter, the author prefers Sinai. Now it is hard to come up with an unassailable explanation for why the author does not compare the Zion of the OT with the Zion to which his readers have come in Hebrews 12:18-24 because no explicit reason is given in the text. However, the details of the exodus from Egypt allow for an informed and reasonable speculation. It is clear from Hebrews 12:25

⁷⁵Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 629.

that the author does not want his audience to apostatize but rather to persevere to the end. Pursuant to this aim, he will choose images that will best show the readers that there is still more journeying to be completed. So, it seems that one reason the contrast in verses 18-24 is best done not between the new Zion and the old but between Sinai and the new Zion is because Sinai more helpfully highlights the fact that there is yet journeying to be completed. As stated earlier, Sinai was a surety that God was going to bring his delivered people into the promised land (Exod 3:12). But it also showed that the people had to be willing to follow God in faith throughout the wilderness journey. The same is true of the Zion to which the readers have come to a much greater degree.

So, the author of Hebrews is intent on building a “wilderness journey” mindset into the understanding of his addressees. This is one of his main rhetorical strategies to keep them from refusing the one “who is speaking” as Israel did and perished. In the words of Jude, the author would have been saying, “I desire to remind you, though you know all things once for all, that the Lord after saving a people out of the land of Egypt, subsequently destroyed those who did not believe” (Jude 5). In the particular case of the Sinai/Zion contrast in chapter 12 the author sets forth exodus notions from the OT and combines them with the fact that God’s promises have been inaugurated in the person and work of Christ but still await a final consummation. So, his readers who have already come to Zion, must press on to the end in order to enter into the full experience of the Zion to which they have already come.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to address Hebrews’ use of the exodus category of “journey through the wilderness.” I have attempted to deal with the journey motif as well as the destination motif as it relates to the journey. In the first part of the chapter I have argued that the wilderness motif expounded in Hebrews 3:7-4:11 presents the life the addressees as a new exodus journey which these addressees must either complete or incur

eternal judgment. To substantiate this claim, I have considered the flow of the author's argument in Hebrews 3-4. I have given attention to his use of Psalm 95 as well as his allusions to Numbers 12-14 in Hebrews 3-4. Additionally, I have attempted to show the pilgrimage significance of such features of the argument as the use of Ἰησοῦς for Jesus and for Joshua as well as the author's preference for tabernacle over temple in his discussion of the finality of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ.

In the second part of the chapter I have focused on the final destination of God's new covenant people. I have not sought to deal with everything Hebrews says about this but have limited myself to Hebrews' discussion of the final destination of God's new people that has significance for the pilgrimage motif. I found this dealt with in Hebrews 12:18-24. From this text I have argued that the author uses the Sinai/Zion contrast (Heb 12:18-24) as a way of spurring on his addressees to continue in their eschatological exodus journey until the end. I have also attended to the author's use of exodus language from Isaiah's vision of the exiles returning to Zion (Isa 35). On that ground I have contended that the author's exhortation in Hebrews 12:12 further highlights his interest to cast the salvation historical circumstances of his addressees in terms of the exodus category of "journey through the wilderness." This chapter brings my investigation on this subject to the end. The next chapter sums up the whole point of this project.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

More than half a century ago, Anderson laid out a discussion of the new exodus in Isaiah 40-55 that identified four key components of the motif, namely, “the promise to the fathers,” “deliverance from Egypt,” “the journey through the wilderness” and “(re-)entry into the promised land.”¹ Building on Anderson’s broad description of the exodus motif, this research has attempted to demonstrate that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews uses four outstanding exodus categories to cast the redemptive accomplishment of Christ in exodus light. These categories are, “entry,” “pioneer or forerunner,” “deliverance,” and “pilgrimage”

Chapter 1 sets forth the lay of the land regarding the exodus motif in the epistle to the Hebrews. This chapter enunciates the main thrust of the research, summarizes the antecedent scholarship on the subject, and articulates a methodology for the project. The second chapter launches into the treatment of the first exodus category dealt with in this research, namely, “entry.” Building on Hebrews 1:6 and Hebrews’ concept of rest (Heb 3-4) I contend that the exodus category of “entry” serves the author’s argument in two ways. First, it helps him to explicate what Christ has accomplished for believers. Second, it helps him to show how Christ’s accomplishment applies to believers. On the former notion I have argued that εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην (Heb 1:6) is best understood as a reference to the exaltation of Christ (over against the incarnation and parousia views) on two counts. (1) It more satisfactorily accounts for all the relevant data

¹Bernhard W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962), 182–84. See also Peter J. Gentry, *How to Read and Understand the Biblical Prophets* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017), 75-78.

in the context. (2) Its particular phraseology captures an exodus tenor that excludes the incarnation and parousia as possible meanings of the verse. On the application of Christ's accomplishment to believers, I have made an effort to show that the close association of entry into rest and entry into the land in the OT most probably stands behind the author's teaching on rest in Hebrews chapters three and four. I have equally attempted to demonstrate that the author's argument (especially if the OT background of the association of rest and land is granted) should incline us to the conclusion that there remains a spatial component of rest that God's people must strive to enter at the close of the age. This future hope of entry into final and eternal rest makes the exodus category of "entry" a very effective device for Hebrews' teaching regarding the manner in which the redemptive accomplishment of Christ applies to new covenant believers. Finally, I have suggested that Hebrews' use of the exodus category of "entry" holds out to interpreters the promise of a helpful explanation for the structure of Hebrews 11.

