

ALBERTO SOLANO

Sinai and Hebrews

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*
667

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber / Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · Ruben Bühner (Siegen)

James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala) · Christina M. Kreinecker (Leuven)

Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)

J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

667



Alberto Solano

Sinai and Hebrews

Rethinking the Place of Sinai in the Epistle
to the Hebrews

Mohr Siebeck

Alberto Solano, born 1991; 2025 D.Phil. from the University of Oxford; Assistant Professor of New Testament at the Jesuit School of Theology of Santa Clara University.
orcid.org/0009-0000-0258-0465

ISBN 978-3-16-200613-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-200614-1

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-200614-1

ISSN 0340-9570 / eISSN 2568-7484

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2026 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

Für Kathy

Preface

This book originated as my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Faculty of Theology and Religion at the University of Oxford in Trinity Term 2025. I was drawn to investigate the Epistle to the Hebrews within the context of the growing scholarly dialogue concerning the relationship between the Pauline epistles and first-century Judaism, particularly debates surrounding the Parting of the Ways, the New Perspective on Paul, and the “Paul within Judaism” approach. Although Hebrews was historically associated with Paul, it has received comparatively little attention in these discussions. This study therefore began from a desire to explore the epistle’s contribution to these ongoing conversations.

Two primary observations emerged from this research. First, Hebrews’ use of the Sinai narrative does not require the conclusion that the epistle is inherently supersessionist or intended to persuade its audience to abandon Judaism, Torah, or the Levitical priesthood. Rather, Sinai is portrayed positively within the theological logic of the text. In advancing this argument, I seek to place Hebrews in dialogue with Second Temple Jewish literature, highlighting both continuity and distinction. Second, I argue that Hebrews presents its audience as simultaneously inhabiting earthly and heavenly realities. Through faith, the community already participates in the heavenly realm even as it awaits the full realisation of the promised rest.

Primary gratitude is extended to my *Doktorvater*, David Downs, whose guidance, encouragement, and personal example made this project possible. I am equally thankful to Markus Bockmuehl, who, alongside Downs, consistently offered mentorship and support throughout this process. I remain profoundly grateful to both for the singular opportunity to study and learn under their tutelage at Keble College, Oxford.

I thank my examiners, David Moffitt and Jennifer Strawbridge, for their constructive criticism and generous encouragement. This work has benefited enormously from their insights.

As a newcomer to biblical scholarship, I was fortunate to receive guidance from many generous colleagues. In addition to those already mentioned, I am grateful to Jeremiah Coogan, both colleague and dear friend; to Erin Heim and Peter Head for the opportunity to teach at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford; to Martin Heide, whose encouragement proved vital during the early stages of my

academic discernment; to Hindy Najman, whose scholarship first helped shape this project; and to Matthew and Leeanne Thomas and their family, whose hospitality helped my family settle into life in the Bay Area.

I also thank my many friends and colleagues in Oxford – too numerous to name individually – while offering special acknowledgment to Karl Berg, Hunter Brown, Anthony Buckley, Noel Cheong, Andrew Cowan, Esther Edwards, David Elliot, Herald Gandi, Zachariah Kahler, Isaac Morales, Elizabeth Payne, Anastasia Prinzing, Zachary Wagner, George Westhaver, Alissa and David Williams, and Oliver Wright. The conversations we shared, often over long walks, pints, and port, remain among my dearest memories.

From the moment of our arrival, my family and I were met with extraordinary affection and generosity by the Christian community in Oxfordshire. We are especially grateful for the congregations of Oxford Presbyterian Church, Pusey House, and St. Michael's at the North Gate, as well as for the friendship of Lucy and Tom Beaumont, Izzy and Will Orr-Ewing, Hannah and Zachary Wontrop, and Laura and Nick Wu.

My deepest gratitude is owed to my family, the Solanos, and to my in-laws, the Luxners, for their unwavering support.

Above all, I thank my beloved wife, Kathy, for her constant kindness and love. Kathy, I could not have completed this work without your encouragement. I dedicate this book to you. I likewise thank our four daughters – two who moved to Oxford with us and two who were born there – for constantly reminding me that there was always time to step away from my books to laugh, sing, and enjoy life together. Sophia, Elena, Paulina, and Olivia, during the final months of research, you would run through the vicarage singing, “Daddy, daddy, daddy loves Hebrews!” while waiting for me to chase you in a game of tag. I will always treasure those memories of life together in England.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the B-Less Scholarship. Particular thanks are due to Ruth and Neil Martin, and Davinia and Andy Young, for their generosity. I hope this work honours your investment in my scholarship and your kindness towards me and my family.

I am likewise grateful to the Canterbury Institute, Oxford, for the scholarly community it provided during my time in the UK, and to my new colleagues at the Jesuit School of Theology of Santa Clara University and the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley for welcoming my family and me as we began a new chapter in the United States.

Finally, I thank Jörg Frey for accepting the dissertation into the WUNT II series, as well as Tobias Stäbler and the editorial team at Mohr Siebeck for their assistance in bringing this project to publication.

Alberto Solano

Berkeley, CA, Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas 2026

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
 Chapter 1: Introduction	 1
<i>A. Overview</i>	1
<i>B. Proposal</i>	3
<i>C. History of Interpretation</i>	4
<i>D. Consequences</i>	9
<i>E. Outline of This Research</i>	11
 Chapter 2: The Sinai Narrative and Angels	 15
<i>A. The “Message Declared by Angels” in Heb 2:2</i>	16
I. Angels as Servants at Sinai	20
II. Sinai and the Heavenly World	23
<i>B. A Sinai-Inclusive Narrative Approach</i>	29
<i>C. Conclusion</i>	35
 Chapter 3: The Sinai Narrative, Moses, and the Audience’s Ascent of Sinai	 37
<i>A. Moses and Jesus Ascend a Mountain</i>	38
I. Moses and Jesus Were Sent from God to Bring People to God	40
II. Moses and Jesus Ascend into Heaven	43

III. Moses and Jesus Pray for the People Below	51
<i>B. The Audience's Invitation to Ascend a Mountain</i>	<i>53</i>
I. Ascending Sinai in Exod 19:13 LXX.....	55
II. Ascending Sinai in Hebrews	57
III. Ascending Sinai and Rest	59
<i>C. Conclusion</i>	<i>62</i>

Chapter 4: The Sinai Narrative and the Audience's Purification..65

<i>A. The Heavenly Tabernacle in Hebrews</i>	<i>66</i>
I. Heb 8:5	66
II. Heb 9:19–21	70
<i>B. People's Invitation to Enter the Heavenly Tabernacle</i>	<i>73</i>
I. Heb 4:16	74
II. Heb 6:19–20	75
III. Heb 10:19–20	77
<i>C. People's Ability to Enter the Heavenly Tabernacle.....</i>	<i>79</i>
I. Purification/Perfection to Enter the Heavenly Tabernacle.....	81
II. Προσέρχομαι and Purification in Hebrews.....	91
III. Sinai and Purification in Hebrews	95
<i>D. Conclusion</i>	<i>96</i>

Chapter 5: The Sinai Narrative, Torah, and the Levitical Priesthood.....99

<i>A. The Change of Priesthood and Law in Heb 7:12.....</i>	<i>100</i>
I. A "Change of Priesthood" in Heb 7:12.....	101
II. Heb 7:18–19.....	104
III. A "Change of Law" in Heb 7:12	106
IV. Νόμου Μετάθεσις in Heb 7:12.....	109
<i>B. Should Sinai and Torah Be Abandoned?</i>	<i>113</i>
I. Heb 8:7	113

II. Heb 10:1	119
III. Heb 8:13 and 10:9.....	122
<i>C. Conclusion</i>	129

Chapter 6: The Sinai Narrative and the Audience's Arrival at Zion 133

<i>A. The Portrayal of Sinai in Heb 12:18–21</i>	135
I. Sources of Sinai's Description	136
II. Negative Descriptions of Sinai	137
III. Fear at Sinai	139
<i>B. From Sinai to Zion in Heb 12:22–24</i>	141
<i>C. Still at Sinai in Heb 12:25–29</i>	147
<i>D. The Shaking of Heaven and Earth</i>	150
<i>E. Conclusion</i>	152

Chapter 7: The Sinai Narrative and Going Outside the Camp..... 155

<i>A. Living Between Realms</i>	157
I. Heb 13:9–11	161
II. Heb 13:12–14.....	163
III. Heb 13:15–16	166
<i>B. Sinai and the Liminal Community</i>	167
<i>C. Conclusion</i>	169

Chapter 8: Concluding Reflections 171

<i>A. Review</i>	171
<i>B. Initial Question Revisited</i>	175
<i>C. Implications for Further Study</i>	176

Bibliography 179

Index of References 197

Index of Modern Authors 209

Index of Subjects 213

Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Overview

Over the last century, since the publication of Käsemann's seminal work *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*,¹ numerous critical studies have explored the theme of wilderness wandering in the Epistle to the Hebrews.² Generally speaking, these works typically frame the epistle³ within the context of Israel's liberation from Egypt and subsequent journey to Canaan, depicting its audience as pilgrims in a foreign land, akin to Israel, who, after being freed from slavery, spent 40 years in the wilderness before finally reaching their Promised Land, Canaan.

