The Influence of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature on the Book of Hebrews

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THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE ON THE BOOK OF HEBREWS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the
Department of Religion and Philosophy
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
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December 1980
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am thankful to Heinrich Scherz, President of the European Bible Seminary, Redersberg, West Germany, and Dr. John Sims, Professor at Lee College, Cleveland, Tennessee, who both encouraged me to study in the United States. It was there during my studies at Lee College that I was introduced by Dr. Franck Arrington to the significance of Jewish apocalyptic thought for New Testament studies.

I am extremely thankful to Dr. Ronald Nash, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Religion at Western Kentucky University, and his secretary Brenda Lane, who made it possible for me to study at Western Kentucky University after I had completed my undergraduate work at Lee College. However, I am especially indebted to Dr. W. L. Lane, who not only adopted me as an assistant during my time at Western Kentucky University but was also willing to direct the preparation of this thesis.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments .................................................................................................................. 1
Abstract .................................................................................................................................. 111
INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................... 1

Chapter
   I. THE CHARACTER OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC .................................................................. 3
      Apocalyptic in Retrospect .................................................................................................. 7
   II. RELIGIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES IN HEBREWS .................................................. 12
       The Gnostic Interpretation ............................................................................................... 12
       The Platonic/Philonic Interpretation ............................................................................... 15
       The Apocalyptic Interpretation ...................................................................................... 19
   III. THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE ON THE BOOK OF HEBREWS ......................................................................................................................... 24
       History ............................................................................................................................. 24
       Time ................................................................................................................................. 24
       The emphasis on the eschaton ....................................................................................... 27
       The Unity of history ...................................................................................................... 32
       Two ages .......................................................................................................................... 38
       Katapausis/Sabbatismos .................................................................................................. 44
       Typos/Antitypos ............................................................................................................. 50
       Messianism ...................................................................................................................... 56
       Angelology ...................................................................................................................... 65

CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................ 70

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................................... 71
THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE ON THE
BOOK OF HEBREWS

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November 1980

82 pages

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The Book of Hebrews has been interpreted from at least three religio-historical angles: the Gnostic interpretation, the Platonic/Philonic interpretation, and the apocalyptic interpretation. Since 1970, however, the apocalyptic interpretation is strongly favored. A study of the understanding of the writer of the Book of Hebrews as pertaining to history (time, the unity of history, the emphasis on the eschaton, the two-age motif), the concept of rest (katapausis), alleged Platonic dualism, Messianism, and angelology suggests the one conclusion: Jewish apocalyptic literature is the primary extra-biblical locus from which the writer of the Book of Hebrews draws.
INTRODUCTION

Two works published in the year 1970 represented a turning point in religio-historical studies on the Book of Hebrews.1 Until then scholars were primarily looking towards Alexandria and Greece for the background to Hebrews. But R. Williamson in his magnum opus showed the independence of the Book of Hebrews from Platonic/Philonic thought2 and O. Hofius rejected the gnostic interpretation of the document.3 Interestingly enough, both pointed -- beyond the obvious influence of the Old Testament -- to the intertestamental documents as an alternative locus for a religio-historical comparison: Hofius to the Jewish apocalyptic writings,4 Williamson to I-IV Maccabees.5 But already the author of


4 O. Hofius, op. cit., p. 98.

the Book of Hebrews himself had made it explicit that he was familiar with the apocalyptic writings. He refers to the Book of Daniel in Heb. 11:33,34 and to the Ascension of Isaiah in Heb. 11:37.\(^6\) However, a review of the material published in the last decade shows that the question of the religio-historical background of the Book of Hebrews is far from settled and "needs to be addressed urgently."\(^7\) In this study we shall therefore emphasize once more that "the weight of the evidence points toward the apocalyptic interpretation."\(^8\) This is not to say that apocalyptic literature is the only religious milieu from which the author of the Book of Hebrews drew but that it is the most important locus for a religio-historical comparison, second only to the Old Testament.

The actual comparative study will be preceded by brief discussions on apocalyptic literature and religio-historical perspectives on Hebrews. The comparison will focus primarily on theological similarities since a comprehensive comparative study is hindered in the literary realm by the absence of tools, e.g., concordances, covering the body of Jewish apocalyptic literature.


\(^8\)Ibid., p. 13.

CHAPTER I
THE CHARACTER OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC

Generally speaking, apocalyptic is understood to mean a complex of writings and ideas which were widespread about the turn of the Christian era in Palestine, in the Jewish diaspora and in early Christian circles. 1 The term itself is derived from the Greek ἀποκάλυψις, meaning "uncovering" or "revelation." However, scholarly opinion on the subject of what constitutes "apocalyptic" is widely divergent. To enter this debate is not the intention of this study. 2 However, it is important to recognize that "apocalyptic" is constituted by both a literary and a theological phenomenon. 3 These two aspects are of significance for our study; they are the criteria to constitute the level on which our comparison to the Book of Hebrews will proceed.

Though there does not exist a "systematic theology of Jewish apocalyptic" we have a number of theological ideas


3P. L. Arrington, op. cit., p. 15.
which are predominately found in almost all apocalyptic writings as well as themes which are developed more specifically in only some of them. These ideas and themes will serve as the basis for our theological comparison. The absence of a "systematic theology" does not affect a religio-historical comparison between the Book of Hebrews and Jewish apocalyptic literature since writers tend to be eclectic anyway when they borrow from different background sources; they select only what is relevant to their own specific purposes. We are thus concerned with the comparison of individual theological themes between the Book of Hebrews and Jewish apocalyptic literature rather than with a comparison of the "systematic theologies" of these two bodies of literature. D. S. Russell suggests that the apocalyptic teachings concerning the two ages, the imminent coming of the Messiah, the emphasis on the last days, the judgment of the world, the future lot of the wicked and the righteous, and angelology -- to name only a few of the theological themes which we will discuss in detail later on -- influenced Christian thinking deeply.4 Their imprint is obvious on the beliefs of the Early Church and on the New Testament writings themselves.5

"Though there does not exist a "canon" of Jewish apocalyptic literature," there is extant a certain number of


writings which are referred to almost unanimously as "apocalyptic." These works combined will serve as our "canon" to which the Book of Hebrews will be compared. According to the prevailing opinion, the great mass of apocalyptic literature appeared in the period beginning with the second century B.C. and continuing to the second century A.D. Although apocalyptic sections are already found in the later Old Testament writings, as in the Book of Zechariah and in chapters 24-27 of Isaiah, the earliest of the apocalyptic writings is the Book of Daniel. The following list of books will serve as the "canon of Jewish apocalyptic literature" from which we will draw in this comparative study:

The Book of Daniel 165 B.C.
I Enoch from ca. 164 B.C. onwards
The Book of Jubilees ca. 150 B.C.
The Sibylline Oracles, Book III from ca. 150 B.C. onwards
The Testament of the XII Patriarchs latter part of 2nd century B.C.
The Psalms of Solomon ca. 48 B.C.


The Assumption of Moses
The Ascension of Isaiah 2:1-3; 12; 5:1-14
The Life of Adam and Eve or The Apocalypse of Moses
The Apocalypse of Abraham 9-32
The Testament of Abraham
The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (II Enoch)
The Sibylline Oracles, Book IV
IV Ezra
The Apocalypse of Baruch (II Baruch)
III Baruch
The Sibylline Oracles, Book V

As far as the body of literature ("canon") is concerned we may have to expand it as soon as J. H. Charlesworth's publication on the Apocrypha/Pseudepigrapha appears. From this collection we may have to add a number of books to our list in order to complete our "canon." Also, beyond the body of apocalyptic literature as listed above we may sometimes refer to Jewish apocalyptic fragments from the rabbinic writings and the writings from Qumran.

On the theological level we will expound on every theme of comparison in order to establish it as a Jewish apocalyptic

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9Cf. also the great number of apocalyptic works mentioned by J. J. Gunther, St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 1-58 ("Sources").
notion. However, quite frequently such a notion experienced slight changes when adopted by a Christian writer, and specifically the author of the Book of Hebrews. The reason for this is clear. The Christ event produced a "language crisis" or "crisis of categories" for Christians with a Jewish apocalyptic background because old familiar terms were now required to convey new content. The apocalyptic terms with which the early church responded to the Christ event were terms whose content had been modified quite frequently. These modifications will be discussed whenever they occur with a theological theme which we have chosen as a point of comparison.

Apocalyptic in Retrospect

The first attempt at a general presentation of apocalyptic arose in connection with the exposition of the Apocalypse of John. Friedrich Lucke, a pupil of Schleiermacher, proposed to consider the Apocalypse in pragmatic connection with the totality of apocalyptic literature. To this end he published in 1832 the Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis und in die gesammte apokalyptische

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11 These modifications make it necessary to distinguish carefully between Jewish apocalyptic and Christian apocalyptic, although the basic outlook is the same. In response to a criticism of Ebeling's, Kasemann acknowledges a difference between Jewish and Christian apocalypticism as "obvious," yet fails to indicate the nature of this difference. Cf. E. Kasemann, "On the Topic of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," pp. 107f.
Litteratur.\textsuperscript{12} We can credit Friedrich Lücke with having established the independent investigation of the religious complex labeled "apocalyptic."

A milestone in the history of the study of apocalyptic was set by the first monograph on the subject, published in 1857 by Adolf Hilgenfeld on Die judische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.\textsuperscript{13} Hilgenfeld, a pupil of Ferdinand Christian Bauer, placed his study "in the perspective of a prehistory of Christianity" and for this reason gives to his book the subtitle "Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Christenthums."\textsuperscript{14} In his opinion, Jewish apocalyptic actually represents the entire prehistory of Christianity. "Nothing else takes us so far into the actual birthplace of Christianity as does the pattern of thought of Jewish apocalyptic."\textsuperscript{15}

Johannes Weiss, contrary to the assumptions of the liberal historians of religion, expressed in 1892 in a study entitled Die Predigt vom Reiche Gottes\textsuperscript{16} that Jesus by no means preached that the kingdom of God had dawned in ethical

\textsuperscript{12}I.e., "Attempt at a complete introduction to the Revelation of John and the whole body of apocalyptic literature."

\textsuperscript{13}I.e., "Jewish apocalyptic in its historical development."

\textsuperscript{14}I.e., "A contribution to the prehistory of Christianity."

\textsuperscript{15}A. Hilgenfeld, op. cit., p. 2.

personalities, but that he expected the imminent inbreaking
of the rule of God in the Jewish-apocalyptic sense.

In various works Albert Schweitzer worked out the
sketch of a "thoroughgoing eschatology" within primitive
Christianity.17 Jesus announced the now-approaching kingdom
of God of apocalyptic anticipation.

In the apocalyptic situation of the Second World War,
H. H. Rowley wrote his book The Relevance of Apocalyptic in
England.18 However, the scholarly discussion of Jewish apoca-
lyptic was rare in the first half of our century. But since
1960 "we are witnessing a renaissance of interest in apocalyptic"19
launched by the bold theologumon of Ernst Käsemann:
"Apocalypticism is the mother of Christian theology."20
Bultmann,21 Ebeling, and Fuchs22 replied immediately and

17A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle,
transl. by W. Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt and Company,
1931); Paul and His Interpreters, transl. by M. Montgomery
(New York: Macmillan Company, 1948); The Mystery of the King-
dom of God, transl. by W. Montgomery (London: A. & C. Black,
1925).

18H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (London:

in Reconciliation and Hope, R. Banks, ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm.

20E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology"
in the Journal for Theology and Church 6, R. W. Funk, ed.

21E. Bultmann, "Ist Apokalypse die Mutter der christ-
lichen Theologie?", Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst
Haenchen (Berlin: Alfred Topelmann Verlag, 1964).

