

# ‘The True Tabernacle’ of Hebrews 8:2: A Response to Nicholas J. Moore

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## Abstract

Does Hebrews 8:5 claim that Israel’s earthly sanctuaries are ‘shadowy copies’ of a heavenly sanctuary, or do these sanctuaries anticipate an eschatological sanctuary where God will dwell with his people, as I have argued? Nicholas J. Moore has critiqued my reading of this verse on the grounds that reading the expression ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά as ‘copy and shadow’ is lexically permissible, that the idea that Israel’s earthly sanctuaries are copies of the heavenly sanctuary is widespread in the Second Temple period, and that my reading involves an awkward switch between temple and tabernacle in Hebrews 8:5. This article argues that it cannot be demonstrated that ὑπόδειγμα can have the sense ‘copy’, that the idea of the temple as an anticipation of God’s eschatological dwelling with his people is present at Qumran in ways that are similar to what is found in Hebrews, and that my reading involves no awkward switch between tabernacle and temple in Hebrews 8:5. Ultimately, it can be shown that a temporal reading of ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά in Hebrews 8:5 contributes more to its context than does a spatial reading.

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## 1. Introduction

In Volume 72 of the *Tyndale Bulletin* (2021), Nicholas Moore interacts with my monograph *Hebrews and the Temple*, in which I argue against the view that ‘the true tabernacle’ in Hebrews 8:2 is a heavenly archetype of the Jerusalem Temple.<sup>1</sup> Rather, I proposed then (and continue to maintain) that it refers to

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1. Nicholas J. Moore, “‘The True Tabernacle’ of Hebrews 8:2: Future Dwelling with People or Heavenly Dwelling Place?”, *TynBul* 72 (2021): 49–71, <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.32272>. Moore also interacts with Lincoln D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought*, SNTSMS 65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7–42, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511554971>, which was

the eschatological dwelling of God with his people.<sup>2</sup> This was part of a more extensive work in which I argued that scholars who have read Hebrews through the lens of Philo of Alexandria have overemphasised the vertical and spatial aspects of Hebrews' temple imagery and downplayed the horizontal and eschatological aspects. Moore has successfully shown that I did not give enough attention to these vertical and spatial aspects. However, they are there in my work, particularly in my reading of Hebrews 4:14–16, where I argued that the text represents Jesus as ministering in the heavenly temple in the presence of God.<sup>3</sup>

Three parts of Moore's article call for a response. I start with Moore's discussion of the Greek word ὑπόδειγμα in the expression ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων in Hebrews 8:5, which I read as 'a symbolic foreshadowing of the heavenly things'. This is significant since, as I pointed out, my understanding of the heavenly temple as the eschatological dwelling of God with his people emerges from this reading of Hebrews 8:5.<sup>4</sup> I will show that Moore's arguments for the sense 'copy' or 'representation' for ὑπόδειγμα (and παράδειγμα) are unconvincing. I then turn to Moore's discussion of sanctuary and cosmos in the Second Temple period and demonstrate that the expectation of an eschatological temple to be built by God is as much at home in the Second Temple period as is the idea of the heavenly temple as an archetype of Israel's earthly shrines. Thirdly, I will examine the difficulty Moore finds in my reading of Hebrews 8:5, where I see both the temple and the tabernacle referenced in

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influential in my own work. I am grateful to Nicholas Moore for engaging with my work to the depth that he has done and in his gracious manner. I am also grateful for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article and for our many interactions on Hebrews over more than a decade. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers of the present article for their helpful feedback.

2. Philip Church, *Hebrews and the Temple: Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism and in Hebrews*, NovTSup 171 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 395–404, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004339514>. In what follows I reuse some material from this earlier work, with permission from Brill. In Section 3.2 (below) I reuse material from Philip Church, '4Q174 and the Epistle to the Hebrews' in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown*, ed. Shani Tzoref and Ian Young, PHSC 20 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 333–360, <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463234676-017>, with permission from Gorgias Press.

3. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 370–381.

4. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 1. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 59–62 works with παράδειγμα and ὑπόδειγμα since the two words are synonymous and παράδειγμα is more common. In what follows I engage with his arguments concerning παράδειγμα, recognising that this is somewhat of a digression since the word does not appear in Hebrews.

that verse. In conclusion, I will demonstrate that Hebrews 8:5 makes a more coherent contribution to its immediate context (Heb 8:1–9:10) when read through a temporal rather than a spatial lens.

## 2. The Tabernacle as a Representation of Heavenly Reality?

Moore concurs with the prevailing weight of scholarly opinion that the writer of Hebrews describes the heavenly temple as an archetype of Israel's earthly sanctuaries. For this, he relies on Hebrews 8:5, which refers to the tabernacle (or temple) as 'a copy and shadow of what is in heaven' (NIV) or 'a sketch and shadow of the heavenly one' (NRSVUE),<sup>5</sup> expressing a vertical and spatial relationship between the two.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, since Hebrews was written to encourage the readers to persevere to reach their eschatological goal, pictured with temple imagery such as God's rest in the cosmic temple (Heb 4:1–11), and the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 11:10,16; 12:22; 13:14), then one might expect that the relationship between Israel's earthly sanctuaries and the heavenly (eschatological) temple might also be expressed in horizontal and temporal terms.<sup>7</sup> I argued for this when I pointed out that the usual reading of the expression *ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά* as 'copy and shadow' is lexically inadmissible since, as Lincoln D. Hurst argued over thirty years ago, *ὑπόδειγμα* nowhere

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5. See for example Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 290–291; William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1–8*, WBC 47A (Dallas: Word, 1991), 206; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 406; Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 219; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, revised ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 183–184; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Hebrews*, Evangelical Biblical Theology Commentary (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2020), 244–245; David A. DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle 'to the Hebrews'* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 282–283; David L. Allen, *Hebrews*, NAC 35 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2010), 443.

6. In Hebrews, the relationship between the earthly and the heavenly sanctuary only appears in this verse, although that the heavenly temple is vertically separated from the earth is present elsewhere, especially in the allusions to Ps 110:1 in Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2. See Andreas-Christian Heide, 'Between Times and Spaces: The Understanding of Reality in the Letter to the Hebrews as the Fundamental Framework of Its Interpretation', *NovT* 62 (2020): 428–432, doi:10.1163/15685365-12341666.

7. Compare Heide, 'Between Times and Spaces', 433: 'concentrating on individual texts could give the impression that the vertical dimension is more strongly emphasised in Hebrews, while the overall view of the whole letter could emphasise the horizontal dimension'. For this eschatological goal pictured with temple imagery, see my treatment of God's rest in Heb 3:7–4:11 in Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 316–336.

has the sense of ‘copy’ in ancient Greek literature.<sup>8</sup> Instead, I proposed that ὑπόδειγμα has the sense of ‘symbol’ and that σκιά is ‘shadow’ in the sense of ‘foreshadowing’,<sup>9</sup> giving the hendiadys ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά the sense ‘symbolic foreshadowing’. Thus, ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων should be read as ‘a symbolic foreshadowing of the heavenly things,’ where the heavenly things are the eschatological realities that have come with the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God ‘in these last days’ (1:2). I implied there, but did not state explicitly, that these realities include access to the presence of God in the present (4:16; 10:19-22) and in the eschaton (4:8-11),<sup>10</sup> among other blessings of the new covenant.<sup>11</sup>

There is no need to rehearse my arguments here, as they are set out fully in *Hebrews and the Temple*.<sup>12</sup> I do note, however, that my reading is similar to Cockerill’s, who writes

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8. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 13. I relied on Hurst at this point and did not do the research myself (see Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 408).

9. For ὑπόδειγμα as ‘symbol’ see BDAG 1037, s.v. ὑπόδειγμα, 2, where Heb 8:5 is listed, and for σκιά as ‘foreshadowing’ see BAGD 755, s.v. σκιά, 2.