This interpretative approach has undoubtedly yielded significant insights into Hebrews over the past century. However, when God commissioned Moses to go to Egypt to free the Israelites from slavery, his goal was not just to lead them straightaway to Canaan, but to bring them to "the mountain of God" (Exod 3:1, 12),⁴ the same place from which Moses was being commissioned. Moses explicitly requested Pharaoh to allow the Israelites to journey to the desert to worship God at his mountain (Exod 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 8:27).⁵ Thus, although the journey from Egypt to Canaan is indeed the heart of the exodus journey narrative, the pivotal stop at Sinai is equally significant. Put differently, Israel's trajectory was not simply a direct move from point A (Egypt) to point B (Canaan), but rather it included a deliberate stop at Sinai.

¹ Käsemann 1939; published in English as Käsemann 1984.

² A few notable works include D'Angelo 1979; Weir 1984; Thiessen 2007; 2009; Groenewald 2008; Miller 2009; Coyne 2016; Shin 2016; and Hollinger 2019.

³ Because this project is not primarily interested in the genre of Hebrews, I will simply refer to it as an "epistle," rather than a "letter" or a "sermon." For a discussion on this topic, see, for example, Swetnam 1969; Minear 1978; Martin and Whitlark 2018, 79–85.

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all English biblical citations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

⁵ Sarna 1991, 14.

It was the significance of the events that took place at Sinai in Israel's exodus narrative that first led me to wonder whether the author⁶ of Hebrews similarly emphasises the period when people were not wandering in the desert but stationed at the foot of the mountain. At first glance, the answer seems to be no. Historically, as I will develop below, when Sinai is brought into focus in Hebrews, it is typically understood to highlight what the audience has thankfully moved beyond. Indeed, the text refers to Sinai, though in its clearest reference in chapter 12 is an allusion rather than an explicit mention, since the author never uses the name "Sinai" (or "Horeb" for that matter). This reference stands in deliberate contrast to Zion: Sinai is characterised by blazing fire, darkness, gloom, and tempest (12:18), a mountain the audience is told they have not approached, whereas Zion is portrayed as the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, a place of festal assembly and abundant blessing (12:22), to which they have fortunately arrived. Consequently, the prevailing interpretation has been that the author assigns only minimal theological significance to Sinai, mentioning it briefly and indirectly, primarily as a way to remind the audience to be grateful for their deliverance from that fearful setting.

Nevertheless, a remark in one of Moffitt's recent articles prompted me to investigate whether Sinai does hold a central role in Hebrews, much like in the exodus narrative. Moffitt highlights the often-overlooked theme of *waiting* in Hebrews, particularly drawing from 9:28, which speaks of Christ's return from heaven "to save those who are eagerly waiting for him." He argues that, while Hebrews does portray the audience as situated in a wilderness state, the author emphasises not so much their pilgrimage towards a destination but their patient waiting for Jesus to return from his high priestly work in the heavenly tabernacle.⁷ As a result, Moffitt suggests that Hebrews is less about the wandering people of God and more about the waiting people of God.⁸

If Moffitt is correct and Hebrews can be reframed as a narrative about the waiting people of God, we suddenly gain a fresh perspective that appears to emphasise the significant role in Hebrews of Israel waiting at the foot of Mount Sinai. According to the exodus narrative, when Moses ascended the mountain to engage with God and the heavenly tabernacle, the Israelites were commanded to wait patiently and remain faithful. Hebrews tells a similar story, but with Jesus as the central figure rather than Moses. Like Moses, Jesus ascends

⁶ I will refer to the author of Hebrews using a masculine pronoun (he/him) based on the traditional reading of the masculine participle *δηγοῦμενον* in 11:32. For a discussion in this topic, see, for example, Harnack 1900; Hoppin 1969; Collins 1999; D. L. Allen 2010b.

⁷ Moffitt 2019a, 170.

⁸ As Moffitt acknowledges, he is not the first to arrive at this conclusion. In 1972, Hofius concluded, "[D]ie Gemeinde [ist] nicht als das zum Himmel wandernde, wohl aber als das auf die Heilsvollendung *wartende* Gottesvolk gesehen, und der Verfasser will dieses Volk... mit aller Dringlichkeit dazu aufrufen, die Erwartung nicht preiszugeben, der allein die Erfüllung verheißen ist" (1970, 150).

– not to a physical mountaintop, but into heaven itself – where he enters the heavenly tabernacle and intercedes on behalf of his followers. Hebrews then exhorts his audience to remain faithful during this period of waiting (9:28), contrasting them with the Israelites at Sinai, who failed to uphold their faith while waiting for Moses to return from the mountain (3:16–19).

This theme is reinforced by Moffitt’s own observation that the author compares the readers not only to Israel poised to enter the Promised Land but also to Israel as they were encamped at Sinai awaiting Moses’ return.⁹ Like Israel at Sinai, the audience of Hebrews is called to exercise faith, believing in the unseen, namely that there is one who faithfully intercedes for them before God. This intercessor, who, in the case of the audience, continues to carry out his ministry, will return to his people, just as Moses did after 40 days and nights.

B. Proposal

The primary assertion of this study is that the author of Hebrews places considerable emphasis on Israel’s encampment at Sinai, not just their journey from Egypt to Canaan. While the wilderness narrative is important, it has often overshadowed the significant role that the Sinai event plays in the narrative structure of Hebrews. This oversight has limited deeper interpretations of various texts within the epistle. By rethinking the Sinai narrative as an important backdrop (a *Hintergrundgeschichte*) we can unveil new layers of meaning across key passages in Hebrews.

At the outset, it is important to clarify the scope of my proposal. First, this study is not primarily an analysis of a specific use of an Old Testament (OT) text in Hebrews.¹⁰ Instead, I am interested in the narrative of the events that took place at Sinai. Thus, when I use the term “Sinai” in this study, I am referring to the comprehensive events associated with Israel’s encampment at the foot of the mountain, rather than focusing solely on its depiction in specific texts, like the Book of Exodus.¹¹ In this regard, my study extends to how Sinai

⁹ As Moffitt argues, “Not only does the author liken his readers to Israel about to go into the land, they are also compared to the congregation of Israel encamped at Sinai awaiting Moses’ return” (2017, 169–70). Although elsewhere Moffitt locates this waiting at Kadesh (2024, 191–92, 202), this does not diminish the essential point: the audience is portrayed as a people in a state of expectant waiting, rather than as wanderers aimlessly drifting through the wilderness.

¹⁰ Among the most important works dedicated to investigating the use of the OT in Hebrews, the following stand out: Thomas 1959; Barth 1962; Schröger 1968; Howard 1968; McCullough 1971; Ellingworth 1977; Moyise 2001.

¹¹ In other words, my analysis is not confined solely to a certain textual witness, such as the Book of Exodus, which contains the most extensive narrative of Sinai within the

is portrayed across both biblical and Second Temple Jewish texts, without confining it to a hermeneutical study on the reception and rewriting of the Sinai tradition.¹² In other words, while my analysis will at times delve into exegetical examinations of the OT's use in Hebrews and compare how the author interprets aspects of Sinai tradition relative to other Second Temple Jewish texts, my principal focus is on evaluating how the narrative of Sinai functions as a controlling image throughout the epistle. In doing so, this project aligns with narrative approaches in Hebrews scholarship, like those of Allen¹³ and Schenck,¹⁴ yet it is distinct in that it does not aim to create a new hermeneutical framework. Instead, it brings attention to an aspect of the Sinai narrative previously overlooked, suggesting that this backdrop is critical for a fuller understanding of the epistle.