Chapter 3 focuses on showing that "pioneer or forerunner" is a significant exodus category in Hebrews. A study on the term ἀρχηγός (the Greek word rendered "pioneer") led to the conclusion that the primary meaning of the term in the LXX is "leader" with very few instances of the sense "originator" or "source." From an exegetical analysis of Hebrews 2:10 and 12:2 I maintained that while not being the only sense of the term ἀρχηγός in both Hebrews 2:10 and 12:2, the role of Jesus as the leader of God's new people is emphasized in both instances. The word study and exegetical analysis led me to suggest four ways in which the term ἀρχηγός, as used in Hebrews, bears new exodus significance. (1) Jesus is the ἀρχηγός who succeeds where the ἀρχηγοί of Numbers 13 failed. (2) Exodus deliverance in Hebrews 2:14-16 and Moses leadership typology in Hebrews 3:1-6 provide reasons for reading ἀρχηγός against the background of the exodus. (3) The titles ἀρχηγός and ἀρχιερέυς as applied to Jesus complement each other to show that Jesus both leads and helps God's new people. (4) The verbal similarity between Hebrews 1:6 and 2:10 intimates exodus significance. I then conclude that these

suggestions bear out the contention that “forerunner” is (among others) a significant exodus category employed by the author of Hebrews to show that Christ’s redemptive accomplishment fulfills the promised new exodus.

In chapter 4, I argue that the epistle to the Hebrews bears sufficient features of exodus deliverance to warrant the claim that its author uses the exodus category of “deliverance” (among others) to explicate the redemptive accomplishment of Christ. I have shown that the author does this in several ways. One of these is that he presents the work of Christ, the deliverer of God’s new exodus people, against the foil of Moses’ work as the deliverer of God’s people under the old order. This included discussing the designation of Jesus as the apostle of our confession and a comparison between the revelation that has come in Jesus and that which came through Moses in the context of the historical exodus deliverance. I have also attended to the discussion of Jesus’ resurrection in Hebrews 13:20 where the author harks back to the discussion of how Moses was led up from the Red Sea (Isa 63:11). The effect of this is that Jesus’ deliverance shines forth as the antitype of Moses’. The deliverance that Jesus has brought about fulfills and transcends that which Moses accomplished in leading Israel out of Egypt. I have also attempted to bring out the new exodus significance of the “signs and wonders” language of Hebrews 2:1-4 as well as the deliverance theme of Hebrews 2:10-18. My investigation on the deliverance theme in Hebrews leads to the conclusion that there is enough of the notion of exodus deliverance in the letter to justify the suggestion that the author employs it as an exodus category in his discussion of the redemption that has come in Jesus Christ.

In chapter 5 I have given attention to Hebrews’ use of the exodus category of “journey through the wilderness.” I have dealt with the journey motif as well as the destination motif as it relates to the journey. I have maintained that the wilderness motif prominent in Hebrews 3:7-4:11 portrays the experience of the readers as a new exodus reality that demands perseverance till the end. To establish this claim, I have considered

the author's use of Psalm 95 as well as his allusions to Numbers 12-14. Furthermore, I have shown the pilgrimage import of the use of Ἰησοῦς to refer to both Jesus and Joshua. I have also shown that the author's preference for tabernacle over temple in his discussion of the superiority of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ has pilgrimage significance. Regarding the destination of God's people, I capitalized on Hebrews 12:18-24 to show that the Sinai/Zion contrast in the text teaches that the addressees must continue in their new exodus journey until the end because they have come to Mount Zion which is better than Mount Sinai. I have also attended to the author's use of exodus language from Isaiah's vision of the exiles returning to Zion (Isa 35:3). On that ground I have contended that the author's exhortation in Hebrews 12:12 further highlights his interest to cast the salvation historical circumstances of his addressees in terms of the exodus category of "journey through the wilderness."