22The essays of G. Ebeling, "The Ground of Christian
together with contributions by H. D. Betz, P. M. Cross, D.
vigorously to this view. They reacted for the following conclusions: First, presumably apocalyptic forms no essential part of the preaching of Jesus, nor of the theologies of Paul and John, and secondly, it has no value in forming concepts by which modern Christians interpret their world of experience.\textsuperscript{23} The latter of the two objections found its reply from Wolfhart Pannenberg, who, in reaction to the prevailing existentialist theology, has argued that revelation occurs in history.\textsuperscript{24} Pannenberg discovers the full revelation in the eschatological event of the resurrection of the dead which can be understood only in the context of Jewish apocalyptic.\textsuperscript{25} Over against the first objection I. Koch insists -- going even further than Kasemann and picking up once more the notion of Weiss and Schweitzer -- that apocalyptic had not only its impact on Paul and John but already on Jesus:\textsuperscript{26}

Apocalyptic is one of the main links that joins together the two Testaments, and already Jesus must be understood against the background of apocalyptic.\textsuperscript{27} But even though we have a superabundance of literature written concerning

Freedman, and E. W. Funk, were published together as volume 6 of the Journal for Theology and Church under the title "Apocalypticism." Cf. notes \textsuperscript{14} and \textsuperscript{28}.


\textsuperscript{24} W. Pannenberg, \textit{Offenbarung als Geschichte} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961).

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{26} I. Koch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Loc. cit.}
apocalyptic,\textsuperscript{28} the notion of Käsemann and his supporters still owes a more precise answer to the first objection of R. Bultmann and his pupils.

Until the present time there exist only a few in-depth studies that compare works of the two bodies of literature,\textsuperscript{29} let alone a comprehensive study that compares Jewish apocalyptic literature as a whole to the New Testament. This may be due to the absence of tools to study the apocalyptic writings more efficiently and the problem that the term "apocalyptic" is not yet defined adequately.\textsuperscript{30} However, in spite of these obstacles, I hope that the present study will be a significant step towards a work that points out the full scope of influence of Jewish apocalyptic literature on the New Testament.


\textsuperscript{29}F. L. Arrington, op. cit., who compares Jewish apocalyptic literature to \textsuperscript{\textcopyright} Corinthians (Paul); P. Geoltrain, Le Livre Éthopien d'Hénoch: Ses Rapports Avec les Manuscrits de Qumrán et le Nouveau Testament (Strasbourg Ph.D. diss., 1960), who compares I Enoch to the New Testament.

\textsuperscript{30}Cf. A. M. Denis, op. cit; W. G. Rollins, op. cit.; H. D. Betz, op. cit.
CHAPTER II

RELIGIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES IN HEBREWS

The Gnostic Interpretation

In light of the "central" pericope Heb. 3:7-4:11 Ernst Käsemann suggested that the Book of Hebrews was built on the concept of the gnostic redeemer-myth. 1 Three aspects of this pericope made him arrive at this conclusion.

a. Κατασκέπασις is nothing but a heavenly Κόσμος. 2 This is underlined by the employment of verbs like ἔλθει -- one can only "enter into" a place. 3 The religio-historical background for the technical employment of the term "rest" in Heb. 3:7 ff. must, therefore, be looked for in the Gnostic tradition, where we have a Κατασκέπασις as a local entity, being at the same time also an expression for the heavenly world. 4

b. From this observation he proceeds by employing the support of the rare connection of κατασκέπασις and ἐκκλησία in Heb. 4:9. 5 In it Käsemann sees a connection to the Gnostic concept of aeons, according to which the highest aeon, the

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1 E. Käsemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1938).
2 Ibid., p. 41.
3 Loc. cit.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Loc. cit.
realm of the divine Spirit, the sabbath, and the are considered to be identical.6 "In this concept we have to conceive the historical origin of the rare concept of "rest" in Hebrews.7

c. The dependence upon the Gnostic tradition is underlined by the fact that both in Hebrews and in Gnostic literature the highest seon is conceived as the goal of a doctrine of salvation built around the concept of a migration towards heaven.8

Kasemann thus concluded that the religio-historical background of the speculation of the Epistle to the Hebrews as well as its basic motif is found in "dem gnostischen Mythos vom erlösten Erlöser und der Himmelsreise der Seele."9 R. Bultmann,10 A. Schille,11 Ph. Vielhauer,12 E. Haenchen,13 R. Kasser,14 H. Conzelmann,15 and A. Adam,16

6Ibid., p. 43.  
7Loc. cit.  
8Ibid., pp. 44f.  
9Ibid, p. 52 "... the gnostic myth of the redeemed savior and the journey of the soul towards heaven."

13E. Haenchen, Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann Verlag, 1961), pp. 73f.  
among others, agree with Käsemann.

The gnostic interpretation of Käsemann was rejected by J. Ungeheuer, F. J. Schierse, O. Michel, and R. McI. Wilson. O. Hofius, however, is convinced that none of these has successfully challenged Käsemann's position. This conviction was the reason for his own publication in which he successively reviewed the "three steps" of Käsemann. His conclusion is that Heb. 3:7-4:13 has nothing to do with the "Himmelsreise der Seele." He points out that the term \textit{kata Ta
tau} does not even occur in Gnostic literature(!) and


16A. Adam, Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann Verlag, p. 33); for a more comprehensive discussion see O. Hofius, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 159f.


21O. Hofius, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.

22O. Hofius, \textit{op. cit.}: Ad 1 pp. 22-101; Ad 2 pp. 102-115; Ad 3 pp. 116-151.

23Ibid., p. 151, "... the heavenly journey of the soul."

24Ibid., p. 98.
that the concept of the eschatological "rest" (\( \tau \)) of the people of God and the related expectation of an external celebration of the sabbath-day (\( \tau \)) does not have its origin in Gnostic literature but "in eschatologisch-apokalyptischen Denken des antiken Judentums."25

The Platonic/Philonic Interpretation

For many students of the New Testament the problem of the relationship between Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews was one that had long been satisfactorily settled.26 It was regarded as an established conclusion that the writer of Hebrews wrote under the influence of Platonic philosophy mediated through Philo the Jew.27 There are many scholars who lend their support to this position: P. Wernle,28 A. M. Fairbairn,29 C. R. Smith,30 B. Russell,31 W. F. Howard,32 V. Taylor,33

25Ibid. "... in the eschatological-apocalyptic thinking of the Judaism of antiquity."


27Loc. cit.


There are, however, only two writers who have actually supported the view that the writer of Hebrews wrote his Epistle under the influence of Philo with a detailed examination of the evidence. J. B. Carpzov sought to demonstrate that there were parallels of thought and language to Philo's writings in almost every verse and phrase of Hebrews. C. Spicq examines the similarities of thought and language between the two writers and concludes, "au total, nous souscrivons à la formule de Ménégos: '(l'auteur de l'épître) est un philonien convert: au christianisme.'

There are also a number of writers that take an intermediate view. Berthold Klappert sees a coexistence of Alexandrianism and apocalyptic in Hebrew: "Der alexandrinische Urbild-Abbild-Dualismus ist in seiner Statik durch das apokalyptische Zwei-Aonen-Schema eschatologisch aufgebott.


36 For a more comprehensive discussion see R. Williamson, op. cit., pp. 1-6.

37J. B. Carpzov, Sacrae exercitationes in E. Pauli epistolam ad Hebraeos ex Philone Alexandrino (Amsterdam, 1750); C. Spicq, L'Épître aux Hébreux, especially the chapter entitled "Le Philonisme de l'Épître aux Hébreux," I, pp. 29-91.

38 Cf. the review of R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 5.

39C. Spicq, op. cit., I, p. 91: "... overall we subscribe to the dictum of Ménégos: (the author of the Epistle) is a philonie convert to Christianity." Cf. E. Ménégos, La Théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux (Paris: Fischbacher, 1894).
J. Cambier detects alexandrianism redefined religiously: "L'allegorisme alexandrin (est) transposé sur le plan religieux."

E. Grässer finds himself "listening" to a "History-of-Religions-Symphony." About Λῃταῖας ὑπερ τοῦ he has to say the following: "(Die) Transponierung zu einer himmlisch-jenseitigen Ruhe stellt ihn (Λῃταῖας ὑπερ τοῦ) in den Zusammenhang religiös-philosophischer Spekulationen von unzweifelhaft apokalyptisch-gnostischer und alexandrinischer Provenienz."

There are also a number of theologians who rejected the platonic/philonic interpretation (at least to a certain extent): H. W. Montefiore, R. P. C. Hanson, S. G. Sowers, and J. W. Bowmann. However, it was R. Williamson that


44. R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (London: S. C. M., 1959), p. 84.


seriously took up the challenge of Spicq, Carpzor, and Ménégoz in a monograph of 579 pages. His conclusion was devastating: There is hardly any relationship philologically or ideologically between Philo and Hebrews.

There is nothing that has been said by Spicq (or by Carpzor or by anyone else) that constitutes overwhelming proof, on linguistic grounds, that the writer of Hebrews was familiar with the words and works of Philo, was influenced by them in what he himself wrote, and may indeed even have been a Philonist before he became a Christian. 47

We are obliged to conclude that the influence on the writer of Hebrews was minimal, perhaps even non-existent. 48

In the use of the Old Testament made by the two writers striking and fundamental differences of outlook and exegetical method appear. 49

But then even Williamson has to admit that there might have been some, although indirect, influence:

He (writer of Hebrews) almost certainly lived and moved in circles where, in broad, general terms, ideas such as those we meet in Philo's works were known and discussed; he drew upon the same fund of cultured Greek vocabulary upon which Philo drew. 50

R. Williamson considers as an alternative body of literature that could have influenced Hebrews, writings of the intertestamental period, especially I-IV Maccabees. And in fact it is amazing how many of the hapax legomena in Hebrews are found in I-IV Maccabees. 51

47 R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 133.
48 Ibid., p. 493.
49 Ibid., p. 576. For a more detailed discussion see also pp. 57-64 ("Two Ages"), and 74-81 ("Typos/Antitypos").
50 Ibid., p. 493.
51 E.g. 3:26-7, 7:8 (Heb. 5:14-4. Macc. 2:22),
The Apocalyptic Interpretation

There are a number of considerations that encourage an apocalyptic interpretation of the Book of Hebrews.

a. There are direct references in the Book of Hebrews to the body of Jewish apocalyptic writings. In Heb. 11:34 the statement "stopped (ἐσπαθίσατο) the mouths of lions," is a clear allusion to Daniel who was thrown into the lions' den, yet who would report to his king the next morning how he was miraculously saved by the help of an angel, who "stopped (ἐσπαθίσατο) the lions' mouths (Dan. 6:22).\textsuperscript{52} Those who "quenched the power of fire," Heb. 11:34, were Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who refused to worship Nebuchadnezzar's

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(Heb. 7:16 - IV Macc. 10:11) } & \text{αὐλὴν τῆς} \\
\text{(Heb. 10:23 - IV Macc. 6:17, 17:3) } & \text{δοματάτος} \\
\text{(Heb. 12:4 - IV Macc. 17:14) } & \text{ἀγέρ} \\
\text{(Heb. 4:12 - IV Macc. 10:5, 14:8) } & \text{ἐπὶ τῶν} \\
\text{(Heb. 12:28 - II Macc. 3:17, 30, 12:22, 13:16, 15:23) } & \text{ἐφώνει} \\
\text{(Heb. 11:36 - II Macc. 7:7; III Macc. 5:22) } & \text{θὰ λάβῃ} \\
\text{(Heb. 10:33 - IV Macc. 17:14,15) } & \text{ἐπὶ τῆς} \\
\text{(Heb. 9:4 - II Macc. 2:26) } & \text{σπερματικῶς} \\
\text{(Heb. 7:11, 21: IV Macc. 5:35, 7:6) } & \text{τερμάτως} \\
\text{(Heb. 12:17 - III Macc. 3:24) } & \text{ἐπὶ τῶν} \\
\text{(Heb. 7:15, 4:15 - IV Macc. 15:4) } & \text{ἔπεισεν} \\
\text{(Heb. 11:36 - II Macc. 8:9, IV Macc. 8:1) } & \text{τερμάτως} \\
\text{(Heb. 1:1 - IV Macc. 3:21) } & \text{τερμάτως} \\
\text{(Heb. 5:10 - I Macc. 14:10, II Macc. 1:36, 4:7, 10:9, 14:37) } & \text{ἔτειλα} \\
\text{(Heb. 13:17 - IV Macc. 6:35) } & \text{κατακρύ信誉} \\
\text{(Heb. 1:3 - II Macc. 4:10, IV Macc. 15:4) } & \text{αἰλί}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{52}Cf. the references to this incident in I Macc. 2:60, where Mattathias on his deathbed reminds his sons how "Daniel was delivered from the mouth of the lions"; and IV Macc. 16:3, 21, 18:13 in the martyrology of the seven brothers and their mother.
great golden image (Dan. 3:23-25). In Heb. 11:37 ("sawn asunder") we have a reference to the apocalyptic work called the Ascension of Isaiah (2:1-3:12; 5:1-14). It reports how Isaiah, to avoid the wickedness rampant in Jerusalem under Manasseh, left the capital for Bethlehem and then withdrew to the hill country. There he was seized and sawn in two with a wooden saw.

b. There are clear literary parallels in the Book of Hebrews to the statement found in the body of Jewish apocalyptic writings. Three examples may suffice to illustrate this point.