Second, it is important to clarify that when I use the term “waiting,” I am not envisioning a passive or motionless state, precisely because that is not how Hebrews alludes to the concept. When Christ sat down at the right hand of God (10:12), he himself entered a period of waiting (ἐκδέχομαι) until the subjugation of his enemies (10:13). Yet this waiting is by no means depicted in Hebrews as lifeless or inactive. On the contrary, it is marked by ongoing priestly activity and intercession. Similarly, Abraham's waiting (ἐκδέχομαι [11:10]) was active: he set out on pilgrimage toward a new land in obedience, all while waiting for the heavenly city. In this light, when the author speaks of the audience as “eagerly waiting” (ἀπεκδέχομαι [9:28]), he does not envision them as motionless or disengaged. Rather, as we will explore in due course, the audience's waiting entails active participation in practices and responsibilities that the author expects of them during this interim period.

C. History of Interpretation

A common strand in Christian interpretation has understood Sinai in Heb 12:18–21 as representing Judaism, while Zion (12:22–24) represents Christianity. Consequently, for many early Christian writers, Sinai – associated with the old covenant and perceived as standing in contrast to the new – was often interpreted negatively. As Childs succinctly summarises, “Sinai was conceived

Pentateuch (Exod 19–40). For an analysis of the use of the Book of Exodus in Hebrews, see Attridge 1986; Lehne 1990; Löhr 1993; She 2011; Gheorghita 2014; S. Moore 2017; Mason 2018a; and Moffitt 2022b.

¹² For in-depth studies of this field of study, see Brooke, Najman, and Stuckenbruck 2008; Crawford 2008.

¹³ D. M. Allen 2008b.

¹⁴ Schenck 2003; 2011.

of as primitive, mythological, and crude. Indeed, it stood on the same level with pagan religion.”¹⁵

Early writers such as Chrysostom,¹⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem,¹⁷ and Augustine,¹⁸ appear to uphold this understanding. The same perspective persists among some medieval commentators, including Aquinas,¹⁹ and early modern interpreters such as Calvin²⁰ and Owen.²¹ To be sure, this assessment has never gone entirely uncontested, and even among early Christian writers the law was not universally regarded as wholly defective or obsolete.²² Nevertheless, in some

¹⁵ Childs 1974, 381.

¹⁶ Chrysostom held that as Zion superseded Sinai, so also Christians had supplanted Jews as God’s chosen children; see Chrysostom 1889, 368. Chrysostom went on to suggest that Hebrews describes Judaism in an exceedingly unfavourable light intending to dissuade Christian readers from reverting to their previous Jewish customs. He believed that the exhortation to keep the marriage bed pure in Heb 13:4 was meant to deter the audience from abandoning the Christian faith. He used Torah’s teaching that a woman was impure after childbirth (Lev 12:2) to teach that, in like manner, Judaism had become polluted upon giving birth to Christianity; see *Hom. Heb.* 13:4.

¹⁷ Cyril thought that Moses’ fear, as described in Heb 12:21, argued that God had rejected the Jews because they had stopped the ears of their hearts, whereas those who believe in Jesus Christ are welcomed by God (*Catechetical Lecture* 12.13).

¹⁸ Augustine viewed the old covenant as producing children destined for slavery, suggesting that Sinai held value only insofar as it testified to the new covenant (*Civ. Dei.* 17.7).

¹⁹ Aquinas characterised the Sinai event as the place where God gave a covenant “in terror to terrify the hearts of Jews,” whereas those who belong to the Christian church have no cause to fear because God grants them “enjoyment of the godhead and companionship with the saints” (2018, no. 703).

²⁰ Calvin, expanding on this thematic dichotomy, interpreted Sinai as emblematic of “eternal death by the Law,” underscoring Torah’s harshness and its role in condemning humanity, unable to fulfil its stringent demands. In stark contrast, Zion represented the gospel of Christ, and as such, “contains nothing but love” (1855, 332). Calvin emphasised that unlike the terrifying divine manifestation at Sinai, the gospel presents God in a compassionate and inviting manner, extending a loving invitation to salvation and peace: “God does not present himself to us clothed in terrors as he did formerly to the Jews, but lovingly and kindly invites us to himself” (1855, 330). For him, while the law given to Jews at Sinai delivers condemnation, the message of Jesus offers salvation and comfort.

²¹ Owen articulated his interpretation of Sinai in Hebrews as being a place where the “terror and curse of the law” was delivered. For him, Hebrews points to Sinai only “to manifest how low and inferior the giving of the law was, in comparison of the promulgation of the gospel” (1840, 622). He believed that, in light of the gospel’s grace, the law was rendered obsolete, offering nothing but desolation and terror to those who remained under its jurisdiction. Padley highlights Owen’s perspective, noting that Owen “carefully distinguished the covenant of Sinai from the evangelical covenant... locating [his] federal scheme against the background of civil war supersessionism” (2016, 10–11).

²² Theodoret of Cyrus, for example, argued that the parts of the law that had become obsolete were the “prescriptions of the law [which are] ineffective and useless,” namely “circumcision, sabbath observance and suchlike things” (2001, 2:167). Later, when he

recent scholarship, interpreters such as Griffiths,²³ Gäbel,²⁴ and Son²⁵ continue to interpret Sinai as a symbol of “unbelief, apostasy, and judgment.”²⁶

comments on the reference to “the covenant” in 8:9, Theodoret adds a couple more things to the list, such as “regulations about eating and drinking, menstruation, leprosy, childbirth, and periods,” (Hill 2001, 2:173). Theodoret does not give these as examples to then argue that the law should therefore be discarded in its entirety. On the contrary, he prefaces his comments by saying, “He [Jesus] clearly taught... that he does not reject the law as a whole” (Hill 2001, 2:173). Elsewhere he argues that “the New Testament also bids us observe to a greater extent the commandments, you shall not kill, you shall not commit adultery, and suchlike things” (Hill 2001, 2:167). To be sure, elsewhere Theodoret does speak of the law in more negative terms, claiming that Israel did not actually encounter God at Sinai. He noted that the absence of any hint that indicates God’s appearance suggests that “what they saw was not the God of all in person but some impression of the divine coming” (2001, 191). According to him, this occurred because Israel, instead of choosing God, preferred Moses. Consequently, God gave them the law at Sinai as a substitute for a direct heavenly revelation. Theodoret’s interpretation suggests that the author of Hebrews is urging his audience not to emulate Israel’s “crassness” or their choice to abandon God for Moses. As he writes, Hebrews “bids them not imitate their [Israel’s] crassness nor abandon the Lord... like them who chose Moses instead of God” (2001, 192). Theodoret summarises his view by stating, “God gave them the law... not from heaven but on Mount Sinai” (2001, 192). In other words, by choosing Moses, Israel settled for a revelation mediated by a man on an earthly mountain, whereas Christians receive a superior revelation directly from God in the heavenly realm.

²³ For Griffiths, understanding the reference to Sinai in Heb 12:18–21 requires considering the preceding discussion of Esau and his rejection of his birthright. He argues that the narrative establishes idolatry as a central concern. As such, to remain at Sinai is not only a matter of apostasy but also idolatry (2014, 151). Griffiths draws a parallel between Esau’s rejection for choosing a tangible, immediate reward (a meal), despite his inheritance of a covenant blessing, and the audience of Hebrews, whom he urges to value the intangible. He argues that Judaism, characterised by the tangible nature of Sinai, poses a significant risk similar to the moral dangers Esau faced (2014, 136). To be sure, Griffiths was not the first to relate the comparison of Sinai and Zion to Esau’s birth right rejection. Weiss, for instance, noted that one cannot disconnect 12:18–24 from its preceding context because of the conjunction γάρ in 12:18 (Ὁ γάρ προσελήλυθατε...). As he writes, “Allein so ergibt sich auch der vom Autor des Hebr – wie das einleitende γάρ (V. 18) zeigt – beabsichtigte Zusammenhang mit der am Beispiel des Esau verdeutlichten Warnung in VV. 16f” (1991, 669). What sets Griffiths apart is that, unlike Weiss, he equates Judaism to Esau’s sin and therefore to follow Judaism is to commit unforgivable apostasy.

²⁴ “Die Siniaffenbarung wird damit zum Paradigma der Verwehrung des Zugangs zur Gottespräsenz unter der ersten διαθήκη” (Gäbel 2006, 382).