The goal of this project was to attempt a comprehensive treatment of the exodus categories present in the epistle to the Hebrews through studying the instances of inner biblical allusions in the letter which are indicative of such categories. Such a study inevitably has interpretive or hermeneutical implications. With regards to hermeneutics it has been observed that the author does not use exodus categories for their sake or even just because they are effective didactic tools for his goal. Rather he is keenly aware of the salvation-historical circumstances of his readers. He is writing to a people who are living in "these last days" in which God has spoken to us "in his Son" (Heb 1:1-2). As such his interpretive moves are christological and eschatological. For example, the author shows no hesitation to portray the Son as the true and final πρωτότοκος (Heb 1:6) to whom Israel, the πρωτότοκος of the OT (Exod 4:22), pointed. He does this by portraying the exaltation of the Son into the heavenly οἰκουμένη in language used to describe the entry of Israel into the promised land in the OT. Furthermore, the failure of the ἀρχηγοί of Numbers 13 is read and interpreted christologically when the author chooses to refer to Jesus as τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας (Heb 2:10) or τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν (Heb 12:2). The

same is true of the author's understanding of Moses' roles in relationship to Jesus (Heb 3:1-6; 13:20; Isa 63:11-14). Eschatologically, the author deftly shows that the exodus journey of his readers is happening in the last days. But he does not betray a simplistic understanding of the last days. He shows that his readers are experiencing the eschatological fulfillment of God's promises, but it is a fulfillment that still awaits consummation. For example, he is quick to show them that they have entered into rest (Heb 4:3) and yet there is a rest to strive to enter into (Heb 4:11). Similarly, the readers have come to Mount Zion (Heb 12:22-24) but what that means is that they must not refuse the one speaking to them but rather keep faith in him till the end (Heb 12:25-29). This is the only way they will enter into the full experience of coming to Zion, of receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken (Heb 12:28), of entering into the city to come (Heb 13:14), and entering into the glory of their ἀρχηγός in the τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσιν (Heb 1:6; 2:5-10). So, the author's recognition that God's final word has come in the Son in these last days shapes the way he interprets and applies exodus truths (and the OT in general) to his readers. His Christology and his eschatology are the two limbs on which his hermeneutical moves proceed.

This project does not exhaust avenues of research in Hebrews that proceed on a study of inner biblical allusions. In the course of this research several allusions to the former prophets (Joshua to Kings) were detected in the last three chapters of the epistle. So, an investigation of the use of the former prophets (Joshua to Kings) in Hebrews 11-13 (especially in Hebrews 11) promises to be an enriching and beneficial study. Such a study will follow the lead of the likes of She² who explored Hebrews' use of the book of Exodus and Allen³ who investigated Hebrews' use of Deuteronomy. Both works have

²King L. She, *The Use of Exodus in Hebrews* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011).

³David M. Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews: A Study in Narrative Re-Presentation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

helped to extend the horizons of scholarship on the book of Hebrews and studying the use of the former prophets in Hebrews 11-13 will be no different. Such a study will add depth to our understanding of the author's use of the OT and enable a much fuller understanding of the argument of the book in general.

I have suggested that the author of Hebrews employs specific exodus categories to develop his arguments. I have also attempted to show that the exodus categories used are integrated to serve the broad purpose of the letter which is to warn the addressees not to fall away. A promising avenue of study will be to investigate if and how other NT authors who appropriate the exodus motif work with the categories suggested. Furthermore, I have suggested that the exodus motif helps to stitch together the deeply cultic chapters of Hebrews with the more exhortational ones. However, there remains a need for more research to ascertain the way the author of Hebrews conceives of the relationship between the law, the priesthood, the sacrifices, the covenant, and the exodus motif.

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ABSTRACT
THE NEW EXODUS IN HEBREWS

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This dissertation argues that four prominent exodus categories serve the author of Hebrews in his explication of Christ's redemptive accomplishment. Attending to the author's use of exodus language it analyzes relevant texts and units of the epistle where the author seems to employ the exodus categories that have been identified. Chapter 1 introduces the research, summarizes previous scholarship on the subject and enunciates the thrust of the project.

Chapter 2 takes up the first category dealt with in this work, namely, "entry" into the land. Included in the chapter is an exegesis of a passage that casts Christ's exaltation in light of an exodus entry as well as passages that portray the final hope of believers in terms of an entry after the manner of Christ's.

Chapter 3 tackles the next category, "forerunner." Employing a word study, exegetical analysis of relevant texts and biblical theological considerations, this chapter shows that Christ Jesus is the leader of and forerunner of God's new exodus people who succeeds where his antecedents failed.

Chapter 4 takes on yet another category, "deliverance." The unique exodus language with which Christ's resurrection is described in 13:20 shows the author's interest in this exodus category. More overtly, exodus deliverance language is applied to God's people in Hebrews 2:14-18.

Chapter 5 deals with the most prominent exodus category in Hebrews, namely,

pilgrimage. This chapter argues that Hebrews 3-4 which is dominated by the wilderness motif and the author's contrast between Sinai and Zion in chapter 12 are all indicative of the fact that the author conceived of the circumstances of his addressees in terms of an exodus journey.

Chapter 6 sums up the thrust of the project. The textual evidence that has been set forth to substantiate the thesis of this research seems to validate the claim that the author of Hebrews had an interest in helping his readers think of their situation in terms of the exodus. The findings of this research are also set in the context of the broader discussion on Hebrews' use of the OT.

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