10. I concur with Moore’s proposal that Heb 4:10 refers to Christ entering his rest. See Nicholas J. Moore, ‘Jesus as “The One who Entered his Rest”: The Christological Reading of Hebrews 4.10’, *JSNT* 36 (2014): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X14528442>.

11. In Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 410 I refer to ‘God’s dwelling with his people in the eschaton’, and in note 193 I cite B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1909), 218: ‘the ideas of the Divine Presence and the realities of heaven ... “the heavenly order,” the scene of the spiritual life with the realities which belong to it’. I also cite John Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 14 (PG 63:112), ‘The Church is heavenly, and nothing other than Heaven’ (οὐρανία γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ οὐρανός).

12. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 404–411. See also Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 59–65. The alternatives are set out in the NET Bible Study Note at Heb 8:5, which reads

There are two main options for understanding the conceptual background of the heavenly sanctuary imagery. The first is to understand the imagery to be functioning on a vertical plane. This background is Hellenistic, philosophical, and spatial in orientation and sees the earthly sanctuary as a copy of the heavenly reality. The other option is to see the imagery functioning on a horizontal plane. This background is Jewish, eschatological, and temporal and sees the heavenly sanctuary as the fulfillment and true form of the earthly sanctuary which preceded it. The second option is preferred, both for lexical reasons ... and because it fits the Jewish context of the book (although many scholars prefer to emphasize the relationship the book has to Hellenistic thought).

The dichotomy expressed here between what is Hellenistic (spatial) and what is Jewish (temporal) is problematic since the spatial understanding is equally at home in Jewish thought, as Moore demonstrates (Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 55–57).

[t]he term translated 'pattern' [ὑπόδειγμα] never means 'copy,' but is always the 'pattern' from which something else is made. The pastor's use of 'shadow' for the anticipation of the new in 10:1 confirms the anticipatory character given to this term in the immediate context by association with 'pattern.' This is no 'pattern' of eternal ideas or 'shadow' of a timeless ministry that has always gone on in the heavenly Sanctuary. This 'pattern and shadow' [i.e. the sanctuary in which the Jewish priests ministered] anticipated the ministry inaugurated by the exaltation of the Son and now available for God's people.<sup>13</sup>

Moore puts forward evidence that he considers demonstrates that both ὑπόδειγμα and its close synonym παράδειγμα can indeed signify the sense of 'copy' or 'representation'. In what follows, I respond to his arguments, starting with παράδειγμα.

### 2.1 The Semantic Range of παράδειγμα

Moore finds two examples where he suggests that παράδειγμα seems to have the sense of an 'imitation of something that already exists'.<sup>14</sup> The first example, taken from Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, 2.86, describes Egyptian mummification practices. When a corpse is presented for embalming, the embalmers show those bringing the corpse wooden models (παράδειγματα) of corpses, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα, a clause Godley (LCL) translates with 'painted in exact imitation'. Waterfield translates the sentence: 'When a corpse is brought to them, they show those who brought it sample corpses made out of wood, which are painted so as to be lifelike.'<sup>15</sup> Important here is the perfect passive participle of μιμέομαι, translated by Godley as 'in exact imitation' and by Waterfield as 'so as to be lifelike'. In both Godley's and Waterfield's translations, this participle conveys the idea that these models are imitations, with Waterfield implying that they resemble living humans.

Herodotus also uses this participle a few chapters earlier in 2.78, where he writes

ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῶ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ

13. Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 359–360, <https://doi.org/10.5040/bci-000m>. Despite this, Cockerill states (on Heb 9:7–8, p. 382) 'the pastor could hardly call an "earthly sanctuary" the "First Tent" since it did not precede the eternal heavenly Sanctuary of which it was a copy (8:4–5)'.

14. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 60.

15. Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Robin Waterfield, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 127.

μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς  
δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων

Godley translates

At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries around an image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits. This he shows to each of the company ... (Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* 2.78 (LCL))

Here, the image of the corpse is an imitation or copy (perfect passive participle of μιμέομαι) of an actual corpse, which the man shows (δείκνυμι) to the attendees at the banquet. The man had made an imitation of either a corpse or a living human, which seems also to be what the embalmers with the wooden corpses do in paragraph 2.86. Moore suggests that '[T]hese παραδείγματα are models for how the corpse of the deceased will be embalmed, but they are themselves modelled on the embalmers' knowledge and experience of previous mummified corpses.' That is true, of course, but that idea comes not from παράδειγμα but from μιμέομαι. I paraphrase: 'The embalmers take a corpse/living human and "make a (painted wooden exact) imitation" (μιμέομαι) of it, which they then show to those who brought the corpse as a "model" (πaráδειγμα) of what the embalmers will make.' Παράδειγμα does not go both ways as Moore maintains; it looks to the future embalmed corpse that will be constructed; μιμέομαι looks back to the 'the embalmers' knowledge and experience of previous mummified corpses'.<sup>16</sup>

Moore's second example is from the first-century philosopher Aëtius, who describes Plato's teaching as

τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι πρὸς παράδειγμα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου  
(Aëtius, *Placita* 2.6.4)<sup>17</sup>

16. David T. Runia, 'Ancient Philosophy and the New Testament: "Exemplar" as Example' in *Method and Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge*, ed. Andrew B. McGowan and Kent Harold Richards, RBS 67 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 359 also argues that ὑπόδειγμα, like the English word 'exemplar', goes both ways in that it 'can mean both a model for something else, or a special example based on the model elsewhere'. While that may be true for 'exemplar', his reading of ὑπόδειγμα with this sense seems more because he wants to read Hebrews (and the LXX) through the eyes of Philo.

17. Moore cites this text from LSJ (s.v. παράδειγμα) where the word πρὸς before παράδειγμα is omitted. The text cited here is from Jaap Mansfeld and David T. Runia, *Aëtiana V: An Edition of the Reconstructed Text of the Placita with a Commentary and a Collection of Related Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 833–834, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004428409>, who include πρὸς at this point. They do not add any specific discussion of its omission

Moore translates,

'the visible world was made as a representation [παράδειγμα] of the ideal world'.<sup>18</sup>

Moore notes the variant reading πρὸς παράδειγμα, suggesting that it

either leaves the sense unaffected ('was made as/for a representation') or, if it is understood as 'with reference to the ideal world's pattern', makes the sentence more consistent with Platonist usage of παράδειγμα and should be considered the easier and therefore later reading.<sup>19</sup>

The evidence from Mansfeld and Runia's edition indicates that πρὸς is more likely to have dropped out in the transmission of the text than to have been added. They translate, with πρὸς included, 'Plato says that the visible cosmos came into being in respect of [πρὸς] the model of the intelligible cosmos'.<sup>20</sup>

While this example depends on an uncertain reading, Aëtius does use παράδειγμα twice more in the *Placita*, where there are no comparable textual variants. In 1.5, he discusses whether the universe is one (Εἰ ἐν τὸ πᾶν). He refers to the Stoics and Empedocles before turning to Plato, who 'thus declares, that there is one world, and that world is the universe'. Plato gives three reasons, says Aëtius, one of which is significant for this argument since he again uses παράδειγμα. He writes

ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἕσσεσθαι ὅμοιον τῷ παραδείγματι, ἐὰν μὴ μονογενὴς ᾦ

it would not be similar [ὅμοιον] to the model [τῷ παραδείγματι], if it were not alone in its sort. (Aëtius, *Placita* 1.5.3 (Mansfeld and Runia))<sup>21</sup>

The presence of ὅμοιος (similar) shows that in this context, at least, Aëtius is using παράδειγμα with the sense 'model' (of something that is later produced

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or inclusion beyond a text-critical note indicating that πρὸς is included in Ps-Plutarch's text but not in that of Stobaeus.

18. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 61.

19. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 61, note 44.