Pss. Sol. 15:4f. Wherein is a man able, save to give thanks unto they name? A psalm and praise with a song in gladness of heart: the fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue: the first fruit of the lips from a holy and righteous heart.

Heb. 13:15. Let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is the first fruit of lips that acknowledge his name. (Identified as literary parallel by Nestle/Aland - New Testament Graece, 25 ed.)

I Enoch 9:5. All things are naked and open in thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from thee.

Heb. 4:13. There is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and open before the eyes of Him. (Identified as literary parallel by Nestle/Aland - New Testament Graece, 25 ed.)

II Enoch 24:2. I tell thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.

53In IV Macc. 16:21f. the mother reminds her seven sons how Daniel and his three companions "endured (υῈφίκασαν) for God's sake" and exhorts them: "You also, then, having the same faith toward God, be not embittered."
Heb. 11:3. The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.

c. Both bodies of literature sprung from similar life settings. The historical background of the rise of apocalyptic theology and literature is delineated to a large part by I-IV Maccabees. E. Lohse describes this *Sitz in Leben* as follows:

In the course of history marked by so many vicissitudes, wars, and distress, Judaism found the question ever more and more urgent as to when God would make his promises come true. Because the divine assurances of deliverance stood in sharp contrast to the present, which was filled with sorrow and disturbance, the hope of the pious was oriented not to events within history, but to the future turning point of the world, by which all would be transformed.54

The church addressed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews faced the same distress. In light of an upcoming serious persecution the author pleads for his readers to remember their prior endurance and to make in the future their *προσκήνια* once more the foundation of their stability.55

Call to remembrance the former days, in which, after you were enlightened, you endured a great conflict of sufferings; partly, being made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, becoming partakers with them that were so used. For you both had compassion on them that were in bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your possession, knowing that you have for yourselves a better possession and an abiding one. (Heb. 10:32-34).

54E. Lohse, op. cit., p. 55.

55The two characteristics of *προσκήνια* in Hebrews are its future orientation and its *παράσημο*; cf. E. Grässer, op. cit., pp. 50, 117.
In both life situations the threats of the negative forces had become so strong that the future, the "not yet," had become the focus of faith. This future-oriented faith characteristically springs from a sharp feeling of present dislocation and a powerful sense of the strength of disorder.\textsuperscript{56} This makes it only natural for Hebrews to draw on the resources of Jewish apocalyptic. It can identify with its Sitz in Leben\textsuperscript{57} and develops on this common basis a similar theology.\textsuperscript{58}

d. Apocalyptic literature is the link that joins the Old Testament and the New Testament.\textsuperscript{59} In the beginning the apocalyptic writings were preserved and treasured by the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria.\textsuperscript{60} But they were not only known in Alexandria. The Jewish apocalyptic books gained a


\textsuperscript{57} The similarity between Hebrews and I-IV Maccabees was already pointed out by R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 14; G. W. Buchanan, To the Hebrews (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972), pp. 253, 207f. Cf. also p. 27, note 90.

\textsuperscript{58} The similarity between Hebrews and the apocalyptic writings is developed below. It was pointed out already by many: see e.g., O. Hofius, op. cit., p. 98; G. W. Buchanan, op. cit., pp. 5f., 10, 17, 75f., 88ff., alii; A. Fenillet, "Les points de vue nouveaux dans l'eschatologie de l'Épître aux Hebrew," Studia Evangelica II, F. L. Cross, ed. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 384ff.; H. J. McNicol, The Relationship of the Highest Angel to the High Priest Concept in Hebrews (Vanderbilt Ph. D. - dissertation, 1974); O. Michel, op. cit., p. 16, alii.


\textsuperscript{60} D. S. Russell, op. cit., p. 34.
considerable popularity in the Dispersion, where they were made available first in Greek and then in many other languages.\textsuperscript{61} Then in course of time the Christian Church appropriated them for its own use, and it is within the Christian circles that they have survived.\textsuperscript{62} They were especially acclaimed by the Christians, who adopted as their Scriptures the LXX translation of the Old Testament.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{62}Ibid., p. 34.
CHAPTER III
INFLUENCE OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE ON HEBREWS

History

This chapter will examine the apocalyptic conception of history and how it influenced the understanding of the writer of Hebrews in terms of time, the emphasis on the eschaton, the unity of history, and the doctrine of the two ages. We shall begin with a discussion on the nature of time, the sine qua non of history.

Time

The apocalyptic writers were fascinated by chronologies and delighted in speculations of an arithmetical kind.\textsuperscript{1} Their interest in the measurement of time can be seen also in their description of the heavenly bodies as dividers of time and in the complicated calendrical calculations with which such considerations were closely connected.\textsuperscript{2}

Chronology


\textsuperscript{2} I Enoch 74:12: "The sun and stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity." Cf. Jubilees and I Enoch 72-82 for more details, especially the advection of the solar calendar.
played an even greater role in the thinking of the apocalyptists than with the Old Testament writers,\footnote{Cf. D. S. Russell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 209.} suggesting that with Jewish apocalyptic literature we have a linear understanding of time similar to the Old Testament.\footnote{Cf. O. Cullmann, \textit{Christ and Time}, transl. by F. V. Filson (London: Epworth Press, 1951).}

S. H. Hooke, however, contends that we find with Jewish apocalyptic a view of time common to the ancient world: Time is a vast circle and history is understood in terms of a recurring cyclical process.\footnote{Cf. S. H. Hooke, "The Myth and Ritual Pattern in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic" in \textit{The Labyrinth} (London: Epworth Press, 1935).} But since the instances where the apocalyptic writers mention the cyclic view are more allusions than expressions of belief, we cannot say that this idea was characteristic of the apocalyptic writers as a whole.\footnote{Cf. Jub. 23:25; Sib. Or. II:155; IV Ezra 5:49ff., 10:9; allii: Adam and Eve 49:3; Sib. Or. III:761, all of which are ambiguous.} Thus S. H. Hooke’s contention that in these books there is “abundant evidence” for the cyclical view of time\footnote{S. H. Hooke, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 221.} must be seriously qualified.

The apocalyptic theory of the two ages, for example, reveals a way of thinking which is very different from the popular conception of recurrent world ages of a cyclical kind and is, indeed, a denial of it.\footnote{Cf. D. S. Russell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 217.} The stress, too, on eschatology and the place the apocalyptists give to the \textit{eschaton} in
their interpretation of history is in itself a refutation of the cyclical view of history.\textsuperscript{9} It is necessary to conclude that their concept of time was linear and that they looked towards the future in terms of End and not of Recurrence:\textsuperscript{10}

This linear understanding of time and the emphasis on the eschaton and future\textsuperscript{11} we find again with the writer of Hebrews. "For Hebrews time counts:"\textsuperscript{12} There is an abundance of temporal adverbs. To strike out of the writers vocabulary such words and phrases as "yesterday," (13:8) "today," (1:5, 3:7, 13, 15, 4:6f., 5:5f., 13:8) "forever," (13:8) "of old time," (1:1) "now," (2:8, 9:24, 11:16, 12:26) "always," (7:25) etc., would be to make nonsense of what he is saying. Already with the opening statement he makes it known that what he wants to relate to us will be couched in a linear time schema: "In the old days" God spoke through his prophets, but in "these last days" He has spoken in His Son. Also, from the very beginning, he puts the accent on the eschaton of his

\textsuperscript{9} Loc. cit. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{10} Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{11} The major theme of Hebrews, faith, is mainly future-oriented. Its concern is with "the things hoped for" and "the things not seen" (11:1). The \textit{σπουδὴ} of \textit{πρὸς} has as its object τὰ \textit{ἐκπνευματικὰ} (11:1), which is the totality of the hoped for heavenly rewards. It is closer defined in terms of \textit{κατηκοσμητὴ} (4:1, 3, 10, 11), τὰ ἡκάκια (9:23), the "heavenly Jerusalem" (12:22), the "remaining" and future city of God" (12:22; 13:14) and the "eternal inheritance" (9:15); in short, it is the εὐαγγελία καὶ αὐτίκα (2:5), the \textit{κατηκοσμητὴ} (12:28). Cf. E. Grässer, op. cit., pp. 50, 117.

\textsuperscript{12} R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 145.
time schema. He exploits the "today" of Psalms 95 as an opportunity within this schema: a ἐκοιμήσατο (ἐν καλέσαι) within his εἴσοδον: "Exhort one another every day, as long as it is called "today" (3:13). The accent is on the eschaton of his εἴσοδον for parenetic purposes: "For we share in Christ, if only we hold our first confidence firm to the end (κακεχοίησαν τὴν ἐκκάλεσιν - 3:14). The τέλος, when "we shall share in Christ," wants to be understood here as ἐκκαλέσεως, the καλέσσων of τετελείωτος τῆς κακοῦτας (10:37), the last καλέσας of his εἴσοδον. In Apocalyptic literature, as in Hebrews, we have thus a linear concept of time full of references to past, present and future (13:8). The accent is placed on the latter and on the eschaton.

The emphasis on the eschaton

In the previous chapter we mentioned already the prominence of the time of the end for both the apocalyptists and the writer of Hebrews. The apocalyptists were convinced that God would make an end of evil and usher in his kingdom and they themselves were soon to witness its appearing. The End was to come at any moment and they were to see its coming with their own eyes. There was an air of eager, even desper-

13Cf. Heb. 6:11f.: "Each one of you show the same earnestness in realizing the full assurance of hope until the end (κακεκοίησαν τὴν ἐκκάλεσιν), so that you may not be sluggish, but imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

14Note the similarity of context between Heb. 3:14 - 6:11f. - 10:37,
ate, expectancy that soon, very soon, God's rule would suddenly break in and God himself, either in person or through his Messiah, would right all wrongs and reward the patience and long-suffering of the righteous. This sense of eager expectancy was part of the popular messianic hope of the day.\(^5\)

It is also to be understood against the background of hope deferred. It was the universalistic hope that God's salvation extends to the righteous and his judgment falls upon the wicked.\(^6\) There was also a future hope for the individual who will share in the coming kingdom by means of resurrection (Dan. 12:2; Pss. Sol. 3:16). "The latter end of the days" signified not simply the end of Israel's enemies, but the termination of history, the end of the world itself (IV Ezra 6:13-20, 23ff.).\(^7\) But before the End the powers of evil will make their last desperate attempt to overthrow the powers of good. They will launch their attack upon God's people and upon God's whole universe. Sin and wickedness will do their worst and bring desolation and woe before God's kingdom is established and the End at last will come.\(^8\) Because of the intensity of the attack of evil


\(^7\) D. S. Russell, op. cit., p. 266.