²⁵ According to Son, “the terrible phenomenon of Sinai described in Hebrews... underlines the inferior nature of the OT figures and cultic institutions... [and] functions as the intellectual basis of all warning passages of the epistle” (2005, 24). As a result, Sinai is meant to remind readers of Hebrews about “the sins of the community, and thus the judgment of God” (2005, 102, n. 119).

²⁶ Harris 2019, 383–84. According to her, the author’s primary concern in this comparison is to stress “the sense of what the audience risks should they not persevere in their faith”

By contrast, a number of contemporary scholars argue that Zion reinterprets rather than replaces Sinai. On this reading, *Hebrews* does not present Christianity as superseding Judaism, but as reconfiguring and reinterpreting the significance of Sinai in light of Christ.²⁷ In this reading, Sinai functions as an anticipatory stage within God's redemptive plan, pointing forward to the fuller revelation at Zion. For example, Ndzi argues that Sinai was a momentary step in God's redemptive plan along the journey to Zion, and thus was never meant to be the destination.²⁸ Similarly, Ramantswana concludes that "Mount Sinai is transitory in character and of limited significance whereas Mount Zion as a destination has perpetual significance."²⁹ In other words, Sinai does not necessarily have to be viewed negatively; rather, it was always intended to point forward to the fuller revelation brought by Jesus' testimony and sacrifice. Sinai was indeed significant, but the advent of the new covenant signifies a shift in focus in *Hebrews*, rendering Sinai a mountain of the past that is left in the rearview mirror.³⁰

A more sympathetic reading of Sinai, however, is found among scholars such as Thiessen, who maintains that the law given at Sinai is neither transformed nor superseded in *Hebrews*. Rather, it continues to function validly within the earthly realm, while Jesus' priesthood operates in a distinct sphere, namely, the heavenly realm.³¹ On this reading, Zion does not reinterpret or

(2019, 383). Therefore, faithfulness to Jesus means staying away from Sinai, the place which represents apostasy and damnation.

²⁷ Lane summarises the present, common understanding of 12:18–24 as a juxtaposition, in which the author "juxtaposes Sinai and Zion in order to contrast the old and the new covenants, with their respective mediators (12:18–24; cf. 3:1–6; 8:5–13; 9:15–23; 10:28–31)... the distance that separated worshipers from God under the old covenant (12:20–21; cf. 9:1–10; 10:1–3, 11) in striking contrast to the unrestricted access to God through worship that is the hallmark of life under the new covenant (12:22–24; cf. 4:15–16; 9:11–14; 10:10, 12–14, 19–22)" (1991b, 448).

²⁸ As Ndzi concludes, "Sinai was a surety that God was going to bring his delivered people into the promised land. But it also showed that the people had to be willing to follow God in faith throughout the wilderness journey" (2018, 180).

²⁹ Ramantswana 2013, 118.

³⁰ This view is summarised quite well by Attridge when he writes, "Sinai and the Law associated with it, high points in the history of God's dealings with Israel, have their primary value for *Hebrews* as pointers to the 'good things to come'" (2010, 313). Furthermore, according to Lindars, the function of 12:18–21 is to describe the progress of "God's plan of salvation" (1991, 115). This multi-step plan of salvation which includes the revelation of the law at Sinai, "reached the person of Jesus" and now "waits to be completed in us at the Parousia" (1991, 115). The comparison between Sinai and Zion is therefore the contrast between two steps along the journey of salvation, on route to a final eschatological rest. So, Lindars comments, 12:18–29 is about "a matter of living in the present in the light of the future, because the completion of God's plan of salvation has already been reached in the person of Jesus, though it still waits to be completed" (1991, 115).

³¹ Thiessen 2019.

replace Sinai; instead, Sinai remains a legitimate revelation, complete with its law and covenant, within its proper earthly domain. The contrast in Hebrews, then, is “not intend[ed] to compare and contrast two different religions. Instead, the author intends to compare two different cultic centers,”³² one earthly and one heavenly. I will return to these perspectives in greater detail later. For the present, it is sufficient to note that although Sinai has often been marginalised in interpretation, recent scholarship has begun to reconsider its significance within Hebrews.

Given the largely negative assessment of Sinai in the history of Hebrews interpretation, it is unsurprising that relatively few studies have examined its role in the epistle in a sustained manner. To my knowledge, four major works exist on this topic: Son (2005), Kibbe (2016), S. Moore (2017), and Stolz (2018). I will engage each of these studies in detail in the chapters that follow. At this stage, however, two preliminary distinctions between the present study and these earlier contributions deserve mention.

First, Son and S. Moore approach Sinai from perspectives different from the one adopted here. Son treats the contrast between Sinai and Zion in Heb 12:18–24 as the primary hermeneutical key for interpreting the epistle. Consequently, he tends to correlate the negative elements of Hebrews with Sinai (e.g., 6:4–6; 9:14; 10:1) and the positive elements with Zion (e.g., 8:6–13; 10:19–24). Sinai therefore receives attention largely as the negative counterpart to Zion, which remains his principal focus. S. Moore, by contrast, is concerned with the extent to which Exodus as a literary work stands behind Hebrews. His study is therefore directed primarily toward questions of intertextuality and literary dependence. The present project differs from both approaches. Rather than asking how Hebrews uses the Book of Exodus or whether Sinai functions as a negative contrast to Zion, I am concerned with the theological work performed by the Sinai narrative within the author’s argument and pastoral exhortation.

Second, although Kibbe and Stolz devote substantial attention to Sinai, their analyses focus predominantly on Heb 12:18–29, the epistle’s most explicit and extended engagement with the mountain. Kibbe’s study, for instance, centres on Heb 12:18–21 and explores the relationship between mediation at Sinai and mediation in Christ. His treatment of the Sinai traditions in the Pentateuch is particularly illuminating, yet his primary concern lies with the figure of the mediator rather than with tracing the significance of Sinai throughout Hebrews as a whole. Stolz likewise concentrates on Heb 12:18–29, which he describes as “*der Höhepunkt des Hebräerbriefs*.” In his view, this passage gathers together the epistle’s major theological themes and issues a climactic summons to perseverance and faithfulness.³³

³² Thiessen 2019, 194.

³³ Both monographs are outstanding, meticulously researched contributions to the field. Having benefited deeply from their scholarship, I am immensely grateful to both authors. I

These studies have made indispensable contributions to the discussion, yet two limitations remain. First, none offers a sustained examination of the Sinai narrative across the entirety of Hebrews. Even where Sinai is recognised as central, the focus tends to remain concentrated on chapter 12.³⁴ Second, because the interpretation of Sinai is often derived primarily from the Sinai–Zion contrast in Heb 12:18–24, the argument frequently proceeds from the epistle’s conclusion back toward its earlier chapters. Such an approach risks allowing the final comparison to determine the meaning of every earlier reference.

The present study adopts a different method. Rather than beginning with Hebrews 12, I follow the epistle’s own progression, tracing Sinai from its earliest appearance in 2:2 through to its climactic reappearance in chapter 12. This sequential reading seeks to uncover how the author gradually develops Sinai as a theological framework for understanding the audience’s identity, experience, and relationship to God. If Hebrews is indeed, as its author describes it, a “word of exhortation” (13:22), then its argument deserves to be followed in the order in which it is presented.

D. Consequences

Five key implications arise from this study. First, this project emerges within a broader trend in New Testament (NT) studies that reassesses the significance of Sinai across various texts, including the epistles of Paul³⁵ and the Gospel of John.³⁶ By exploring new interpretive possibilities, specifically within Hebrews, this project contributes to an expanding dialogue that views Sinai as a fertile ground for scholarly exploration.

Second, by proposing that Hebrews presents the events of Sinai in a positive light, I open the door to suggest that the revelation at Sinai retains its validity beyond the establishment of the new covenant. This perspective calls for the revaluation of the role of Torah in Hebrews. Contrary to traditional interpretations that depict the Torah as obsolete following the advent of the new covenant, recognising the positive depiction of Sinai in Hebrews compels us to reconsider Torah as not only valid but also as a positive and enduring revelation from Sinai, one that the audience of Hebrews was still expected to uphold.

am particularly indebted to Kibbe, who graciously engaged with my ideas at several conferences over the course of my research.

³⁴ Kibbe, for one, acknowledges this limitation, noting that his primary attention is on the role of mediators in both the Pentateuch and Hebrews, rather than on a detailed exploration of Sinai throughout the entire epistle (2016, 138–81).