20. Aëtius, *Placita* 2.6.4 (Mansfeld and Runia, LCL). LSJ 1307, s.v. παράδειγμα, 1 quotes this text under the heading 'pattern, example', in connection with 'the divine exemplars after which earthly things are made'. However, it appears in brackets as follows '(later, copy, Πλάτων τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι π. τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου *Placit.* 2.6.4 (v.l. πρὸς π.))'. Apparently, the editors consider that the sense of παράδειγμα developed over time and that it had the sense of 'copy' at some later stage. MGS, s.v. παράδειγμα make no such suggestion.

21. Aëtius uses the plural of παράδειγμα a few sentences later in his rebuttal of Plato, 'There are moreover many models [παραδείγματα], as in the case of statues and buildings and paintings' (*Placita* 1.5.3 (LCL)).

corresponding to it). He would be unlikely to use the same word in the opposite sense later in his work when discussing the same topic. The evidence falls short when it comes to establishing that παράδειγμα can have the sense of ‘representation’ or ‘copy’ in the *Placita*.

## 2.2 The Semantic Range of ὑπόδειγμα

Moore then turns to ὑπόδειγμα,<sup>22</sup> dealing first with Ezekiel 42:15, a text with nothing in the MT corresponding to the LXX term ὑπόδειγμα. Moore suggests ‘dimensions’, although ‘plan’ or ‘outline’ may be more likely.<sup>23</sup> Hurst discusses this text at some length, suggesting that the angel measured the ‘outline’ of the temple.<sup>24</sup> Hurst also suggests that ὑπόδειγμα in Hebrews 8:5 may be an intertextual echo of Ezekiel 42:15, with the writer of Hebrews identifying ‘the “outlining” activity of the angel of Ezekiel 42:15 with the action of Moses as he produces his “outline” of the heavenly things shown to him’.<sup>25</sup>

Moore then turns to Aquila, where ὑπόδειγμα appears in Deuteronomy 4:17 and Ezekiel 8:10, where it renders תַּבְנִית (*tavnit*) to refer to ‘idolrous wall carvings as copies or representations of animals’.<sup>26</sup> Moore notes that Hurst quickly shrugs off these instances in Aquila<sup>27</sup> but does not reference my treatment of Aquila,<sup>28</sup> where I argue that ‘Aquila must be treated with caution, since ... [he] always attempts to express Hebrew words with the same Greek words, “without any consideration of the meaning in context”’.<sup>29</sup> It is tenuous to put too much weight on Aquila for the sense of a Greek word since, as Natalio Fernández Marcos also points out, Aquila ‘translates Hebrew words with an

22. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 61–62.

23. See Craig S. Keener, *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 651; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 183, note 25.

24. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 14–16.

25. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 16. On this see Runia, ‘Ancient Philosophy’, 137.

26. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 62. The LXX reads ὁμοίωμα (‘likeness’) in Deut 4:17, while in Ezek 8:10 there is no Greek word corresponding to תַּבְנִית apart from in two eleventh-century MSS that read ὁμοίωσις (‘likeness’). See Joseph Ziegler, *Ezechiel, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum XVI*, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 118.

27. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 62.

28. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 407, note 176.

29. This quote is from Frederick Field, *Frederick Field’s Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt, Sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*, CahRB (Paris: Gabalda, 2005), 46. See also the discussion of the characteristics of Aquila’s version in Peter Katz and Joseph Ziegler, ‘Ein Aquila-Index in Vorbeireitung’, VT 8 (1958): 272–273, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853358X00231>; Field, *Prolegomena*, 37–56.



eye on etymology, even though his procedure produces semantic shifts in Greek that are difficult to fit into the context'.<sup>30</sup> Nothing in Moore's work is a convincing rebuttal of Hurst's claim that '[t]here is no instance in known Greek literature where ὑπόδειγμα can be demonstrated to mean "copy"'.<sup>31</sup>

## 2.3 The Semantic Range of σκιά

Moore deals briefly with σκιά, although it is important to my argument as it is this word coupled with ὑπόδειγμα that gives the hendiadys its forward-looking orientation.<sup>32</sup> Moore agrees that σκιά can be 'deployed temporally' and notes that this 'appears to be the case' in Hebrews 10:1,<sup>33</sup> but not in 8:5, where it 'functions spatially'.<sup>34</sup> Of course, if ὑπόδειγμα is read as 'copy', then that is a logical outcome, but if 'copy' is lexically inadmissible, then a spatial orientation does not necessarily follow. Indeed, as Cockerill points out in connection with Hebrews 8:5 (as cited above), '[t]he pastor's use of "shadow" for the anticipation of the new in 10:1 confirms the anticipatory character given to this term in the immediate context by association with "pattern"'.<sup>35</sup> In this, he follows Hurst, who suggests 'the possibility exists that the author of Hebrews deliberately coupled ὑπόδειγμα with σκιά in order to guarantee that the latter would have a forward nuance identical to its usage in 10:1 ... and quite unlike its usage in Plato'.<sup>36</sup> I still find my reading of ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά as 'symbolic foreshadowing' to be lexically permissible, and I will demonstrate below (§§5.1–5.3) that it is more appropriate in the context of Hebrews 8–9 than 'copy and shadow'.

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30. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 116–117, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004498082>.

31. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 19.

32. See my discussion in Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 409.

33. This temporal nuance is clear in Col 2:17. For this 'anticipatory' sense of σκιά see Louw-Nida 593, para. 58.65; BDAG 929–30, s.v. σκιά 3; BAGD 755, s.v. σκιά, 2 (which also lists Heb 8:5; 10:1 alongside Col 2:17).

34. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 64.

35. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 360.

36. Hurst, *Hebrews*, 17. This example demonstrates the importance of context when assessing the sense of a word. The combination of σκιά and μέλλω in Heb 10:1 and Col 2:17 indicates that σκιά has the sense of 'foreshadowing' in those texts. As Hurst contends it is also the case when combined with ὑπόδειγμα in Heb 8:5. But that only becomes clear when it is recognised that ὑπόδειγμα is understood as 'an indication of someth. that appears at a subsequent time, *outline, sketch, symbol*' (BDAG 1037, s.v. ὑπόδειγμα, 2, *italics original*).

### 3. Sanctuary and Cosmos in the Second Temple Period

In Section 3 of his article, Moore responds to my critique of spatial language in Hebrews. He helpfully points out that Platonic dualism is not the only way spatial language appears in the Second Temple period and that ‘belief in a heavenly temple was widespread’.<sup>37</sup> He mentions the Wisdom of Solomon with its Plato-like claim that the temple is a ‘copy of the holy tent’ prepared by God at the beginning (μίμημα σκηνῆς ἁγίας, Wis 9:8), followed by several other texts that demonstrate differing views on the relationship of heaven and the temple, including 1 Enoch and the Testament of Levi, showing that my targeting of the notion of the temple as a structure in heaven is overly narrow and that excluding that permutation ‘does not automatically rule out all the others’.<sup>38</sup> I have no argument with this. I do not deny spatial language *per se*; I do deny that such language is helpful when seeking to understand the heavenly temple in Hebrews 8:1-6.<sup>39</sup>

But perhaps Moore’s selection of texts is too narrow. He has sufficiently demonstrated that ‘a present, spatial, heavenly sanctuary was a widespread idea in Second Temple Jewish literature’.<sup>40</sup> But he has not considered texts that anticipate an eschatological temple to be established ‘in the last days’ (cf. Heb 1:1), nor has he considered those texts where the heavenly temple encompasses heaven and earth so that worshippers can access the heavenly temple while still on earth. Such texts are relevant for Hebrews, which I argue does anticipate an eschatological temple, and which also envisages that the community addressed can access the heavenly temple without undertaking a heavenly journey, for example in Hebrews 4:14-16; 10:19-25; 12:22-24. In this respect, the evidence from Qumran is significant. George Brooke has shown that no fewer than ten temples appear in Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>41</sup> Four of Brooke’s temples are relevant here: the heavenly temple, found, for example, in the

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37. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 56. In note 28, Moore cites Edward Adams, ‘The Cosmology of Hebrews’ in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al., (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 122-139, but places it in the other volume to emerge from the 2006 St Andrews Conference on *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*: ed. Richard Bauckham et al., *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Theology of Hebrews in its Ancient Contexts* (LNTS 387; London: T&T Clark, 2008).

38. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 57-59.

39. Similarly, Moore does not deny temporal language *per se* but does not see it in Hebrews in the way I have expressed it (email communication from Moore dated 16 May 2023).

40. Moore, ‘True Tabernacle’, 57.

41. George J. Brooke, ‘The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls’ in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 417-434.

Hodayot or Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup>); the 'temple of people'; the defiled 'temple of Israel'; and the 'eschatological temple of YHWH'. All are found in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), or, preferably, 4QEschatological Midrash<sup>42</sup>. I start with the heavenly temple in the Hodayot and then consider the three temples of 4Q174.

### 3.1 Access to the Heavenly Temple at Qumran

The Hodayot are not the only texts from Qumran that deal with a heavenly temple. Others include the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb), 4QBerakhot (4Q286–290), 4QDaily Prayers (4Q503), and the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511). Strikingly, in none of these texts is the heavenly temple unequivocally 'up in heaven'.<sup>43</sup> Rather, it seems to encompass heaven and earth in such a way that the community members participate in the heavenly worship of angels without experiencing any heavenly ascent. A discussion of one of the Hodayot will suffice to illustrate the position I argue for in connection with Hebrews.

Line 20 of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI appears to be the beginning of a new hymn,<sup>44</sup> with lines 20–24 reading as follows:<sup>45</sup>

- 20 I thank you, Lord, that you have redeemed my life from the pit and that from Sheol-Abaddon  
 21 you have lifted me up to an eternal height (לְרוֹם עוֹלָם), so that I walk about (בְּמִשּׁוֹר לֹאִין חֶקֶר) on a limitless plain (וְאֵתְהִלְכָּה). I know there is hope for one whom  
 22 you have formed from the dust for an eternal council. And a perverted spirit you have purified from great sin that it might take its place with  
 23 the host of the holy ones (עַם צְבָא קְדוּשִׁים) and enter into community with the congregation of the children of heaven (עַם עֵדֶת בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם). And you cast for a person (אִישׁ) an eternal lot with the spirits  
 24 of knowledge, that he might praise your name in a common rejoicing and recount your wonderful acts before all your works.

42. Annette Steudel, '4QMidrEschat: "A Midrash on Eschatology" (4Q174 + 4Q177)' in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991*, vol. 2, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrerra and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 531–541, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350120\\_027](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350120_027).

43. I deal with these texts in Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 110–143.

44. I use the column and line numbers of the Hodayot found in DJD XL and in Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>*, EJL 36 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt32c008>. In what follows, I rely heavily on Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 111–113.

45. Translation and text in Schuller and Newsom, *The Hodayot*, 36–37.

In this text, a ‘person’ (אִישׁ, line 23) expresses his gratitude that having been redeemed from the pit, he has been raised to ‘an eternal height’ (לְרוֹם עוֹלָם) and ‘walks about’ (hithpael of הֵלֵךְ) ‘on a limitless plain’ (בְּמִישׁוֹר לֹאֵין חֶקֶר). The eternal height and the limitless plain are descriptions of heaven,<sup>46</sup> where this person ‘walks about doing what angels do, praising the divine name as one of them’.<sup>47</sup> But this exaltation to heaven is not done by means of a heavenly ascent as in 1 Enoch or the Testament of Levi, nor is it envisaged in the future; instead, it happens in the present while the worshipper is earthbound.<sup>48</sup> As John J. Collins maintains, ‘[t]he community at Qumran claimed to enjoy, in effect, heaven on earth (in the improbable setting of the Judean desert) by becoming companions to the angels already in this life.’<sup>49</sup>

Similar participation in the worship of angels is seen in the Sabbath Songs. Brooke suggests it is unclear whether the community members are transported

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46. Philip R. Davies, ‘Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls’ in *‘Imagining’ Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honour of James W. Flanagan*, ed. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 96.

47. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 112. See also Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, WUNT 2, 291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 155, <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151634-4>, who suggests ‘the penitent enters into the community of the heavenly beings and stands amid these holy ones in their assembly’. The hithpael of הֵלֵךְ appears several times in the Hebrew Bible in sanctuary contexts. See Gen 3:8; 5:22,24; 1 Sam 2:30,35; 2 Sam 7:6-7//1 Chr 16:6; Job 22:14; Ezek 1:13; 28:14. See Gordon J. Wenham, ‘Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story’ in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 20.

48. Angela Kim Harkins, *Reading with an ‘I’ to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 218–219, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110251814>, compares this text with Enoch’s heavenly journey, but the language is quite different, and the speaker in the Hodayot does not describe a heavenly journey as does Enoch. Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Scribners, 1961), 138–139 reads this text from an eschatological perspective so that (in the eschaton) ‘the loyal covenanters will enjoy an angelic existence’ (p. 139, emphasis added).

49. John J. Collins, ‘Powers in Heaven: God, Gods, and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls’ in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 24. Cf. Esther G. Chazon, ‘Human and Angelic Prayer in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls’ in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, with the Collaboration of Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 43, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350465>: ‘the veil between the realms is removed and the human worshippers conceive of themselves as actually present with the angels, apparently experiencing a sense of elevation to angelic heights’.

to heaven or whether the songs 'encourage earthly worshippers through their attention to the sovereignty of God to bring heaven to earth'.<sup>50</sup> He then suggests a third option, citing Crispin Fletcher-Louis: 'the cult is a microcosm of the universe within which the demarcation of sacred space on earth creates an arena within which the human worshippers can participate in the life of heaven'.<sup>51</sup> As Björn Frennsson suggests, worshippers in these Songs have a 'virtual experience of being present in the heavenly temple'.<sup>52</sup> An experience such as this is related to the notion that the temple itself is a microcosm of the universe, encompassing heaven and earth, so that to be in the temple is to be in heaven.<sup>53</sup>

Something similar is at work in Hebrews 4:14-16, where the writer encourages the readers to approach the throne of grace; in 10:19-22, where the entrance to the sanctuary has been inaugurated through the death of Jesus, giving the readers the confidence to approach God there;<sup>54</sup> and in 12:22-24, in what appears to be a description of Christian worship,<sup>55</sup> the readers are said to have come to 'Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering' (NRSVUE). The believers have access to God's presence in the present while they are on earth,

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50. Brooke, 'Ten Temples', 428-429.

51. Brooke, 'Ten Temples', 429, n. 22, citing Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 391, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350403>.

52. Björn Frennsson, *In a Common Rejoicing: Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran*, *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1999), 100. See also James R. Davila, 'Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 480, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004676855\\_021](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004676855_021), who suggests that 'there is no indication that any human being has ascended or is expected to ascend to heaven to view these marvels'.

53. See the description of the tabernacle in Josephus, *Ant.* 3.122-125; 3.179-187. See also Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 255-257 and G. K. Beale, 'The Final Vision of the Apocalypse and its Implications for a Biblical Theology of the Temple' in *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Simon Gathercole (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004), 193-197.

54. For this understanding see Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 381-388.

55. John M. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, JSNTSup 49 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 144; Jody A. Barnard, *The Mysticism of Hebrews: Exploring the Role of Jewish Apocalyptic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, WUNT 2, 331 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 208-211, <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152142-3>. Cf. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 677-678, 'Προσέρχουαι in cultic contexts is not to be understood as "approach" in contrast to "arrive," but rather of communion with God in worship - the fulfilment, for Hebrews, of what the old dispensation could not achieve.'

and there is no heavenly journey involved, as would be the case if the heavenly temple was ‘up in heaven’. On the other hand, the exalted Christ is enthroned ‘in heaven’ (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, 8:1) or ‘in the heights’ (ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, 1:3). The true tent of which he is a minister (8:1-2) is ‘in heaven’, but since the believers also have access in the present, this ‘tent’ encompasses earth and heaven.