\(^8\) Dan. 12:1; IQH 3:7-10, 19-36; Ass. Noses 8:1; Jub. 23: 13ff.; ali. For the details see D. S. Russell, op. cit., pp. 271-276 ("Signs of the End").
there will be a shortening of time for the sake of the saints. God will no longer tarry; he is going to come immediately to help his people (II Baruch 83:1; cf. 20:1, 54:1; Dan 9:19ff. 

We find the same emphasis on the time of the end in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The writer's messianic understanding was completely dominated by this concept. He considered Jesus to be the Messiah and the days of the Messiah to be "the last of these days" (1:2). "God has spoken in old times unto the fathers by diverse portions and in diverse manners, but at the end of these days he has spoken in his Son" (1:1,2). "He has appeared once for all at the end of the age to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (9:26). The writer of Hebrews places the coming of the Messiah at the eschaton of the age like the apocalypticists.

But the Jewish apocalyptic emphasis on the eschaton experiences a modification in Hebrews in that not only the first coming of the Messiah (cf. 1:2, 9:26) but also his second coming (cf. 3:14; 6:11ff.; 9:28; 10:37) is placed at

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19Cf. II Baruch 85:1-3: "in earlier times and in generations of old our fathers had assistants - righteous men, prophets, and saints.... But now the righteous ones are gathered and the prophets have died, ... now we have nothing at all but the Mighty One and his law." An interesting contrast between the earlier days and the present days by a contemporary of the author of Hebrews.

20This agreement is especially significant in light of the fact that Philo, apart from one or two concessions to Jewish background and attitudes, adopted a typically Platonic attitude to time and history which admitted no eschatology at all! Cf. R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 143.
the End of the age. 21 The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews "stretches" the eschaton in order that it may embrace both comings of his messiah, the Jesus who lived and died and had experienced enthronement. In fact, his main concern is with the second coming because "the earth is (already) growing old like a garment" (1:11) and "once more it will be shaken" in order to be removed and to be replaced by "a kingdom that cannot be shaken" (12:26-28). 22

Those who are eagerly waiting for his second coming will escape this judgment and will be saved (9:27f.). The expectation of the help to come which will save out of the situation of despair combines in Hebrews, as in Jewish apocalyptic, the two elements of a messianic hope and the idea that the Lord will shorten the time for the sake of the saints. These two aspects in combination become a major parenthetic tool to the author of Hebrews. "Die traditionelle urchristliche --

21 cf. n. 38: Distinction between Jewish and Christian apocalyptic.

22 cf. Heb, 1:11 and IV Ezra 5:55. The End will not be long delayed, for "creation is already grown old, and is already past the strength of youth," and IV Ezra 14:10. "The age has lost its youth, and the times begin to grow old." The shaking and the "consuming fire" (12:28) are allusions to the cataclysmic events that precede the coming of the Messiah (cf. II Baruch 27:10; 70:8; IV Ezra 5:8 -- destruction by fire; II Baruch 17:7; 70:8; IV Ezra 9:3 -- earthquakes). Cf. L. Audet, "L'influence de l'apocalyptique sur le pensée de Jésus et de l'Eglise primitive," Science Ecclésiastiques 25 (1973), p. 53: Ce monde-ci est trop corrompu pour servir de fondement à l'espérance dernière de l'homme. Il est trop compromis pour servir de théâtre aux événements heureux de la fin; c'est pourquoi il sera détruit et fera place à un monde totalement nouveau. Dans cette perspective, la fin prend l'aspect d'une irruption soudaine de l'action de Dieu et le caractère d'un cataclysme cosmique.
apokalyptische Erwartung in Form der Nahorwartung ist in II.
allein auf die Paräneese beschränkt und soll hier offensichtlich
stimulierend auf das Verhalten der Glaubigen wirken (cf. 6:9;
10:25, 27, 37).\(^{23}\) This parenetic tool is especially employed
in the pericope 10:32-29.

After the writer has pointed out in 10:32-34 the scope
of their past dilemma, which foreshadows the threat for
their immediate future (δικαιωματικός, δικαιωματικός
δικαιοσύνης, δικαιοσύνης), he comforts them by introducing the messianic
categories of Hab. 2:3f. This Old Testament reference
already played a significant role in a similar context:
the Qumran community (10 = Hab. 2:2-10; 3:11f.; 8:8-10; 9:5).
In both settings the hope that the end was at hand is expressed
since tribulations and disappointments because of the delay
of the eschatological expectations made faith an ἀληθινὸς
dικαιωματίων.\(^{24}\) Thus for both communities the assurance
of the coming of the Messiah -- an assurance of his coming
in the immediate future -- becomes a powerful parenetic
force. To exploit the Habakkuk -- citation to its fullest
extent the writer to the Hebrews deliberately inserts the
definite article (τῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ) in order to leave no
doubt that he was referring to the Christian Messiah in his
second coming. But to the component of messianic hope he

\(^{23}\) E. Grässer, op. cit., p. 179: "The traditional primitive
Christian -- apocalyptic expectation with its characteristic "immediate expectation" is limited in Hebrews to parenetic
sections and has the obvious function to challenge the
believers in their conduct."

\(^{24}\) E. Grässer, op. cit. pp. 99f.
adds the idea of the shortening of the time in order to heighten the parenetic force ad ultimam. We have thus in 10:37 the assurance that the Messiah will surely come is combined with the conviction that he will come without delay: ἐστι γὰρ πάντως ἐπεκείν πάντως, ὦ λευκήνες γῆς κἀκε κεφαλῆς!

The unity of history

Modern man readily assumes history to be a unity. But this conception of the unity of history did not originate with our contemporaries. It was in fact passed on to us by the early Christian Church which taught that all men were “one in Christ Jesus” and that the whole of history was unified through God’s purpose in him.25 But this idea did not originate with the Christian Church. Christians themselves received it from the Jewish apocalyptic writers who interpreted the whole of history — past, present and future — in terms of God’s unifying purpose.26

R. H. Charles emphasizes that the unity of history did not originate in the Old Testament (prophets) but with the apocalyptists:

The Old Testament prophets dealt with the destinies of this nation or that, but took no comprehensive view of the history of the world as a whole. . . . Hence Daniel was the first to teach the unity of all human history, and that every phase of this history was a further stage in the development of God’s purpose.27

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26 Ibid., p. 218.
In Jeremiah and Ezekiel we have announcements of divine vengeance upon the enemies of Israel, but it is all piecemeal and detached. In Daniel, on the other hand, there is a philosophy of universal history.\(^\text{28}\)

D. S. Russell, however, feels that the position of R. H. Charles needs to be somewhat qualified:

It is fairer to say that, though the prophets grasped the idea, it was left to the apocalyptists to complete the logic of it and to work it out in terms of their own historical situation and in terms of their convinced belief concerning the fast approaching End.\(^\text{29}\)

The apocalyptists, in a much more thorough and systematic way than the prophets, went about relating these data to one another, and traced the connection between them in terms of the divine purpose and the divine initiative in history.\(^\text{30}\) They saw and interpreted the events of history \textit{sub specie aeternitatis} and observed in the apparent confusion of history an order and a goal.\(^\text{31}\) The apocalyptists were men of faith who could see within history, through history and beyond history the working out of God's triumphant purpose, not only for themselves as a nation, but also for men from every nation who were prepared to follow the way of righteousness.\(^\text{32}\)

Daniel, in his visions in chapters 2, 7, and 8, sees the fall...
of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece. All the events of
history were directed toward a single goal—namely, the
establishment of the kingdom of God, in which the divine pur-
pose would be vindicated once and for all.33

But in the mind of some writers there is a discontinuity
between time and eternity, between history and beyond history,
between this age and the age to come.34 In their thinking
the universe cannot ultimately be reduced to a harmonious whole,
for "the Most High has made not one age but two" (IV Ezra
7:50). This teaching, as we shall see more clearly later on,
is fundamental to apocalyptic thought.35 This seemingly
discontinuity is, however, linked by the purpose of God!

In the apocalyptic writings there is a unity wider
than that of mere world history; it is a unity in which the
temporal is taken up into the eternal by means of those
moral and spiritual qualities which make up the purpose of
God, a purpose which, while finding its actualization in
history, must seek its justification beyond history.36
Therefore, however strong the dualism between the two
ages may be, the temporal and the eternal are joined together
by ties that cannot be broken; the unity of history and
beyond history is understood as a corollary of the unity of
God.37 The apocalyptists saw history as a unity which is

33Ibid., p. 223.  
34Loc. cit.  
35Cf. pp. 57-64 ("Two ages").  
only one aspect of a yet greater unity made up by "two ages." The all-embracing and unifying force behind all that they saw was the unity of God who arranged history systematically according to his plan which was ordained from the very beginning. Because of this unity the apocalypticists could see the past, the present, and the future as one continuous whole.

The writer of Hebrews also sees history as a unity. The saints of the Old Testament and the saints of the New Testament will enter together into the promised land beyond history: "These all (Old Testament saints) having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect" (Heb. 11:39-40). The writer of Hebrews advocates the unity of Heilsgeschichte. The Old Testament saints did not have an advantage because they were confronted with revelation earlier, while the New Testament saints do not have an advantage because they were confronted with a better revelation. "Les justes de l'A.T.,

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3) This is best expressed in Dan. 2 where this age, the image, is replaced by the age to come, the mountain that fills the whole earth (Dan. 2:31-35). God is in control of all the kingdoms: the imperfect ones and the perfect one (Dan. 2:44f.). And though there is a certain discontinuity between the imperfect kingdoms, representing history, and the perfect one, representing beyond-history, is seen by the apocalypticists as one program of God, which he makes known to his people (Dan. 2:45). Cf. D. S. Russell, op. cit., p. 222.
qui n'avaient bénéficié que d'une révélation terrestre, sont cependant des fidèles du Christ; ils ont leur place dans la cité céleste. 40 E. Crasner commenta: "Javet unterstreicht die Continuität ('les croyants des deux alliances sont sur un pied de parfaite égalité') in der Disparathet der Bünde. 41 Tene sollten nicht ohne uns zur Vollendung gelangen (11:39f.), d.h., letztlich war ihr Glaube auch auf die 'action de Jésus-Christ' angesichtet. 42

But in Hebrews, as in Jewish apocalyptic literature, we do not only have the emphasis on the unity of the history of this age but also on the unity between the ages, history and beyond-history. In fact, the unity between the ages is more expressed than in Jewish apocalyptic literature. For the writer of Hebrews the coming of the Messiah, expressed, for example, in Daniel as the point of the end of this age and the beginning of the age to come, has already occurred (1:2). The new age has dawned already with the Christ event. But its consummation is yet in the future, at the parousia (10:37). Until then the life of the believer is characterized by an "already - not yet" tension. The new age has "already" come

40 J. Cambier, op. cit., p. 7: "The righteous of the Old Testament who only had an earthly revelation are nevertheless Christ's faithful ones; they have their place in the heavenly city."