³⁵ Wilk 2020.

³⁶ Käfer 2019.

The third outcome of this project is that it reinforces the view that Hebrews can be fruitfully interpreted alongside Second Temple Jewish literature. As I will detail in the upcoming chapters, the initial sections of the epistle invoke the Sinai event in ways that echo other Jewish texts. Building on the work of scholars like Boyarin (2016), Docherty (2009), Flusser (2009), and Gelardini (2007), who have highlighted Hebrews' Jewish exegetical and literary characteristics, my analysis positions Hebrews squarely within Jewish literary traditions. It asserts that Hebrews engages with distinct Jewish rhetorical patterns and devices, making it a text that can be legitimately and insightfully studied as part of Jewish literature.

Relatedly, a fourth consequence of my research is that it aligns with recent voices challenging the traditional view of Hebrews as a supersessionist text.³⁷ Contrary to the conventional approach, which interprets references to Sinai in Hebrews as efforts to dissuade people from Judaism, my argument is that the author views the Sinai narrative as a positive and valid revelation given to God's people. In fact, the author understands the message of Jesus as building upon, rather than departing from, the revelation at Sinai. As a result, the narrative of Sinai is not a negative event from which one should distance oneself. Instead, I propose a different narrative function, where Sinai is depicted not as a place to abandon but as a crucial framework for understanding the theme of the "waiting people of God." This perspective alters how we might view the epistle's approach to the relationship between the believing audience and their neighbouring Jewish communities. As I will elaborate later, Hebrews does not necessarily equate Judaism with apostasy.

Finally, by emphasising the moment when Israel is stationary at the foot of Sinai awaiting Moses' return, this study challenges the widespread assumption that "wandering" serves as the primary paradigm for understanding the experience of Hebrews' audience. While the generation delivered from slavery did eventually wander in the wilderness, that wandering represents divine judgment rather than the intended trajectory of Israel's redemption. By contrast, the audience of Hebrews is admonished to persevere in faith precisely so that they do not share Israel's fate and fail to enter God's promised rest.

Accordingly, the epistle does not primarily portray its recipients as a people traversing through the wilderness of life, but rather as a community called to wait faithfully for the return of their heavenly intercessor. In this respect, theologically, the project nuances common depictions of Hebrews as a text chiefly concerned with pilgrimage toward a final destination. While Hebrews certainly employs journey imagery, its ultimate hope is oriented not toward believers travelling to Jesus, but toward Jesus' return to his people from the heavenly sanctuary. Thus, Hebrews is centrally concerned with waiting well rather than journeying well.

³⁷ For two good examples, see Barnard 2014 and Svartvik 2011.

Index of References

Old Testament (including LXX)

<i>Genesis</i>		19:6	91
9:13–16	43	19:9	43
17:1	83n60	19:10	165
18:2–15	21	19:11	56
19:1–14	21	19:20	56
19:13–16	43	19:12	19, 56
19:17	99	19:12–13	136–37, 140–41
19:26	99	19:13	11, 55–59, 73, 89
		19:15	58
<i>Exodus</i>		19:16	58
3:1	1, 40–41	19:17	56, 58
3:1–17	47n43	19:18	137
3:2	16n3	19:20	56
3:5	55	19–40	4n11
3:8	40	20:15–18	
3:10	41, 42	20:18–21	138
3:12	1, 40	20:19	17, 58, 138
3:13	40	20:21	138
3:18	1	23:20–21	19, 42
4:18	40	23:21	19n17
4:27–28	40, 41	23:23	156
5:1	41	24:1	56, 67
5:3	1	24:2	67
7:3	26	24:3	71
7:16	1, 41–42	24:3–8	71
8:8–15	51n55	24:4	71
8:23	41	24:7–8	71
8:27	1, 41	24:9	56
10:21	140	24:11	56
12:5	83n60	24:13	67
13:21	43, 152	24:15	67
14:19	43	24:15–16	43
14:24	43	24:16	56
15:17–18	148	24:17	137
18:5	40	24:18	28, 67

25:1–39	55, 67	11:40	93n89
25:9	44	12:2	5n16
25:40	44, 46, 67, 120	14:8	93n89
26:30	44	15:5–27	93n89
26:33	76	16:1–34	79, 93n90
27:8	44	16:2	43, 76
28:15–30	79n48	16:4	79, 93n89
29:1	83n60	16:14–16	164, 71
29:4	93, 94n94	16:17	79
29:9	84n62	16:27	162
29:21	93n94	16:32	84n63
29:29	84n63	17:15	93n89
29:32	87n67	21:10	84n63, 87n67
29:32–33	87n67	21:12	87n67
29:33	84n63, 87n67	26:12	127
29:35	84n63	26:19–21	127n91
30:7–10	79		
32:1–35	52	<i>Numbers</i>	
32:7–14	51	3:3	84n63
32:11	51	3:4	87n67
32:28	52	9:15–22	43
32:28–29	51	10:12	43
32:29	52	12:2	39
32:34	42	12:5	43
33:9	43	12:7	38–39, 60
33:11	165n41	12:8	39
33:17	75n34	12:10	39n7
33:18	75n34	12:13	39n7
33:18–19	19, 75n34	12:14–16	39n7
34:1	32	13:21	76
34:2	56	13:25–14:12	52
34:7	75n34	14:4	25
34:9	75n34	14:12	52
34:12	19	14:19	52
34:29–35	19	14:22–23	52
40:9–10	71	14:30	60
40:34	43	19:7	93n89
		19:9	71, 93, 93n90
<i>Leviticus</i>		19:18	71
1:3	83n60	19:20	71
1:10	83n60	19:21	93
3:1	83n60	26:61	87n67
4:5	84n63		
7:5–6	161	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
8:6	93	1:13	156n2
8:15	71	1:15	156n2
8:19	71	1:33	43
8:30	87n67	4:9	19
8:33	84n63, 87n67	4:11	138

4:11–12	137–38	11:4	68
4:12	138	45:7–8	49
4:23	19	68:8	137
4:24	141n29, 149	68:17	16n4, 22
4:34	26n40	102:25–28	49
5:4	137	104:4	49
5:22–23	136, 137, 138	110:1	21, 49, 102
5:25	137, 139	110:2	102
6:12	19	110:4	102
7:2	123n77	95:7–11	24, 52, 59n72
8:11	19		
9:3	148	<i>Isaiah</i>	
9:17–18	139n18	5:11–14	143
11:16	19	6:1–8	68
12:5–6	146n58	6:5	28n47
12:23	19	8:18	26
12:30	19	28:4	76
15:9	19		
23:12	93n89	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
31:15	43	9:11	123n77
32:8	23	14:21	74
32:43	49	17:12	74
32:46	19	31:31–34	126, 154
33:2	16, 22	32:20–21	26n40
		38:33 (LXX)	108, 109n34, 116, 117
<i>Joshua</i>			
6:5	55	<i>Daniel</i>	
6:23	166n42	7:10	22
<i>Judges</i>			
5:4–5	137	<i>Amos</i>	
6:11–21	21	9:11	144
13:2–20	21		
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>3 Maccabees</i>	
22:26	82n60	5:31	31
22:31	82n60	7:7	31
<i>1 Kings</i>		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
8:13	43n24	17:4	31
<i>2 Kings</i>		<i>Wisdom</i>	
18:35	23	3:9	75
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		6:16	140
17:14	39n6	7:23	31
		7:26	19
<i>Psalms</i>		9:8	68, 103n11
2:7	49	12:8	76

Sirach

17:17 23
 34:5 140
 44:17 83n60

Tobit

5:4 21
 12:1–20 21

New Testament

Matthew

2:12 67
 2:22 67
 3:13–17 28
 5:48 83
 6:19 123n77
 19:21 83
 24:24 26

Mark

13:22 26

Luke

2:26 67
 3:21–22 28
 9:28–36 28
 12:33 122n76
 24:26 25

John

21:18 122n76

Acts

2:19 26
 2:43 26
 3:15 25
 5:31 25
 7:16 110
 7:30 17
 7:38 17
 7:44 44
 7:53 17
 10:22 67
 13:15 10
 22:16 93