### 3.2 The Three Temples of 4Q174

4QEschatological Midrash<sup>a</sup> (4Q174) is an example of a text that anticipates an eschatological temple alongside two others of Brooke’s ‘Ten Temples’.<sup>56</sup> Column III, lines 3–7 refer to ‘the Temp[le] of Israel’, which had been defiled;<sup>57</sup> to ‘[ ... A temple of] the Lord ... [which His hands will establish]’, a citation of Exodus 15:17,<sup>58</sup> ‘the *locus classicus* for the expectation of the eschatological sanctuary in early Judaism’;<sup>59</sup> and to a ‘temple of Adam’ (מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם) or perhaps ‘a temple of humanity’, that is, ‘a sanctuary consisting of people’.<sup>60</sup> This document expresses a negative assessment of either or both of Israel’s earthly temples, it anticipates an eschatological temple that YHWH will construct, and it refers to the community as an interim temple consisting of people worshipping God with words of thanksgiving.

As I pointed out in my previous essay, ‘ever since this document was first published, scholars have noted connections with the Epistle to the Hebrews’,<sup>61</sup> usually in connection with the juxtaposition of 2 Samuel 7:14 and Psalm 2:7 in both texts.<sup>62</sup> As Brooke suggests, ‘both authors were acquainted with a tradition whereby 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 belong together.’<sup>63</sup> In ‘4Q174 and

56. I deal with this text in Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 81–89, and also in Church, ‘4Q174’, 333–360. I depend heavily on these two works in what follows.

57. Michael O. Wise, ‘That Which Has Been is That Which Shall Be: 4QFlorilegium and the מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם’ in *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*, ed. Michael O. Wise, JSPSup 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 184 suggests it refers to both of Israel’s temples, while Brooke, ‘Ten Temples’, 423 argues for a reference to Solomon’s temple alone.

58. For this translation see Church, ‘4Q174’, 339, note 15.

59. See Devorah Dimant, ‘Qumran Sectarian Literature’ in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone, CRINT II 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 519, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004275119\\_013](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004275119_013), and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Studien zu den frühjüdischen Propheten Legenden Vitae Prophetarum*, vol. 1; (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 289.

60. Church, ‘4Q174’, 342.

61. Church, ‘4Q174’, 335.

62. For Hebrews see 1:5; 5:5, for 4Q174 see 1 III, 11 and 1 III, 18.

63. George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Essays in Mutual Illumination* (London: SPCK, 2005), 77.

the Epistle to the Hebrews', I examined both 4Q174 and Hebrews and sought to make a cumulative case for 'reading the heavenly temple in Hebrews as the eschatological dwelling of God with his people, the same reality as the **יהוה מקדש יהוה** anticipated in 4Q174'.<sup>64</sup> There is no need to repeat the arguments here, although I make one relevant observation. The expression 'the last days' is prominent in both texts. In Hebrews, the term sets the scene for the entire book, indicating that it is to be read in the light of the eschatological setting of the exaltation of Jesus at the right hand of God, 'in these last days' (ἐν ἔσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, 1:2). As for 4Q174, Steudel suggests that 'the last days' (**הימים אחרית**) is the topic ('das Thema') of the combined document comprising 4Q174 and 4Q177<sup>65</sup> – set in the 'last period of history, immediately prior to the time of salvation'.<sup>66</sup> This claim could also be said of Hebrews, with the demonstrative adjective 'these' (τούτων) in 1:2 qualifying the 'last days'. From the perspective of Hebrews, the last days began with the exaltation of Jesus to God's right hand; from the perspective of 4Q174, the Qumran community itself is the community of the last days.

### 3.2.1 The Temple of Israel

Column III, lines 3–6 of 4Q174 describe a coming temple of YHWH and go on to suggest that '[s]trangers shall not again defile it, as they formerly defiled the Temp[le of I]srael through their sins'.<sup>67</sup> While 4Q174 explicitly mentions the defiled temple of Israel, Hebrews does not, leading many scholars to think that the writer was only interested in the tabernacle and had no interest in the temple.<sup>68</sup> However, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, the absence of any mention of the temple does not indicate a lack of interest in the temple.<sup>69</sup> I am not alone in this, for as Nickelsburg points out concerning the Apocalypse

64. Church, '4Q174', 345–360, quote from p. 359.

65. Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>a</sup>.<sup>b</sup>): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*, ed. F. García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 161, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350144>.

66. Steudel, *Midrasch*, 163 'letzte Zeitabschnitt unmittelbar vor Beginn der Heilszeit'.

67. 4Q164 iii, 5–6. Translation from Michael O. Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996), 256.

68. See for example Attridge, *Hebrews*, 8; Lane, *Hebrews* 1–8, lxiii; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 29–30; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 36 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 49–43, <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780300261738>.

69. Philip Church, 'The Temple in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in Hebrews', *TynBul* 64 (2013): 110–128, <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29343>.



of Weeks, the absence of the Second Temple amounts to ‘a wholesale condemnation of the return, the restoration, the rebuilding of the temple, and the events of the Persian and Hellenistic periods’.<sup>70</sup> Building on the work of Motyer and Walker,<sup>71</sup> I argued that the absence of the temple from Hebrews represents an implied polemic against it.<sup>72</sup>

The writer of Hebrews calls his readers to move away from any connection with Jerusalem and the temple by following Jesus outside the camp,<sup>73</sup> thus reflecting a similar attitude to the temple as reflected in 4Q174. This would have deeply challenged these readers who valued the temple so highly. However, there was another reality that they needed to be reassured of, the ‘temple of Adam’.

### 3.2.2 *The Temple of Adam*

While the Jerusalem temple was off limits at Qumran, another temple was available to them. Lines 6–7 read ‘[He has said he would build for himself] a Temple of Adam (or Temple of humankind, **מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם**) and that in it they sacrifice to him ... [works of thanksgiving]’.<sup>74</sup> Brooke suggests that this is ‘a community

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70. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 447.

71. Steve Motyer, ‘The Temple in Hebrews: Is it There?’ in *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Simon Gathercole (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004), 177–189; Peter W. L. Walker, ‘Jerusalem in Hebrews 13:9–14 and the Dating of the Epistle’, *TynBul* 45 (1994): 39–71, <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.30419>; Peter W. L. Walker, ‘A Place for Hebrews? Contexts for a First-Century Sermon’ in *The New Testament in Its First Century Setting: Essays on Context and Background in Honour of B. W. Winter on His 65th Birthday*, ed. P. J. Williams et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 231–249. See also Scott D. Mackie, *Eschatology and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, WUNT 2, 223 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 84–85.

72. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 269–273.

73. See Philip Church, *Never Give Up! The Message of Hebrews*, Tyrannus Textbook Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2023), 242–244. It would be a diversion to delineate the numerous ways that ‘outside the camp’ has been read in Hebrews scholarship, most recently by Michael Wade Martin and Jason A. Whitlark, ‘Strengthened by Grace and Not by Foods: Reconsidering the Literary, Theological, and Social Context of Hebrews 13:7–14’, *NovT* 65 (2023): 350–380, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685365-bja10051>. See the discussion in Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 363–364. I follow Carl Mosser, ‘Rahab Outside the Camp’ in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham, Daniel R. Driver, Trevor A. Hart, and Nathan MacDonald (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 397–404 in reading ‘outside the camp’ as ‘outside Jerusalem’.