42 Ibid.: "They should not be made perfect without us, meaning, in the last analysis, their faith was also oriented toward the work of Jesus Christ."
in part with the Christ-event, but "not yet" in its fulness. This will occur at the parousia. This overlapping of the old age and the new age in Hebrews has the effect that history and beyond-history are knit together more closely.\footnote{The overlapping of the two ages which entails a closer unity of history and beyond-history is a characteristic phenomenon of Christian apocalyptic. For a more detailed discussion on the modification of the Jewish apocalyptic motif of the two ages by Christian writers (e.g., Hebrews) see pp. 55, 59f.}

Because of the modification of the two-age motif in Hebrews the two ages are, to a certain extent, identical with the perspective of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Persons and institutions in the former age, associated with the first covenant, were recognized by the writer of Hebrews to be "types" of events, the person of Christ, and institutions in "the last days" (the dawn of the age to come) and in the final age (its completion at the parousia). The unity between the two ages is expressed by relating them to each other by means of typological exegesis.\footnote{Cf. R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 534f. Williamson (p. 535) also emphasizes that there is in Philo no eschatology, no conception of time as having a mid-point, and no attempt therefore, to correlate typologically the age that preceded the mid-point of time and the age that followed it.}

Thus, a situation in the old age (\(\text{\textit{\textquoteright}\textit{\textendash}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}}\)) could be, in the view of the writer of Hebrews, symbolic (\(\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\)) for the new age (\(\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\)) (9:9f): i.e., sacrifices, the tent, and the "rest" of the old age (Old Testament 3:7-4:11; 9:6-10:18) are symbolic for the new age (\(\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\)) (9:11; \(\text{\textit{\textendash}}\text{\textit{\textendash}}\)).\footnote{Cf. also Heb. 10:1;}

\footnotetext[43]{The overlapping of the two ages which entails a closer unity of history and beyond-history is a characteristic phenomenon of Christian apocalyptic. For a more detailed discussion on the modification of the Jewish apocalyptic motif of the two ages by Christian writers (e.g., Hebrews) see pp. 55, 59f.}

\footnotetext[44]{Cf. R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 534f. Williamson (p. 535) also emphasizes that there is in Philo no eschatology, no conception of time as having a mid-point, and no attempt therefore, to correlate typologically the age that preceded the mid-point of time and the age that followed it.}

\footnotetext[45]{Cf. also Heb. 10:1;}
coming of Christ "in the last days" and his self-sacrifice "at the end of the ages" (9:14, 26) which marks the beginning of the new age (9:15); 2. the completion of the new age which is marked by the second coming of Christ (9:28; 10:37), the entering into his "rest" (4:1, 11) and the "receiving of the promised eternal inheritance" (9:15). This unity, as in Jewish apocalyptic literature, is seen as a correlation to the unity of God. But in Hebrews the focus is not so much placed on God himself as it is on Jesus Christ. He is referred to as the "author and finisher of our faith" (12:2). The symbolic exegesis makes it explicit that he is the central and unifying figure of Heilsgeschichte: Ἄγας λέοντες ἐὰν θάνατος καὶ σύμφωνος ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα (13:8).

Two ages

The dualistic view of the world, which is characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic literature, finds expression in a doctrine of two ages which states that "the Most High has not made one age but two" (IV Ezra 7:50). Over against "this age" (ἡγήμον ὅπλον ἐὰν κατέστρεφε) is set "the age to come" (ἡγήμον ὅπλον ὁ θανάτος). The world age will end and the eternal age will come. The day will come when "the age which is not yet awake shall be roused and that which is corruptible shall perish" (IV Ezra 7:31). The beginning of the new age marks the end of the old age, the end of time and the beginning of eternity. It is to be
observed that the two-age motif has an overtone of a cosmic character which is not to be found in the Old Testament.\textsuperscript{46} But this cosmic dualism also entails an ethical dualism: "The ways of this world become narrow and sorrowful and painful and full of perils coupled with great toils, but the ways of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality" (IV Ezra 7:12f.). This present age, with all its evil and corruption, is set over against a perfect and splendid age to come.

Do we find this prominent concept of Jewish apocalyptic literature (two ages) also in the Epistle to the Hebrews? J. Hering contends,

La succession des deux âges (l'\'eon actuel et l'\'eon futur), conception classique dans le judaïsme et dans le christianisme primitif, est remplacée par la superposition de deux plans coexistant : le monde suprasensible et celui des phénomènes. Le premier contient les idées éternelles, que le second essaye de reproduire dans la matière.\textsuperscript{47}

In other words, J. Hering accuses the writer of Hebrews of substituting Platonism -- the classical dualism of Ideas and their material copies or shadows, which was taken over partially by Philo into his writings -- for Jewish apocalyptic eschatology.\textsuperscript{48} But we do not find an ideological dualism in


\textsuperscript{47} J. Hering, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 10: "The succession of the two ages (this age and the age to come), a classical concept of Judaism and primitive Christianity is replaced by two superposed and coexistent plains: the world beyond the senses and the phenomenal world. The former embraces the eternal Ideas which are to be reproduced in matter by the latter.

\textsuperscript{48} For a detailed discussion see pp. 74-81 (Typos/Antitypos).
Hebrews out rather the same emphasis on time as is evident in its Jewish apocalyptic antecedents: 1:2, "in these last days"; 2:5, "the world to come"; 9:26, "at the end of the age"; et alii. The fundamental difference between the thought of Plato/Philo and that of the Epistle to the Hebrews is shown in their deeply differing attitudes toward time.\(^{49}\)

We do not have "une superposition de deux plans coexistants" but a sequence of two ages: "Here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city to come" (13:14). But as we had pointed out already the writer of Hebrews has modified the two-age motif of Jewish apocalyptic literature in the light of the Christ event. The new age has dawned already; it is realized in principle, but it will break in completely at the time of the ἐξοχή (10:37). For the time-in-between we have the coexistence of the old and the new age. This "superposition de deux plans coexistants" was frequently mistaken as a platonic/philonic dualism. But what it is, in fact, is the reinterpretation of the Jewish apocalyptic horizontal dualism by a Christian apocalyptic horizontal dualism that is broken up by a vertical dualism due to the overlapping of the old and the new age in the time-in-between.

The coexistence of the two ages has the effect that the horizontal dualism is weakened cosmologically and ethically. Events taking place in the new world, the new age, are in part contemporaneous to the old world, the old age. Elements of the new age have entered the old age and exert their

\(^{49}\text{R. Williamson, pp. 144f.; cf. also the discussion on time in pp. 34-38, especially p. 37.}\)
ethical influence upon it. Hebrews distinguishes the old age (ὁ καισάρεια τῆς θεοῦς — 9:9; cf. also 8:7, 13; 9:1f., 15, 18; 10:9) from the new age (ὁ καισάρεια τῆς καισάρεως — 9:11; cf. also 8:7f., 10:9; 13:20) and relates them to the old and new covenant (8:6).50 But the new age is already prepared — κατάνταται / τὰ μακάριά (3:7-4:11), ἡ καθήμενος (6:12), ἡ καισαρεία (8:5; cf. 9:23), the "holy place" and "heaven" (10:19; 9:24, 12:23), the "good to come" (9:11; 10:1), the "city of God" (11:9, 10, 13-16), the "reward" (11:24-26; 10:32-34), "Mount Zion," the "city of the living God," "heavenly Jerusalem" (12:22f.), the "unshakable kingdom" (12:26-28), and the "city to come" (13:14) — and awaits only the signal of the ὁ ἐξαρχόμενος to take up those "who are eagerly waiting for him" (9:28). This notion of the preexistence of the new age is a further reason for a "superposition de deux plans coexistants."

In the following section we want to see how the writer of Hebrews employs the modified two-age motif as a parenetic tool (10:32-29). The whole parenesis of this section is moving in terms of the two ages:51

vv. 32-34 from "endured ... sufferings" to "better possessions"

v. 35 from "lowliness" to "reward"

v. 36 from "endurance" to "the promise"

This movement finds its culmination in the final statement couched in covenant language. There are two alternatives:

50 Cf. p. 55.

v. 39 from "faith" to "life"
or from "withdrawal" to "perdition"52

Every point the writer takes has two parts to it. A goal and a via towards the goal. The goal is the new age ("better possession," "reward," "promise," in short, "life") and the via can be walked by means of the help of elements of the new age ("endured sufferings," "boldness," "endurance," in short, "faith"). Verse 39 pronounces the summary statement of the argument presented in vv. 32-26: The new age in essence is life, and the via to the new age is the via fidei.53

Over against this stands the threat of "perdition" in case of "withdrawal."

The thrust of the writer's argument can be expressed in a diagram as follows:54

52Cf. Hebrews and Psalms of Solomon:
Hebrews 10:39: Sinners (6:4ff.) who withdraw → perdition
Righteous (10:38) who live by faith → life
Pss. Sol. 13:11: Sinners → perdition
Righteous → life.

53Cf. E. Häremen, Das Wandernde Cottesvolk, p. 31:
"Die ganze christliche Wanderschaft vollzieht sich von Anfang bis zu Ende in Angesicht des himmlischen Jerusalems."

As long as it is στρεμν
the readers are called to decision. The alternatives are
πίστις or ἐκπτωσις. The consequences of
the decision are χρ. or ἅγια. Elements of
πίστις as aids and title deeds on their way towards
the new age are: ἡ ἁγία καὶ ἡ παρθένη ἡ ἄνωτα ἡ ἁγία.
Aspects of the new age, the essence of which is ἁγία are:
ἐκπτωσις, παρθένη, ἁγία.
The decision of the readers is urgent in light of the approach
of the ἀπεκτέινες.

55. Grässer, op. cit., pp. 62f., in his summary
statement comes to the same conclusion. He sees the Hebrews
as a community zwischen den Zeiten auf der Wanderschaft zu den
Entsprechend treten diesen beiden Substantiven und den zugehörigen Verben als Synonyma an die
Seite: (der Pistor) ἐκπτωσις, ἁγία, ἡ παρθένη, ἡ ἁγία
ἐκπτωσις, ἁγία, ἡ παρθένη, ἡ ἁγία, ἡ παρθένη, ἡ ἁγία.
(der Anstal) ἐκπτωσις, ἁγία, ἡ παρθένη, ἡ ἁγία
ἐκπτωσις, ἁγία, ἡ παρθένη, ἡ ἁγία.

56. Grässer, op. cit., p. 17: ἅγια, is
synonymous with ἁγία (6:11; 18; 7:19; 10:23), ἁγία ἡ παρθένη
(3:14; 11:1), ἁγία ἡ παρθένη (10:36; 12:1), ἁγία ἡ παρθένη
(6:12, 15), and ἅγια ἡ παρθένη (6:11; 10:22). All these
circumlocutions for the eschatological existence in Hebrews
are most accurately embraced by the term ἀπεκτέινες (cf. 4:3;
10:22, 39) with its participation in and guarantee for the
futuristic elements of the age to come. But we have to keep
in mind that these futuristic elements are already stored up
for us; they are already existing but can be only embraced
at the parousia. God has made through him the ages (τὸν
ἀπεκτέιναι -1:2, cf. 4:3f.; 11:10, 16). He has not only
made one age (cf. IV Ezra 7:50), but the act of creation also
included the new age (cf. O. Hofius, op. cit., p. 93). But
when the new age has come in its completeness the title deeds
and helps of the new age will cease, and the perfect will
replace the imperfect.
Katapausis/Sabbatismos

One of the epithets the author of Hebrews uses to describe the age to come is katapausis/sabbatismos. Ernst Käsemann, in his attempt to explain the historical background and origin of the term ἱματισμός (Heb. 3:7-4:11), ignored the broad spectrum of Jewish apocalyptic literature which is full of references to eschatological places of rest.57 This is even more surprising when we consider the fact that ψυγίζω is not found in known gnostic sources! — the locus Käsemann suggested for a religio-historical comparison with the terminology in Hebrews.58 One looks for this term in the writings of Philo also.59

Although Käsemann asserts that ἱματισμός and ψυγίζω are used interchangeably in gnostic literature,60 he cannot give any evidence for this! After a statistical and grammatical investigation concerning ἱματισμός, O. Hofius comes to the following conclusion:

Katapausis in its intransitive meaning is limited to the Greek speaking environment of Hellenistic Judaism, and there again especially to the LXX and "Joseph and Asenath," a piece of literature influenced by the LXX. It entered later literature, i.e. Hebrews, only via LXX citations.61

58 Ibid., p. 31. ἱματισμός is however found two times in Hippolyts Refutatio (VI 32:8; VIII 14:1). But in both instances there is an obvious dependance on the book of Hebrews. Both of these references are never mentioned by Käsemann; they were found by Hofius. For the details see O. Hofius, op. cit., pp. 31f.
59 Ibid., p. 29.
60 E. Käsemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, p. 44.
61 O. Hofius, op. cit., p. 31.
While Ματάτας as a literary entity is rooted exclusively in the LXX, we have to take as its religio-historical roots the eschatological-apocalyptic thinking of ancient Judaism, not Gnostic literature.62 Parallels of Jewish apocalyptic literature to the Book of Hebrews are so striking that we have to come to this conclusion.63

The most important Jewish apocalyptic source for the concept of an eschatological place of rest for the saints is IV Ezra. After the "awakening" of the new age in 7:11 we read in 7:36:

Et apparet lacus torrenti,  
et contra illum erit locus requietionis  
et ciliianus gehennae ostendetur  
et contra eam; ocunditatis paradisus.