Romans

1:1–17 18n13
 4:16 31
 10:4 124n84
 11:26 50

13:9–10 156n3
 15:3 48n46

1 Corinthians

5:7 122n76
 6:11 93
 9:21 112n41

2 Corinthians

1:7 31n53
 3:6–18 39n4
 4:2 48n48

Galatians

1:4 128n95
 1:6 110, 111
 3:19 17
 3:24 120
 6:2 112n41

Colossians

2:16–17 120n70

1 Timothy

1:2 75n34
 3:7 48n46

2 Timothy

1:2 75n34

Titus

1:4 75n34

Hebrews

1:1 16n2, 19–20, 31,
 139, 146
 1:1–2 30, 39, 148
 1:1–4 19, 30,
 1:1–14 20n19
 1:2 19, 145, 146
 1:3 19–20, 24n, 31

1:3–4	20	2:17–18	26, 85
1:4	16n1, 20, 22	3:1	29, 38–39, 41–42
1:4–2:4	20	3:1–2	30
1:5	23n27, 49	3:1–5	15
1:5–14	20, 49–50	3:1–6	25, 29, 38, 50, 58,
1:5–2:4	18n13		59, 61, 173
1:5–2:18	11, 15	3:1–4:13	11, 37, 172
1:6	20, 24n30, 49, 115	3:2	38–39, 45, 52
1:7	21n22, 49, 115	3:3	24n30
1:8	20	3:4–6	42
1:8–9	49	3:5	38, 51
1:10–12	49	3:7	115
1:11	122n76	3:7–11	52, 59
1:13	16, 20–23, 49, 102	3:7–4:7	51
1:13–14	151	3:7–4:13	37
1:14	18n13, 20, 22–23,	3:8	52
	26, 168	3:8–10	52
2:1	18n13, 26	3:11	91n85
2:1–18	27n42	3:12	40
2:2	9, 15–29, 31, 35,	3:12–14	59
	66, 71, 134, 148,	3:14	31, 59, 82n55
	149, 156n3, 168	3:16	22
2:1–4	18, 20n19, 23	3:16–19	3
2:3	17n10, 20n19, 31,	3:18	22, 92n85, 119
	148	3:19	22, 37, 57n71,
2:3–4	17, 20n19, 26		92n85
2:4	26n40	4:1	59, 72n23, 92n85
2:4–5	22	4:2	119
2:5	16n1, 20n19, 23,	4:3	92n85
	24, 53	4:5	92n85
2:5–10	20	4:6	92n85
2:6–8	26	4:8	52, 60
2:7	16n1, 21n22, 24	4:9	60
2:7–10	24	4:10	92n85
2:9	16n1, 17n9, 24–26,	4:11	52, 57n71, 92n85
	49, 83n61, 85, 102,	4:13	123n77
	159, 168	4:14	49, 53, 74
2:10	11, 24–26, 25n33,	4:15	83n60
	29, 47n44, 76,	4:16	26, 52, 58, 66, 73–
	82n56, 83, 83n60,		75, 141, 158n9,
	85, 86, 89, 172		162, 173
2:10–11	165	4:27	41n14
2:11	128	5:1	92n83
2:12	26n41, 27	5:1–10	74
2:13	76	5:6	115
2:15	42	5:7	141n29
2:16	16n1, 21n22, 23	5:9	20n19, 82n56, 85,
2:17	21n22, 38, 47n44,		86
	61, 85	5:10	85

5:14	82n57	8:1–12	114
6:1	82n55	8:2	17n9, 70
6:4–6	8, 17n11, 130, 133n1	8:3	92n83
6:5	20n19, 128	8:4	70, 80, 100, 108n34, 114
6:8	82n55	8:5	20n19, 39, 46, 66– 70, 80, 82n56, 114, 120
6:9	20n19		
6:10	21n22	8:6	94n94, 114, 118
6:11	82n55	8:6–13	8, 133n1
6:12	22, 121n74	8:7	113–19, 123
6:17	121n74	8:8	82n56, 114, 115, 118
6:18	76, 77n42		
6:18–20	72, 77n43	8:8–12	118
6:19	31, 77n39, 162	8:9	115
6:19–20	69n17, 75–78, 92n85, 173	8:10	108, 115, 116, 127
6:20	76, 151	8:12	123
7:1–28	146, 153	8:13	100, 119, 122–29, 151
7:2	110		
7:3	72, 82n55, 151	8:30	94n94
7:5	104, 108n34, 164n35	9:1	123
7:11	82n55, 107	9:1–5	80
7:11–12	151	9:1–8	80
7:12	12, 99, 100–13	9:1–22	80n51
7:13–14	98, 99	9:3	78, 123
7:14	17n9, 40	9:4	123
7:15	102	9:5	24n31, 65
7:16	81, 99, 104, 105, 108n33, 158	9:6	82n56
7:18	104, 107	9:7	123
7:18–19	104–06, 151	9:8	80, 123, 124
7:19	82n56, 83n61, 85, 86, 108n34	9:9	80, 82n56, 85, 86, 92n83, 123, 124, 126n88, 151
7:20	106	9:9–10	124
7:20–21	108	9:10	125
7:20–28	107	9:11	80n51, 82n57, 86, 109, 112n41, 120n72, 121, 124
7:21	106		
7:23	92	9:11–12	78
7:23–28	92	9:11–10:18	70
7:25	20n19, 92, 93, 94n96, 102, 141	9:12	92n85, 124
7:26	85	9:13	92, 93, 128
7:27	92n83, 92	9:13–14	165
7:28	72, 82n56, 85, 86, 108n34	9:14	8, 86, 93n90, 121n74
8:1	70, 74	9:15	70, 71, 72n23, 73, 115, 121n74, 123
8:1–2	74, 78, 85	9:16	70
8:1–6	114	9:17	31n53, 70

9:18	70, 123	10:27	20n19, 108n34
9:19	92, 96, 104n15, 108n34	10:28	107n27, 108n34, 109
9:19–21	65, 66, 70–73, 92– 93, 94n94	10:29	128, 165
9:20	104n15	10:33	48
9:21	92	10:34	48
9:22	108n34	11:4	92n83
9:23	92n83, 96	11:4–38	88n69
9:24	78, 92n85, 120, 121n74, 125	11:5	110
9:25	92n85	11:6	141
9:26	82n55, 92n83, 96, 105n17, 121n74	11:8	20n19, 164n35
9:28	2–4, 20n19, 37, 52, 65, 96, 102, 121n74, 151, 151, 168, 169, 175	11:9	150n71
10:1	8, 12, 20n19, 66, 82n56, 85, 86, 92n83, 93, 95n96, 108n34, 109, 112n41, 119–22, 133n1, 141	11:10	4, 120n72, 163
10:1–3	105	11:11	21, 38, 47n42
10:2	95	11:16	72n23, 163
10:5	92n83, 115n50	11:20	20n19
10:8	92n83, 108n34	11:22	82n56, 104n15
10:9	112, 121, 122–29	11:26	48, 49
10:10	88n68, 128, 165	11:26–27	47
10:11	92n83	11:27	40, 46–47, 159
10:12	83n61, 92n83	11:31	166n42
10:12–13	4	11:32	2n6
10:14	82n56, 85, 86, 88n68, 88, 99, 128, 165	11:39–40	121n74
10:15–17	117	11:40	82n56, 85, 86, 88, 89
10:16	108, 115	12:1	77
10:19	26, 58, 77, 78, 81, 81, 92, 128, 158	12:2	25n33, 77, 82n55, 159, 168
10:19–20	77–78, 96, 173	12:4	48n48
10:19–21	78, 92	12:14	17n9
10:19–22	48	12:18	2, 139, 139, 141, 148
10:19–24	9, 133n1	12:18–19	57, 135
10:20	125n86	12:18–21	4, 7n30, 8, 15, 66, 99, 133, 135–41, 150n71, 174, 175
10:22	92, 94n94, 141	12:18–24	6n23, 8, 19, 37, 42, 54, 58, 62, 133, 147, 150, 174
10:23	38, 105	12:18–29	8, 133n1, 147n64
10:24	92n88	12:19	136, 147n64
10:26	92n83	12:20	139, 140
		12:22	2, 27, 50, 58, 72n23, 100, 133, 136, 141, 163
		12:22–23	58
		12:22–24	4, 49–50, 58, 133, 141–47, 147n64