74. 4Q174 III, 6–7, trans. Wise et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 256. The italicised words in square brackets in line 6 replace ‘He has commanded that they build him’ in Wise, Abegg, and Cook’s translation (see the discussion in Church, ‘4Q174’, 341–342, note 19),



summoned to live out Adam's cultic calling in the last days<sup>75</sup> so that '[a]s with Adam in Eden ... the priesthood in the preliminary eschatological sanctuary is that of humankind itself'.<sup>76</sup> In this temple, they sacrifice 'deeds of thanksgiving' (מעשי תודה), that is, sacrifices consisting of thanksgiving.<sup>77</sup> While the people reflected in the Qumran texts had withdrawn from the Jerusalem temple, they envisaged themselves as a temple,<sup>78</sup> in some way making up for 'the lack of participation in the worship of the physical temple in Jerusalem'.<sup>79</sup>

While the idea of the community as a temple is a minor theme in Hebrews, it is present, for example, in 3:1-6 where the community addressed is identified as 'God's house'. Ideas similar to Qumran's 'deeds of thanksgiving' are found in the exhortations of Hebrews 13:10-16. The readers are called to exit the camp (Jerusalem and the temple), offer a sacrifice of praise with their lips, and not neglect to do good and share their possessions, sacrifices with which God is pleased. The language of sacrifice is cultic; temple language is applied to the worship of the community and their everyday life. While Attridge suggests that '[t]he new covenant community has a cult that is quite outside the realm of the cultic',<sup>80</sup> it is more accurate to say that, along with 4Q174, the realm of the cultic is transferred to the ordinary life of the community. As in 4Q174, the 'temple', the locus of the presence of God, is now located 'outside the camp' where they offer sacrificial words and deeds that are pleasing to God.

### 3.2.3 *The Eschatological Temple to be Built by God*

If the temple of Israel and the temple consisting of people of 4Q174 are present in Hebrews, is it possible that the eschatological temple is there too? I argued along these lines in both *Hebrews and the Temple* and '4Q174 and the Epistle to the Hebrews'. Hebrews is an urgent pastoral missive to a group of believers the writer considers to be in danger of falling away from the living God (3:12), whom he encourages to persevere to reach their eschatological goal (3:14; 4:1-11). This eschatological goal is pictured in various ways throughout Hebrews, the first of which is the world to come. Christ is enthroned in this world (the

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and the italicised words in square brackets in line 7 replace 'proper sacrifices' in Wise, Abegg, and Cook's translation (see the discussion in Church, '4Q174', 343-344, note 28).

75. Brooke, 'Ten Temples', 427.

76. George J. Brooke, 'From "Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron" to "Sanctuary of Adam": The Laicization of Temple Ideology in the Qumran Scrolls and its Wider Implications', *Journal for Semitics* 8 (1996): 132.

77. For this reading see Church, '4Q174', 343-344, note 28.

78. Brooke, 'Ten Temples', 425-427.

79. Brooke, 'Ten Temples', 429. See also Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 150-162.

80. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 401.

οἰκουμένη of 1:6; 2:5) as the pioneer of the salvation of those God is leading to glory (2:10). In Hebrews 3–4, the writer uses Psalm 95(LXX 94):11, where the wilderness generation was excluded from God's rest (the promised land), to define their eschatological goal as God's rest. The promised land does not exhaust the content of God's rest, for that land comprised increasing levels of holiness culminating in the temple.<sup>81</sup> God's rest in the 'today' of the psalm was the temple, from which the refusal of the gathering worshippers to listen (95:1-7) could result in their exclusion,<sup>82</sup> a notion preserved in the Psalms Targum that reads Psalm 95:11 as 'the rest of my sanctuary' (נייה בית מקדשי). For the writer of Hebrews, however, the 'today' of Psalm 95:11 applies to his readers in their 'today', where God's rest is no longer the promised land or the temple; instead, it is in the world to come, the cosmic temple in which God rested on the seventh day (Gen 2:2; Heb 4:4). The expression 'God's rest' is temple language, for in the OT, the temple is God's 'resting place'.<sup>83</sup> The rest the people of God must strive for (Heb 4:11) is neither Solomon's Temple nor the Second Temple; instead, it is their eschatological goal. It is the world to come where Jesus is enthroned (Heb 1:6; 2:5), the heavenly temple (Heb 4:9),<sup>84</sup> the city with foundations (Heb 11:8-16),<sup>85</sup> prepared (κατασκευάζω) by God, an echo of Exodus 15:17,<sup>86</sup> the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22-24), and the city to come (Heb 13:14).

This raises the question of the relationship of the heavenly temple to the eschatological temple. Both a heavenly temple (e.g. in the Hodayot) and an eschatological temple (in 4Q174) appear at Qumran, and I have argued they also appear in Hebrews. Furthermore, neither in Hebrews nor at Qumran is the heavenly temple unequivocally 'up in heaven'. At Qumran, God will build the eschatological temple in the future. This is probably the case in 4Q174,<sup>87</sup>

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81. W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 94, 150–153.

82. Cf. John Goldingay, *Psalms Volume 3: Psalms 90–150*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 97, '[i]n v. 6 the psalm invited people to come into the place where Yhwh is, the temple. Here it warns them that they may not be able to do so if their everyday submission does not match the liturgical submission of which v. 6 spoke.'

83. See Ps 132:8,14; Isa 66:1; 2 Chr 6:41.

84. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 332–336.

85. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 336–343.

86. Church, '4Q174', 354–355.

87. There is a lacuna in 4Q174 iii, 3 and a verb needs to be supplied. George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 99 supplies יבנה ('he will build') and Devorah Dimant, '4Q Florilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple' in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à V. Nikiprowetzky*, ed. A. Caquot,

but clearly in 11QT xxix, 9 where YHWH will create it 'on the day of creation' (יום הברייה), probably a reference to the new creation,<sup>88</sup> and in the New Jerusalem Scroll, which seems to envisage a new city and temple on earth in the eschaton.<sup>89</sup> What is unclear is the relationship between this eschatological temple and the presently existing heavenly temple. Yong-Han Chung suggests '[t]he heavenly temple is interchangeable with the eschatological temple in the sense that the heavenly temple will appear as the eschatological temple in the eschaton'.<sup>90</sup> This equivalence is also present in Hebrews, where the writer can interchange the language of what is heavenly with what is eschatological. As Cora Brady notes, in Hebrews

[t]here is a world to come [2:5; 6:5] and a heavenly country [11:16], a city to come [13:14] and a heavenly Jerusalem [12:22], good things to come [9:11; 10:1] and heavenly things [9:23]; those who have tasted the heavenly gift [6:4] have also tasted the powers of the world to come [6:5].<sup>91</sup>

When the writer is thinking about Jesus, he speaks in terms of a sanctuary in heaven where Jesus is enthroned (8:2); when he is thinking of his readers, he exhorts them to persevere to reach their eschatological goal, described in various ways, but notably in 4:1-11 in terms of God's rest, with the temple connotations of that term. They have access in the present to the heavenly temple where Christ is enthroned (e.g. 4:14-16), and they must make every effort to reach their eschatological goal. There, they will find 'a reality they had experienced all along'.<sup>92</sup> As Heidel suggests, 'from the point of view of the "today" this heavenly space is always at the same time the future reality to come'.<sup>93</sup>

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M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 166, 168 and Steudel, *Midrasch*, 25, 42 supply יקין ('he will construct'). See the discussion in Church, '4Q174', 339, note 15.

88. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 89-94.

89. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 94-97.

90. Yong-Han Chung, 'The Temple of Men (מקדש אדם) in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174)', *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 87 (2013): 63. On p. 72 Chung describes the temple to which the Qumran community has access to in the present as 'heavenly and eschatological'.

91. Cora Brady, 'The World to Come in the Epistle to the Hebrews', *Worship* 39 (1965): 332.

92. Robert Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981), 223; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 144.

93. Heidel, 'Between Times and Spaces', 435.

### 3.3 Conclusion to Part 3

As well as reading Hebrews through the eyes of Philo and middle Platonism, scholars have read it through the eyes of such texts as 1 Enoch and the Testament of Levi with their journeys to a celestial temple resembling Israel's earthly sanctuaries. I have argued that the similarities with documents found at Qumran are closer. In Hebrews, as in Qumran, the temple of Israel is downplayed and set aside, God's people are seen as a temple, offering deeds of thanksgiving to God, and God's people participate in the worship of angels while earthbound and anticipate an eschatological temple in which God will dwell with his people in the last days. I suggest that these Qumran texts reflect the theology and exhortation of Hebrews more closely than any supposed connections with 1 Enoch and the Testament of Levi.