And the lake of torment will appear but on the other side the place of rest  
And the fire of Gehenna will be displayed but on the other side the Paradise of joy.

The synonymous parallelius mensbrorum shows the "place of rest" and Paradise to be the same (cf. also 8:42). In 7:38 we find God speaking to the nations at the day of judgment:

Videte contra et in contra;  
hic locunditas et requies  
et illi ignis et tormenta.

Look here and there:  
Here we have joy and rest  
but there flame and torment!

An interesting expansion to 7:37 is found in the Armenian text when God speaks to the righteous:

62Ibid., p. 91

63Cf. O. Hofius, op. cit., op. 31, 58.
Videte locum quietis vestrae,
quem paravit vobis ab initio creationis.

See your place of rest
which was prepared for you from the beginning of creation.

The preexistence of the rest is also found in 8:52:

aedificata est civitas
probata est fundales.

A city has been built
(and) a rest prepared.

The heavenly "civitas" (cf. 10:54; 13:36) refers to the new
Jerusalem,\(^64\) which was already mentioned in 7:26b:

Apparebit sponsa apparescens civitas,
et ostendetur quae nunc subducitur terra.

The now invisible city will appear
and the now hidden country will be revealed.

Although the preexistent country (\(\text{terra} = 7\)) and the
preexistent city (\(\text{civitas} = 6\)) will appear, not everyone will be able to benefit from it (7:119-125):

What does it benefit us,
--that the eternal aeon was promised to us if we have
done the works of death?
--that we were promised eternal hope, if we are slaves
of vanity?
--that places for rest and peace were prepared if our
conduct was evil?
--that Paradise will appear whose fruits shall remain
forever... if we will never be able to enter it?

In I Enoch we have references to "the dwelling places of the
righteous and the places of rest for the saints\(^65\) (39:4;cf.39:
5ff.; 41:21-45:3). Similar to IV Ezra we find with I Enoch
5:12 the new Jerusalem and Paradise in juxtaposition, the

\(^64\)A. Hofius, op. cit., p. 62.

\(^65\)For a detailed discussion on "rest" in Jewish litera-
ture see A. Hofius, op. cit., pp. 59-72.
latter of which is referred to as the place of rest of the saints:

According to the Testament of Abraham the souls of the righteous are transplanted into heaven (7:16; 8:11, 15; 9:1) in order to be united with their bodies after 7,000 years (7:17). The place where the souls are resting is referred to as ἀνάταφρα.

In the Book of Hebrews we find identical parallels to the understanding of "rest" in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the Latin "locus requietionis" (IV Ezra 7:16) and "requies" (IV Ezra 8:52; cf. 7:36) we have an exact equivalent to κατάφαση in Hebrews. With both Hebrews and IV Ezra we also find the idea of the preexistence of the κατάφασις (Heb. 4:2ff.; IV Ezra 8:52; cf. 7:121; 7:37 Armenian, which has the "ab initio creationis" as an equivalent to the "from the foundation of the world"). Both Hebrews and IV Ezra have the notion that man would "enter into" the "rest" which was prepared by God; the ἐνεργεία of Heb. 3:11, 18ff.; 4:1, 3, 5ff., 10ff. has its corresponding verb in the "ingredi" of IV Ezra 7:124. Hebrews emphasizes that sin will exclude from the "rest" of God (Heb. 3:13, 17); in IV Ezra it is said that those who lived an evil life and did the "works of death" will "never enter into" Paradise, a synonym for "requies."

66o. Hofius, op. cit., p. 91.
Both bodies of literature use the same synonyms for Κατάστασις. In IV Ezra we have the preexistent "civitas" (IV Ezra 7:26b: 8:52 -audificata est civitas; 10:27, 54), the "Sion parata et aedificata" (IV Ezra 13:36). Also in Hebrew we find Mount Zion with the holy city, the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12:22). This city is called ἡ ἐλαττομόσπολις (Heb. 11:10), ἡ ἐλαττομοσπολίς (Heb. 12:22), and ἡ ἐλαττομοσπολίς Τελῶν (Heb. 13:14). This city has also been built already (Heb. 11:10), it has been "prepared" already (beforehand) for the heirs of the promise (ἡ ἐλαττομόσπολις ἡ μορφή τῆς Δελαιαν - Heb. 11:16). In IV Ezra we have "the land that is still hidden" (IV Ezra 7:26b) which has its equivalent in the ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐν τῇ ἐλαττομοσπολίς in Heb. 11:16. This οἰκουμένη was the ἐλαττομοσπολίς promised to Abraham -- not the earthly Canaan! (Heb. 11:8). And like the Patriarchs the Christians have received the ἡ ἐλαττομόσπολις ἡ ἐλαττομοσπολίς κληρονομία (Heb. 9:15). Also IV Ezra mentions the futuristic "inheritance" (καροδίτια) which is hidden in heaven. Like Hebrews the seer interprets the promise of the land eschatologically: Israel is to "inherit" the whole earth (IV Ezra 6:55ff.), but not this earth. The promised "inheritance" is to be the future world, the "great" aeon which God had "promised" to the righteous (IV Ezra 7:96).

In the summary of the eschatological rewards in IV Ezra 8:52 we find the "perfecta bonitas" which have their equivalent in the μελλυντα μορφη τῆς ἔγινον of Heb. 9:11 (ΧΑΙ) and 10:1. In IV Ezra is "prepared" a precious "reward" for
those who believed the testimony of the most high (IV Ezra 7:83; cf. 7:98); they "are coming to see the face of the one whom they served in life" (IV Ezra 7:98; cf. 7:91), and thus receive the perfect "redemption" (IV Ezra 7:66f.; 131). In Hebrews those who strive for holiness "will see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14) from whom they will receive the ραββατατσαμα (Heb. 10:35; 11:26; cf. 11:6) and with whom they shall find perfect τῶργεου (Heb. 1:14; 9:28). 67

According to the preceding discussion the religio-
historical background of the εἰνάτατον -concept in Hebrews is not found in gnostic literature 68 but in Jewish apocalypticism. The same is true for the τῶργεου -concept. Käsemann understands αποτελεσματικος in terms of Sabbath-Behemenos, as a local entity -- the seventh and top aon of the heavenly cosmos (ἀναταυτω). But τῶργεου in Hebrews must not be understood as a local term; instead, it describes a condition. Its religio-historical background is the idea of the expectation of the "world, which is completely Sabbath (υἱόκόσμος θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν)." 69 When the people enter into the εἰνάτατον they will begin their τῶργεου .

The manner of existence of the people of God in the rest of

67 For a more detailed discussion on the relationship of Hebrews to Jewish apocalyptic literature as far as εἰνάτατον and its synonyms are concerned see O. Hofius, op. cit., pp. 91-98.

68 For a detailed anti-Gnostic polemic see O. Hofius, op. cit., pp. 98ff.

69 For the details see O. Hofius, op. cit., pp. 111-115.
God will be a continuous Sabbath-celebration. This rest was expected as one of the blessings of the age to come. It was anticipated in the celebration of the Jewish Sabbath-rest and was seen as the main characteristic of the age to come. In the Mishnah tractate Tamid 7:4 the Sabbath Psalm is described as "a song for the time that is to come, for the day that shall be all Sabbath-rest in the life everlasting."  

This is exactly the way the writer of Hebrews understands oppel. It is not inactivity. Instead, the "saints everlasting rest" will involve participation in the worship of heaven in unimaginable ways. The Christian runs the race of life on earth but comes at length to "Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and the innumerable angels in festival gatherings (Heb. 12:22)."

**Typos/Antitypos**

Already in the discussion on the "two ages" we recognized the dualistic movement in the Book of Hebrews. There we

70 Cf. J. Chr. von Hoffmann, "Der Brief an die Hebräer" in Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht (Möllingen: Irenäus Verlag, 1873), pp. 102 ff.  
71 Cf. R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 552.  
73 Cf. R. Williamson, op. cit., p. 555. The secular meaning of מַגִּישׁ is "joyful feasts" (R. Williamson, pp. 65 f.; cf also Lev. 23:40; Ezek. 46:11). We have thus in מַגִּישׁ a description for מַגִּישׁ just as מַגִּישׁ describes מַגִּישׁ. It is also interesting to note that Philo knows of no מַגִּישׁ of angels in the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. R. Williamson, p. 69).
described it in terms of apocalypticism. In this section we want to show that even in cases where Platonic/Philonic dualism was suspected, we actually have the above apocalyptic notion as well. Even J. Cambier admits: "Les formules de l'apocalyptique traditionnelle subsistent,"74 ... but only to qualify it and to suggest, "... que les formules eschatologique traditionelles sont réinterprétées par l'Hébreu dans une mentalité alexandrine."75 The main reason why he sees the concept of Jewish apocalyptic reinterpreted in terms of Philonic thought is based on his peculiar understanding of the terms ἐκ λου ὡς χίλιοις ἡμείς does refer to the quality of the city, not its futuristic aspect; ὡς, which has no temporal significance either, must be understood in terms of "stabilité, l'immutabilité définitive."76 Dualism, according to Cambier, is not to be looked for in a time-sequence, but in a "quality sequence."77 Against J. Cambier we have to maintain however that ἡμείς in 9:11; 10:1, 11:20, and 13:14 must be understood temporally.78 Heb. 13:14 does not emphasize "the certainty but rather the futurity of

74J. Cambier, op. cit., p. 37: "Traditional apocalyptic concepts subsist...

75Ibid., p. 34: "... that the traditional eschatological categories in Hebrews are transposed into an Alexandrian thought system." Cf. J. Hering, op. cit., p. 10 (cited above p. 58); C. Spicer, op. cit., 1, p. 91 (cited above p. 23).

76Ibid., p. 35.

77Ibid.

the heavenly city.”

Because the description of the relationship between the earthly and heavenly sanctuary, as well as the terms ἱλευρία (8:5, 10:11), ἱπποκράτιζον (8:5: 9:23), οὐκ ἔφεσθον ἐν (9:24), ἠμαρτίων (8:5), and ἀθέτητον (10:1) are reminiscent of Alexandrian dualism B. Klappert thinks the dualism of Hebrews can best be embraced by means of the following dictum: “Der alexandrinische Urbild-Abbild-Dualismus ist in seiner Statik durch das apokalyptische Zwer-Annen-Schema eschatologisch aufgebrochen (Heb 13:9:10)”80 B. Klappert, however, still puts too much emphasis on Platonic/Philonic thought. The eschatology of Hebrews is explained best in exclusively apocalyptic categories.