12:23	82n56, 85, 86, 88, 102	13:16	91, 164n35
12:24	144n67, 150n71, 164n35	13:17	82n57, 156, 162n29
12:25	100, 151, 144	13:18	162n29
12:25–29	147–50, 168, 174	13:21	24n31
12:26	111, 147n64, 150n71	13:22	9, 10
12:26–27	126, 128, 150	<i>James</i>	
12:26–28	125n88	4:14	123n77
12:27	72, 111, 151	<i>1 Peter</i>	
12:28	121n74, 141n29	2:9	91
12:28–29	50	3:21	120
12:29	58, 141n29, 148	<i>2 Peter</i>	
13:1–2	139, 156n3	1:10	31
13:1–7	156n3	3:10	123n77
13:2	21	<i>2 John</i>	
13:3	47n42, 156n3	3	75n34
13:4	5n16	<i>Jude</i>	
13:7	72, 160	3	111
13:8	72, 156	4	111
13:8–16	13, 160, 175	14–15	22
13:9	162	<i>Revelation</i>	
13:9–11	161–63	3:12	69
13:10	162	3:18	48n48
13:11	161	7:15	69
13:11–14	49	11:19	69
13:12	128, 162n31, 162, 164, 165	14:15	69
13:12–14	161, 162, 163–66, 175	14:17	69
13:13	48, 159, 164, 165	16:1	69
13:14	20n19, 49, 121n74, 160, 163, 164	16:17	69
13:15	91	21	145
13:15–16	165, 166–67, 175		

Dead Sea Scrolls

<i>1QS</i>		<i>1Q33</i>	
1.8–9	32n56	3.9	144
1.13–15,	32n56	3.10	144
2.19	32n56	3.11	144
5.24	32n56		
8.5	143n43	<i>2Q4</i>	
9.6	143n43	1.1–4	145
		3	145

<i>4Q</i>		<i>5Q15</i>	
554.1.1	145	1	145
555	145	2	145
<i>4Q162</i>			
2.10	143	<i>11QTemple (11Q19)</i>	
		2.1	32
<i>4Q174</i>		18.23	145
1.3	144	51.6–7	32
1.5	144		
		<i>11Q18</i>	
<i>4Q175</i>		23	145
29	143	24	145
30	143		
		<i>1QHab</i>	
<i>4Q377</i>		2.2	127n93
1.2	44	8.9	127n93
		9.5	143
<i>4Q554</i>		9.9–10	127n93
1.1–3	145	12.8–9	143
2.2	145		
		<i>1QSa</i>	
<i>4Q555</i>		1.9–26	127n93
1.1	145	2.16	127n93
1.2	145		

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>	
1.4	22n25	3	27
9.1	103n10		
14.8–23	45, 68, 159	<i>Jubilees</i>	
17	27	Prol.	32
17–19	45	1.3	16
25	27	1.8	23
28–33	45	1.18–19	23
40.1	22	1.27–28	142
89.28–35	138	4.26	27, 142
		8.19	142
<i>2 Enoch</i>		15.33	23
40.3	22	50.1–2	32
		50.2–4	142
<i>2 Baruch</i>			
4:2–7	27, 103n11	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
		2	27
<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		2.5–5.7	159
12	28n44	2.9	45

2.10	45	3.4–8	69n11
3.4–6	103	5.1	80n49

Other Second Temple Jewish Sources

CD

3.21–4.2	145
20.1	127n93

Ezekiel the Tragedian

Exagoge

67–82	43–44
-------	-------

Josephus

Contra Apionem

1.250	46n41
-------	-------

Jewish Antiquities

1.71	123n77
1.196	21
3.179–87	69
3.212–22	46n41
5.1.14	67n1
12.387	111
15.36	17
19.319	48n46

Philo

Eternity

61	122n76
----	--------

On Dreams

1.227–29	44
1.140–44	17

On the Life of Abraham

107–13	21
--------	----

On the Life of Moses

1.149	51
1.158	43, 46n41
1.158–59	27
2.14	31, 94
2.66–108	69, 138
2.66–176	138
2.74	43, 67, 120n71
2.76	43n26
2.238	67n1

On the Special Laws

1.67	103n11
------	--------

Questions and Answers on Exodus

1.28	94n95
1.29	94n95

On the Migration of Abraham

5	46n41
183	43

Who is the Heir of Divine Things

182	44n26
-----	-------

Rabbinic Sources

Cassuto

On Exodus

19.13	56n70
-------	-------

Exodus Rabbah

37.1	46n41
------	-------

Ibn Ezra

Exodus

19:13	55n63
-------	-------

Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael

3.14	56n70
24.1, 9	55n63

Memar Marqah

4.6.14 45
4.6.15 45

Nedarim

35b 42n18

Qiddushin

23b 42n18

Rashbam

On Exod
19.13.2 56n70

Rashi

On Exodus
19.13.3 55n66, 56n70

Yoma

19a–b 42n18

Greco-Roman Sources

Dionysius

Letter to Pompeius
396 48n46

Roman Antiquities

3.71 48n46
9.1 48n46

Ovid

Metam
6.620–724 21

Plato

Phaedo
90c 31

Plutarch

Moralia
631.E 48n46

The Life of Artaxerxes

22.6 48n46

Thucydides

Peloponnesian War
1.122 31

Patristic Sources

1 Clement

23:3 123

Augustine

City of God
17.7 5

Eusebius

Ecclesiastical History
7.10.7 48n46

Praeparatio evangelica

13.12 55

Gregory of Nyssa

The Life of Moses
2.163–80 46

Chrysostom

Homilies on Hebrews
13.4 5

Cyril of Jerusalem

Catechetical Lecture
12.13 5

John Damascene	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>
<i>Barlaam and Ioasaph</i>	11.1 111
90 48n46	

Index of Modern Authors

- Allen, D. M. 4, 152
Alexander, P. 46
Anderson, C. P. 105
Andrissen, P. 163
Attridge, H. 4, 7, 17, 18, 20, 24, 47, 60,
67, 71, 72, 74, 76, 90, 117, 120, 123,
139, 147, 150, 161, 165
- Backhaus, K. 25, 156
Barth, M. 3, 33, 93
Bateman, H. 24, 147
Betz, O. 32, 143
Bloor, J. 85
Bockmuehl, M. 33, 102, 157, 158, 163
Boersma, H. 46, 157
Boyarín, D. 9, 33, 34
Brawley, R. 47
Brooke, G. J. 4, 32, 144, 146
Brown, H. 112
Bruce, F. F. 47, 75, 140
Buchanan, G. W. 18, 24, 33, 75
- Calaway J. C. 60
Casey, J. M. 136
Church, P. 68
Cockerill, G. L. 25, 29, 42, 59, 76, 77,
88, 90, 94, 105, 112, 123, 125, 136,
161, 163, 164
Cody, A. 68, 133
Compton, J. 21
Conway-Jones, A. 28, 43, 46
- Dahl, N. A. 92
D'Angelo, M. R. 1, 39, 48, 91
Davis, P. R. 143, 144
DeSilva, D. 20, 21, 23, 25, 48, 72, 75,
77, 78, 80, 90, 93, 101, 104, 121,
126, 158
Dibelius, M. 84
- Docherty, S. 9, 33, 39, 60
Dozeman, T. B. 52, 55
Du Plessis, P. 82, 84, 85
Du Toit, P. 100, 108
- Easter, M. C. 38
Eisenbaum, P. 33
Ellingworth, P. 3, 18, 23, 24, 25, 49, 72,
74, 77, 93, 108, 118, 123, 140, 141,
150, 164, 165
- Floor, L. 91
Flusser, D. 9, 33
Frisch, A. 44, 143
- Gäbel, G. 6, 26
García Martínez, F. 32, 143, 145
Gelardini, G. 9, 33, 34, 166
Gordon, R. P. 150
Greene, J. D. 124
Griffiths, J. I. 6, 134
Grindheim, S. 38, 59
Guthrie, G. H. 18,
- Hahn, S. W. 70
Harris, D. M. 6, 25, 41, 52, 72, 78, 87,
93, 94, 101, 105, 107, 115, 116, 123,
139
Hayes, C. 116, 117, 118
Hays, R. 33, 118
Healy, M. 25, 87, 89, 92, 93, 126
Heidel, A. 60, 92, 160
Himmelfarb, M. 28, 45
Hofius, O. 2, 76
Holmes, C. T. 133, 137
Hurst, L. D. 68
- Imes, C. J. 168

Isaacs, M. E. 68, 103

Jamieson, R. B. 69, 71

Johnson, L. T. 16, 18, 21, 24, 50, 71, 77,
89, 90, 114, 118, 124, 125, 127, 128,
141, 147, 160, 164