### 4. The Quotation of Exodus 25:40 in Hebrews 8:5b

I return now to Hebrews 8:5 and Moore's critique of my proposal that 8:5a refers to the temple and 8:5b to the tabernacle.<sup>94</sup> As Moore suggests '[T]he abrupt switch from reference to tabernacle (σκηνή, v. 2) to temple (8:3 or 4 to 8:5a) and back to tabernacle (σκηνή, 8:5b)' is difficult.<sup>95</sup> Moore rightly questions my claim that the writer needed to use Exodus 25:40 (referring to the tabernacle) rather than 1 Chronicles 28:19 (referring to the temple) since 'there is no text referring to the divine design of either Solomon's temple or indeed the second temple'.<sup>96</sup> I suggested that 1 Chronicles 28:11-19 referred not to God's plan but David's plan,<sup>97</sup> but, clearly, I did not examine the text closely enough, for while 1 Chronicles 28:12 implies that the plan was in David's mind (LXX ὁ εἶχεν ἐν πνεύματι αὐτοῦ),<sup>98</sup> v. 19 seems to make clear that it was YHWH's plan. As Ralph Klein points out,

94. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 63-64.

95. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 63. Of course, 8:5 refers to Israel's earthly (human-constructed) sanctuaries, while 8:2 refers to the 'true tent that the Lord ... has set up' (NRSVUE), so the difficulty is not as great as Moore suggests.

96. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 63, citing Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 405. Moore finds this to be 'surprising' in the light of 1 Chr 28:19, which does refer to a design of Solomon's Temple. Of course, if 8:5a refers to the temple, as I propose, then it is not Solomon's Temple but the Second Temple, as enlarged by Herod. There is no biblical text giving God's design for that temple.

97. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 405, note 170, with a nod to v. 19, which seems to imply it was YHWH's plan.

98. The MT reads כָּל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּרוּחַ עִמּוֹ (NRSVUE 'all that he had in mind').

[d]espite several uncertainties in the phraseology, two things seem clearly intended by this verse: the plan for the temple and its furnishings was contained in a written document, and this plan had divine authorship even if it was mediated through David.<sup>99</sup>

Since (as I now agree) 1 Chronicles 28:11-19 does refer to God's plan for the temple, then it is possible that if the writer of Hebrews wanted to clarify that he was referring to the temple, he could have used 1 Chronicles 28:19 in Hebrews 8:5. And since he did not, can Hebrews 8:5a still refer to the temple? Of course, care must be taken with arguments about what the writer could or should have written, but there is another factor at play. The problem with 1 Chronicles 28:11-19 is that it uses παράδειγμα no fewer than four times to refer to the plan for the temple. As Moore helpfully points out,<sup>100</sup> unlike other texts that use παράδειγμα for God's design,<sup>101</sup> only Exodus 25:40 uses τύπος. It would be confusing for the writer to cite a text that used παράδειγμα for the divine design of the temple in the same sentence that he uses ὑπόδειγμα for the temple itself. Hence, he was limited to Exodus 25:40.<sup>102</sup>

This still does not solve the difficulty represented by my reading of Hebrews 8:5a to refer to the temple and 8:5b to refer to the tabernacle. I note here that the words ναός and ἱερόν are absent from Hebrews. In their place, the writer consistently uses σκηνή ('tent') or the neuter plural of ἅγιος ('sanctuary').<sup>103</sup> In Hebrews, ἅγια refers to the heavenly sanctuary (8:2; 9:8,12; 10:19),<sup>104</sup> to

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99. Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 527. James R. Davila, 'The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice', *DSD* 9 (2002): 7-9, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851702320115698>, finds that the description of the heavenly temple in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice reflects the description of the temple in 1 Chr 28-29, since the MT, the LXX, and the Targum imply that it was YHWH's plan, and that 'the earthly temple was a material reflection of the macrocosmic temple' (p. 7).

100. Moore, 'True Tabernacle', 60 and note 41.

101. Exod 25:9; 1 Chr 28:11,12,18,19.

102. This is probably the reason the writer used Exod 25:40, which strictly speaking refers to the divine design of the lampstand (using τύπος), rather than Exod 25:9, which refers to the entire tabernacle (using παράδειγμα). See also Runia, 'Ancient Philosophy', 358.

103. For σκηνή see 8:2,5; 9:2,3,6,8,11,21; 13:10 (as well as the tents in which the patriarchs lived in the land of promise, 11:9), and for ἅγια see Heb 8:2; 9:1,2,3,8,12,24,25; 10:19; 13:11. See Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature and the New Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 156 for the flexibility in the use of these terms by the writer of Hebrews.

104. In these four texts a neuter plural is used, with the definite article.

the entire wilderness tabernacle (9:1), to compartments in the wilderness tabernacle (9:2,3,8), to any human-made earthly sanctuary (9:24), and to the inner compartment in the tabernacle or temple (9:25; 13:11). Σκηνή refers to the heavenly sanctuary (8:2 9:11),<sup>105</sup> to the entire wilderness tabernacle (8:5; 9:2,8,21), to compartments in the wilderness tabernacle (9:3,6), and, as I have argued elsewhere, to the temple itself (13:10).<sup>106</sup> In this, I follow Walker, who refers to the writer's 'consistent (and otherwise puzzling) use of "tabernacle" (σκηνή) when referring to the temple'.<sup>107</sup> But the writer of Hebrews is not alone in doing this. Jody Barnard refers to 'the ancient and widespread equivalency and continuity between the tabernacle and the temple'<sup>108</sup> and points out that 'in Hebrews as in Second Temple Judaism generally ... σκηνή is also used as a general term for God's sanctuary, and ἅγιος is used with reference to both tabernacle and temple structures'.<sup>109</sup>

In Hebrews 8:5, the writer is not discussing the tabernacle (or the temple) *per se* but Israel's earthly sanctuaries. The switch is not from tabernacle (8:2) to temple (8:3-5a) to tabernacle (8:5b), but from the heavenly sanctuary of which Christ is a minister (referred to by both σκηνή and ἅγιος in 8:2) to Israel's earthly sanctuaries, including the Second Temple described as ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων ('a symbolic foreshadowing of the heavenly things') and 'the tent' (ἡ σκηνή).

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105. In these two texts the heavenly 'tent' is described as 'the true tent' (8:2) and 'the greater and more perfect tent' (9:11) to clarify that this is the referent.

106. In Church, 'Temple in the Apocalypse of Weeks', 114 I argue that in Heb 13:10, the writer uses σκηνή as a 'deliberately archaized reference to the temple'.

107. Walker, 'Jerusalem', 60.

108. Barnard, *Mysticism*, 88. For this interchangeability see Sir 24:10; 2 Chr 29:1-7; Ps 27(LXX 26):4-6. Conversely, Josephus (*Ant.* 3.125) calls the tabernacle a 'temple' (ναός), showing how the language was also interchangeable in the other direction. See also David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NovTSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 75, note 71, <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004206519.i-338>, who refers to 'the existence of the conceptual conflation of the tabernacle and the temple in the Second Temple period'. There were, of course, some subtle distinctions between the tabernacle and the temple in the Second Temple period, most notably in the way that the tabernacle was generally viewed favourably, while the Second Temple was generally viewed unfavourably (on this see Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 144-266). For an example see Stephen's speech in Acts 7:44-50 where tabernacle and temple are compared and Koester's remarks in Koester, *Dwelling*, 79-85 (subsequently critiqued by Barnard, *Mysticism*, 88-90).