That we have in Hebrews sometimes an “quality-sequence” rather than a time sequence is due to the fact that the Jewish apocalyptic dualism, which is strictly horizontal, was qualified by the Christian apocalyptic dualism. This dualism added a vertical dimension that views the two ages as being contemporaneous for a certain limited time. After his death Jesus enters the heavenly temple immediately to appear before God and sit down at his right hand. In due course he will return, but in the meantime his self-offering, and his intercession with God, effect the beginning of the new age and exert influence upon the old age. Although eternal redemption has already been wrought (9:12), the coming of the


new age in its fullness is yet in the future (9:28). 81

A further aspect that breaks up the time-sequence to some extent is the notion of the preexistence of the elements of the age to come which is common to both Hebrews and Jewish apocalyptic literature. Consequently, local (the preexistent elements of the new age prepared in heaven) and temporal concepts (the appearance of these elements at the dawn of the new age) are not always distinguished clearly but many times flow together inseparably.

II Baruch speaks of a "Jerusalem above" which is also the "Jerusalem to come":

This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with me, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as also was Paradise. And after these things I showed it to my servant Abraham.... And again also I showed it to Moses.... And now, behold it is preserved with me as also is Paradise. (II Baruch 4:3-6; cf. 32:4)

The familiar statement of IV Ezra 7:26 assures us of the future appearance of this city which is prepared already in heaven: "Then shall the city that now is invisible appear." 82 This Jewish apocalyptic concept is found again in Hebrews. There the Christians are reminded that in this life they do not have an abiding city; they are to seek the city which is to come (13:14—cf. 11:10, 14, 16). 83 "The

81 Cf. C. K. Barrett, op. cit., p. 386.
82 Cf. IV Ezra 8:52; 13:36.
83 Cf. also Heb. 4:6, 9; 12:27 where we have the replacement of a shakable kingdom by an unshakable one. This
city which has the foundations, whose builder and maker (ταυτή ἡ παλαιά ἡμεῖς ἐγερτεί) is God (11:10), 84 and which is prepared and ready in heaven for its future appearance (11:16).

The temple in which the levitical priests served was only a "pattern" and "shadow" of the heavenly temple (Heb. 8:5). This concept is already found in the Old Testament. In Exodus 25:9, 40 Moses is instructed to build the earthly tabernacle according to a heavenly model (τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ... τέκνον αὐτοῦ... ἐκ τοῦ διδάκτου... ἐν παντὶ ὑπαισθήσει...). In Jewish apocalyptic literature we have detailed descriptions of the heavenly temple, i.e., 1 Levi 3:4–8, 5:1ff., 18:6, Jub. 31:14, I Enoch 14:8ff. This temple is found in the highest heaven:

For in the Highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness (I Levi 3:4)

In all these instances a seer is transposed into the heavenly world in which he finds a temple built like the earthly tabernacle with which he was familiar. For a religious-historical background for the description of the heavenly city and the heavenly sanctuary and their relationship to a earthly correspondence we have to refer to late Jewish

"unshakable kingdom" suggests an allusion to the "kingdom that shall not be destroyed" (Dan. 7:14) which was presented to the one like a son of man by the Ancient of Days (Dan. 7:13).

84 When Philo uses δημος ἡμεῖς or τοιοῦτος (he never uses them together) of God he is always thinking of the entire creation but never of a city, like the writer of Hebrews.
apocalyptic literature. The only other place in the Epistle where it is possible to suspect traces of Platonic Idealism is 10:1. But this passage can only be understood temporally (\(\Sigma \cdot \lambda \cdot \delta\)). As C. K. Barrett puts it, "\(\Sigma \cdot \lambda \cdot \delta\) in 10:1 is used to describe a foreshadowing of the good things to come." 86

We have, thus, an abundance of material that strongly suggests that even in places where the writer of Hebrews was seen as being influenced by Plato/Philo, he has actually drawn from Jewish apocalyptic sources. 87

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85 Cf. H. Wenschkewitz, "Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe Tempel, Priester und Opfer im N.T." Angelos 4 (1932), p. 149. A close parallel can, however, also be found in Wisdom 9:6: "You have said (we should) build a temple on your holy mountain, an altar in the city of your dwelling, an imitation of the holy tent which you prepared from the beginning (... \(\gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \cdot \gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \cdot \gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \cdot \gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \cdot \gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \cdot \gamma \cdot \tau \cdot \chi \)." This may suggest that the writer of Hebrews also draws on the Alexandrian fund of language (like Philo - cf. above, p. 27); cf. also Heb. 1:3 - Wisdom 7:25 LXX.


87 We should further note:
1. Plato's ideal world was not a place, like heaven, a city, a temple, where anyone could enter -- even Jesus. It could only be reached by the intellect.
2. The acts of Jesus are all described as taking place at a particular time (emphasis on time), a concept thoroughly un-Platonic.
3. Both the "copies of the heavenly things" and "the heavenly things themselves" (9:24) had to be cleansed by even "better sacrifices." Phrases like "copies" and "things themselves" are reminiscent of Plato's language but they are used in contrast to his thought! (both are imperfect and need to be cleansed). Cf. N. Williamson, op. cit., p. 566.
Hesianism

The concept of a "Messiah" was developed during the intertestamental period. It is easy, but entirely misleading, to read back into the Old Testament the range of meaning which the word came to have in later Judaism and in the Christian Church. In this later context the term "Messiah" is used as a title or even a proper name to designate an eschatological figure who is associated with "the latter end of the days." As such it is a technical term to distinguish it from the earlier Old Testament use of the word which is without such nuances. In the Old Testament the Hebrew word מָשָׁא is strictly an adjective, meaning "anointed," which, with the definite article, signifies "the anointed one." Basically it indicates one who has been set apart by God for the fulfilment of some special purpose, e.g., to be a king. Allusions to a "Messiah" in the "messianic psalms" or "messianic prophecies" (cf. II Sam. 7:14) are used in this Old Testament sense; they are not to be understood as references to the "Messiah" in a technical sense, nor to a future ideal king. This association belongs solely to the literature of later Judaism and plays a significant part in the writings of the apocalyptists. The concept of the

89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
"Messiah" emerges together with the idea of the two ages and becomes a designation for the eschatological figure chosen by God to play a leading role in the coming kingdom. But there are two messianic figures: a Messiah who is predominantly this worldly, national and political, and a transcendental, eternal and universal Messiah. These two complexes of ideas are in part represented by different names, "Messiah" and "Son of Man" respectively. In some writings these two conceptions are clearly distinguished; in others they are brought together, although nowhere are they completely confused. It will be necessary to consider first the predominantly this worldly, national and political Messiah.

In the Psalms of Solomon, a document of the middle of the first century B.C., we are introduced to a royal Messiah from the House of David. The specifically messianic references are to be found in Pss. Sol. 17:23-5, and 18:6-16. He is expected to be the political deliverer of Israel: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the Son of David" (Pss. Sol. 17:23). Here, too, for the first time the name "Messiah" is used as the title of the coming king. He is called "the anointed of the Lord" or "the Lord Messiah" (17:36; title of chapter 18). This indicates that at long

94 Loc. cit.
95 D. S. Russell, op. cit., p. 308.
last the expression "Messiah" is being used in its technical sense with reference to the ideal king of the future and in brought into relation with the messianic concept.

Also in the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs (109-106 B.C.) we have the expectation of a royal Messiah from the House of David (I Jud. 24:5f.; 22:2f.; 17:2f.; I Napht. 4:9; alii). But in the same document we also find the expectation of a priestly Messiah from the House of Levi (I Neub. 6:5-12; I Levi 18:2-9; alii):

And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for from them shall arise unto you the salvation (of God). For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a High Priest, and from Judah as it were a king (God and man), he shall save all (the Gentiles and) the race of Israel (I Sam. 7:1-2).

Although the dual Messianship of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs was not accepted unequivocally,96 6. R.

Beasley-Murray asserts that "the juxtaposition of the Messiah from Judah and the Messiah from Levi is too deeply rooted in the fabric of the book for either element to be discarded."97 The notion of Beasley-Murray was well supported by the findings at Qumran. "Nach der Erwartung der


Quimrantezne stehen zwei Gesalbte an der Spitze des endzeitlichen Israels: der 'Messiah Aarons' als gesalbter Hohepriester und der 'Messias Israels' als der endzeitliche König aus dem Stamme Juda. 98

P. E. Charles contends that it was the Maccabean priest-king that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was to be a priest-king. 99 And in fact, I Levi 8:11-15 sounds like an eulogy on John Hyscanus (134-104 B.C.), 100 the first individual in the history of Judaism to unite within himself the triple office of prophet, priest and king:

Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great, yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles (to all the Gentiles). And his presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham of our father. 101

Unlike the rest of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where we have the expectation of two Messiahs, I Levi 8:15 ascribes the three offices of king, priest, and prophet to a single person. The "new name" and the "new priesthood" refer to the title "priest of the Most High God" anciently borne by

98 K. C. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels," New Testament Studies I (1954/55), p. 170. "According to the expectation of the writings of Quoran there are two Messiahs leading the eschatological Israel: the 'Messiah of Aaron' as the anointed high-priest and the 'Messiah of Israel' as the eschatological king from the tribe of Judah." Cf. IOS 9:11 - "anointed ones"; 4 Q Testimonia; CD 2:18-22, 14:19, 19:10 - "the Messiah of Aaron and Israel"; all.


100 Cf. Ibid., II, 289.

Moldirizeh (Gen. 14:18) which was revived by the Hasronean priest-kings when they removed the legitimate Zadokite priesthood from office. 102

It is necessary to consider also the predominantly transcendent Messiah. The "Man" or the "Son of Man" is a part of the apocalyptic eschatology of Judaism that puts emphasis on the transcendent, the supernatural, the supramundane. 103 The first occurrence of the "Son of Man" in apocalyptic literature is in Daniel. 104 Of greater interest for our study, however, is the apocalyptic book in which the figure of the Son of Man next appears.— the Similitudes of Enoch (I Enoch 37-71). In a number of places throughout the Similitudes the expression "Son of Man" or simply "Man" is used (cf. 46:1-6; 48:2-7; 62:5-9, 14; 63:11; 69:26-29; 70:1; 71:17) to describe a being who is elsewhere in the same book designated "the Elect One" or "the Righteous One" or "his Anointed." We have here an early identification of the "Son of Man" and the "Messiah." 105 As the "Elect One" he stands as the representative and head of the 'elect ones,'


104 Cf. Dan. 7:13, describes the Son of Man as coming with the clouds of heaven.

105 This also suggests that the distinction between the Son of Man and the Messiah is more of a technical than a literary character. The apocalyptic writings perhaps did not make a literary distinction between the two. Neither do the Gospels: cf. Mk. 14:61f; Lk. 22:67-79; Mt. 26:63f.
that heavenly company of righteous men who will one day inherit the kingdom which God has promised to his chosen people (I Enoch 62:8, 14). But he is not only righteous himself, he is also able to effect righteousness by bringing salvation to God's own people (I Enoch 47:4). Wisdom and power are ascribed to him: "In his dwelleth the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might" (I Enoch 49:3; cf. 46:3; 49:1; 51:3). He was hidden before the creation of the world (I Enoch 48:6) and preserved in God's presence (I Enoch 62:7). One day he will be revealed; and indeed he has been revealed already to the elect (I Enoch 48:7). God will put him on a throne just like his own (I Enoch 55:4) and will allow him to share in his own glory (I Enoch 51:3; 61:8). He is sitting on the throne as judge of heaven and earth, of men and angels, of the living and dead (I Enoch 55:4; 61:8ff.).