Joslin, B. 108, 109, 120

Käsemann, E. 1, 29, 37, 65, 88

Kibbe, M. 8, 9, 24, 50, 55, 57, 60, 138,
140

Kleinig, J. W. 74

Koester, C. R. 11, 18, 21, 24, 25, 38, 68,
71, 77, 78, 87, 88, 90, 107, 108, 118,
128, 136

Kraus, W. 52

Lane, W. L. 7, 16, 18, 23, 25, 42, 47,
76, 78, 83, 87, 88, 91, 104, 124, 140,
147, 148, 150, 161, 162, 163, 165

Lang, F. G. 28, 29, 114, 156,

Lee, J. 34, 150

Lehne, S. 4

Leithart, P. J. 91, 94

Levenson, J. D. 28, 142

Lierman, J. 39, 41, 42

Lindars, B. 7, 133

Litwa, D. M. 28

Löhr, H. 4

Luck, U. 157

MacDonald, N. 38

Mackie, S. D. 20, 69, 73, 159, 160

Mason, E. F. 4, 33, 52, 101

McCrudden, K. B. 82, 83, 84,

Mitchell, A. C. 19, 33, 77, 87, 96, 118,
126, 127, 161, 162, 166

Moe, O. 91, 92

Moffitt, D. 2, 3, 4, 24, 27, 42, 50, 69,
81, 82, 85, 86, 89, 96, 101, 102, 104,
146, 151, 158

Moore, N. 19, 28, 44, 46, 68, 69, 73, 75,
77, 80, 91, 92, 125, 157, 158, 168

Moore, S. 4, 8

Mooser, C. 166

Murray, R. 33

Najman, H. 4, 11, 16, 30, 31, 32, 34,
146

Ndzi, J. N. 7, 134

Otto, M. 84

Ounsworth, R. 62, 63, 78

Peeler, A. 23, 47, 70, 71, 88, 89, 92,
105, 112, 121, 163

Peterson, D. G. 78, 82, 84

Pierce, M. 39, 84

Ramantswana, H. 7, 134

Regev, E. 68, 104

Rhee, V. 41

Richardson, C. 90

Riggenbach, E. 83

Rissi, M. 94, 158

Sarna, N. M. 1, 57

Schenck, K. 4, 68, 157

Schiffman, L. H. 143, 144, 145

Shmitt, M. 106, 107, 108, 109

Scholer, J. M. 75, 91, 92

Segal, A. F. 27, 45

Seleznev, M. 117, 118

Son, K. 8, 9, 19, 50, 51

Spicq, C. 17, 24

Stevens, D. 72

Stolz, L. 8, 24, 133, 134, 135, 138, 141,
147, 148, 150

Stuart D. 56, 140

Stuckenbruck, L. T. 4, 101

Svartvik, J. 10, 33

Svensen, S. N. 140

Swetnam, J. 1, 41, 42, 68, 159, 163

Synge, F. C. 18

Thiessen, M. 1, 7, 8, 50, 103, 109, 119,
121

Thompson, J. W. 112, 133

Urga, A. G. 52

VanderKam, J. C. 16, 22, 27, 32

Vanhoye, A. 17, 18, 19, 20, 39, 50, 60,
68, 78, 118, 119

Walsh, C. 140

Wedderburn, A. J. 101, 155

Weiss, H. 6, 112

Westcott, B. F. 83, 101

Westfall, C. L. 18, 69, 114, 141
Whitfield, B. J. 63
Williamson, R. 68, 162
Windisch, H. 107
Wolmarans, J. L. 115

Woo, L. 68, 91, 92, 159, 160, 165
Wunrow, S. C. 60, 70

Young, N. H. 76, 163

Index of Subjects

- Aaron 39, 41, 51, 71, 84, 87, 93
- Abraham 4, 21, 23, 27–28, 31, 60, 89, 110, 121, 127–28, 150, 163–64
- Burning bush (*see also* Sinai) 40, 47, 55
- Covenant
 - new 7, 9, 11, 18, 31, 53, 58, 61, 66, 70–71, 83, 89–91, 95–97, 108–09, 113, 117, 121–30, 145, 161
 - old (first, Sinai, Mosaic) 4–8, 32–33, 66, 70–73, 83, 88, 93, 96, 100, 107–08, 110, 112, 113–19, 121–30, 134–35, 140–44, 146, 149, 151, 163
- Egypt 19, 25, 30, 40–42, 46–49, 51–52, 57, 59, 62, 95, 110, 139–40, 155–56, 164, 167–68
- Eucharist 159, 162–63, 169
- Heaven (heavenly) 6, 7, 11, 13, 23–29, 37, 43–51, 53–55, 58–63, 69–70, 73, 75–76, 80, 89–90, 95–96, 100, 102–06, 109–10, 118–19, 121–22, 125, 128–31, 142, 151, 153, 155–69
 - city 4, 27, 49, 59, 72, 88–89, 121, 152, 162–66
 - high priesthood 12, 53, 86, 100–06, 109–12, 114, 118
 - Jerusalem 49, 58, 60, 102, 163
- Horeb (*see also* Sinai) 28, 40, 136
- Jesus
 - ascension 18, 54, 74–75, 81–82, 102, 153, 158, 168
 - high priest (*see* Priesthood)
 - mediator (intercessor) 10, 12, 51–53, 65
 - resurrection 24, 81, 87, 90, 102, 112, 158
 - sacrifice 18, 78, 85, 90–97, 99, 105, 109, 141, 146, 154, 160, 165
- Joshua 43, 52–53, 55, 60–63, 67, 165
- Law (Torah) 5–10, 13, 30–32, 58, 66–67, 72–73, 79–80, 82–83, 86, 89, 93, 95–97, 99–131, 135, 139–46, 151–54, 161
 - through angels 16–17, 26, 31, 35, 134, 156
 - shadow 12, 109, 113, 119–22, 141
- Melchizedek (*see also* Priesthood of Jesus) 76, 79, 100, 101–04, 106, 109–11, 122, 146, 151, 155
- Mosaic Discourse 16, 30–34,
- Moses 1–3, 15, 19–20, 25, 27–35, 37–63, 67, 70–71, 75, 94, 95–96, 109, 117, 120, 130, 138–40
- Perfection (*see also* Purification) 12, 61, 66, 80, 81–90, 95–96, 106, 115, 122
- Priesthood
 - of Jesus 7, 11–13, 26, 38, 41, 53, 73, 74–75, 83, 100–114, 128, 146, 160, 174
 - Levitical 13, 45, 61, 66, 70, 83, 86–87, 90, 92, 95, 99–131, 151–52, 161
- Purification (*see also* Perfection) 61, 66, 71, 79–97, 119, 128, 167
- Rest 7, 10, 11, 22, 25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 42, 43, 52–54, 57, 59–63, 72, 76, 88–89, 113, 119, 130, 150, 156, 167

- Sinai
- ascending 11–13, 16, 24, 28–29, 38–63
 - golden calf 51–52, 139
 - mount (mountain) 2, 3, 6, 7, 15, 26–29, 32, 35, 37, 38–63, 71, 89–90, 96, 109–10, 134, 136–44, 167–69
 - sensory phenomena (clouds, darkness, fire, lighting, thunder) 24, 13, 43–44, 55, 58–59, 61–62, 99, 104, 109–110, 115, 123, 135–41, 148–149
 - trumpets 12, 55–58, 89, 135–40, 144–45, 173
- Tabernacle (temple)
- heavenly 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 26–27, 32, 39, 44–51, 53–54, 57–59, 61–63, 66–91, 94–96, 105, 114, 118, 120, 122, 127–28, 145–46, 158–60, 165–67
 - earthly 28, 68–69, 80, 87, 90, 126–27, 142–43, 146, 164
 - sacrifices 32, 60, 69, 80, 85, 92–96, 103–04, 108, 120, 122, 124, 146, 160–63, 164, 166–67
 - shadow (sketch) 66, 80, 114, 120
- Waiting 2–4, 10–12, 22, 29, 37, 61, 65, 88–89, 96–97, 102, 109, 130–31, 143, 145, 151–52, 155–57, 168–69, 175–76
- Zion 2, 4, 5, 6–9, 19–20, 26–29, 43, 50–51, 54, 58–60, 63, 89, 96, 102, 133–35, 141–50, 153, 174–75