109. Barnard, *Mysticism*, 90.

## 5. Reading Hebrews 8:5 Through a Temporal Lens

The point at issue in this discussion is whether Hebrews 8:5 should be read as expressing a spatial distinction between the earthly sanctuary and the heavenly sanctuary or a horizontal (eschatological) distinction. Are Israel's earthly sanctuaries shadowy copies of the heavenly sanctuary, or do they anticipate the blessings of the new covenant and, ultimately, God's eschatological dwelling with his people? I read Hebrews 8:5 with an eschatological orientation, while most readers of Hebrews consider that 8:5b, with its reference to God's warning to Moses to 'make everything according to the pattern that was shown you on the mountain', suggests a spatial orientation. This is not the place to discuss what God showed Moses, a question that cannot be answered with any certainty.<sup>110</sup> My somewhat speculative suggestion that 'God showed Moses the heavenly things to come, that is, the eschatological sanctuary, and told him to build a tabernacle to prefigure that'<sup>111</sup> is not entirely without merit, although perhaps the words 'the eschatological sanctuary' should be replaced with 'the eschatological realities'. Whether or not this is the case, in what follows, I seek to make a cumulative case that when Hebrews 8:5 is read from an eschatological and temporal perspective, it contributes more to its immediate context than it does when read from a vertical and spatial perspective. I make three points.

### 5.1 The Heavenly Things are Eschatological Things

Hebrews 8:5 expresses a relationship between the earthly sanctuary and 'what is in heaven' (NIV) or 'the heavenly one' (NRSVUE). The Greek text for these expressions is τὰ ἐπουράνια, which I read as 'the heavenly things'.<sup>112</sup> In *Hebrews and the Temple* I pointed out that in the four occasions in Hebrews where the word ἐπουράνιος appears as an attributive adjective, it has an eschatological

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110. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 220 and the excursus on pp. 222–224. See also Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical TUPOS Structures*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series II (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981), 336–388.

111. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 410. In a footnote on that same page, I refer to 'the list of things shown to Moses in LAB 19:12–13, including the eschatological temple. To be sure this is Mount Nebo rather than Sinai, but it does reflect a tradition that God showed Moses eschatological realities' (Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 410, note 194). See also Heb 3:5, where Moses 'is a witness to the things that will be spoken in the future' (μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων), and 11:26 where he preferred 'abuse suffered for the Christ' (NRSVUE) to Egypt's treasures.

112. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 409–410. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 216, and the ESV.



nuance.<sup>113</sup> I wrote concerning Hebrews 8:5, ‘The “heavenly things” are contrasted with the earthly things that anticipate them ... the eschatological realities that have come with the exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God.’<sup>114</sup> That is the implication of the hendiadys ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά to describe the temple – it anticipated the heavenly realities.

## 5.2 A First Covenant and a Second Covenant in Heb 8:6-13

This eschatological nuance continues in Hebrews 8:6, which begins with the temporal adverb νυνὶ (δέ),<sup>115</sup> ‘but now’, in an emphatic position at the start of the sentence. The writer discusses the priests ministering in the anticipatory sanctuary and contrasts their service with that of Jesus, who has *now* obtained a superior ministry – ‘in these last days’.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, Jesus’s ministry relates to a second covenant since the first covenant was found to be faulty and has now been rendered obsolete (v. 13). The priests functioning in the anticipatory sanctuary on earth are operating under the first covenant, now rendered obsolete by God, and Jesus is now a minister of the true tent pitched by the Lord (Heb 8:2) and mediator of a new covenant.

## 5.3 The Temporal Expressions in Hebrews 9:1-10

The language of ‘first’ and ‘second’ continues into Hebrews 9:1-10, where it initially has a temporal nuance (9:1) and then a spatial nuance (9:2-3,6-7) referring to the ‘first’ (outer) and the ‘second’ (inner) compartment of the wilderness tabernacle. The adjective ‘first’ appears again in 9:8, but here there is a *double entendre*. On one level, the terms refer to the inner and outer compartments of the tabernacle. But, as I argued in *Hebrews and the Temple*, in that verse, the definite genitive neuter plural of ἅγιος refers to the ‘true tent’ of 8:1-2, that is, the heavenly sanctuary, the way into which was not disclosed, while the ‘first tent’ (ἡ πρώτη σκημή) had normative status.<sup>117</sup> The ‘second

113. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 410. See Heb 3:1; 6:4 (cf. 6:5); 11:16 (cf. 2:5); 12:22 (cf. 13:14). See the quotation from Brady, ‘World to Come’, 332 (§3.2.3, above).

114. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 410.

115. The original hand of P<sup>46</sup>, B, and the original hand of D read the less emphatic νῦν. The corrector of P<sup>46</sup> and the first corrector of D changed this to νυνί, the reading also appearing in **8**.

116. O’Brien, *Hebrews*, 291–192. Lane, *Hebrews 1–8*, 201, note *n*, thinks the adverb is logical rather than temporal, but that seems unlikely given the temporal orientation of the next verse; see Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408–409. Compare also Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 362, “But now” in these last days when God has fulfilled his promises, the Son “has obtained” a “superior ministry” (v. 6a) appropriate for the heavenly Sanctuary.’

117. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 414–415. For these ideas see also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240 and Kenneth L. Schenck, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Hebrews: The Settings*



covenant' ministry of Jesus has opened the way to the presence of God, which was not available under the former covenant.

That this is the case is clear from the temporal expressions appearing in vv. 9-10, where the ritual related to the tabernacle and temple was a temporary arrangement until the present time (ὁ καιρός ὁ ἐνεσθηκῶς), that is the time of setting things right (καιρός διορθώσεως), two expressions with the same referent – 'the time of the new order, the inauguration of the eschaton that began with the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God (Heb 1:1-3)'.<sup>118</sup>

As I suggested in *Hebrews and the Temple*, these temporal expressions indicate that Hebrews 9:1-10 further clarifies Hebrews 8:5, showing how Israel's earthly sanctuaries anticipated the heavenly things, these new realities.<sup>119</sup> Not only did these sanctuaries symbolically foreshadow the heavenly things, but they also acted as a 'parable' (παραβολή, Heb 9:9) pointing to the time for setting things right.

I suggest that my reading is a more coherent reading of Hebrews 8:1-9:10, where what is in view is not a spatial contrast between what is in heaven and a shadowy copy on earth, but earthly sanctuaries and their ritual anticipating the new order that has now come with the exaltation of Christ to God's right hand.

## 6. Conclusion

In this response, I have interacted with three components of Moore's critique of my earlier work. Moore argues that the idea of a heavenly temple as an archetype of the earthly temple is commonplace in the Second Temple literature and that while I have sought to eliminate any platonic dualism, eliminating that does not eliminate other models found in the literature. Moore's second critique is that the semantic range of ὑπόδειγμα does include the ideas of 'representation' or 'copy'. His third critique is the difficulty of the switch between temple and tabernacle that I find in Hebrews 8:5.

I have examined Moore's discussion of the semantic range of ὑπόδειγμα and its close synonym παράδειγμα and demonstrated that none of his examples is convincing. Consequently, if Hebrews 8:5 ought not be read as 'copy and shadow' (NIV), then that text does not express the vertical and spatial relationship that English Bibles have assumed. I have argued that other texts in the literature of

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of the Sacrifice, SNTSMS 143 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150, 153, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511488177>.

118. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 415.

119. See Church, *Hebrews and the Temple*, 415-416.

the Second Temple period show that the notion of an eschatological temple to come is as much at home as the idea of the heavenly temple as the archetype of the earthly temple. And I have examined the difficulty that Moore finds in the switch from temple to tabernacle in Hebrews 8:5a,b and have proposed that the writer of Hebrews is discussing Israel's earthly sanctuaries as a class, rather than a specific reference to the tabernacle. Finally, I have shown how a temporal and eschatological reading of Hebrews 8:5 contributes more to the immediate context than does a spatial and vertical reading.

I remain convinced of the validity of my reading of the expression ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων as referring to the Second Temple as a 'symbolic foreshadowing of the heavenly things', understood as the good things that have come with the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God. I am grateful to Nicholas Moore for his contribution to the discussion and I appreciate the corrective he has issued to some of my claims and the opportunity given me to rethink my arguments. But I do not think he has offered a convincing rebuttal of my reading of Hebrews.

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