The "Son of Man" is also found in IV Ezra, II Baruch,106 and the Sibylline Oracles, Book V.107 Of particular interest is IV Ezra where the Son of Man is not only referred to as the "Man" (IV Ezra 13:5, 51), the "form of a man" (IV Ezra 13:3), but also as "my Son" (IV Ezra 13:32, 37) or "my Son the Messiah" (IV Ezra 7:28f.). In IV Ezra 7:29 is reported the death of "my Son the Messiah" until he will rise again when the new age will awake (IV Ezra 7:31): "And it

106Cf. II Baruch 70:9; 72:2 ("My Messiah").
107Cf. Sibylline Oracles, Book V: 414f. ("The blessed man from the plains of heaven").
shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die."

The writer of Hebrews ascribes to Jesus messianic epithets in a manner indicating that their religio-historical background is to be looked for within Jewish apocalyptic literature. As we have already seen above,¹⁰⁸ the passage Heb. 10:32-39 moves in distinct apocalyptic categories. The author introduces at the end of his argument an Old Testament citation loaded with messianic allusions (Hab. 2:3f.). By the deliberate insertion of the definite article (قسام), the one referred to by the phrase (come) in clearly the Christ in his second advent.¹⁰⁹ It is obviously the intention of the author to enforce the distinctly messianic character of this passage. He wanted to present Jesus as the "Messiah" that is going to appear at the end of the age (Heb. 10:37; cf. 1:2; 9:25).

Similar to Jewish apocalyptic literature (cf. especially 1 Levi 8:14), we find in Hebrews the notions of Davidic king and Medrizedecian priest ascribed to Jesus. Already in the exordium these epithets are attributed to the "Son" by allusions to Psalms that describe the royal and priestly enthronement (Pss. 2(8): 110(1). Since Christ was a descendent of Judah (Heb. 7:14), the notion of the Davidic king was self-explanatory (Heb. 1:2 - Ps. 2(8): 7:14). The

¹⁰⁸ Cf. pp. 60ff.
¹⁰⁹ Cf. T. W. Lewis, op. cit., p. 90.
author, however, expends much energy explaining how he could 
be a priest. Priests had to come from the tribe of Levi. To 
present Jesus as a legitimate holder of this office, the writer 
of Hebrews employs the same argument developed by the writer 
responsible for the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, who 
had to present Ivranus as a legitimate holder of his office. 110

In Chapter 7 the writer of Hebrews argues thus that Jesus was 
priest according to a superior priestly order, the order of 
Melchizedek. This becomes a major dictum of his Epistle 
(5:10; 6:20; 7:11, 15, 17; cf. 7:21, 24). God has introduced 
this new and better order which consequently does away with 
the preceding one (7:18). The author of Hebrews and the 
author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs employ thus 
the identical argument in order to explain why their champion 
is the legitimate holder of the high-priestly office.

Beyond that, the writer of Hebrews, like Jewish 
apocalyptic literature, employs the messianic concept of 
the "Son of Man" or "Man." In Heb. 2:6 he refers to Jesus as 
the "Man." 111 The author of Hebrews united the messianic

110 In order to be a High-Priest one had to be a descen-
dant of Zadoc (Ivranus was from Levi, Jesus from Judah).

111 Some commentators do not ascribe any messianic 
significance to Heb. 2:6; i.e., T. Moffatt, A Critical and 
Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Edinburgh: 
T. & T. Clark, 1924), p. 23; E. F. Westcott, The Epistle to 
the Hebrews (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing 
Company, 1965), pp. 42f. Although one cannot claim a promi-

ent Son of Man Christology in Hebrews (cf. A. J. B. Higgins, 
Jesus and the Son of Man (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 146) much 
of the description of the "Man" Jesus in Hebrews becomes 
clearer from the perspective of the Son of Man as presented 
11, recognized in Heb. 2:6 a messianic title; cf. also J.
an "anthropological" interpretation of Ps. 8.112 It is simply not true, he says, that all things are now in a state of subjection to man; but we do see Jesus the Man crowned after his humiliation with glory and honor (2:6). In the back of his mind he has the apocalyptic concept of the Son of Man who was going to reign with God after he has been crowned with glory and honor (2:7, 8 - cf. I Enoch 51:3; 61:8ff.). But prior to his coronation he had to die in order that he might become the "curse", which of the Son is found in IV Ezra 7:29;113 and in † Enoch 62:14 he is as the "Elected One" at the head of the company of righteous men who will inherit the kingdom which God has promised to them.

He becomes thus an agent for their salvation (I Enoch 47:4).

Beyond that, Jesus, like the Man of Jewish apocalyptic literature, is presented as preexistent (I Enoch 48:6; Heb. 1:8). But this figure will be revealed (I Enoch 48:7; IV Ezra 7:28; Heb. 1:2). In both literary contexts, he dies (IV Ezra 7:29; Heb. 2:9) but then comes again (IV Ezra 7:29ff; Heb. 9:28).


113 Though it is not a sacrificial death as in Hebrews!
In both his glory is described in terms of sitting on a throne (I Enoch 55:4; Heb. 1:3, 13).

We conclude that the author of Hebrews presents Jesus in messianic categories that draw heavily upon Jewish apocalyptic antecedents.

Angelology

In the preceding section we have seen that the writer of Hebrews draws heavily on Jewish apocalyptic literature when he describes Jesus as the Messiah. In this section we will see the dependence of the High Priest Christology in Hebrews on the image of the Highest Angel in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

In the intertestamental period, particularly as illustrated by Jewish apocalyptic literature, there is a remarkable development in Jewish thought concerning the world of spirits and angelic beings generally. As early as the time of Daniel and I Enoch there had grown up in Judaism a prolific tradition concerning the angels of special interest in the development of the image of the angel as priest. The only passage in the Old Testament which seems to combine the role of angel and priest is Zec. 3:1-7. But Jewish apocalyptic literature brings out very clearly the sacerdotal role of the highest angel:

And in it (i.e. heavenly tabernacle) are the angels

115cf. Dan. 7:10; I Enoch 1:10.
of the presence (archangels, E) of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation for the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous (ἀπόφυξις τῆς ἁπάτης) and they offer to the Lord a sweet-smelling savor, a reasonable and bloodless offering (I Levi 3:5-7).

A similar idea is expressed in Jub. 31:14 where Levi, an earthly priest, is told:

And may the Lord give to thee . . . to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and the holy ones.

In I. Dan 6:2 we find the highest angel in the role of a mediator:

Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is mediator between God and man.

one of his functions as mediator is to mediate the petitions of the righteous:

Ye righteous raise your prayers as a memorial and place them as a testimony before the angels that they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High (I Enoch 99:3).

The writer of Hebrews not only draws on Jewish apocalyptic literature for his "Selchizedekian argument" but also on the image of the Highest Angel in developing his high priestly Christology. This latter concept provides him especially with the language for a presentation of Jesus within a heavenly sanctuary. In Heb. 2:17 Jesus is represented as the ἡκριβεύμενος λειτουργός ἵνα ἐξειλαθή. The formula


118 In III Maruch 14:1 Michael stands in the heavenly places "presenting the merits of men to God."

119 The writer of Hebrews sets this notion over against the worship in the earthly tent which characterized the Old Testament dispensation.
never occurs in the LXX, and 

\[ \text{or } \frac{\text{to the notion of the high priest}.}^{120} \text{Thus we have} \\
\text{to look elsewhere for the background of this formula. It is} \\
\text{found within Jewish apocalyptic literature, where Michael is} \\
\text{presented as standing in the heavenly sanctuary as the} \\
\text{merciful and long-suffering one (I Enoch 40:9; 60:3).} \\
\text{In Heb. 4:14 the writer presents Jesus in his} \\
\text{sacerdotal function passing through the heavens. In Jewish} \\
\text{apocalyptic literature there are various figures that passed} \\
\text{through the heavens to gain access to the presence of God in} \\
\text{his sanctuary.}^{121} \text{When Jesus passes from the earthly to the} \\
\text{heavenly spheres, he goes behind the veil and enters into the} \\
\text{heavenly holy of holies (Heb. 9:23; 10:20). This representation} \\
\text{is analogous to the highest angel in Judaism, who has} \\
\text{access to the heavenly places behind the veil (1 Levi 5:1ff.;} \\
\text{3:4-8)). In Heb. 7:22 and 8:6 we have Jesus as an } \frac{\text{and } \mu \tau \chi \eta \tau}{\text{and } \text{which is also a function of the highest}} \\
\text{angel (1 Dan. 6:2). Heb. 7:25 stresses the intercessory work} \\
\text{of Jesus in heaven. This work has close connections to the} \\
\text{advocatory role of the high angel in the presence of Yahweh} \\
\text{in behalf of the oppressed (I Enoch 40:6; 39:3; 104:1). But} \\
\text{the work of Jesus surpasses that of the high angel because he} \\
offers himself and thus renders unnecessary the repetition of} \\
\text{the sacrificial offerings (Heb. 7:23ff.).} \\
\text{120A. J. McNicol, op. cit., pp. 194f.} \\
\text{121Cf. I Enoch 40:6; III Baruch 11-15.}
We have thus a number of distinct parallels between the highest angel and the high priest in Hebrews. Cumulatively, these parallels present an impressive amount of evidence to warrant the conclusion that the high priest concept in Hebrews derived its terminology from the priestly highest angel concept in Jewish apocalyptic. 122

Although the author of Hebrews wanted to present the work of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary by drawing on the image of the highest angel from Jewish apocalyptic literature, he was aware that this could cause confusion in the minds of his readers. He did not wish to imply that Jesus and angels could be considered equal in rank. 123

Therefore he uses the two introductory choristers to deliberately accentuate the superiority of Christ to the angels, in order then to be free to appropriate imagery concerning the

122 A. J. McNicol, op. cit., p. 203. For a detailed comparison of these two concepts see A. J. McNicol, op. cit., pp. 194-203.

123 Cf. C. Spicq, op. cit., I, p. 50 comments on Philo's treatment of angels, "Il ne faisait pas de distinction radicale entre le logos, qui est une sorte de Messie non incarné, et les logos qui sont parfois considérés comme des anges." Hebrews wanted to avoid such a confusion. Hebrews one and two must not be understood as a polemic against angels or angel worship (cf. J. J. Gunther, op. cit., p. 182) as it is frequently done (cf. H. Windisch, Der Hebräerbrief (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1931), p. 17; O. Michel, op. cit., p. 132). A. J. McNicol, op. cit., pp. 22-38, after reviewing the evidence whether Hebrews one and two was written against the heresy of angelolatry comes to a negative conclusion especially on the basis of the fact that "until the time of the mid-second century (A.D.) at least there is no textual evidence for the worship of angels in Judaism or Christianity" (p. 30).
highest angel for the development of one of his major thrusts: the presentation of Jesus as high priest.124

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented above makes it obvious that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was influenced heavily by Jewish apocalyptic literature. Since he draws from this ideological perspective throughout the Epistle, we have to consider its importance as second only to that of the Old Testament. The two alternative religio-historical options which have been argued by scholars are more or less confined to one section of the document or to one ideological concept. The gnostic interpretation of Käsemann and others was based upon the pericope Heb. 3:7-4:11, while the Platonic/Philonic interpretation of Spicq and others draws almost exclusively on the type-antitype dualism thought to be present in Heb. 8:5; 9:24; 10:1. But we have seen that even in these instances where the influence of alternative religio-historical loci was suspected, we actually find strong evidence supporting an apocalyptic interpretation.¹

It should be concluded that the second locus - second only to the Old Testament - of the religio-historical background of the Epistle to the Hebrews is Jewish apocalyptic literature.

¹However, this study did not intend to refute the claims of the alternative religio-historical loci. For this, see P. Williansen, op. cit. (against the Platonic/Philonic interpretation) and O. Hofius, op. cit. (against the gnostic interpretation).
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